From Policy to Reality: A Study of Factors Influencing the Employment Trajectories of Internationally Educated Professionals

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Over the past decade there has been a changing policy landscape in Ontario that aimed at assisting foreign-trained immigrants to integrate into their intended professions. However, many foreign-trained immigrants continuously face barriers in the labour market such that their employment experiences are often contrary to their expectations. This study explores and examines the factors influencing the employment trajectory of Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs) in Canada. In particular, the study focuses on selected Filipino immigrants and IEPs from other cultures, and examines their employment trajectories and shifts in professional status. Recent literature indicates that there is a widening gap between the policies of immigrant inclusion and equity in many Western countries and the social realities of immigrants in the workforce.

This study is an interpretive qualitative research with a critical orientation using Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction as a lens. A total of 30 participants were divided into three
categories according to their year of arrival in Canada. Interview data were analyzed using
critical discourse analysis and grounded theory. Findings reveal four broad sets of factors (socio-
demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual) influencing the employment trajectories
of IEPs and their resulting shifts in professional status. Government immigration policies and
economic conditions at the time of participants’ arrival were found to be important influences on
IEPs employment success.

The contented IEPs and struggling IEPs who had both different years of arrival experienced
frequent changes in employment. High achieving IEPs who arrived in Canada between 1988-
1994 and 2002-2008, had successfully navigated the employment trajectory with frequent job
changes. However, low achieving IEPs, were also found among immigrants arriving between
2002-2008 who experienced less and/or no movement in their occupations. Findings are
discussed in relation to relevant policy implications for the economy, educational practice,
curriculum, theory-building and new knowledge construction for socioeconomic equity.
Acknowledgements

This research study could not have been made into reality without the following individuals and organizations who contributed their valuable time and resources for the timely completion of this academic endeavour.

First and foremost to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Antoinette Gagné whom I am greatly indebted for her guidance, direction and support throughout my entire thesis journey from conceptualization to the fruitful completion of this research. I am immensely grateful for her excellent ideas and insightful advice that helped me to navigate the sometimes unfamiliar terrain of qualitative research methodology. I am privileged to be one of her students where she tirelessly dedicated hours of providing supportive advice, encouragement and attention during our individual or monthly group meetings. In this inclusive and diverse learning community, she offered a venue and rewarding opportunity to connect with other scholars and experts for exchange of ideas, sharing new knowledge and stimulating discussions in my related field of study. Like many others who have known her, I will long to remember Dr. Gagné as a true champion for the students she supervises including myself and for all of those who get the opportunity to work with her.

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The research participants who voluntarily and willingly responded to my questionnaire and allowed me to conduct interviews in their respective locations deserved my deepest gratitude without whose patience and cooperation the objectives of this research could not have been realized.

I am especially thankful to Megan McIntosh for her editing during the last minute submission of my thesis to the Examination Committee including the formatting and final editing touches of this work. The supportive attention and open ideas she shared on the subject of school cultural practice was indeed helpful in revising this section on the implications of findings. I sincerely acknowledge her thoughtfulness and warm enthusiasm in editing my sometimes turgid prose in a way that a meticulous reader can be best appreciated.

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To my fellow graduate students in Antoinette’s thesis group who provided me with a circle of peers – I thank each and everyone of them. I wish to thank James Corcoran and Leah Burns for their editorial assistance. Although there were many highs and lows in my thesis journey particularly during the writing up stage where I sometimes got caught up in a roller-coaster ride, my appreciation is extended to all of them for their words of encouragement, sharing of needed references and materials, and helpful suggestions that made my thesis adventure a wholesome learning experience.

To my fellow teachers, I appreciate their continued interest and intellectual discussions on my related field of study that broaden my perspectives on the issues of globalization, migration, economic flows, diversity and equity in the real world scenarios.

I am grateful for my family members and friends either in Canada or across the miles whose living examples, intellectual ideals, and inspiring Christian values have taught me how to rise above mediocrity. I thank them for their prayers, concern and understanding during the time I withdrew myself from many social functions for the purpose of writing my thesis. When I cannot find a quick reply to their perennial question as to when they would expect me to finish writing my thesis, they often teased me by saying: “Pag-puti ng uwak, pag-itim ng tagak” [When the crow turns white, when the heron turns black].

To my lovely nieces Camille and Aimee, I thank them for their understanding for the many excuses I had given for not visiting the Philippines for over a decade during the course of my entire studies in Canada. To my sister Carmen and loving family members back home for their concern and constant reminder for me not to skip meals during the intoxicating yet isolating nature of thesis work that I was often unmindful of the hours passing by.

Above all, I give thanks to Him for everything, my Great Provider who supplies all my needs immeasurably, and whom I have drawn the wisdom, courage and confidence to grow and learn endlessly in the laboratory of life.
Dedication

In memory of

Gregoria S. Evalle, 1927 – 2001

whose tutelage in my early years echoed in the corridors of time.
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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEC</td>
<td>Canada Experience Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIC</td>
<td>Citizenship and Immigration Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLB</td>
<td>Canadian Language Benchmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCLB</td>
<td>Centre for Canadian Language Benchmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMIP</td>
<td>Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoP</td>
<td>Community of Practice</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Economic Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEQ</td>
<td>Employment Experiences Questionnaire</td>
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<td>ESDC</td>
<td>Employment and Social Development Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>FARPA</td>
<td>Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>FSW</td>
<td>Federal Skilled Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>GTA</td>
<td>Greater Toronto Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>HRSDC</td>
<td>Human Resources and Skills Development Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRPA</td>
<td>Immigration and Refugee Protection Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>IEEs</td>
<td>Internationally Educated Engineers</td>
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<td>Internationally Educated Nurses</td>
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<td>International Teaching Assistants</td>
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<td>LCP</td>
<td>Live-in-caregiver Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>LSIC</td>
<td>Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCIIT</td>
<td>Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and International Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>NES</td>
<td>Native English Speakers</td>
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<tr>
<td>NNES</td>
<td>Nonnative English Speakers</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHRC</td>
<td>Ontario Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OU</td>
<td>Occupation Unrelated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEO</td>
<td>Professional Engineers of Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Professional Regulatory Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RG</td>
<td>Regulated Profession</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFW</td>
<td>Temporary Foreign Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>UG</td>
<td>Unregulated Profession</td>
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Do not go gentle into that good night . . .

rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Dylan Thomas
Chapter 1: Introduction

Whereas there are increasing government-initiated policies, programs and services designed to assist foreign-trained immigrants in finding employment in their intended professions, many Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs) are overrepresented in low skilled jobs regardless of their educational attainment and have difficulty accessing high paying jobs that suit their qualifications. Recent literature indicates that there is a widening gap between the policies of equity and inclusion in many Western nations — including Canada — and the lived realities of ethnic minorities (Gutmann, 2004). This study was conducted in response to the observed lack of social and economic integration among immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada.

The study explores the employment trajectories of a selection of Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs) by focusing on their education, employment and integration experiences. Based on previous findings that the employment situations of immigrants are more challenging when they arrive in a host society during a period of economic downturn (Chiswick & Miller, 1999; Aydemir, 2003), this study also focuses on the changing policies and economic conditions during the time or year of each participating IEP’s arrival in Canada and determines how these factors may have impacted their employment outcomes. Correlation is drawn between participants’ level of professional achievement in relation to macro level socio-economic factors and between participants’ level of professional achievement and the evolution of their professional identities.

Finally, this study uses a critical paradigm, to investigate the nature of difference and diversity in the context of a multicultural society. Employing a grounded theory approach, findings from the employment experiences of the research participants, 30 IEPs living and working in Canada, are used to consider the macro level problem facing many nation-states: how to recognize and legitimize difference and construct a cohesive national identity that incorporates the voices, experiences, and hopes of a diverse population (Banks, 2008).
The Study in the Context of Globalization and Migration

My study is situated in the context of a changing policy landscape, fluctuating economic conditions, and the increasing trends of globalization and migration. According to Apple (2005), globalization can be understood as the trend of wealthy developed nations and economies dominating periphery nations, legitimizing their power, and inculcating their values by imposing particular economic and political agendas that benefit wealthy and rich nations at the expense of the world’s poor. As a result of deteriorating conditions in periphery countries and a perceived advantage to living in more wealthy developed nations, there continues to be an increasing trend in the migration of foreign-trained immigrants from the periphery nations to dominant countries with more developed economies.

The influx of immigrants to Canada from various domains with different knowledges and different ways of seeing the world often results in contradictions with the dominant society, and can generate many forms of bias that serve as barriers for IEPs’ labour market integration and employment success. Although multi-ethnicity is common in large urban communities as a result of migration, immigration policies in many host countries are not so inclusive for various immigrants (Esser, 2006). In most cases, this may give rise to marginalization of IEPs and often takes the form of lower income and unskilled jobs. Other types of socioeconomic iniquities may also result, such as unequal opportunities, unstable, non-permanent or occasional jobs, and discrimination prior to persistent marginalization (Pollock, 2010).

The Researcher’s Role

As a researcher, my role was to systematically explore and examine the hidden relationships between employment practices and the wider social structures as determined by policies. Furthermore, I sought to investigate how such practices, situations, events or texts were developed and ideologically shaped by social relations of power. Within this analytical framework (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Fairclough, 1989, 1992), my objective was to relate and corroborate my own experiences with comparable groups of participants with whom I have shared similar worldviews within the periphery of qualitative inquiry. As a researcher, I adopted a critical stance on social realities through critical analysis and interpretation of empirical data. Throughout the processes of analysis and interpretation, I reflected on my own experiences as a teacher, being a Filipino from a visible ethnic minority group, an Internationally Educated
Professional (IEP), and a non-native English speaker. I drew on the perspective that “teachers were researchers and knowledge workers who reflected on the current understanding of their own professional practice.” (Kincheloe, 2004, as cited in Gibb, 2008, p. 329). Although the data analyses and interpretations were based on my inner perspectives, I was cautious not to be very explicit in sharing my personal experiences. I did this to protect my own privacy in the same manner that I protected the confidentiality of the information or experiences shared by my study participants, using only their pseudonyms throughout the study according to the ethical standards of this research.

My stance on the employment trajectory of Internally Educated Professionals has been developed as a result of my personal experiences during my 30 years of professional training, work, and education as a teacher and researcher that transcended the boundaries of culture and geography. Beginning with my earlier work as an elementary and secondary school teacher in the Philippines from 1985 to 1990, I grew to become a Lecturer in the Social Sciences Department of the Far Eastern University, Centro Escolar University and the University of Santo Tomas and concurrently served as a University Researcher at the University of the Philippines from 1990 to 2002. I obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics (B.A., 1984), a Masters degree in Education (M.Ed., 1989) and Industrial Relations (M.I.R., 1996). I was finishing my Ph.D. in Education (Research and Evaluation, 1996-2002) at the University of the Philippines when I immigrated to Canada in 2002. My decision to immigrate was the greatest turning point in my career as I joined the growing number of Internationally Educated Professionals, leading to my identity transformation in several areas of my personal and professional life.

As an IEP myself, I assumed the role of a researcher in this study – an insider with inner knowledge of an immigrant worker who has the ability to see the world from the participants’ point of view. This research was conducted with an emic perspective and I believed that the experiences that shaped my identity have contributed positively in terms of my ability to better understand the participants and the context of this study. With this insider’s perspective in mind, my professional backgrounds and formal education were useful in enhancing awareness and sensitivities to various experiences of IEPs. In consideration of my previous experiences as an immigrant, I might have inevitably brought in certain biases to this study. Although every effort was made to ensure objectivity, these biases might have influenced the way I viewed and interpreted the data I collected (Creswell, 1994).
**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to provide a deeper understanding of the education, employment and integration experiences of Internationally Educated Professionals in Canada; the factors underlying their employment successes or failures; and how their professional status have changed post-migration. Further, this study explores the role of fluctuating economic trends and Canadian government policies at the federal and provincial level (Ontario) on the labour market access and social integration of skilled immigrants from linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse groups.

**Statement of the Problem**

My study attempted to answer three major research questions as follows:
1. How do different groups of IEPs understand and explain their integration experiences?
2. What are the factors that influence the employment trajectories of IEPs?
3. How have IEPs’ employment trajectories resulted in their shifts in professional status?

To address the research questions set forth in this study a variant of interpretive qualitative case study design called *multiple embedded case study* with essential components of grounded theory and critical research were used. In this design, the individual cases of the IEP participants were organized into several groups for the purpose of comparing and contrasting. The IEPs were categorized according to their ethnicity (Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures), membership or certification in their intended professions or community of practice (integrated or not integrated), and year of arrival in Canada (early arrivals between 1988 – 1994 pre and post 1990 recession, mid-range arrivals between 1995 – 2001 during an economic recovery period, and recent arrivals 2002 – 2007 pre 2008 recession). The multiple cases of IEPs were also categorized according to their occupations or professional backgrounds (nursing and allied health professions, engineering, information technology, accounting and banking, HR and administration, and teaching).

My research questions can be divided into three major areas of investigation. The first area focuses on the role of changing policy landscapes and shifting macro economic conditions on the selected IEPs’ labour market access and integration into their intended professions within Canada. The second area explored the factors influencing the employment trajectories of the IEP
participants, and the third area of investigation explored the shifts in professional status of these IEPs.

**Significance of the Study**

My study may inform policy, research, and practice in the area of education, immigration, and employment. Results of this study may have relevant policy implications for immigration and adult education programs that promote socioeconomic equity in Canada’s multicultural society. The collection of empirical data focusing on a specific ethnic group, in this case, Filipino IEPs, could contribute to further awareness and understanding of cultural diversity in relation to this particular community. The multiple perspectives involving groups of IEPs from different cultures may not only inform, but also motivate and inspire other foreign-trained immigrants. Meaningful insights regarding program design and curriculum planning in schools and various work organizations can also be gleaned from this study. The comparison of highly successful IEPs from other cultures and those of Filipino background may provide valuable information for prospective Canadian employers on the training needs of various immigrants in the area of adult education, second language education, and job-related skills acquisition, including soft-skills. This information may be particularly useful for those in the Filipino community helping them to integrate into the Canadian labour market more successfully.

Results of this study may also aid second language education teachers, educators, employers, human resource development specialists, government policy-making bodies, and researchers in other fields of endeavour. It will show them how to deal with diversity issues with programmatic suggestions across their diverse spheres of responsibility. Finally, I hope it will have the positive outcome of reducing and eliminating some forms of racism and discrimination and create a more equal society for all citizens, native born or immigrant.
Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature

This chapter presents the review of relevant literature highlighting the multi-faceted issues related to the employment of Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs). My literature review predominantly covers the relevant empirical findings that informed my research. It is summarized into two major sections: first, the employment of IEPs with sub-topics on the employment trajectory and shift in professional status of Filipino IEPs and three types of occupational movements; and second, a review of factors influencing the employment trajectory of IEPs focusing on language and accents, the culture of work in Canada, and the employment practices of Canadian employers.

Employment of Internationally Educated Professionals

In this study, I use the term *Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs)* to refer to foreign-trained immigrants or professionals who have several important characteristics. They acquired training or education as nonnative English speakers in their country of origin through years of formal study at university-level institutions, they went through accreditation or certification by an established and recognized regulatory body in their home country and they have a considerable period of practice or work experience in their chosen field of expertise or specialization prior to immigrating to Canada. This conceptualization is informed by literature and previous studies conducted in this area (Kerekes et al., 2013; Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Peters, 2011; Pollock, 2010; Kelly, 2006; Kelly et al., 2009; Deters, 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Thus, the term IEP is very broad in scope, covering a wide range of professions including Internationally Educated Teachers (IETs) (Pollock, 2010; Deters, 2006), International Medical Doctors (IMDs) (Peters, 2011), Internationally Educated Engineers (IEEs), Internationally Educated Nurses (IENs), as well as other professions. My literature review focuses primarily on factors influencing the employment of IEPs and this information will be presented in greater detail in subsequent discussion.

According to Reitz’s (2007a, 2007b) findings, there are two broad classes of factors affecting immigrant employment and specific social, institutional, cultural, and political environments are used to determine each class. The first class of factors focuses on *individual characteristics of immigrants* including: human capital endowments (education and qualifications, professional
and other work experience, and knowledge of one or both of Canada’s official languages), origins (nationality, region of birth, ethnicity or race, social capital, gender, family status and composition), and area of settlement within Canada.

The second class of factors according to Reitz (2007b), is mainly *contextual* in nature and focuses on the access of immigrants to labour markets: including discrimination based upon origins or immigrant status, credential recognition and assessment of foreign qualifications, access to specific occupations and labour market niches, training opportunities, union representation, and the so-called “glass ceiling effects” (p. 12) or invisible barriers to promotion among immigrants due to their minority status. Whereas Reitz focused on individual, social, and contextual factors of employment, Derwing and Waugh (2012), Esser (2006) and Statistics Canada (2005) put more emphasis on linguistic factors including: linguistic diversity, accentedness, pragmatic communicative competence, and knowledge of the official languages.

**Employment Trajectory and Shift in Professional Status of Filipino Internationally Educated Professionals**

The study of the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status of IEPs in Canada is an emerging field and there is a need for further research in this area. Although the number of immigrants from the Philippines have significantly increased over the previous decades (Kelly, 2006; Kelly et al., 2009), the employment experiences of Filipino IEPs as members of visible minorities and second language learners have not been given substantial attention in academic literature. An exception to this is the Live-In-Caregiver Programme (LCP) which focused on Filipino women or ‘Filipinas’ and this programme and its impact on the Filipina community has been well-documented in the history of Filipino immigration to Canada since the 1990s (Cusipag & Buenafe, 1993; Mckay, 2002; Laquian & Laquian, 2008; Santos, 2009).

Among the literature reviewed in the area of Filipino immigration and employment to Canada, Kelly (2006) and Kelly et al.’s (2009) studies deserve more attention as they address a wide range of issues that inform my present study. Unlike other researchers who found that the importance of second language proficiency was a key factor in the social integration of immigrants (Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Esser, 2006; Statistics Canada, 2005), Kelly’s findings were different in that he focused less on language and more on contextual factors and systemic
barriers in the employment of Filipino IEPs including: the culture of work, employment practices, and re-certification programs

Based upon 2001 census data and the landing records of immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s, Kelly (2006) generated a quantitative ‘statistical portrait’ of Filipino immigration and settlement with a particular focus on the economic dimensions of integration into Canadian labour markets. To assess the economic integration of Filipino immigrants in Canada, Kelly (2006) examined whether or not their skills and qualifications were fully recognized in the host labour market. As a part of this assessment, socioeconomic indicators were specified, including: educational attainment, second language proficiency, labour market participation, occupational distribution, and income.

Kelly’s (2006) findings using quantitative methods are useful in providing the context for my present study of the Filipino community. Whereas Kelly’s study has laid out the economic factors pertaining to Filipino IEPs, my present study differs in context in that it focuses upon social and linguistic factors that may be presumed to be influencing the employment trajectory among IEPs. Although Kelly’s (2006) study was not holistic in terms of approach, such that the social and cultural aspects of IEPs were neglected, Kelly’s results show a portrait of Filipino immigrants who arrived in Canada in large numbers and who were equipped with high levels of educational, linguistic, and cultural preparedness. Kelly’s participants’ higher labour participation rate and low levels of unemployment can be partially attributed to these positive factors, but their lower than average incomes does not fit with these positive attributes. Obviously there are other factors influencing the employment trajectories of Filipino IEPs.

In a follow-up study, Kelly et al. (2009) used quantitative survey data and focus-group interviews to examine the growing de-professionalization or mismatch between jobs and skills of Filipino-educated immigrants in Toronto. Results from quantitative surveys revealed that after immigrating to Canada, many Filipinos — with various professional backgrounds — commonly ended up in “lower-paid, lower-status and less professionally recognized jobs” (p. 10) and have downgraded their professional status. An example reflecting this de-professionalization would be a Filipino professional whose occupation in the Philippines was as a mechanical engineer and who ended up working as a machine operator in Canada. Other real world examples include a registered nurse working as a nursing assistant, an accountant who performs the lower skilled job
of billing clerk, a dentist working in Canada as a dental office administrator, a university professor or dean working as a public school supply teacher and so on. Kelly et al. (2009) described this result as illustrative of a ‘downward shift’ or ‘downward mobility’ in the professional status among Filipino-educated immigrants that results in their shifts in professional status.

**Three Types of Occupational Movements**

There are three types of occupational movements identified in Kelly et al.’s (2009) study among Filipino-educated professionals in their attempt to integrate in the labour market that can be construed as employment trajectories. These movements or trajectories are: ‘perfectly matched’, ‘different/flexible’ and ‘downward mobility’. According to Kelly et al., ‘perfectly matched’ is when “the current work is commensurate with the past work experience” (p. 12). ‘Different/flexible’ means that “although the employment in Canada was “not commensurate with previous experience [in the Philippines]; it did not necessarily represent a downward movement (p. 11). ‘Downward mobility’ occurs when Canadian work experience and professionalization represents a significant downgrade compared to their previous educational expectations, profession and work experiences in the Philippines. Kelly et al.’s three types of occupational movements are indeed valuable in conceptualizing the employment trajectory of Internationally Educated Professionals in my own study.

**Factors Influencing the Employment Trajectory of IEPs**

A consistent pattern emerged in the literature. Language proficiency (Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Green & Worswick, 2010; Esser, 2006; Statistics Canada, 2005; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004) and the contextual factors of employment (Picot & Hou, 2012; Block and Galabuzi, 2011; Reitz, 2001, 2007a, 2007b) emerged as important factors influencing the employment trajectory of IEPs. Based on this recurring theme, the term ‘sociolinguistic factors’ is used to reflect the interplay of these two sets of interrelated factors. Individual or linguistic factors include, but are not limited to, language proficiency, second language learning, pragmatic communicative competence, accentedness, ethnicity or cultural orientations. Contextual factors of employment include cross-cultural interactions, social support network, Canadian experience, culture of work, employment practices of Canadian employers, role of Canadian Government and Ontario
policies on employment, language education, re-certification programs, skills upgrading requirements or re-credentialing processes and procedures.

Thus, I defined sociolinguistics as a descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context on the way that language is used and the effects of language use on society. Noticeably, a great portion of the research that I reviewed placed a strong emphasis on the important role that language proficiency plays in labour market access and social integration of IEPs. An exception is some of Kelly’s (2006, 2009) research, which revealed some challenging results. There is evidence to show that there are other factors beyond linguistic considerations that also have a significant impact in labour market access and social integration. Filipino IEPs who demonstrated “strong command of the English language” (Kelly, 2006, p. 20) also ended up being deskilled through employment in mainstream if not marginalized occupations. Among all the research conducted in this area, Kelly’s findings raise important theoretical considerations and questions that drive my research to determine what really constitutes labour market access and social integration of IEPs. In the following sections, I revisit the literature on factors that may be influencing the employment trajectories of IEPs.

**Language and accents**

The results show that language and accents of native English speakers are consistently and positively associated with higher income (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004). Sources of work-related discrimination or unfair treatment (Kelly et al. 2009) provide a sound basis for conducting a study in this area. The knowledge of official languages was found to be significantly and positively associated with the probability of finding an appropriate job by new Canadian immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2005). This result is important in my present research providing a solid theoretical framework based on the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), which observed cohorts of immigrants over the span of four years after their arrival in Canada.

**Learning as situated in social practice**

The literature on adult second language learning, second language acquisition, and language socialization in the workplace is useful in framing the concepts necessary for my proposed study. The concept of ‘learning as situated in the context of social practice’ (Lave & Wenger, 1991) is revisited and is most relevant in the present discussion. Learning, as situated in social practice,
evolved from Lave and Wenger’s study of five apprenticeships in various work organizations in which they developed the concept of community of practice, “a system of relationships between people, activities, and the world” (p. 91) which embodied certain beliefs and behaviours to be acquired. Learning as situated means that learning, as it normally occurs, is embedded within an activity, context, or culture where social interaction is an essential component, knowledge is presented in authentic contexts, and learners become involved in the community of practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) assume that as the beginner or novice moves from the periphery of a community to its centre, he or she becomes more active and engaged within the culture and eventually assumes the role of an expert. As the newcomer moves to becoming an expert, the concept of legitimate peripheral learning occurs where the learner is given opportunities to learn by engaging in simple tasks. Moreover, communities of practice, as Lave and Wagner (1991) emphasized, are important places of negotiation, learning, and identity formation among learner-practitioners.

The present study is informed by Lave and Wenger’s (1991) social learning theory. This theory serves as a foundation for this study’s conceptual framework on the employment trajectories of foreign-trained immigrants. Many of the concepts used in my study can be justified, described and explained within the social learning framework of situated learning practice, community of practice (CoP), and legitimate peripheral learning. Lave and Wagner’s concept of situated learning in social practice forms a theoretical basis for the viability of informal learning among IEPs in the specific context of their working environment. Results suggest that most of the learning for practitioners occurs in social relationships at the workplace rather than in a classroom setting (Wenger, 1998). There is evidence showing that much of the learning happened during informal learning contexts where professionals interacted with each other and shared stories about their experiences, and where novices consulted openly with experts. Although Lave and Wenger did not mention discourses on language learning, their concept of ‘community of practice’ implicates the important role of language in the socialization process among professionals. Through this process of socialization, problems in professional practice can be identified and solutions can be developed. The informal interactions eventually became the means for practitioners to improve practice and generate new ways to address problems in their working environment (Wenger, 1998).
Culture of work in Canada

Kelly’s (2009) findings on the culture of work and racialization among Filipino IEPs informed my present research on how the employment experiences of this particular group of immigrants were positioned in their new working environment. Kelly revealed that the most common cultural practices among Filipinos included “taking on all tasks required of them, regardless of their job description, not being assertive in relation to authority figures, and not being boastful of their achievement and abilities” (p. 29). Filipino IEPs were viewed and perceived as generally passive or not inclined to speak up to voice their demands or complaints at the workplace, a characteristic or trait which may be typical of some Asian cultures and one which may affect their ability to be promoted to managerial positions.

This emerging theme in the literature is consistent with Jenkins’ (2000) findings, which found differences in cultural frames of reference between work superiors and their subordinates. Cultural frames can be understood within the dynamics of interactional linguistics and will be discussed more specifically under the section on employment practices of Canadian employers as these are important factors influencing employment trajectories of IEPs. Reitz’s (2007a, 2007b) concept of ‘glass ceiling effect’ is analogous with Kelly’s (2009) findings; what the Filipino IEPs consider one of their most valued behaviours, having an unassuming personality, is possibly counter-productive in a Canadian working environment. The Filipino IEP respondents in Kelly’s study reported that there was a certain level or ‘ceiling’ beyond, which they could not move. Progress to the top managerial-level positions was difficult or impossible because of what they referred to as ‘cultural fit context’ (p. 30) where the culture was dominated by white, Canadian-born, educated males or females. Based on Kelly’s findings, even the brightest among ethnic groups or visible minorities “will never get the chance to get into their professions” (p. 30) because of systemic barriers or discriminatory practices in Canadian work organizations. Kelly explained further that the “system wins in putting [ethnic minorities] away from the managerial positions” (p. 30) because they do not look like a manager, or in the case of Filipino IEPs, they are too humble or modest.
Employment practices of Canadian employers

Although the human capital theory (Bowles & Gintis, 1975) is a widely accepted framework that puts great emphasis on the education and training of individual workers as a form of investment with the expectation of future economic success and better lives in the general population, Reitz (2005) adopted a more pragmatic view of this concept. Reitz implicates the actions of employers and the institutional process in the employment of immigrants. “When employers respond to information about the job-relevant skills presented by applicants, they are actually relying on a fairly elaborate set of institutional supports, which may not work as effectively when the applicants are skilled immigrants” (p. 5). Clearly, there is evidence suggesting that the underutilization of immigrants’ skills can be traced from employers’ biases, short-sightedness and failure to assess the productive value of foreign-trained immigrants for the perpetuation of the existing norms of Canadian employment that are based on postcolonial white supremacy and native English speakers’ ideology. This argument — proposed in my study — is well supported in the literature (Peters, 2011; Reis, 2011; Gibb, 2008; Steinert, 2006).

In addition to Reitz’s (2005) research findings, which emphasize the impact of contextual factors in the employment of immigrants, other results also show that immigrants’ workplace integration is related to social and linguistic factors encompassed in the field of ‘interactional sociolinguistics’ (Kerekes, 2005, Bandiera & Regher, 2004; Jenkins, 2000; Gumperz, 1992; Young, 1982). Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is a field of linguistics with methodological and theoretical foundations that aim “to understand how language works to create meaning in [social] interaction” (Tannen, 2005, p. 205). As a research site, this field of study is useful in understanding the impact of language conventions and the existing power relations between immigrant workers and prospective employers in the given context of employment.

Role of Canadian Government and Ontario policies

The most recurring theme that emerges in the literature pertains to the regulatory barriers imposed upon immigrants by the Canadian Government and the Province of Ontario, namely, the re-assessment of their foreign credentials through re-certification programs and the problem of their integration to the cultures of practice in Canada (Peters, 2011; Akbari, 2011; Kelly, 2009; Reitz, 2007b; Deters, 2006). As the latter, it has already been presented earlier, this section
focuses more on the role of Ontario policies regarding re-certification programs intended for skilled immigrants.

Although Kelly et al.’s (2009) findings using quantitative survey data show patterns of the labour market integration of Filipino immigrants, the outcomes of their focus-group interviews provide more information on the processes and individual experiences that explain how and why such employment patterns came about. I briefly summarize Kelly’s results from qualitative group interviews that are pertinent to my present research, in particular, their discussions of the re-certification programs in their various professions as one type of regulatory barrier for employment that Filipino IEPs face. In this problem area, I draw several parallels between major findings of Kelly et al.’s (2009) de-professionalization of Filipino IEPs and that of Peters’ study (2011) calling for transparency on re-certification of IMDs.

In Kelly et al.’s (2009) study, a great number of respondents indicated that the non-recognition of their credentials was a regulatory barrier to practice in their profession. A group of Filipino engineers reported an apparent ‘arbitrariness’ in relation to how their credentials were assessed by regulatory bodies specifically in Ontario. Regarding re-certification of Filipino engineers, Kelly pointed out that the provincial regulatory body in Ontario “requires Philippine-trained professionals to take courses, either as few as eight or as many as fourteen, without providing a clear basis for the variation in such requirement” (p. 26). Kelly revealed that this problem is also present in the experiences among Filipino accountants who described the ignorance of Canadian evaluation bodies regarding the quality and rigour of the professional regulatory system for accountants in the Philippines.

The lack of adequate information among provincial assessors on the nature and quality of the education, training, and regulatory standards within immigrants’ countries of origin has been one of the critical issues emerging in the literature concerning the credential assessment processes for IEPs. Whereas Kelly et al. (2009) described the ‘arbitrariness’ of provincial regulatory bodies on credential assessment procedures for immigrants, Peters (2011) referred to this problem as a ‘lack of transparency’ carried out for professional licensing of International Medical Doctors (IMDs) in the province of Ontario. Peters reported cases of IMDs applying for residency positions that required re-certification of their credentials. They repeatedly failed their residency
interviews and yet were provided with neither a clear account of the criteria that was being used to select candidates nor with honest feedback as to how and why they were unsuccessful.

**Summary**

The review of related literature and studies provides a foundation that informs my present study. Among the previous studies conducted in this area, Kelly et al.’s (2009) findings on the employment of Filipino IEPs, their employment trajectories and shifts in professional status as reflected in three types of occupational movements and the factors influencing the employment trajectory of IEPs bear particular relevance to my present research. Reitz’s (2007a, 2007b) findings on contextual factors of employment, culture of work in Canada, and the employment practices of the Canadian employers, in addition to language and accents are also important in relation to the conduct of the present study. The next chapter discusses how my study was conceptualized based on a critical paradigm and Bourdieu’s theory of social capital and class inequality as theoretical frameworks.
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I divided my discussions on conceptual framework into three major sections: theoretical perspectives, research paradigm, and the conceptual framework. Whereas the literature review presented in Chapter 2 focuses more on empirical findings related to my research, Chapter 3 highlights the theoretical perspectives that serve as a foundation for the development of the conceptual framework. Given the context of the study positioned in relation to changing immigration policies, economic conditions, and globalization, I used critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory to shape the nature of my inquiry. The theoretical lenses inform this study and provide directions and insights into how to explore, examine and explain the factors influencing IEP employment trajectories. The second part of this chapter presents my theoretical framework or research paradigm known as the systemic migration flow model, which integrates the different concepts and principles drawn from the theoretical perspectives.

Critical Perspective

The epistemological stance of this inquiry was approached according to the tenets of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theory and methodology (Fairclough, 1989; 1992; Fairclough, & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1997; 1988a). This section discusses how CDA is used in this study as a lens for the analysis and interpretation of findings. As a theory, CDA is “fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language“ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10). From this perspective, the goal of CDA is to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimized by language use or discourse.

CDA literature claims that language use or discourses (for example, the language or discourse used in the employment of IEPs and the existing power relation in the workplace as in employer-employee relationship) can be a medium of dominance and social force. Habermas (1967) explains that language use and discourses serve to legitimize relations of organized power. Although the legitimization of power relations is most often opaque and not articulated, language use and discourses can be used as a medium to express certain ideology. Whereas other theoretical lenses merely describe and explain phenomena as they exist, what makes critical
discourse analysis unique is the ability of the analyst to bring into the surface patterns of inequity in ‘language use’ and discourse that help to describe how language discourse normalizes unequal power relations within an existing social order. The critical perspective enables the analyst to challenge hegemonic understanding of reality and social norms in view of effecting social change and addressing issues of inequalities.

As a theoretical lens, CDA was used in this research study to critique and challenge existing policies on immigration and employment of IEPs in Canada (federal government) and Ontario (provincial government) with the goal of achieving greater socioeconomic equity and promoting a more equitable social integration of visible ethnic minorities. My study inquired into the nature of power relations in the Canadian workplace. It examined how the sociocultural context advances increasing inequities in employment opportunities between IEPs and non-IEPs.

**Bourdieu’s Theory of Social and Cultural Reproduction**

The concept of social closure and exclusivity as status hierarchies, competition for honour, and standards of professional practice is explored in Bourdieu’s (1986) theory of social and cultural reproduction using the concepts of class inequality, habitus, cultural capital, and field. As outlined below, this theory provides a useful framework for the analysis of the interviews and narratives of the IEP participants in this study.

**Concept of class inequality**

French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu explains his theory of social or class inequality using the fundamental concepts of capital, habitus, and field. Bourdieu’s theory of social inequality and reproduction is influenced by Marxist philosophy where inequality is defined in terms of the control and ownership of the means of production by the ruling class (bourgeoisie) and the lack of control over the means of production, which characterizes the working class (proletariat). Weber further developed this concept of inequality; he differentiated between class and status or the distinction between the material and the symbolic aspects of inequality (Weininger, 2005). Bourdieu’s theory encompasses both Marx and Weber’s ideas. His main argument is that social inequality can be explained in terms of the relations between culture and power that shape social class. Whereas Marx proposes that social inequality will result in class conflict in the form of uprising or revolution, Bourdieu explains that class conflict is not solely constituted by the
collective uprising of proletariat individuals who organized themselves for struggle against a dominant bourgeoisie class; rather, class conflict can also be constituted more abstractly.

Bourdieu (1984), explains class inequality and class conflict using the concept of capital which refers to the economic, cultural and social goods that an individual owns, the concept of habitus which refers to an individual’s dispositions or ways of thinking that result from their economic and cultural background, and the concept of field which refers to a social context such as an educational institution, a governmental body or a work place setting with its own set of practices (these practices might include values, laws, rules or policies). For Bourdieu, a social class is comprised of agents or representatives who occupy similar positions and who, being placed in similar conditions have the tendency of having similar habitus — dispositions and interests — and therefore, these agents are capable of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances (Harker et al., 1990). According to Bourdieu, capital and habitus produce and reproduce class inequality in society through particular fields of practice such as education and government.

An understanding of how each concept interacts with one another is the basis for the theoretical framework and methodological approach used in this study to analyze the data collected from various sources and to help identify and examine the factors influencing the employment trajectories of IEPs including the role of governmental policies, and professional regulatory bodies.

**Concept of habitus**

In this study, four classes or categories of IEPs are identified according to their integration in their intended profession, their job satisfaction and their perceived employment success or failure (see matrix in Figure 2 on page 31). The interaction between policy (field of practice) and the lived reality (habitus) of the IEPs may be framed as an example of the production and reproduction of social inequality. The four classes of IEPs can be positioned within Bourdieu’s theory of human social practice. Bourdieu’s theory was developed in response to an existing contradiction between objectivism and subjectivism. Social structures, perceived as objective, may act as agents, policies, or ‘rules of the game’ that impose certain limitations and realities. Individuals then bring their own subjectivities, practices and dispositions (habitus) to these structured realities. The concept of habitus provides a useful lens for understanding how re-
credentialing processes and procedures employed by professional regulatory bodies may predispose a system toward the inclusion or exclusion of different subjectivities. The fit between an IEP’s habitus and the rules of the game within their intended profession in the target country may significantly impact both their application for membership in said profession and their employment trajectory.

Bourdieu (1977) defines habitus as “a system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception and action common to all members of the same group or class constituting the precondition for all objectification and perception” (p. 86). It is “a system of durable, transposable dispositions which function as the generative basis of structured and objectively unified practices” (Bourdieu, 1979, p. vii). He emphasizes that each social group and class shares a distinct kind of habitus. Bourdieu (1984) further suggested that many professions maintain an underlying set of criteria, beyond formal credentials, which regulate access to each profession. Examples of such professions include: medicine, architecture, and engineering. “These characteristics [including the person’s age, gender, ethnic backgrounds, linguistic differences, accents, etc.] function as tacit requirements overtly or implicitly” guiding individual choices in such a way that members “who lack these traits are excluded or marginalized” (Bourdieu, 1984 cited in Gerald & Bauder, 2007, p. 38). In cases where these tacit requirements privilege the habitus of certain groups over others, and are not necessary characteristics for functioning effectively within a particular profession, the reproduction of inequality and the social division of labour may result (Gerard & Bauder, 2007).

Forms of capital

According to Bourdieu, capital is an individual’s power or capacity to influence others and have control over their own future. The different ways in which capital is distributed in a society may give rise to class inequality. In the context of the present study, the employment trajectories of the IEP participants largely depend on their accumulation of capital, which determines their employment success or failure. There are three forms of capital that interact with one another, namely, economic, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Economic capital refers to the assets and financial worth of an individual which are “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Social capital refers to social support networks and connections that can be used and mobilized
to generate advantages or benefits: “The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent . . . depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). In employment seeking, for example, these connections may be used for employment referrals and favourable consideration for specific job vacancies or they may provide information for jobseekers about employment opportunities and labour market access. However, the usefulness of support networks as social capital depends upon the positioning of those with whom the individual can claim the connections and upon the durability of such connections (Kelly & Lusis, 2006).

* Cultural capital refers to the symbolic assets that a person possesses. The three types of cultural capital are institutionalized, embodied and objectified. An example of *institutional cultural capital* is a formalized recognition of qualification held by an individual, as in the case of educational credentials (Bourdieu, 1986). This can be distinguished from the two other forms of cultural capital: embodied and objectified cultural capital. *Embodied cultural capital* refers to “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (p. 243) such as language proficiency, accent, ethnicity, and race. According to Bourdieu, *embodied cultural capital* consists of both the consciously acquired and the passively inherited properties that cannot be easily transmissible but impresses itself upon the individual’s habitus overtime including his character, dispositions or way of thinking. On the other hand, *objectified cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) consists of material objects that an individual owns such as clothing, books, scientific or works of art that can be transmissible into economic capital. In this study, Bourdieu’s (1986) forms of cultural capital provide a useful framework for the analysis of the narratives of the IEP participants. This framework may help to account for aspects of the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in their communities of practice.

**Concept of field**

In explaining the nature of social inequality, Bourdieu used the concept of ‘field’ to understand the relationship that exists between individual’s practices and the context where these practices occur. My present study is informed by Bourdieu’s definition of *field* which refers to a context as represented by an educational institution, place of employment, government organization, and these various contexts’ sets of values, laws, rules or policies. Thus, a field can be interpreted as a
series of contexts, which constitute an objective hierarchy that create and legitimize certain activities, processes, policies and discourses (Webb, Tony, & Geoff, 2002). Moreover, the fields or contexts of education, employment, government, and economics have their own sets of rules, codes of conduct, and forms of authority that distinguish a certain degree of autonomy from the others. However, Bourdieu’s concept of field is not merely confined to institutional systems and existing policies, it is broader in scope and includes the interactions that occur among individuals in a given context. The re-certification of IEPs in their intended professions through professional regulatory bodies can be explained with Bourdieu’s identification of the two aspects of field.

First, the IEPs who are entering a specific field have its specific dispositions imposed upon them. Second, the field can be described as a place of struggle whose agents and institutions seek to maintain and control their existing capital (Bourdieu, 1990). Based on the concept of field, IEPs who are applying for re-certification must acquire the necessary capital either economic or material capital, symbolic or culturally relevant attributes such as credentials and other qualifications which are required and considered valuable by an agent or professional regulatory body. In other words, IEPs who are entering a profession must acquire a minimum amount of capital and must abide by the policies, rules and regulations of their chosen professional community.

**Research Paradigm**

My research paradigm includes the theoretical and conceptual frameworks presented in this section to illustrate how this study was conceptualized drawing from the literature review and studies. Whereas the theoretical framework depicts the ontological orientation that explains why the study in question exists, the conceptual framework illustrates the major concepts that used as a guide in the conduct of this study. The paradigm called, *systemic migration flow model* (Figure 1) is a theoretical framework drawn from literature and studies that explain the present realities on migration and employment of skilled immigrants. On the other hand, the conceptual framework called, *factors influencing the employment trajectories of IEPs* (Figure 2), depicts the important concepts that are useful in explaining how the data analysis was approached and the findings from the present study were generated.
The systemic migration flow model: A theoretical framework

The systemic migration flow model as shown in Figure 1 is a circular diagram which can be used as lens to describe and explain the general nature of employment trajectories among IEPs in Ontario. The research questions of this study can be explained more meaningfully with this framework using three independent multi-layered circles representing dynamic stages including the inner circle, periphery and outer circle. The paradigm is called systemic to reflect the general pattern of movements among foreign-trained immigrants in Canada which have been observed consistently in the literature (Picot & Hou, 2012; Block and Galabuzi, 2011; Kelly, 2006, Kelly et al., 2009; Reitz, 2001, 2007a, 2007b; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004). The stages are described as dynamic because the IEPs are presumably mobilized as they move from the outermost to the innermost circle. The systemic migration flow model is a visual representation of an IEPs employment trajectory. IEPs are viewed as dynamic and active individuals with the main objective of getting into the innermost circle and integrating themselves in their desired community of practice (CoP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and knowledge economy (Reitz, 2005). To integrate into CoP and the knowledge economy, foreign-trained immigrants are theoretically passing through three different stages each representing a type of multi-layered circle.

The first stage describes a social context resulting from migration in which IEPs as newcomers are initially looking for work in the outermost circle where a great number of IEPs are theoretically unemployed at least during the first three years of their arrival in Canada (Block and Galabuzi, 2011; Kelly, 2006). In the second stage, IEPs are mobilized inward to the periphery as indicated by an arrow where they can find precarious employment. In this theoretical framework, the periphery illustrates a social context where IEPs are underemployed or de-professionalized. Here we might find IEPs with PhDs driving a taxi, medical doctors working as part of the customer service crew at McDonald’s, engineers working in a factory as general labourers, or bank managers doing janitorial jobs. There is a plethora of literature discussing why skilled IEPs end up employed in these kinds of jobs. Various studies point to determinants in the labour market that may include: the two broad classes of sociolinguistic factors such as individual and the contextual factors of employment including deskilling, as well as rigid credential requirements imposed upon immigrants (Picot & Hou, 2012; Peters, 2011, Pollock, 2010; Reitz, 2007a, 2007b). The third stage illustrates the inner circle where knowledge workers or IEPs have successfully passed through each preceding stage of the circular model.
(outer circle and periphery), including the regulatory barriers, and have been integrated into their community of practice and the knowledge economy. Unlike the general systems approach, where the periphery of the system’s structure is surrounded by a highly permeable membrane such that external elements can easily pass through (von Bertalanffy, 1975), the *inner circle* in my framework is protected by systemic barriers that restrict IEPs’ entry into their professions in the knowledge economy. This is indicated by a thick solid inner circular structure representing regulatory barriers and re-credentialing requirements imposed upon IEPs seeking to practice in various professions.

*Figure 1.* The systemic migration flow model: A theoretical framework
Factors influencing the employment trajectory and shift in professional status of IEPs: A conceptual framework

Figure 2 illustrates the conceptual framework drawn from the literature review that guided the analysis of data using the EEQ, interview extracts and narratives for this study. The framework can be divided into two major components. The first component highlights the factors and the participants’ year of arrival including the policies and the changing economic conditions. The second comprised of the IEPs employment trajectory and their shifts in professional status.

In this study, employment trajectory is conceptualized as the employment experiences of IEPs that run along a continuum of success or failure, where upward motion (moving to) or downward motion (moving away) indicates their positioning in relation to either their professional goals in the target professions or their integration or lack of integration in the community of practice. The employment trajectory of IEPs may be influenced by socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors including the policies and economic conditions during the IEPs’ year of arrival.

The concept of shifts in professional status which is defined as the degree to which an IEP had changed jobs from one occupational category to another has been linked to the concept of employment trajectory. This linkage between employment trajectory and shift in professional status has been indicated in the conceptual framework by a cyclical arrow. The resulting shifts in professional status were analyzed and interpreted based on the employment trajectory of IEPs as influenced by the factors that were explored and examined in this study.
In the next chapter, the discussions on the methodology for this study are presented to describe and explain how the results of this study were generated.
Summary

This chapter discussed the two major theoretical perspectives in this study including critical discourse analysis and Bourdieu’s theory of social and cultural reproduction. The important elements of Bourdieu’s theory were explained including the concept of class inequality and reproduction, habitus, cultural capital, and field. The theoretical underpinnings of this study were illustrated based on a research paradigm called the systemic migration flow model explaining the three different stages that most immigrants pass through in their search for employment in their intended professions. In the last section, this study’s conceptual framework was presented based on the literature, theorizing the relationship among the major concepts that were useful in data analysis and interpretation of the study results as presented in the succeeding chapters.
Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology surrounding how data was collected and analyzed and consists of eight major sections including the research orientation, research design, participants, data collection procedures, research instruments, participant recruitment, the interview, analytic procedures, and my positioning as a researcher.

Research Orientation

This study adopts an interpretive qualitative methodological approach with a critical paradigm and epistemological alignment using Bourdieu’s theory of class inequality and reproduction. My research questions investigated three major areas, focusing on changing policies and economic conditions, factors influencing employment trajectories of IEPs, and their subsequent shifts in professional status. There are three main research questions guiding this study:

1. How do different groups of IEPs understand and explain their integration experiences?
2. What are the factors that influence the employment trajectories of IEPs?
3. How have the employment trajectories of IEPs resulted in their shifts in professional status?

Research Design

To address the research questions set forth in this study, a variant of interpretive qualitative study design called the multiple embedded case study with essential components of grounded theory and critical research were used (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995; Creswell, 1994). Multiple embedded case study (Yin, 2003), sometimes referred simply as multiple case studies, also known as comparative case study (Merriam, 2009) or collective case study (Stake, 1995) is an in-depth and detailed description and analysis of categorically bounded systems (cases) through collection of multiple sources of information (Merriam, 2009). In my study, the multiple cases were primarily composed of IEPs who were bounded by the well-defined selection criteria of the study and embedded into various categories and sub-categories as units of analysis for the purpose of comparison and contrast. In this design, the IEPs were divided into different categories according to their ethnicity, integration in their community of practice, year of arrival
in Canada, and occupations or professional backgrounds (see Figure 3). The multiple embedded case study design allows the comparison within and across categories of cases through collection of interview data, survey questionnaire and policy documents.

**Multiple embedded case studies**

The interpretive qualitative *multiple embedded case study design* was selected after consideration of the research problem. Compared to a single case study, the nature of questions asked in my study can be dealt with using multiple cases that required a deeper understanding of the employment trajectories of various types or categories of IEPs, the interpretation of their experiences, and more elaborative and detailed description of their varied experiences in which they engaged through the complex processes of labour market access and integration. The multiple embedded case study is best suited for examining complex social realities such as employment trajectories of IEPs which are influenced by a number of complex factors. The primary goal of this design is to collect information from multiple cases, which allows for comparison *within* and *across* different layers of participants. This helps to minimize any researcher bias in the interpretation of results in order to meet the trustworthiness criteria of credibility, dependability, and confirmability of findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ultimately, results developed from multiple case studies are more credible and compelling than those from a single case.
Grounded theory

Grounded theory was chosen as a data analysis approach in order to compliment the multiple embedded case study design, particularly in the area of data collection and qualitative analytic procedures. My grounded theory approach utilized theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method and was useful in providing answers to my research questions relating to the employment trajectories of IEPs, the processes of their labour market access and integration, and how their professional status evolved over a period of time. An essential component of multiple embedded case study design, grounded theory was used to generate a substantive theory that was supported by the data collected systematically and analyzed inductively (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Strauss & Glaser, 1967). In this qualitative procedure, the goal of research is not necessarily to build a formal or well-recognized theory, but a substantive theory with practical relevance and usefulness to the needs of participants (Merriam, 2009).
In developing a grounded theory, the researcher does not begin with the theory in mind but “rather begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994 as cited in Fraenkel & Wallen, 2004, p. 438). Based on the data collected, my task as a researcher was to look at the data and to develop generalizations from emerging themes and categories during data analysis and interpretation using theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method. The step-by-step procedure of the constant comparative method in grounded theory research is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

**Critical research**

Using a multiple embedded case study design, grounded theory was combined with a critical research perspective to critique the existing policies on labour market access and integration of IEPs (Fairclough, 1989; 1992; Fairclough, & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1997; 1998). Whereas grounded theory is similar with other types of qualitative research used primarily to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomena through the participants’ and the researcher’s (co) construction of social realities, the goal of critical research is not only to understand, but to critique, challenge, and transform society. In my study, interview data from four different layers of participants has provided rich sources of information to answer my research questions and contributed to the development of a grounded theory. Critical research focuses on larger social, cultural, economic, and political contexts and details how the power relations in employment privilege some members of society while exploiting, marginalizing and oppressing others. Based on a critical research framework, my study analyzed the dominant contrasting discourses in multiple Canadian policy documents: i) the IRPA 2008; ii) Canada Experience Class (CEC) program; and iii) the New Ontario Immigration Act as presented in Chapter VI.

**Participants**

The participants in my study included foreign-trained immigrants whom I refer to as, *Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs)*. These IEPs come from a wide range of professional backgrounds or occupational types. All have at least post-secondary education and sufficiently higher educational qualifications or credentials acquired from colleges or universities in their country of origin, or elsewhere in the world. The selection of IEPs as participants was
based on six basic criteria: (i) Must be a permanent resident or citizen of Canada; (ii) Must have stayed in Canada for at least five years or more; (iii) Must hold a university degree in their country of origin; (iv) Must have practiced their profession in their country of origin; (v) Must be a Non-native English speaker; and (vi) Must be a member of a visible and/or audible ethnic minority.

A total of 30 participants were selected within the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Participants included 24 Filipino IEPs and 6 IEPs from other cultures. The disproportionate distribution of participants according to ethnicity was due to the use of snowball sampling where the participants recommended and referred me to other possible participants. Participants were compared and contrasted according to two major group categories: first, according to ethnicity and membership in a community of practice (CoP); and second, according to the year of their arrival in Canada. The technical or operational definition of each group of IEPs is provided in the glossary section of this study.

In this study, the IEPs within their CoP refers to those who were certified by their professional regulatory organizations (PRO) in Canada, while outside CoP refers to IEPs who were not certified or members of a PRO. According to ethnicity and membership in their CoP, each group of IEPs was further sub-divided into two sub-groups: 18 Filipino IEPs within their community of practice (CoP) or those who were integrated in their community of practice (Filipino CoP) and six Filipino IEPs outside CoP (Filipino Non-CoP) or those who were not integrated. Similarly, the six IEPs from other cultures were further sub-divided into four IEPs from Other Cultures CoP, and two IEPs from Other Cultures Non-CoP.

According to their year of arrival, participants were divided into three major group categories including 10 IEPs who were identified as early arrivals around the 1990 recession 1988 – 1994, seven IEPs who arrived during the 1990 economic recovery period 1994 – 2001, and 13 IEPs who were recent arrivals during the pre-2008 recession 2002 – 2008. The theoretical underpinnings for this categorization of IEPs are discussed in-depth in Chapter 6. Hence, participants in this study were compared and contrasted basically according to three major group categories of IEPs by their ethnicity and membership to CoP and according to their year of arrival in relation to the changing policy landscape on the Canadian immigration and
employment and the shifting macro economic conditions that served as the springboard board for data analysis in the subsequent chapters.

**Data Collection**

Participants were selected using purposeful and snowball sampling techniques. In *purposeful sampling*, participants were only selected if they met the six basic criteria as previously mentioned according to the purpose of this study. *Snowball sampling* is a data collection procedure in which participants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study. This involves asking participants to forward study information, so that others may contact the researcher if they are interested. As a non-probability sampling procedure, it is often used to find and recruit hidden populations specifically through chain referral social networks.

Data was collected using survey questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and policy document analysis. Data collected were recorded using journal entries and anecdotal reports. During interview sessions, participant responses were audio-taped, transcribed, and coded based on the emerging themes using QSR Nvivo 10, a qualitative data analysis software resulting in a total of 617 coding references as embedded in 35 nodes or coding categories. Using the recruitment scripts and *Information Letter and Informed Consent*, participants were contacted through personal communication in person, by phone or email. Prior to our initial contact, each participant was asked to read and sign the Information Letter and Informed Consent Form, which explained in written form the nature and purpose of this study. They were encouraged, at this point, to raise any question that they may have in mind or to discontinue their participation if they chose to. Next, IEPs were given the survey questionnaire to be completed (15 minutes in length). After completing the questionnaire, a semi-structured interview was conducted using the semi-structured interview schedule.

**Research Instruments**

There were two types of data collection instruments used including the survey questionnaire for IEPs called, *Employment Experiences Questionnaire (EEQ)* (Appendix A) and a separate semi-structured *Interview Schedule* (Appendix B). As exhibited in Appendix A, the *Employment Experiences Questionnaire* is a 50-item rating scale designed to collect basic information on the
socio-demographic background of the IEPs. The questionnaire was used to assess and evaluate their perceived levels of English language proficiency based on their level of confidence in spoken English and determine their level of job satisfaction, employment experiences, and how specific social, linguistic, cultural and contextual factors influenced their employment successes or failures from the time of their immigration to the present time. The individual responses of the IEP participants using questionnaires were used as a supplementary data collection tool that guided the researcher to further explore the education, employment and integration experiences of IEPs during the conduct of in-depth interview in addition to the semi-structured interview questions.

The semi-structured Interview Schedule was the primary data collection tool and consisted of mainly open-ended questions intended to explore the education, employment and integration experiences of the IEPs. This was triangulated with the IEPs’ responses from the EEQ to further substantiate and verify the information that they provided.

Before the research instruments were finalized for data collection, a pilot test was conducted with at least two respondents for each of the four layers of participants. The purpose of pilot testing was to determine if questions in the survey questionnaire and semi-structured interview were appropriate for the participants. Pilot testing provided useful information necessary to eliminate complex, ambiguous, or misleading items, which were found in the questionnaire. Based on the results of pilot testing, item questions were revised including those related to the eight categories of income levels, which were verified and re-constructed to ensure that the research instruments yielded useful and relevant data. The eight categories of income levels were collected from the participants for the sole purpose of contrasting their salary increases or decreases and that this study was not primarily concerned about determining the rising cost of living in Canada.

**Participant recruitment**

During the recruitment phase, an Information Letter and Informed Consent for IEPs (Appendix E), which described the nature of study and extent of subjects’ participations, was sent to potential participants prior to our initial contact. Participants were subsequently contacted in person, by phone, or by email by the researcher. During this initial contact, potential participants were informed about the purpose of research, the type of questionnaire and interview questions
to be used, and the amount of time required for their participation (at least 60 minutes). Participants were asked about their willingness to participate in this study. If a positive response was received, a meeting was arranged at their convenience. An informed consent for IEPs (Appendix E) in written form was obtained from each participant and a meeting was scheduled for them before completing the questionnaire and responding to the semi-structured interview questions. As stipulated in the informed consent letter, participants were informed that there was no personal risk involved in their participation. Instead, they would benefit directly or indirectly from their participation through a better understanding of their own experiences as foreign-trained immigrants. They would also have the opportunity to be able to voice their concerns about the re-certification programs or any other factors affecting the current employment situation of IEPs in Canada. Furthermore, they were also given an assurance that their participation in this study would be both confidential and anonymous.

Interviews

During the interview, I assumed the role of a participant observer with an emic perspective being an IEP myself. With this perspective, I was able to maintain rapport with each of the participants that created an atmosphere of trust and understanding of our own roles in the interviewer-interviewee (researcher-participant) relationship. This atmosphere allowed participants to share their thoughts, feelings and opinions related to their education, employment and integration experiences as IEPs. As a result of the trusting relationship between the researcher and the participants various themes, patterns, and concepts also emerged from these conversations. Although the interviews were conducted at different times and locations depending on the availability of the participants, the interview process involved several stages: first, having explained the purpose of the research and obtained consent to conduct an interview, I described the survey questionnaire; second, the interviewee filled in the survey questionnaire; third, I provided an overview of the questions to be asked during the interview and approximately how long the interview might last and explained its purpose; and fourth, I responded to any questions the interviewee might have about the interview before we proceeded.

Analytic Procedures

A purely descriptive methodology using the interpretive qualititative analytic approach was employed in data analysis. There were two basic qualitative analytic approaches used in my
study, namely, *critical discourse analysis* and *the constant comparative method*. In each approach, the data collected from survey questionnaires, in-depth interviews, field notes, and policy documents were pre-coded and presented in matrices and tabular formats. This facilitated the comparisons and contrasting of textual evidences according to patterns and common themes that emerged in participants’ responses. Interviews were audio recorded and carefully transcribed in detail. As part of my qualitative data analysis, a system of coding categories using the QSR Nvivo 10 software was used to explore, examine and summarize the participants’ responses based on the transcriptions of the in-depth interview for data reduction purposes.

Using the multiple embedded case study design, critical discourse analysis was combined with theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method of grounded theory. The *critical discourse analysis* relies more heavily on theoretical and ideological underpinnings of participants’ responses during in-depth interviews in relation to their education, employment and integration experiences in the context of the Canadian labour market. Theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method were applied when analyzing other data sources including questionnaire using *within-case analysis* and *cross-case analysis*.

**Critical discourse analysis (CDA)**

In this study, interview transcripts from multiple case studies were analyzed using *critical discourse analysis* (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). Further, Canadian and Ontario policies on immigration and employment were analyzed using CDA with reference to the empirical data collected in this study. Critical ‘discourse’, which literally means a form of dialogue, discussion, communication or conversation, can be used both as a theoretical framework and method of analyzing textual messages (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This section presents my use of CDA as a methodology, used in analysis of written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias (van Dijk, 1998).

According to Fairclough (1992), the purpose of CDA is to examine how discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. The principles of CDA as a theory and method of analysis offer many practical applications in my present study focusing on the integration experiences of IEPs and their resulting shifts in professional status. My study used CDA to bring to the surface the power relationships that exist between employers
and immigrant workers and to explain how such social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse.

**Procedures in critical discourse analysis.**

As an analytical tool, the methodology of CDA “involves the shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of text using varied tools of linguistics, semiotic [study of signs and symbols to reflect social or cultural meaning], and literary analysis and the macro analysis of social formations, institutions and power relations that these text index and construct” (Luke, 2002, p. 100). Figure 4 shows the three basic steps or procedures involved in the application of CDA as an analytical tool in research (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) including description and analysis of text (text analysis); interpretation of discursive practices (processing analysis); and explanation of the implications of discursive practices to society (social analysis).

The first step normally involves the analysis of grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic aspects of language. However, van Dijk (1998) suggested that the focus of discourse analysis should not only be on these levels but should also entail a higher level of mental functioning such as finding coherence, overall themes and topics that involve the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of text. In this first stage of analysis, CDA is concerned not only with the textual messages but on how the analyst makes connections between the sociocultural processes and structures on one hand, and properties of texts on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, Scollon, 2001).

The second step includes finding of the various meanings from the texts and understanding how the analyst perceives these in relation to social realities. This second stage is based on the principle that CDA is essentially interpretative and explanatory in nature and goes beyond textual analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996). The interpretations and explanations of texts are said to be dynamic and open, and may be influenced by new emerging findings from the literature that bring new contextual information.

The third step involves determining what effects or consequences that the texts have on society. The process of looking for the implications of discourse to society can bring about changes in communicative and socio-political practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In this perspective, CDA becomes a form of social action. As pointed out earlier, CDA is designed to bring into the
open the ‘opaqueness’ of power relationships, which is at times obscured in textual messages or communication events. From this point of view, CDA is a feasible theoretical and analytical framework to deal with the social, linguistic, and economic realities of IEPs within the context of their working environment. The purpose of CDA in my study was not only to verify the dominant and overlapping policy discourses but also to bring into open the broader sociocultural and economic realities of IEPs through empirical evidence. By collecting empirical data mainly through in-depth interviews, I adopted Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) approach to CDA including a three-part model for analyzing a communicative event as shown in Figure 4. Fairclough’s (1989) approach to CDA contributed further to the analytical framework of this study by suggesting the notion of raising or enhancing our consciousness of exploitative social relations as revealed in the study of communication. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

As depicted in Figure 4, CDA is a multi-layered analysis integrating the three essential components. Text is situated in the upper layer where it is analyzed and linguistic properties are described (text analysis). The middle layer involves the analysis of the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice (text interpretation). In the lower layer, the relationship between discursive practice and the text is explained (social analysis).

Figure 4. Fairclough’s components of critical discourse analysis

**Constant comparative method**

In this study, I used *the constant comparative method* of the grounded theory approach suggested by Strauss and Glaser (1967) as the basic qualitative analytic procedure to analyze and interpret results. The grounded theory approach is an inductive form of qualitative research where data collection and analysis are conducted concurrently. In this approach, the *theoretical sampling* -- also known as “cases” -- and *the constant comparative method* are used to support the systematic discovery of theory from the data. In this qualitative procedure, the process of *theoretical sampling* is combined with *the constant comparative method* as a strategy to develop a grounded theory. *Theoretical sampling* is a procedure of selecting additional cases or participants to develop new insights or expand and refine concepts already acquired in the study (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The grounded theory approach suggests that theories remain grounded in the data collected rather than in the abstract of a formal or established concepts and principles. The selection of participants is guided by the need to examine the limits of developing explanations that are constantly grounded in the data being analysed. In this fashion, the theory is being developed from the data collected instead of applying the theory to the data.

The constant comparison entails various methods of constantly comparing participants’ responses during the process of in-depth interviewing, including both *within-case* and *cross-case analysis*. By utilizing this method, coded texts that have been previously analysed are verified to determine whether the new emerging codes being created are relevant. The most distinguishing feature of grounded theory approach is the continuous comparison of newly collected data to the previously collected data and their corresponding coding categories that make possible the refinement or development of theoretical categories. According to Corbin and Strauss (2007), this procedure is designed to test emerging ideas from the data to advance current research undertakings into new and more fruitful directions.
**Procedures in the constant comparative method.**

The basic procedures involved in the constant comparative method as applied in data collection procedure and analysis of my study are shown in Figure 5. The process of developing a grounded theory can be illustrated with four cyclic stages that begin with identification of thematic categories, continuous data collection and concurrent data comparison and contrast, and finally, confirmation and refinement of findings.

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**Figure 5.** Procedures in constant comparative method

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As can be gleaned in Figure 5, the first stage involves the researcher identifying themes or developing concepts to be pursued from initial data collection. Second, the researcher reviews and compares this data collected in greater detail, using within-case and cross-case analysis, thus providing a better understanding of any new findings. This second stage is conducted simultaneously with the third stage, which involves continuous data collection in order to obtain additional information about these emerging new themes as part of developing a grounded theory. With the collection of new, emerging data from previous stages, the fourth stage enables the researcher to confirm, discard, refine or elaborate further themes, concepts or ideas. As indicated by a circular arrow, the diagram suggests that the researcher may repeat this process again by identifying new thematic categories in the first stage, continuously collecting new emergent data, and constantly making comparisons and contrasting new data with other data. In this procedure, therefore, the researcher builds a theory that fits the data.

My Position as a Researcher

I conducted this study by positioning myself as an interpreter and reflective practitioner while generating insights from survey and interview responses of participants through the process of interpretation and explanation anchored on the basic tenets of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989). My role is to draw reflections of my professional practice, otherwise, referred to as “members’ resources (MR)” (p. 141) or background knowledge of both informants and myself, the researcher as an interpreter. Through the critical lens of discourse analysis, my interpretations were generated from the textual messages of informants or participants’ interview responses by combining what was ‘in the text’ and what was ‘in the interpreter’ according to members’ resources, their social positioning and identities, and the meanings that the researcher can bring to the interpretation (Fairclough, 1989). In the process of data analysis and interpretation, however, I avoided sharing explicit details of my own personal and professional experiences for privacy considerations.
Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology used in the study, including eight important components: research orientation, research design, participants, data collection procedures, research instruments, participant recruitment, analytic procedures, and my position as a researcher. This chapter included a description of my study in terms of an interpretive qualitative methodology, a critical paradigmatic alignment and an epistemological stance based on Bourdieu’s theory of class inequality and reproduction. This chapter included an overview of participants in my study—30 foreign-trained immigrants or otherwise known as, Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs). Following a brief description of my purposeful and snowball sampling techniques employed, this chapter described the data collection and analysis tools and approaches. Specifically, there was a detailed description of the two research instruments used including the semi-structured interview schedule and survey questionnaire, where the latter served as a supplementary tool to explore and triangulate participant responses in addition to collecting the participant background information. Data analysis approaches including critical discourse analysis and the constant comparative method of grounded theory (within case and cross-case analysis) were presented before concluding the chapter with my positioning as an IEP.
Chapter 5: Socio-demographic Factors

This chapter presents the socio-demographic profile of the participants based on their personal background information as collected from the introductory section of the research instrument called, the Employment Experiences Questionnaire (EEQ). The background information presented in this chapter focuses on the 30 IEP participants who responded to the survey questionnaire and participated in the face-to-face in-depth interview. The information collected from the survey questionnaire highlights the characteristics of participants, which are important in the subsequent analyses and interpretations of findings in this study. The survey questionnaire was used primarily to collect information on the socio-demographic background, and this is presented in the succeeding discussions. Particular attention paid to the group category of participants as determined by ethnic backgrounds and integration in their intended profession or what is known as community of practice (CoP). In addition to the group category of participants, this chapter presents a sketch of each individual IEP and familiarizes the reader with the participant’s relevant background information including gender, age group, educational attainment, migration history or year of arrival in Canada, and professional background.

This is divided into three major sections, namely, data sources, description of the participants according to their socio-demographic characteristics, and the study context. The first section describes the data sources including the survey questionnaire and in-depth interview. The second section focuses on the socio-demographic factors in which discussions are further sub-divided into components, including group category according to ethnicity and CoP; gender, age group, educational attainment; migration history; and professional background. The socio-demographic profile of the Internationally Educated Professionals revealed a panorama of the 30 participants using figures and tables to summarize and illustrate comparisons and contrasts based on the three major sections of this chapter.

Data Sources

While the survey questionnaire provided the basic information on the IEPs’ socio-demographic characteristics, the in-depth interview was another primary source of data for this study. The in-depth interview provided key information on education, employment and integration experiences of IEPs. A semi-structured interview schedule was used and the interviews were conducted
during the 8-month data collection period (from August 2013 to March 2014) within the Greater Toronto Area. The amount of time spent for interviewing each participant varied and ranged from one to two hours. A second interview session was conducted with some of the participants whose responses during the first interview needed to be clarified or verified further. As mentioned earlier, the survey questionnaire was an integral component of an in-depth interview. Other important data sources for this study that helped to supplement the interviews included anecdotal field notes, and policy documents. The secondary sources included the Labour Force Survey (ESDC, 2015) and the policy documents focusing on the Canadian Government and Ontario policies on immigration and employment including the *Ontario Immigration Act 2014* and its accompanying source document called, *A New Direction, Ontario’s Immigration Strategy* (Government of Ontario, 2012).

Anonymity of the participants has been maintained by withholding the real names of all participants. Throughout the entire discussions of the study, references to the participants are made using only their pseudonyms in accordance with the informed consent agreement.

**Participants**

This section describes the participants according to their socio-demographic characteristics based on their personal background information collected from both the survey questionnaire and the in-depth interview. The discussions primarily focus on their group category according to ethnicity and CoP; gender, age group, educational attainment, migration history, and professional background.

**Group category according to ethnicity and community of practice**

Table 1 shows the different group categories of IEP participants according to their ethnicity and CoP. Table 2 provides a more detailed description of the composition of each group category. It indicates which IEPs were included in each group category with specific information on gender, educational attainment and year of arrival in Canada.

The ethnic backgrounds of the 30 participants were composed of 24 Filipino IEPs (80%) and six from other cultures (20%), three Europeans, two other Asians, and one African-Somalian. The three Europeans were Alec (Macedonian), Vlad (Romanian), and Celia (Portuguese). The two
other Asians were Li (Chinese) and Singh (Indian). There was only one African-Somalian who I named Sindhu.

Based upon their integration into their CoP, 18 of the total cases (60%) composed of Filipinos who were already integrated and six were Non-CoP (20%). The six Filipino Non-CoP participants were named Maria, Ben, Mario, Mia, Emma, and Rene. Among the six IEPs from other cultures, four of them (13%) were integrated in their CoP (Li, Alec, Vlad, and Celia) while the remaining two (Singh and Sindhu) were Non-CoP and comprised the remaining 7% of the participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ ethnicity and community of practice (CoP)</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino CoP</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Non-CoP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cultures CoP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cultures Non-CoP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The social status in employment was also determined based upon present job designations indicating whether the work performed was essentially managerial or non-managerial. Managerial tasks performed by IEPs included important decision-making functions on personnel in manpower recruitment, selection, and hiring as well as planning, organizing and implementing the overall organizational goals and objectives. It was determined that three of the IEP participants (Carlo, Dr. Vera and Celia) had managerial level positions and additional interview questions were designed for them.
Table 2
Profile of IEPs by Group Category with Gender, Education and Year of Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group category</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino CoP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Vera</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Doctor of Dental Medicine</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Computer Science)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Computer Science)</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Nursing)</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MBA (Civil Engineering)</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nena</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MS (Nursing)</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pam</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Nursing)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Nursing)</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathy</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Master of Industrial Relations</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MBA (Accounting)</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MBA (Accounting)</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ron</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Accounting)</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlo</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MBA (Accounting)</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino Non-CoP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Civil Engineering)</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Elem Education)</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Management)</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Business)</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Education)</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rene</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Mechanical Engineering)</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group category</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Year of arrival</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Culture CoP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Civil Engineering)</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlad</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MBA (Electrical Engineering)</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bachelor (Business)</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MBA (Human Resources)</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Culture Non-CoP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhu</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Doctor of Medicine</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singh</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bachelor (Tool &amp; Die Engineering)</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender, age and educational attainment**

Of the 30 participants, 13 were male (43%) and 17 were female (57%). More than half of the participants—18 or 60%—were in the age category of 46 - 55 years old while 7 or 23% were in the age category of 36 – 45. The remaining 5 or 17% were in the 56 – 65 age category. Based on educational attainment, 15 or 50% had a bachelor’s degree, 13 or 43% had completed a master’s degree and the remaining two (7%) had advanced degrees in medicine and dentistry. Following the inclusion criteria of this study, all of the educational credentials of participants were completed at the university-level institution of their country of origin.

**Migration history**

Based on migration history, participants in this case study arrived in Canada over the period from 1988 to 2008. Figure 6 shows that there were 10 IEPs (33%) who arrived in the years between 1988 and 1994 (pre and post 1990 recession); seven IEPs (23%) arrived during the years 1995 to 2001 (1990 economic recovery period); and 13 IEPs (43%) arrived from years 2002 to 2008 (pre 2008 recessions). These three categorizations according to the year of arrival of IEPs provided the framework for the analysis in the succeeding chapters of this study. Comparing the number of participants according to their arrival in Canada during the 20-year
period from 1988 to 2008, Figure 6 shows that the largest group of immigrants had arrived during the years 2002 – 2008.

![Figure 6. Year of arrival in Canada by individual participant from 1988 to 2008 (n = 30)](image)

**Professional background**

The professional background of participants in this study can be presented according to six occupational categories including nursing and allied health professions, engineering, information technology (IT), accounting and banking, HR and administration, and teaching. Figures 7 shows that the greatest number of participants had professional background in teaching (23%) as well as accounting and banking (23%). There were seven participants who had teaching background in their home country including Grace, Mia, Martin, Maria, Ann, Anita, and Tina. The same number of participants had background in accounting and banking. These were Ben and Li, both bank financial analysts; Rose, auditor; Sarah, Ron and Mary, all certified public accountants; and Carlo, a bank executive. The next highest number of participants had an engineering background (20%) with six of them including Alec and Allan, both civil engineers; Rene, a mechanical engineer; Mario, production engineer; Vlad, an electrical engineer; and Singh, tool and die engineer. There were five participants who had background in nursing and allied health
professions (17%) such as Helen, Nena, and Pam, all registered nurses (RN); Dr. Vera, a doctor of dental medicine (DDM); and Sindhu, a medical doctor (MD) with specialization in oncology. Three participants had background in human resources (HR) and administration (10%) including Emma, Cathy and Celia. The smallest number of participants was in IT (7%) with only two of them, namely, Pedro and Joe.

![Figure 7. Professional background of participants in their home country by occupational category (n = 30)](image)

**The Study Context**

The present study is positioned in the context of the changing policies on immigration and employment and the shifting macro economic conditions that spans over the two decades from 1988 to 2008 and their present employment situations. Based on the literature that the time of arrival of immigrants is sensitive to the macro economic conditions determining the probability whether or not they would become successful in their employment (Chiswick, Cohen, & Zach, 1997), the IEP participants in my study were divided into three group categories according to their *year of arrival* or *entry-year* in Canada: 1988 – 1994 (n = 10), 1995 – 2001 (n = 7), and 2002 – 2008 (n = 13). Participants were distributed into each of the seven-year period that spans over two decades from 1988 to 2008. The three group categories of the IEPs’ year of arrival can
be defined or differentiated by important changes in the Canadian government and Ontario immigration policy, shifting macro economic trends encompassing the two major global recessions in 1990 and 2008, socio-demographic characteristics of the IEPs, their ethnicity, and integration to CoP. A more detailed discussion on the study context is presented in the next chapter.

**Summary**

In this chapter, participants were presented according to two types of group categories: socio-demographic characteristics and the study context, which refers to the time or year of their arrival in Canada. According to socio-demographic characteristics, the 30 IEP participants were presented according to their group category as determined by ethnicity and integration to CoP, gender, age group, educational attainment, migration history or year of arrival in Canada, and professional background. On the other hand, participants were divided into three group categories according to the study context or year of their arrival in Canada. According to their year of arrival, participants were distributed in each of the seven-year period: 1988 – 1994, 1995 – 2001, and 2002 – 2008. The discussions were divided into three main sections: sources of data, the socio-demographic factors of employment or the background information of participants that are relevant to the study, and the study context.

Table 3 presents the summary of the socio-demographic profile of the 30 IEP participants as presented in this section. In the next chapter, I present a more detailed discussions on the context of the present study within the milieu of the changing policies on immigration, education and employment and the shifting macro economic conditions over the previous decades that may have influenced in the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status of IEPs.
Table 3
Summary of the Socio-Demographic Profile of the Internationally Educated Professionals (N = 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-demographic factors</th>
<th>General profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>13 male, 17 female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age group</td>
<td>36 – 45 (n = 7), 45 – 55 (n = 18), 56 – 65 (n = 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>15 Bachelors, 13 Master’s, 1 MD, 1 DDM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions in home country</td>
<td>7 teaching, 7 accounting/banking, 6 engineering, 5 nursing/allied health, 3 HR/admin, 2 IT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>24 Filipinos, 3 Europeans, 1 Chinese, 1 Indian, 1 African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration to CoP</td>
<td>22 CoP, 8 Non-CoP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group category/Ethnicity by CoP</td>
<td>18 Filipino CoP, 6 Filipino Non-CoP, 4 Other Culture CoP, 2 Other Culture Non-CoP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6: The Changing Policy Landscape and Economic Trends

This chapter presents a more detailed discussion of the positioning of the present study in the context of the changing policy landscape and the shifting macroeconomic conditions that significantly impacted the labour market access and integration of skilled immigrants. Guided by the research questions of this study, the rationale for this chapter is primarily to explore and explain how the policies enacted by the Canadian government and the government of Ontario are influencing the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status of IEPs. To achieve this rationale, this chapter determines and explains the broader context of the study including some of the federal and provincial legislations and the fluctuations in the economic conditions that may be contributing factors in the employment trajectory of the study participants. The discussions are divided into two major sections: the changing policy landscape and the changing economic trends.

The first section traces the evolution of some of the groundbreaking policies on immigration and critically analyzes the changing policy landscape. This section covers the inception of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1971 and the Immigration Act of 1976 until the passing of the most recent Bill 161 in the Ontario Legislative Assembly known as the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014. Among the important highlights of this chapter include the creation of the new 2014 legislation as situated in the context of several policy combinations or policy ensemble, the conceptualization of policy problems or contextual issues, the textual issues presented in the policy document, and the common discourses that shape the formation of this new policy.

The contextual issues in which my analytical tasks attempt to delve into involve the historical origin, the considerations of any relevant factors, and their connections with the earlier policies that have already been made. On the other hand, the textual issues primarily concerned with the discourses that frame the policy text. My analysis seeks to illuminate the opaque nature of the policy problems as hidden in the textual messages, quotations or pronouncements among key players of this new legislation, the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014. With the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA), this section attempts to bring into open the contextual problems and issues for which this policy has been intended as a solution, and determine how these issues are conceptualized in the policy document. The discursive formation of policy has resulted in...
identifying what are complimentary policies required in education and employment to ensure the achievement of this new policy legislation’s goal. Moreover, my analysis determines how the policy texts as written in the document have been constructed linguistically and how are they related to policy ensemble including the Canadian Immigration Acts of 1976, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2002 and their succeeding amendments, language education policies, bridging education programs, the Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act of 2006, and most recently the Ontario Human Rights Commission’s (OHRC) policy on removing the Canadian experience barrier in the employment of immigrants.

The second section of this chapter presents the positioning of the present study in the context of changing economic trends using the employment and unemployment rate indicators based on Labour Force Survey (ESDC, 2015) data from 1976 to 2012. The information provided in this section has laid the groundwork for the succeeding analyses using the employment trends and the year of arrival of the IEP participants to determine how the changing economic conditions during the year when the IEPs arrived in Canada are influencing their labour market access, income level, and integration. The analysis results and discussions presented in this chapter have laid the groundwork for the analyses presented in the succeeding chapters of this study.

The Changing Policy Landscape

The Canadian policies on immigration have evolved over the years as a result of the changing social, political and economic climate as well as the formation of dominant discourses on race, diversity and integration. Since the Canadian Citizenship Act came into effect in 1947, the Canadian immigration policies underwent major changes, most notably the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy of 1971, the Immigration Act of 1976 and the current policies based on Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) 2002 that are still evolving.

Over the past decades, the immigration policy in Canada changed dramatically such that the origins of immigrants had shifted from Western Europe to Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. As early as during the 1960s to later part of 1970s, major policy changed ended the long standing tradition of allowing preference to British, French and American citizens and limiting the entry of immigrants particularly from Asian countries (Aydemir 2003). The change in the origins from which the immigrants are coming has been transforming the face of Canada into the resemblance of the four major source countries including China, India, the Philippines, and Pakistan (Alboim
The immigration policies that are transforming the demographic profile of Canada have brought new challenges to the socio-economic situation of the country. One such challenge is the negative labour market outcomes being experienced among immigrants most recently. The continuous arrival of non-traditional immigrants coming from, but not limited, to these Asian countries necessitate several other policy considerations to overcome the employment barriers that these new entrants have been experiencing. The changes in the mother tongue of immigrants from English and French to other foreign languages have important policy considerations focusing on language education and training, credential recognition, labour market integration, and social inclusion of immigrants.

**Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1971**

The adoption of *Canadian Multiculturalism Policy of 1971* and its subsequent amendment into *Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988* have paved the way for better recognition of immigrants regardless of their ethnic backgrounds or country of origins. As an official government policy, multiculturalism aimed to recognize the cultural diversity and freedom of individuals from different ethnic groups and their contributions to the Canadian society.

The amendment of this policy to become a law in 1988 provided a legislative framework to the existing policy of multiculturalism. This legislation had a powerful influence related to changing the landscape of recent immigration policies where skills and education became the main criteria for determining entrance to Canada and eliminating the more restrictive immigration policies in the past based on race, ethnicity and national origin of immigrants. The Canadian government has shown their commitment to the ideals of multiculturalism by helping immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds in their professional developments to overcome discriminatory barriers and promoting intercultural exchange through learning of Canada’s official languages in English or French.

**Immigration Act, 1976**

The *Immigration Act of 1976* marked a significant shift in Canadian immigration policy that ensures any person who seeks admission to Canada on either a permanent or temporary basis is subject to standards of admission that do not discriminate in a manner inconsistent with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Section 3). Although this act was in harmony with the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1952 and the various regulations subsequently passed, it
was a groundbreaking policy that clearly outlined the fundamental objectives of Canadian immigration policy, defined refugees as a distinct class of immigrants and required the government to plan for the future of immigration. Another distinguishing feature of this Act was the provision in Section 7 (National Legislative Bodies, 1976) stating the limited discretionary powers of the minister responsible for immigration by requiring him to consult with the provinces regarding demographic factors and levels of needs to determine the goals of Canadian immigration including family reunion, humanitarian concern for refugees, and targeted economic development. In consultation with the provinces, the minister was required to report to the parliament the number of immigrants it proposed to admit within a specific period of time including the number of special permits issued each year allowing individuals to enter or remain in Canada (CMIP, 2015). Under the Act, three categories of admissible immigrants to Canada were recognized: independent immigrants selected on the basis of the points system; a family class which included the immediate family members of Canadian citizens and permanent residents; and refugees based on the humanitarian obligation of Canada as defined by the 1951 United Nations Convention.

According to the Immigration Act of 1976, persecuted and displaced persons that did not qualify as refugees under the convention definition could be admitted on humanitarian grounds. This Act took effect in 1978 and had been amended several times including major revisions in 1985 and 1992 before being replaced in 2002 with the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (North American Immigration, 2011).

**Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2002**

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) 2002 is the most recent of the many immigration laws that Canada has passed since it was established following the ideals of a democratic country in 1867. The act was given Royal Assent in 2001 and passed into law on June 28, 2002 replacing the Immigration Act of 1976 as the primary legislation for immigration and refugee matters. The core objectives of the IRPA fall into two broad categories, namely, immigration objectives and refugee objectives (Petiol, 2015).

The objectives of IRPA related to immigration are to: promote social, economic, and cultural benefits of immigration in Canada; strengthen and enrich the Canadian socio-cultural fabric with respect to the nation’s federal, bilingual, and multicultural society; promote the nation’s minority
languages; support the prosperity of the Canadian economy through contributions and benefits brought about by immigrants; promote reunion of families in Canada; promote integration of permanent residents into the Canadian society; protect the health and safety of Canadian citizens; and to uphold and promote principles of international justice with respect to human rights by prohibiting access into the Canadian territory of any individual who is known to be involved in human rights violations and other criminal activities. In relation to refugees, the major objectives of IRPA are to: recognize refugee programs and their pursuit to provide protection to displaced or persecuted individuals; fulfill the nation’s legal obligation and commitment to assisting persons in genuine need of replacement; and to provide fair consideration to persons claiming to be displaced or facing persecution in accordance with Canada’s humanitarian ideals.

In summary, the objectives of the IRPA is to redefine the criteria by which immigrants would be admitted to Canada and to provide the government with specific tools, core principles and statutes for denying entry or deportation of individuals who posed potential threats to Canada’s public safety. The IRPA established three basic categories of immigrants including family class, economic class, and refugee class to correspond with its objectives of reuniting families, contributing to economic development, and protecting refugees (North American Immigration, 2011a).

**Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2008**

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2002 had been amended in an attempt to closely match the skills of newcomers with Canada’s labour shortages and shorten the time it takes for skilled workers to immigrate to Canada. The most recent of this amendment was in 2008 when the Citizenship and Immigration Canada made significant changes to streamline the steady flow of immigrants. Hundreds of thousands of people continue to apply for immigration to Canada every year and under the previous immigration law, all applications had to be processed in the order they were received. With this situation, the backlog would have been continued and that would have meant much longer processing times for applicants. As this problem had made it impossible for the government to quickly bring in the much needed skilled workers in areas where there were labour shortages, this impacted the economy and, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2008 was legislated and received the Royal Assent in June 18, 2008. The amendments were made to address the elements of previous legislative framework that
contributed to the growth of the backlog.

According to the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2008), the main objectives of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2008, in particular were to: eliminate the obligations of the government to process all properly submitted applications to a decision (Section 11); and, confer a clear authority for the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to establish priorities through ministerial instructions that limit the number of applications that would be processed (Section 87.3). To put it simply, there were far more people who applied for immigration than can be processed and admitted and integrated. As a result, a backlog was created and wait times increased. By removing the obligation to process all applications and requests that CIC received, combined with the ability to return applications unprocessed, the amendments was necessary to reduce the backlog by preventing it from growing further. The amendments would meant that the CIC had greater flexibility and discretion in processing certain categories of applications submitted on or after February 27, 2008 - the date when the recent amendment took effect. The CIC decides who among the applications particularly in the Federal Skilled Worker (FSW) category where the largest backlog and longest wait times existed, would be either prioritized for processing or be returned unprocessed through the issuance of ministerial instructions and the power vested to the CIC with the legislative amendments.

**Language Policy, 2012**

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC, 2012a) requires that new immigrants must demonstrated the ability to communicate in one or both of Canada’s two official languages as a key to finding employment in the country. To help ensure that prospective immigrants arrive in Canada have the language skills needed to succeed, the government immigration programs require that applicants prove their ability to communicate in English or French through a standardized language assessment according to the Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) framework. The CLB framework assesses non-native English speakers (NNES) according to four skill areas: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Each skill area is organized into 12 levels and grouped into three stages: beginner (Levels 1 – 4), intermediate (Levels 5 – 8), and advanced (Levels 9 – 12). The framework provides a description of language proficiency where the tasks and contexts become more demanding and performance expectations increase at higher benchmark levels. The main objective of the Canadian Language Benchmark is to provide a
standard or a measuring tool that can be used to describe communicative ability in English as a Second Language (CCLB, 2009).

In November 2012, the Government of Canada (2014) legislated a new language policy amending the Citizenship Regulations (Sections 3 and 14) requiring applicants for Canadian citizenship between the ages of 18 to 54 to show proof of proficiency in any of Canada’s official languages, English or French as determined by the Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB). The Citizenship Regulations outline the criteria for determining adequate knowledge of an official language as follows:

The level required is Canadian Language Benchmark/Niveau de compétence linguistique canadien (CLB/NCLC) 4 in speaking and listening. With a CLB-4 level in English or a NCLC-4 level in French, an individual can take part in short, everyday conversations; understand simple instructions, questions and directions; and use basic grammar, sentence structures and verb tenses (para. 2).

With this new language policy, citizenship applications must be supported with an acceptable language evidence that includes federal and provincial government language training certificates, CIC-approved third-party language test results, and evidence of completion of a secondary or post-secondary education in English or French, in Canada or abroad. There are various language education programs being offered as non-credit courses for adult English language learners in Ontario through public and Catholic school boards. These include English as a Second Language (ESL), French as a Second Language (FSL) and Citizenship and Language (CL) training for newcomers. The language training programs are aligned with the Canadian Language Benchmarks and available to adult immigrants whose first language is not English or French. The Ontario Government ensures that language training programs are meeting the criteria specified by the CIC for citizenship purposes.

As of 2013, a number of immigration programs on education, employment and citizenship require the immigrants with proof of language proficiency using the CLB standardized language criteria. Among these programs include the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP), Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), Canadian Experience Class (CEC), and various bridging education programs.
Bridging Education Programs

The bridging education programs are one of the many support programs being offered to assist the IEPs in accessing their employment in the regulated professions and trades. These programs are conducted by various organizations including the federal and provincial government, professional regulatory bodies, community agencies, employers and educational institutions. The Ontario Bridge Training programs help skilled newcomers to obtain certification in their professions or trades for the purpose of finding employment commensurate with their skills and experience in Ontario. The Government of Ontario provides funds to employers, colleges and universities, professional regulatory bodies, and community organizations to deliver bridge training programs, with support from the Government of Canada (MCIIT, 2014). This shows the dedication of the province in the implementation of their policies and programs for internationally trained individuals who seek employment in either regulated or non-regulated professions. The goals of the bridging education programs are consistent with the Ontario’s response towards finding solutions on the critical issues of employment among foreign-trained immigrants.

Ontario Immigration Act, 2014

In a news release dated February 19, 2014, the Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and International Trade (Government of Ontario, 2014) announced that the Ontario provincial government is taking steps to strengthen its role in immigrant selection. The government of Ontario sought to do this by introducing a new legislation, the Ontario Immigration Act, that would, if passed, help meet the province's future labour market needs and support economic growth.

According to the government’s immigration strategy as published in a policy document, A New Direction, Ontario’s Immigration Strategy (Government of Ontario, 2012), the proposed Ontario Immigration Act would, if passed, assist the province in working with the federal government to maximize the social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration the following three ways: helping meet future labour needs by legislating the province's ability to set immigration targets to attract more skilled immigrants; preventing fraud by improving compliance and enforcement measures in the immigrant selection process, such as introducing penalties for applicants who misrepresent personal information or for those that may take advantage of immigrants; and
enabling Ontario to work more closely with the federal government on recruitment, selection and admission of skilled immigrants to the province. The legislation was proposed in response to the increasing employment problems in Ontario characterized by the aging population, lower birth rates, retiring workforce, and the future scenario that tells about the chronic workers shortages to meet the demand of the Ontario’s growing economy, which is considered as the largest in Canada and the sixth largest in North America.

**The act in the context of policy ensemble.**

Building on the ideals of multiculturalism, there is an existing policy ensemble that aimed towards assisting immigrants to overcome employment barriers including language education and bridging programs which are designed to provide the newcomers with academic training, language training, work experience and other occupation-specific services to help them access the labour market and to find the job that matches their skills, education and experience (ORAC, 2008).

The legislation of the *Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act* (FARPA) of 2006 is another significant developments that breaks the systemic barriers in the employment of foreign-trained immigrants and help them to put their skills and experience to work in Ontario. The purpose of this legislation was to ensure that all qualified applicants may be registered to practice their professions, regardless of their places of training. The fair access law means that the professional regulatory bodies must consider all applications in a way that is transparent, objective, impartial, and fair.

In a more recent development, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2013) has created a policy that removes the *‘Canadian experience’* as a requirement for employment of immigrants stating that:

> a strict requirement for Canadian experience is a prima facie discrimination (discrimination on its face) and can only be used in very limited circumstance. The Ontario Human Rights Code states that it is public policy in Ontario to recognize the inherent dignity and worth of every person and to provide for equal rights and opportunities without discrimination (OHRC, 2013, p. 3).
This policy as specified in Section 5 of the OHRC further states that:

   every person in Ontario has a right to be free from discrimination in employment based on race, ancestry, colour, place of origin and ethnic origin. People should not experience barriers to employment based on characteristics that are associated with any of these grounds (p. 7).

However, the existing federal government program for individuals applying for permanent residency in Canada under the Canada Experience Class (CEC) category contradicts the provincial policy that removes the Canadian experience barrier for employment of immigrants. Under the existing federal immigration policy, a Temporary Foreign Worker (TFW) who earned a Canadian work experience in skilled occupation in Canada is qualified to apply for permanent residency under the Express System Selection System. With this new government program, TFW who became a permanent resident under the CEC category may have an employment advantage since the Canadian employer would prefer job applicants with Canadian experience than those without it. Although the Ontario government considers the Canadian experience requirement for employment as human rights violation, the current initiatives of federal government tend to institutionalize this form of discrimination.

**Conceptualization of policy problems and contextual issues.**

Whereas there are many policies and programs that assist immigrants in finding employment in their areas of work, the Ontario Immigration Act has been conceptualized in the context of increasing unfavourable employment situations of immigrants. The pronouncements of the Minister in the Ontario’s immigration strategy document suggest that the existing federal government policies on immigration pose contradictions with the present employment situations facing Ontario because it restricted the number of immigrants who are coming to the province. In this document the Ontario Minister of Citizenship and Immigration states:

   We also need to help immigrants who are already here. Some skilled immigrants have not been able to find work in their professions or that matches their education and training. We must do more to help them succeed by removing barriers to meaningful employment (p. 4).

This statement reveals the contextual issues surrounding the creation of the proposed legislation suggesting the need for the amendment of the existing immigration laws to help immigrants succeed more by removing the barriers to their meaningful employment. According to the new
direction in Ontario immigration strategy, immigrants make up 29% of Ontario’s labour force and there is a “need to change how immigrants are selected and ensure that those who come here succeed” (p. 6). Thus, the successful selection and integration of immigrants into Ontario’s economy is critical.

Given the overwhelming issues on underutilization of skills among foreign-trained immigrants which is “estimated to cost Canada between $3.4 to 5 billion per year in lost productivity” (p. 5), and the discrepancy in employment between the “Canadian-born in which 62% were working in the regulated profession for which they trained compared to only 24 per cent of foreign-educated immigrants” (p. 6), the Ontario Government recognizes the need for a new direction in immigration strategy thru legislation of the new *Ontario Immigration Act*. This act will support newcomers so that they can succeed and contribute to the economy and communities more quickly.

Undoubtedly, the proposed legislation has been created as a result of conflicting immigration policies between the federal and provincial government levels. According to the policy document,

> the federal policies are hurting Ontario because the federal government selects the vast majority of immigrants who can come to province, but it has significantly reduce the number it allows to settle here. This affects the ability of the province to fill skilled job positions [in key areas] (p. 3).

Although there is clarity in the conceptualization of the problem in which the policy is intended as a solution, the document has overlooked the bigger picture that may have caused the problems and issues facing many skilled workers or foreign-trained immigrants. How can the employment gap between the Canadian-born and foreign-trained immigrant be reduced when the Canadian employers and professional regulatory bodies favoured specific group or class of job applicants over the other? Furthermore, how can the OHRC remove the Canadian experience barrier when “the Canadian government is institutionalizing this as a criterion in the immigration selection process, awarding credit to potential immigrants who already have work experience in this country — an opportunity not available to all[?]” (Sakamoto, 2013, para. 8).
An interesting analogy between the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2008 reveals some parallels in the execution of these two legislations. Whereas the Ontario Immigration Act is a provincial legislation, it bears some resemblance to the federal amendment on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act legislated in 2008. Both legislations are similar in ways that provided more power on the part of the minister to act on immigration matters that are deemed necessary through ministerial instructions. The IRPA of 2008 removes the obligations of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to process all properly submitted applications. This means that by law, the CIC can return the applications and the corresponding fees submitted without processing them regardless of the number of years that the applicants have waited or the period of time when their applications were on file because of the backlogs. However, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration has the authority to set priorities on applications with certain skills and occupations to be addressed more quickly as determined by the labour market needs of Canada. Parallel to the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014, this policy, when passed into law, will provide more power to the provincial government to create its own temporary or permanent immigration programs in agreement with the Federal Government. Indeed, such legislation will allow the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and the Ontario Government the power to make subsequent changes to the Ontario’s immigration policies and regulations. The Act clearly reveals this use of power on the part of the Ontario Government as specified in the policy document stating that to achieve their policy goal,

Ontario needs to increase its role in selecting immigrants who meet its unique labour market needs . . . maximizing the potential of temporary foreign workers and international students, working with the Federal Government to expand Ontario’s role in economic immigrant selection . . . and request an increase to Ontario’s ability to select immigrants that meet [the] province’s needs, such as through the Provincial Nominee Program (p, 7).

Whereas the Ontario Immigration Act is aimed towards the direction of growing a globally-connected economy by increasing the employment rates of highly skilled immigrants in their fields, this policy has been criticized due to the fact that when it is passed into legislation, it provides no real rights, benefits or access to immigration status for low-waged migrant workers in Ontario. As it stands, the Ontario Immigration Act is designed to facilitate recruitment of high-waged migrants to Ontario in line with the new Federal Express Entry immigration system and develop provincial temporary immigration programs (Migrant Workers Alliance for Change, 2014, para 2).
Discursive formation of policy and textual considerations.

The policy text of the proposed Ontario Immigration Act as expressed in the Immigration Strategy’s document is framed by the human capital, knowledge economy and the neoliberal globalization discourses where competition if not discrimination has been implicitly stated. I would define the neoliberal globalization discourse as an ideology that promotes the conflicting capitalist agenda of the free market economy versus hegemony and deregulation versus competition in an increasingly global scale where the world is becoming more interconnected and interdependent. The neoliberal globalization discourse that is shaping the policy goals in immigration, education and employment today can be understood in three different ways according to Rizvi and Lingard (2010): first, as an observable reality resulting from profound shifts that are taking place around the world; second, as an ideology that masks various expressions of power, hegemony and range of political interests; and third as a social imaginary - a way of thinking or habitus that expresses how people perceived their identities, “how they relate to the rest of the world, and how it implicitly shapes their aspirations and expectations” (p. 24). The Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 has been created apparently in response to the pressures of this neoliberal globalization discourse that is gradually transforming today’s modern society.

The policy document also resonates the discourses of human capital and knowledge economy which have been emphasized repeatedly in the statement of policy objectives and targets such as “attracting a highly skilled workforce and building a stronger economy (p. 1)” and “increasing the employment rates of highly skilled immigrants in their fields (p. 11)”. The concept of ‘competition’ has been pointed out several times as in the following quote from the Minister of Trade, Economic Development and Employment:

Ontario needs immigration to remain competitive in today’s global economy. This proposed legislation would be an important mechanism for ensuring that Ontario has the necessary tools to compete globally for investment and exports . . . competing and winning in the global economy is a key element . . . (Government of Ontario, 2014, para. 6)

The neoliberal globalization discourse is made explicit with the statement of the policy contexts by the Ontario Minister of Citizenship and Immigration saying that “our province is the top destination in Canada for immigrants, but there is increasing global competition for the world’s best and brightest” (Government of Ontario, 2012, , para. 2). This is also well-emphasized in the
statement of policy objectives which are summarized in three key areas: “attracting a highly skilled workforce and building a stronger economy; helping newcomers and their families achieve success; and growing a globally-connected economy” (p. 1).

The learning of English as one of Canada’s official languages is a significant component of a global economy. Furthermore, the policy document recognized the fact that the professional language training for immigrants constitutes one of the major barriers to building a globally-connected economy and that proficiency in English or French is essential to living and working in Ontario. According to the policy document, “mastering language fluency and cross-cultural communication quickly is critical for immigrant success and building strong, two-way global connections in our economy” (p. 10).

To achieve these objectives, the Ontario Government (2012) outlines how to attract and retain more skilled workers and their families and how they can better support and welcome new immigrants to the vibrant communities all across the province. In this new legislation, the Ontario Government has outlined targets which include goals to: (a) raise the proportion of economic immigrants to 70 per cent from the current level of 52 per cent; (b) request a doubling of the Provincial Nominee Program limit to 2,000 in 2013 and increasing to 5,000 in 2014; (c) achieve employment rates and income levels for immigrants that are in line with those of other Ontarians; (d) provide more resources for employers to recruit and welcome immigrant employees; encourage employers to develop or expand mentorship, internship and on-the-job training programs; (e) increase employment rates of immigrants in fields that match their experience; and to (f) work toward a decrease in the unemployment rate of recent immigrants so that it is in line with that of other Ontarians; and increase the number of immigrants licensed in their professions.

For textual considerations, the last two items in the statement of policy objectives as mentioned in the preceding paragraph are contradicting with each other. The use of the term “experience” is unclear and may be interpreted as “Canadian experience” that is required to increase the employment rates of immigrants. Whereas the OHRC’s policy removes this requirement in the employment of immigrants to work in their fields, the Ontario Immigration Act is apparently favouring this requirement that can be manifested in the most recent federal immigration policy on Canada Experience Class (CEC) category for permanent residency. The skilled immigrants
who fall under this category will now have a better chance of employment in Canada’s labour market as employers would prefer job applicants with experience working in Canada through the CEC program than those who do not have it. Although this would make the employment arena in Ontario more competitive, the CEC program and the new Ontario Immigration Act are insensitive to the needs of other foreign-trained immigrants who have been in Canada for several years but had never been integrated in their fields for some reasons or because of their personal circumstances. How can the new Ontario Immigration Act reduce the employment gap or the widening income differences among Ontarians when the policy supports one group of immigrants from the CEC category without considering the possible employment outcomes or lesser opportunities available for those who do not fall under this category? The introduction of CEC category in the immigration policy is not only contradicting with the OHRC’s policy on removing the Canadian experience requirement barrier in the employment of immigrants, but this policy is paving the way towards a more divisive rather than an inclusive labour market scenario. With the critical perspective, the contradictions surrounding the recent immigration policies and regulations such as the CEC program and the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 are manifested in the neoliberal globalization discourse that masks the problematic nature of policy objectives under the common rhetoric of competition, economic efficiency or global competitiveness.

In the next section, I analyze and discuss the changing economic trends over the past three decades encompassing the three major global economic recessions that impacted on the employment and unemployment scenario in both national and provincial levels.

The Changing Economic Trends

The employment trajectory of the Internationally Educated Professionals can be defined simply in this study as the growth pattern or pathway that each individual participant has taken leading to their experiences of employment success or failure, integration to their community of practice, and socio-economic well-being. Moreover, shifts in professional status can be determined within the interstices of the changing policy landscape and the shifting macro economic conditions over a period of time. I examined the changing economic trends using the employment and unemployment rate indicators at the federal and provincial levels based on the Labour Force Survey (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2015) beginning the middle of 1970
with the passing of Immigration Act of 1976 until the year 2012 with the existing Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2008 amending the previous immigration laws. The employment and unemployment rates as indicators of economic trends over the changing policy landscape are shown in Figure 8 and Figure 9 covering the three world’s major economic recessions that have detrimental impact on the Canadian economy and the labour market.

The Labour Force Survey data in Figure 8 shows that there is a sharp decline in the employment rates of adult working population in both the national and provincial levels during each of the three major recessions in 1981, 1990 and 2008. Consequently, the unemployment rates had remarkably increased during these periods as shown in Figure 9. Although the economic performance at both federal and provincial levels have followed a similar growth patterns of ups and downs during the recessionary periods, the employment and unemployment rates of Ontario are slightly better off than the national average.

Analyzing the economic trends presented in Figure 8 and Figure 9 using the Labour Force Survey Data (ESDC, 2015), the declining employment rate (60.1%) during the 1981 recession has resulted in simultaneous rise in unemployment rate (7.6%) following a recovery period as indicated by a spurt of economic growth until the later part of the 1980s. Whereas the impact of the economic recession in 1990 was not as severe as in 1981, the employment rate indicates a notable slump in growth during the 1990 post-recessionary phase. The higher employment rate (63.5%) and lower unemployment rate (6.1%) in the 2008 recession suggest a milder impact to the economy compared with previous two recessions. Notwithstanding the relatively better labour market situation during the most recent economic slowdown, recessions have serious consequences to different sectors of the economy including the provinces and various economic sectors including employers and labour groups who are part of the labour market. My analysis results using the Labour Force Survey (ESDC, 2015) revealed how the shifting macro economic conditions impacted on the employment trends at both the federal and provincial levels specifically in Ontario, thus lending support to Aydemir’s 2003 empirical study. According to Aydemir, immigrants are the most vulnerable group often severely impacted by downturns and experiencing significant difficulty re-entering employment during economic recessions.
Figure 8. Annual employment rates, 1976 – 2012

Figure 9. Annual unemployment rates, 1976 – 2012
In the next chapter, I examine the individual factors that may be influencing the employment trajectory of the Internationally Educated Professionals including their income level category, year of arrival, and employment seeking experiences as situated in the context of changing policy landscape and economic trends.

**Summary**

This chapter positioned the context of the present study within the changing policy landscape and the shifting macroeconomic conditions that may be influencing the labour market access, integration, and employment trajectory of the Internationally Educated Professionals. The discussions are divided into two major sections: first, the changing policy landscape; and second, the changing economic trends. The first section traces the evolution of some of the groundbreaking policies on immigration and critically analyzes the changing policy landscape covering the inception of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1971 and the Immigration Act of 1976 until the passing of the most recent Bill 161 in the Ontario Legislative Assembly known as the *Ontario Immigration Act of 2014*. The important highlights of this chapter include the creation of this new legislation as situated in the context of policy ensemble, the conceptualization of policy problems or contextual issues, the textual issues presented in the policy document, and the common discourses that shape the formation of this new policy.
Chapter 7: Individual Factors

This chapter explores and examines the role of individual factors in the employment trajectories of IEPs focusing on level of income and their employment seeking experiences. As discussed in the previous section, the IEPs are divided according to their time of arrival or entry in Canada. The main objective is to determine how individual factors such as level of income and employment seeking experiences as situated in the context of the changing policy landscape and economic trends may have influenced in the employment trajectories of the IEPs. However, it is important to note that these may be unique to individual IEPs. The chapter is divided into two main sections, namely, the level of income and employment seeking experiences.

Based on the literature that suggests that the time of arrival of immigrants in the labour market is affected by the economic conditions, participants were divided into categories according to their time or year of arrival. The categories are the pre and post 1990 recession: 1988 – 1994, economic recovery: 1995 – 2001, and pre 2008 recession: 2002 – 2008.

The first section discusses the level of income of IEPs according to the above categories. The impact of macro economic conditions on the IEPs’ employment trajectory was determined by comparing their level of income during their first job at the time of arrival and level of income with their present job at the time of the survey. I defined time of the survey as the period of time when the IEPs participated in this study from August 2013 to March 2014. The impact of economic conditions on IEPs’ employment trajectory was determined in terms of three factors: effects of the group characteristics of IEPs at the time of their arrival; economic conditions at the time of arrival (level of income with the first job), and economic conditions at the time of the survey (level of income with the present job).

The second section describes the employment seeking experiences of IEPs which are largely determined by individual factors or characteristics. This is further sub-divided into four basic analytical components including the length of time in seeking employment for first job (as may be influenced by professions in home country), the integration to community of practice in Canada (which may be influenced by the length of years in IEPs’ professional practice in home country), and the length of time in seeking present employment (as may be influenced by IEPs’ previous employment experiences), and comparing the employment situation or status during first year in
Canada to the present. Each analytical component is presented according to the three groups of IEPs by their year of arrival.

Level of Income

I examined how the IEPs’ year of arrival during different economic trends impacted their employment trajectories by comparing their levels of income during their first job in Canada and their present job based on the time of the survey in the present study. My analytical approach draws parallel to the methodology used in the literature (Nakamura & Nakamura, 1992; McDonald & Worswick, 1997; Aydemir, 2003) where the effects of shifting macro economic conditions on employment and earning potential of immigrants were determined not only by the class composition of immigrants (cohort effects) and the time of their arrival, but also with the inclusion of the macro economic effects at the time of the survey year (from August 2013 to March 2014). Whereas many researches focus on exploring the effects of macro economic conditions on labour market success of immigrants at the time of their arrival by considering only their class composition, my present study also considers the economic situation at the time of the survey as an important factor in determining the effects of economic trends at the time of arrival. In my study, the effect of macro economic conditions on the IEPs’ employment trajectory was determined by comparing their level of income during their first job at the time of arrival and level of income with their present job at the time of the survey. In this procedure, it is possible to describe how changing immigration policies across different economic times have impacted on the employment trajectory and level of income among the IEPs. Drawing on findings from the literature, my present study examines the impact of economic conditions on IEPs’ employment trajectories in terms of three factors: effects of the group characteristics of IEPs at the time of their arrival, the economic conditions at the time of arrival (level of income with the first job), and the economic conditions at the time of the survey (level of income with the present job).

Considering the IEPs level of income with their present employment as reported during the time of the survey, this was compared with their level of income during their first job at the time of their arrival in Canada. In my study, the effect of macro economic conditions on the IEPs’ employment success was determined by comparing their level of income during their first job at the time of arrival and level of income with their present job at the time of the survey. In this
procedure, I also determined how the changing immigration policy across different economic trends over the span of two decades have impacted on the level of income and employment trajectories among the IEPs.

Figure 10 shows the comparisons in the income level (see Table 4 for reference) of participants during their first job in Canada and their present job. As shown in the vertical axis, there are eight levels of income grounded in the data. They were constructed during the onset of the data collection period where a group of participants were initially asked about their level of income during their first and present jobs in Canada as part of pilot-testing the survey questionnaire. The eight levels of income were determined according to the lowest and highest annual income for their first jobs and present jobs as provided by a group of participants during this trial period. The horizontal axis shows the year of arrival in Canada of each case or individual participant (n = 28) from the earliest 1988 and the latest 2008.

As shown in Figure 10, the participants are divided into three group categories according to their year of arrival: 1988 – 1994, 1995 – 2001, and 2002 – 2008. This is indicated by dotted lines that run from the bottom to the upper corner of the chart. The blue arrow running from left to right in the lower portion represents the timing of the individual participant year of arrival in Canada and the groundbreaking immigration policies that were in place during the year of their arrival from the Immigration Act of 1976 and its subsequent revisions to the creation of the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 as discussed in the previous section. Furthermore, the timeline depicts the changing policy landscape against the backdrop of the shifting macro economic conditions that defined the three group categories of IEPs. The three group categories of participants can be represented by the three panels according to their year of arrival: 1988 – 1994 is defined as the early arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession; 1995 – 2001 refers to the mid-range arrivals during the 1990 economic recovery period; and 2002 – 2008 which can be described as the recent arrivals during the pre 2008 recession. The fourth panel is defined as the 2008 recession, the economic recovery period, and the present situation as captured by the time of the survey in this study. The data collected at the time of the survey such as the income level of IEPs with their present job is compared with their income level during their first job in Canada and the group category according to their year of arrival to determine the impact of economic conditions on their employment success, integration and employment trajectories.
Figure 10. Year of arrival and level of income during first job and present job in the context of changing policy landscape and economic trends by individual participant.

Using the chart in Figure 10, an employment profile of each case or individual participant can be drawn according to his or her year of arrival. To illustrate, the first individual participant, Cathy, shown in the horizontal axis had arrived in 1988 had an annual income of Level 1, that is, $25,000 and below during his first job in Canada. As shown in the chart, this can be compared with her present level of income that corresponds to 6, that is, $66,000 – 76,000 per year. The change in Cathy’s employment profile as revealed in the chart can be explained by several factors such as an improvement in her employment situation at the time of the survey and more favourable economic conditions compared with the time of her arrival in 1988. Moreover, the increased in the levels of income of the IEPs overtime can be due to inflation or the rising cost of living from their first job during the year of their arrival to their present job.

Another example is the case of Sindhu, a medical doctor who arrived in Canada during the peak of economic recession in 1990 who only had an annual income of Level 1 and was mostly unemployed during that time. Comparing Sindhu’s level of income during his year of arrival with his present level of income under favourable economic condition at the time of the survey, he falls within the Level 4 income bracket from $46,000 – 55,000 per year. Although Sindhu’s present job is not related to his professional background, the improvement in his level of income can be explained by several factors including the economic situation that had a significant impact on the employment outcomes among the IEPs. Whereas the immigration literature explained that the employment success of immigrants can be accounted for by the differences in their class.
composition or group characteristics at the time of their arrival, my findings support Aydemir’s (2003) findings that the inclusion of the time of the survey is an important factor in determining the impact of economic conditions on the employment and earning potentials of immigrants. Without considering the role of economic conditions at the time the participants completed the survey, the differences on employment outcomes among immigrants who arrived during various economic conditions may be primarily interpreted as the result of the differences in their class composition during the year of their arrival, while in fact they are due to the shifting macroeconomic conditions. This provides a sound basis for analyzing the impact of economic conditions on the employment trajectories of the IEPs. Hence, I used the level of income with the present employment of IEPs at the time they participated in this study in comparison with their level of income during their first job according to their year of arrival.

The analytical approach used in this present study, however, can be distinguished from the existing literature (Aydemir, 2003; McDonald & Worswick, 1997) in terms of the epistemological stance employed in previous studies with their positivist orientation such that the impact of macro economic conditions were controlled with the differences in the class composition of immigrant cohorts and their year of arrival. Although it is nearly impossible to determine the cohort effects of immigrants on their employment outcomes with the limited number of cases in this qualitative study except with their level of income as an indicator of favourable or unfavourable economic conditions during their year of arrival, the rich narrative account of each individual participant or case according to their year of arrival can provide a meaningful basis for identifying the different employment barriers or difficulties that different groups of immigrants may be confronting. Furthermore, the narrative account of each individual participant may not be captured adequately in the positivist approach, but such detail was made possible in my present study. These details may be useful in determining what particular policy will work for a particular group of immigrants. Moreover, my analysis using the income level of participants and their employment seeking experiences according to their year of arrival and comparing them with their present situation determines how a particular immigration policy has impacted the employment and integration of IEPs under various economic conditions.

Table 4 presents the eight levels of income and the three group categories of IEPs according to their year of arrival. The levels of income as presented in this section were constructed based on participants’ self-report. As shown in Table 4, there are 10 IEPs (33%) who arrived during the
earliest period of 1988 – 1994, 7 IEPs (23%) who arrived during the period 1994 – 2001, and the highest number of IEPs with 11 of them who arrived during the most recent period of 2002 – 2008.

Table 4 shows further that there are eight IEPs with the lowest annual income Level 1 ranging from $25,000 and below during the period 1988 – 1994 and the period 2002 – 2008, respectively. There are three IEPs who fall under this level of income during the period of their arrival from 1995 – 2001. Nevertheless, none of the IEPs (n = 28) have the lowest annual level of income during the time they participated in this study with their present jobs.

Table 4
Income Level Category during First Job and Present Job by Year of Arrival, 1988 - 2008 (N = 28)

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<td>First</td>
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<td>1. $25,000 and below</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>2. 26,000 – 35,000</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3. 36,000 – 45,000</td>
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<td>4. 46,000 – 55,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. 56,000 – 65,000</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6. 66,000 – 75,000</td>
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<td>7. 76,000 – 85,000</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. 86,000 and above</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Participants</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
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In the following discussions, I describe the participants in each of the three group categories as represented by the three panels shown in Figure 10 with the fourth panel representing the 2008 recession, recovery and the present situation. In each of the three group categories, I analyze and discuss the differences in the levels of income between their first job and their present job and the important immigration policies in relation to the shifting macro economic conditions.

**Pre and post 1990 recession: 1988 – 1994**

Based on research evidence (McDonald & Worswick, 1998; Aydemir, 2003), recent immigrant cohorts were reported to have the declining economic performance beginning the early 1980s which persisted until the 1990s. Immigrants arriving during this time had a higher probability of experiencing unemployment during recessions relative to earlier immigrants cohorts as the latter have already been insulated from the effects of economic downturns. By examining the effects of two major recessions in 1981 and 1990, researchers have found that the employment outcomes and assimilation of new immigrants in the labor market is largely determined by the unfavourable economic conditions during the time of their arrival. Such unfavourable economic conditions may result in new immigrants facing a permanent disadvantage to assimilate in the labour market creating a longer-lasting impact in their employment trajectory. Considering this long-term impact of economic slowdowns among new immigrants which Aydemir (2003) has termed in the literature as the ‘scarring effect’ (p. 3), researchers are mostly concerned in finding what are the appropriate policy tools to address this problem.

During the period of 1988 – 1994, the IRPA 1976 with major revisions in 1985 and 1992 and the legislation of the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 was the prevailing legislation that responded to the increasing cultural diversity and the changing class composition of immigrants in Canada from non-European countries. With the economic recovery resulting from the effects of the 1981 recession and another round of economic downturn in 1990, several countries have reduced their absorptive capacity for immigrants. In the Canadian context, the government cut down on the number of immigrants it accepted before the early 1990s as an adaptive measure during the economic recession. According to Aydemir (2003), the screening process was adjusted to the desired level and composition of immigrants in relation to the absorptive capacity of the economy. This mechanism was observed in Canada during the 1980s when the applicants for independent immigrant class category were required to have a pre-arranged employment status.
prior to their immigration. Thus, a sharp decline in the composition of immigrants accepted under this category was observed during the 1981 and the pre and post 1990 recessions.

By looking at the economic trends depicted in Figure 11, the poor economic performance of the IEPs during the period 1988 – 1994 is evident. The greatest number of participants (27%) were observed under the Level 1 income, which is $25,000 and below as indicated by the flat blue areas of the curve from 1988 to 1991 with a very slight increase until 1993. Figure 11 shows the fine details of this trend being depicted in Figure 10 and identifies the 10 participants as Cathy, Ron, Vlad, Helen, Sindhu, Maria, Li, Anita, Dr. Vera, and Mary. With the exception of Cathy who found her first job as an administrative assistant and Dr. Vera as a dental assistant, the remaining eight IEPs had worked in precarious employment under the general labour category during their first jobs in Canada. The increase in the level of income among the IEPs can be explained by economic factors including the impact of inflation and the rising cost of living.

**Figure 11.** Level of income by individual participant and year of arrival, 1988 – 1994 (n = 10)

**Economic recovery: 1995 – 2001**

During the economic recovery from the 1990 recession followed by the economic growth beginning the early1990s, the Canadian government shifted from a more restrictive immigration
policy and accommodated an increasing number of immigrants. On average, more than 250,000 new immigrants were accepted per year with the Federal Skilled Workers (FSW) category accounting for 47% of the total annual immigration (CIC, 2012b). Figure 12 depicts this trend with the increasing levels of income category among the seven IEPs (23%) who arrived in Canada during this period. Nevertheless, four of the seven EIPs had a very slight increase in their annual income from Level 1 which is $25,000 and below to Level 2 which is $26,000 – 35,000. Figure 12 shows that these IEPs include Emma, Pedro, Pam, and Ben. Of these IEPs, only Pedro and Pam had their first jobs in somewhat related professions with Pedro working as an office clerk and Pam as clinic nurse. The other five IEPs had their first jobs in a general labour category.

![Bar chart showing income levels by individual participant and year of arrival](image)

*Figure 12. Level of income by individual participant and year of arrival, 1995 – 2001 (n = 7)*

**Pre 2008 recession: 2002 – 2008**

A major revision in the IRPA was legislated in 2002 replacing the IRPA of 1976 and its subsequent amendments in 1985 and 1992. The pre-2008 recession was characterized by a continuous economic growth with the higher number of permanent residents admitted in Canada representing a steady increased of 7% of the total population from 2002 to 2008. The most distinguishing trend during this period was the continuous increase in the number of immigrants
under the Economic Class (EC) category with an annual average increase of 62% from 2001 – 2008 (CIC, 2010). The economic class immigrants are people selected for their skills and ability to contribute to Canada’s economy including skilled workers, business immigrants, provincial and territorial nominees, and live-in caregivers or temporary foreign workers.

During this period of economic recovery, the IRPA 2002 redefined the criteria by which immigrants would be admitted and to provide the government with specific tools for denying entry or deportations of individuals who are found to be a serious threat to public safety. The IRPA established three basic categories for immigration including family class, economic class, and refugee class. These correspond with its objectives of reuniting families, contributing to economic development, and protecting refugees.

The highest number of participants (37%) in this study arrived during the most recent period of 2002 – 2008 with a total of 11 IEPs. Among them, only Nena, Singh and Carlo had the annual income which was higher than Level 1. Figure 13 indicates that Nena has the highest annual income under Level 8 which is $85,000 and above (see also Table 4) during her first job as a nurse that remained unchanged with her present job. The next higher earner is Singh with income Level 4 which is $46,000 – 55,000 during his first job as a tool and die worker in a manufacturing company. Carlo who had his first job as an accounting officer is just slightly higher with an annual income under Level 2 which is $26,000 – 35,000. It is noteworthy that despite of favourable economic condition during this period, there were a significant number of IEPs in my study who could not find employment in their intended or related professions during the year of their arrival. Clearly, Figure 13 shows this trend with the 8 IEPs receiving an annual income under Level 1 which is $25,000 and below with their first job. Most of them (27%) had worked in a precarious employment or job in general labour occupations if not in a de-professionalized status during their arrival in Canada.
Recession in 2008, the recovery and the present situation

Recently, the IRPA 2008 has been legislated, which amends the previous immigration law of 2002. The amendment means that Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has greater flexibility in processing certain categories of applications and to identify which immigrant categories will be prioritized for processing through ministerial instructions or the power vested in the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. The amendments address elements within the existing legislative framework that contributed to the growth of the backlogs of applicants applying for immigration, particularly those in the Economic Class category where there exists the largest number of applications. In particular, the IRPA was amended in 2008 in order to:

- eliminate the obligation to process all properly submitted applications to a decision (section 11);
- and, confer a clear authority for the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to establish priorities through ministerial instructions limiting the number of applications that would be processed (section 87.3). The ministerial instructions changed the way the economic immigrant cases were processed under IRPA of 2008. Additionally, the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) category was introduced to facilitate access to permanent residency for those who have Canadian work experience or have graduated and recently worked in Canada.
There are indeed various immigration policies which have been legislated during this period. These policies include the new language policy through the *Citizenship Regulation of 2012*, the FARPA of 2006, OHRC (2013) policy of removing the Canadian experience requirement as barrier to the employment of immigrants, and most recently the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 as discussed in the preceding chapter. This section addresses one of the three major questions in my study that seeks to determine how the Canadian Government and Ontario policies are influencing the employment trajectories of the Internationally Educated Professionals.

Based on the timeline shown in Figure 10, the fourth panel covers the period from 2008 - 2014 that encompasses the 2008 recession, recovery period and the present situation. Figure 13 shows that Martin is the only IEP who arrived during the 2008 recession. Similar with other IEPs, Martin was found to have an annual income under Level 1, which was $25,000 and below, with his first job as store merchandiser upon his arrival in Canada. Considering the most recent economic situation, the employment rate in Canada was 61.5% and unemployment rate of 6.6% as of December, 2014 (Statistics Canada. 2015). The situation in Ontario has been nearly similar during the same period with employment rate of 61% and unemployment rate of 7.0% (ESDC, 2014). It can be observed that the recent economic indicators in both Canada and Ontario are not much better than the 2008 recession as previously presented with slightly higher employment rate of 63.5% and lower unemployment rate of only 6.1%. The present trends seem to show that both Canada and Ontario have not yet completely recovered from the previous economic downturn based on recent labour market outcomes. This observation has been supported in the literature claiming that the unemployment rate in Canada abruptly increased in early 2009 and has remained at an elevated level since then. There is also a widening gap in the level of unemployment between immigrants and native-born Canadian during the recession (Kelly, Park & Lepper, 2011). Researchers further revealed that the earnings are much lower among immigrants who entered the labour market during the period of high unemployment (Chiswick & Miller, 1999) and this explains in part why most recent arrival immigrants including Martin have significantly lower income.

Although the income levels among IEPs in this present study are significantly lower during their first job upon their arrival in Canada, none of the participants had remained in this low income bracket with their present jobs during the time of the survey. Looking at the data presented in Figure 10, there is substantial amount of increase in the level of income among the IEPs from
their first jobs to their present jobs. The amount of increase in their levels of income can be attributed to several factors. Although the various levels of income as presented in Table 4 did not take into account the inflation factor, the increase in the IEPs levels of income can be due to the changing economic conditions and the increasing standard of living in Ontario. But the most significant factor that may explain this phenomenon can be traced from their changing occupations from their first jobs to their most current jobs. In Figure 10, the amount of increase in the levels of income among the IEPs with their present jobs is indicated by the red segment of the area curve which is significantly higher than their first jobs during their year of arrival as indicated by the blue segment.

**Comparing the level of income by year of arrival**

Comparing the level of income of the three groups of IEPs according to their year of arrival, the group who arrived during the *period of economic recovery, 1995 – 2001* appears to be the best portrait of an employment trajectory. Indeed, as depicted by area curves in Figure 10 and the bar chart in Figure 12 that resembles like a ‘bell-shaped curve’ or a ‘normal distribution’ of a perfectly sampled data. As shown, both Pedro and Pam had arrived in 2000 with a significant increases in their annual income from Level 2 ($25,000 – 36,000) with their first jobs to Level 8 with their present jobs which ($85,000 and above). Both of them have started in their related professions during their first jobs although in a much lower status. During the time of this survey, both IEPs have remained in their related occupations with an upgraded status with Pedro working as a real estate agent in addition to being an office clerk and Pam as a registered nurse. Among the seven IEPs who arrived during this period, only Rene and Emma were not integrated in their professions or community of practice (CoP). Despite of this, they have both expressed satisfactions with their present jobs as shown in the following interview excepts:

**Emma, former food and beverage supervisor:** I’m happy with my work in the warehouse . . . Aside from having a good pay, I feel happy when I have done my work at the end of the day. I like the feeling of going home at the end of my shift, and I did my job nicely and honestly.

**Rene, former mechanical engineer:** I was a mechanical engineer back home but I’m downgraded here by working as a caretaker. Somehow, I can relate to my present job here like operating the machines and do some troubleshooting functions.

In addition, they have both demonstrated a substantial increase in their annual levels of income from their first jobs with Rene under Level 1 which is $25,000 and below, and Emma under
Level 2 which is $26,000 – 35,000 to their present jobs with corresponding increases in their annual income to both Level 4 which is $46,000 – 55,000.

The group of IEPs who arrived the earliest during the period of 1988 – 1994 also appears to show a better portrait of employment trajectory as depicted in Figure 11. This can be explained in part by the presence of only one outlier in the given distribution of levels of income as represented in the case of Maria. It can be gleaned in Figure 11 that Maria’s annual income under Level 2 which is $26,000 – 35,000 remained static from her first job as a warehouse worker to her present job in the same occupational category. Parallel with the case of Sindhu, a medical doctor who was transformed into a general labourer, Maria who is a transmigrant Filipino high school teacher from the U.S. had also arrived in Canada during the peak of economic recession in 1990. Although Sindhu’s annual level of income had changed higher from his first job to his present job, he remained as a general labourer with his current job and had never integrated in his profession as a medical doctor. The sharp decline in both the blue and red segment of the area curve at the first panel in Figure 10 clearly depicts the scenario for both Sindhu and Maria. This offers an explanation for either low level of income or not getting chances to integrate in the intended profession with their first jobs upon arrival up to their present job at the time of this survey. The case of both Sindhu and Maria illustrates what the literature (Aydemir, 2003) has termed as the ‘scarring effect’ resulting from the immigrants’ arrival or entry in the labour market during economic downturn that has long-term impact on their employment trajectories.

Nevertheless, Maria’s satisfaction with her present employment is evident during the interview as revealed in the following excepts despite of her not being integrated in her CoP: “I would say that my workplace is a nice place to work at. Although it’s more physical. But as long I’m happy in what I’m doing. That’s all matters to me.”

With the exception of Maria’s case, the remaining IEPs who arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994 likewise portray a rosy picture of their employment trajectories with an annual income from Levels 3 to 8 which include the income ranges from $46,000 – 55,000 to $85,000 and above (see Table 4). Of the 10 IEPs who arrived during the *pre and post 1990 recession*, only Maria and Sindhu were not integrated in their professions with their present jobs.
The group of IEPs who arrived most recently during the period of pre-2008 recession, that is, 2002 – 2008 has likewise depicted a picture of employment trajectories showing a significant increase in their levels of income from their first jobs to their present jobs. Of the 11 IEPs, who arrived during this period, nine of them had shown a favourable increase in their annual income from their first jobs during the year of their arrival to their present jobs ranging from Level 3 which is $36,000 – 45,000 to Level 8 which is $85,000 and above. The most remarkable is the case of Nena, a Filipino transmigrant nurse from U.K. who immigrated to Canada in 2005. Nena had the highest annual income under Level 8 which is $85,000 and above during his first job as a nurse which remained unchanged with her present job in the same profession. Eight of the IEPs (27%) in this group category were integrated in their CoP including Grace, Ann, Allan, Rose, Nena, Sarah, Carlo, and Martin (see Figure 13). Despite of the high level of income among this group of recent arrivals, five of them have expressed dissatisfaction with their nature of employment including Ann, Martin, Mario, Singh and Mia. The last three mentioned IEPs are Non-CoP and have been struggling to be integrated in their respective professions. The following interview excerpts reveal the high level of dissatisfactions among the most recent arrivals of IEPs during the period of pre 2008 recession:

Mario, former production engineer: I want to give it a chance [getting certified as an engineer]. Although I’m financially getting better compared during the first year of my arrival in Canada, I’m still not satisfied with getting only $14.50 an hour.

Singh, former production manager, tool & die engineer: During the last part of my career in India, I already had a white-collar job in the same field. Here, I’m doing an entry level job for several years already.

Mia, former elementary school teacher: In the previous warehouse I worked in, line managers were white. They were somewhat arrogant and not very nice. They just talk to us when they want to give orders. They supervise us on the floor like a military. . . They always keep an eye on us to make sure that everybody works fast, fast, fast. A great number of workers who worked there are immigrants. They were hired on a day-to-day basis through an employment agency. In 2012, we were receiving a minimum wage of $10.50 an hour.

The Employment Seeking Experiences

This section focuses on the employment seeking experiences of IEPs as indicated by the length of time or duration in years which the IEPs have spent or experienced in search of employment in their intended professions. This is further sub-divided into four basic analytical components
including the length of time in seeking employment for first job (as may be influenced by professions in home country), the integration to community of practice in Canada (which may be influenced by the length of years in IEPs’ professional practice in home country), the length of time in seeking present employment (as may be influenced by IEPs’ previous employment experiences), and comparing the employment situation or status during first year in Canada and the present. Each analytical component is presented according to the three groups of IEPs by their year of arrival.

**First job by professions in home country and year of arrival**

In this section, the discussions on employment seeking experiences of IEPs mainly focuses on one particular component which is the duration or length of time involved in seeking employment as experienced by participants in various occupational categories by year of their arrival.

Figure 14 is intended to describe the employment seeking experiences of IEPs according to the length of time or duration they spent in job search for their first job in Canada and the year of their arrival. In this figure, the IEPs are categorized according to length of time they spent in seeking employment and the year of their arrival as may be influenced by their professions in their home country.

The purpose of this section is to describe the employment seeking experiences of IEPs based on the duration of time they spent, and thus, to explore the influence of their professional background in home country and their year of arrival that may explain the shorter duration of seeking employment for some groups of IEPs while longer period for others.

In Figure 14, the IEPs were compared across various categories of time or duration in years which they have spent in seeking their first job according to their year of arrival in Canada. As shown, there were five time categories involved in seeking first employment in Canada among IEPs including less than a year (< 1 Year), between 1 and 2 years (1 < 2 Years), between 3 and 4 years (3 < 4 Years), between 4 and 5 years (4 < 5 Years), and between 5 and 6 years (5 < 6 Years). No participants fell into the period of time between 2 and 3 years (2 < 3 Years).
The IEPs in various time categories are compared according to their year of arrival. Based on this, the number of IEPs in each of the various categories are compared to determine how professions in the home country and their time of arrival might explain the varying length of time involved in their employment seeking experiences during their first job in Canada. A quick glance at the stacked line chart shown in Figure 14 suggests that the frequencies of IEPs are not evenly distributed across various time categories. There is substantial information suggesting a higher number of IEPs who found their first jobs in less than one year (< 1 Year) compared with IEPs in any other time categories after their arrival in Canada. Results indicated that there were more IEPs in this case study with professional backgrounds in engineering, accounting and banking, teaching and nursing who had the shortest period of employment seeking experiences.

Summarizing the information presented in Figure 14, there were 25 IEPs in total who found their first jobs in less than one year. Of this number, 12 were recent arrival IEPs during the pre-recession period of 2002 – 2008, eight were earlier arrivals in 1988 – 1994, and five had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001. Despite the shorter length of time in seeking for their first employment, a great number of IEPs had their first jobs in the general labour category. It is noteworthy that only seven of the 25 IEPs who found their first jobs in less than a year had experienced working in their related professions with two of them were earlier...
arrival IEPs (Cathy and Dr. Vera), two arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession (Pam and Pedro), and three were recent arrival IEPs (Grace, Rose and Carlo). Despite this, many of the IEPs who worked in their related professions during their first jobs in Canada were initially hired in a much lower capacity and lower pay scale or de-professionalized status. The exception to this was the case of Nena, the Filipino transmigrant nurse from Singapore and U.K. who had her first job as an RN and got paid accordingly.

The relatively shorter period of time involved in employment seeking experiences of most IEPs with less than one year time category (< 1 Year) may be explained by the fact that employers in general labour occupations did not require the skills that IEPs brought from their home country. This observation was found among IEPs as in the case of Mario, an internationally educated engineer from the Philippines and a transmigrant contract worker from the Middle East, who said:

I was packaging food products in a factory where I first worked. Wala akong alam sa ganun klaseng trabaho pero madali lang ako natanggap sa agency (I didn’t have any idea how to do that kind of job but I got hired quite easily through an [employment] agency).

According to the year of arrival, Figure 14 shows that there are only five IEPs who had found their first jobs after one or more years of employment seeking experiences in their intended professions. According to year of arrival and professions and home country, two of these IEPs arrived during pre and post 1990 recession, namely, Mary, an accountant and Sindhu, a former medical doctor; two had arrived during economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 including Tina, an elementary school teacher and Joe, a systems analyst; and one of them arrived during pre 2008 recession, namely, Mia, a former elementary school teacher. These five IEPs offered their own explanations which are more varied and complex. When these are considered, it makes more difficult to generalize the reasons why their employment searches took a much longer period than the remaining IEPs. Hence, a closer look at each individual case provides a better strategy to explore and understand what specific individual and contextual factors may have influenced the length of time involved in their employment seeking experiences. In a brief overview, I provide some of the reasons why this particular group of IEPs had a much longer period of seeking employment in their intended professions compared with other IEPs.

Mary found her first job in a related profession after 4 years (4 < 5 Years) as an accounting clerk in a small business firm in Mississauga. She intentionally delayed seeking employment in her
intended profession upon arrival in Canada. As she was pregnant, she chose to prioritize family responsibilities as a mother of three children over seeking employment.

Sindhu was a Non-CoP from another culture who had the longest time or duration of employment seeking experiences that ended only when he found his first job in a warehouse company after 5 years (5 < 6 Years) of his arrival in Canada. A medical doctor with an ethnic background as an African-Somalian, Sindhu practiced his profession in China as his home country before immigrating to Canada in 1992. When asked what took him so long to seek and find employment in Canada since his arrival, he replied:

Ah . . . the biggest problem was many employers did not recognize my credentials. It’s very hard. When I came here, how come employers were asking for my Canadian experience when I was very new in this country? . . . wherever I go, they asked for Canadian experience. So I went back and forth to China.

The statement above reveals a striking reality on what constitutes as a major barrier among IEPs in finding employment in their community of practice. In the case of Sindhu, he found his first job in Canada as a general labourer in a warehouse after five years of unsuccessful employment seeking experiences in his intended profession. Being dismayed with these unpleasant experiences as an immigrant, he mentioned going back and forth to China where he continued practicing his medical career during the last five years.

Tina is an elementary school teacher who found her first job after one year (1 < 2 Years) of her arrival in Canada as an education assistant. Additionally, she had part-time work in a factory on weekends through an employment agency to make both ends meet for her family with three children. She rationalized what took her so long to seek employment as a classroom teacher by saying:

I was required to pursue further studies by taking B.Ed here. I need to work more. I have no money to pay for my tuition. They said my education credentials and experience were not enough since I only had one year of teaching experience back home . . . I earned a teaching certificate from the Philippines though.

Joe had his first job as a cellular phone technician after several unsuccessful attempts in seeking employment in his intended profession after one year (1< 2 Years). With this kind of job, Joe was doing menial tasks and he considered himself as a general labourer.

Among these five, Mia was the most recent arrival IEP and a former elementary school teacher but presented a different scenario. She had her first job as a nanny or caregiver and then
subsequently worked as a food service attendant after three years (3 < 4 Years) since her arrival in Canada. Although she was assured of employment as a nanny during her first 2 years of stay in Canada, it was only after her employment contract as a nanny expired that she tried seeking employment in other types of work in Canada’s labour market.

**Length of professional practice in home country and integration to community of practice in Canada by year of arrival**

In this section, I explore and examine how the length of professional practice in the home country and the time of arrival have influenced the integration to the community of practice of IEPs in Canada. Figure 15 depicts the number of IEPs who were integrated in their CoP as given in the vertical axis and the length of professional practice in their home country as given in the horizontal axis. Given the total number of IEPs in each of the three group categories by year of arrival such as 1988 – 1994 (n = 10), 1995 – 2001 (n = 7), and 2002 – 2008 (n = 13), Figure 15 shows the total number of IEPs who were integrated in their CoP with 14 of them (46%) as distributed according to the length of professional practice in their home country or simply referred to as time categories such as fewer than 5 years (< 5 Years), 5 to 10 years (5 – 10 Years), and more than 10 years (> 10 Years). To explore how the length of professional practice of IEPs in their home country and the time of arrival may have influenced their integration to the community of practice in Canada, the 14 IEPs who were integrated in their CoP were distributed in the three time categories of professional practice and compared with the three group categories according to their year of arrival. Figure 15 shows that there is a total of seven IEPs who have more than 10 years of professional practice in their home country and had been integrated. A higher number of them were recent arrival IEPs during the pre recession of 2008 with five of them (17%) including Allan, a Civil Engineer, Rose, a CGA, and three Ontario Certified Teachers (OCT), namely, Martin, Ann and Grace; and two were earlier arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession, namely, Vlad and Anita, both OCTs.
As shown in Figure 15, there are only two IEPs who have professional practice in their home country in time category between 5 – 10 years. Of this two, one had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001, namely, Pam, an RN; and the other one who was recent arrival IEP during the pre 2008 recession, namely, Alec, a civil engineer.

The stacked line chart in Figure 15 further shows that there is a total of five IEPs who have professional practice in their home country of less than five years (< 5 Years). Of these five, three were early arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 including Dr. Vera, DDM, Helen, RN, and Mary, a CGA; one had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 who was Tina, an OCT; and the other one was a recent arrival IEP during the pre 2008 recession, namely, Nena who was an RN.

The information presented in Figure 15 as a whole suggests that there is only a marginal difference in the length of professional practice in the home country among IEPs in various time categories. A closer examination of the frequency distributions of IEPs across the three time categories of the length of professional practice indicated that IEPs were able to integrate into their community of practice regardless of whether they had fewer than five years (< 5 Years) or
more than 10 years (> 10 Years) of professional practice in their home country. The information suggests that the five IEPs who had fewer than five years of professional practice were analogous to that of the seven IEPs who had more than 10 years of professional practice in the sense that both groups regardless of their differences in the length or number of years of professional practice in their home country, were both able to integrate into their community of practice in Canada.

Figure 15 shows that there was a lack of observed cases on IEPs who had fewer than five years and 5 – 10 years of professional practice during the years of arrival 1995 – 2001 and 2002 – 2008, respectively. This lack of observation on this particular time category may lend support on the general information presented in the stacked line chart that the length of professional practice in home country may not be an important factor influencing on IEPs’ integration to their community of practice in Canada. Although it may be assumed that longer years of professional practice can explain the better integration of IEPs in their CoP, the information presented in Figure 15 may reveal otherwise such that a number of Filipino IEPs in this study (27%) were not able to integrate in their CoP despite the fact that they had extensive years of professional practice in their home country. Indeed, three of the eight Non-CoPs had five to 10 years of professional practice in their home country including Sindhu, a former medical doctor, Rene, a former mechanical engineer, and Mia, a former elementary school teacher. On the other hand, five of them had more 10 years of professional practice but ended up as general labourers in Canada including Emma, Ben, Mario, Maria, and Singh.

Although the length of professional practice in home country is not important factor in the integration of the IEPs in their CoP, the slightly higher number of IEPs who had more than 10 years of professional practice and had been integrated in their CoPs can be explained by their time of arrival during the pre 2008 recession and the various immigration policies and programs designed to provide support services to newcomers as they navigated the credential recognition process. The legislation of the Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act (FARPA) of 2006 and the creation of the Canadian government’s new Foreign Credential Recognition Office (FCRO) in 2007, among other government-initiated programs may explain for a higher number of IEPs who were integrated in their CoP during this period particularly among teachers and nurses.
Length of time in seeking current job by year of arrival

Figure 16 illustrates how the IEP participants were distributed according to the length of time they spent seeking their present employment and their year of arrival. In Figure 16, the IEPs were categorized by their time of arrival in relation to various time categories representing the years they spent seeking their present employment. As shown, a higher number of IEPs with 10 of them (33%) had only less than one year of seeking employment for their present job. Among them, six were recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 including Nena, an RN, Rose, a CGA, Sarah, an accountant, Celia, an HR manager, and two general labourers, namely, Mario and Singh who were both former engineers. Three of them had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 which included Pam, an RN, and two IEPs who are presently working in unregulated but related professions including Joe, a systems analyst and Pedro, a part-time real estate agent and a full-time office clerk.

Figure 16. Length of time in seeking for current job by year of arrival
Among the earlier arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994, only Mary, a CGA found her present job as a senior accountant in less than one year. Other than this, it can be observed that for the remaining 20 IEPs, the differences in the length of time for seeking their current employment are not very meaningful as they are more or less homogeneous or evenly distributed in each of the succeeding year categories. Considering these 20 IEPs, results suggest that the differences in the year of arrival did not make the employment seeking experiences much shorter for one group while more prolonged for others. Figure 16 clearly shows this trend indicating that there are only about one or two increments of increases in the number of IEPs in each of the various year categories or length of time in seeking employment for their current job according to the given period of their arrival.

**Employment situation of IEPs during first year in Canada and the present**

The purpose of the present discussion is to describe the employment situations of IEP participants that mainly focused on their employment status. As presented in Figures 16, 17 and 18, there were six categories to describe employment status including unemployed, mostly unemployed, occasionally employed, employed part-time, employed full-time and employed in more than one job. Although my discussions of the employment situation in this section were merely confined to the IEPs employment status as defined by the six categories, the information presented in this section was collected from the questionnaire used to complement the more important aspects of employment situations that emerged during in-depth interviews. These are discussed more thoroughly in later parts of this study.

To provide an idea of the present employment situation of the IEPs, I examined how their employment status has changed from the time of their arrival to their present employment situation. Each group of IEPs was analyzed separately according to the time of their arrival by comparing their employment situation or status during the year of their arrival and the present. Figure 17 depicts the employment situation of IEPs who arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession showing how the participants in this group category are distributed according to their employment situations during their first year of stay in Canada and their present situations based on six levels of employment.
Of the 10 IEPs who arrived during this period, Figure 17 indicates that during their first year of stay in Canada, at least one of them was categorized as not employed (Mary), mostly unemployed (Sindhu), and employed part-time (Helen); two were occasionally unemployed (Vlad and Anita), three were employed full-time (Dr. Vera, Ron, and Maria); and two were employed in more than one jobs (Cathy and Li). Of the 10 IEPs in this group category, only two were employed in related professions with Dr. Vera who worked as a full-time dental assistant and Cathy who were employed as administrative assistant and office staff in two different companies. With the exception of Mary who was not employed during her first year of stay in Canada, the remaining seven early arrival IEPs had worked in precarious jobs.

![Bar chart showing employment status]

Figure 17. Employment situation of IEPs during their first year in Canada and the present by year of arrival, 1988 – 1994 (n = 10)

Based on their present employment situation, a higher number of IEPs from this group is employed full-time with six of them including Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Cathy, Li, and Sindhu. The IEPs in this employment category except Sindhu are integrated in their intended professions. Two are employed in more than one jobs such as Ron and Maria, whereas, another two IEPs in this group category are occasionally unemployed, namely, Vlad and Anita whose employment status remained unchanged at present by working as both occasional teachers.
As for the group who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001, Figure 18 shows that three of the seven IEPs were mostly unemployed during their first year of stay in Canada (Pedro, Joe, and Tina); one is employed part-time (Ben); and three were employed full-time (Pam, Emma and Rene). Of the seven IEPs in this group, only two had worked in related profession but de-professionalized status, namely, Pedro as an office clerk and Pam as clinic nurse.

Comparing the IEPs employment situation during their first year in Canada to the present, four of the IEPs are employed full-time (Pam, Emma, and Joe) and the remaining three are categorized each one as occasionally employed (Tina), employed part-time (Ben), and employed in more than one job (Pedro). Among them, four are presently integrated whereas three are employed in general labour occupation. Moreover, it is noticeable how Ben’s employment situation remains unchanged up to now where he is working as a part-time employee in a warehouse environment.

*Figure 18.* Employment situation of IEPs during their first year in Canada and the present by year of arrival, 1995 – 2001 (n = 7)
A quick glance at Figure 19 shows that a higher number of recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 had their employment situation as employed full-time and employed part-time during their first year of stay in Canada. Of the 13 IEPs in this group, four were employed full-time including Ann, Carlo, Singh and Grace; four were employed part-time such as Allan, Nena, Sarah, and Mia; two were employed in more than one jobs like Mario and Celia; one was occasionally unemployed, namely Rose; and two were mostly unemployed including Martin and Alec. During their first year of stay in Canada, five of these IEPs were employed in their related professions while the remaining eight had worked in precarious employment. Comparing the IEPs’ employment situation during their first year of stay in Canada to their present employment, Figure 19 shows that there is a greater number of IEPs at present who has been employed as full-time (Allan, Rose, Sarah, Carlo and Celia) and employed in more than one jobs (Nena, Mario, Alec, Singh and Grace). Two of the IEPs in this group category are occasionally employed (Martin and Ann) and one is mostly employed (Mia). Of the 13 IEPs, seven are presently integrated (Allan, Rose, Nena, Alec, Grace, Martin and Ann); three are working unregulated but related professions (Sarah, Carlo, and Celia); and three are engaged in a general labour occupation (Mario, Singh, and Mia).

*Figure 19.* Employment situation of IEPs during their first year in Canada and the present by year of arrival, 2002 - 2008 (n = 13)
Comparing the First Year in Canada and Present Employment Situation by Year of Arrival

The employment situation of IEPs as previously presented reflects a better picture of the overall employment situation of the 30 participants in this study. Comparing the employment situation of the three groups of IEPs during their first year in Canada with their present employment status according to the time of their arrival, the earlier arrivals during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 somewhat portrays a better employment scenario. This can be explained with the fact that there is a larger number of participants in this group (8) who are able to integrate in proportion with the total number of participants (n = 10) who arrived during this period (80%). Of the 10 participants who arrived during this period, only two IEPs, namely, Sindhu, a former medical doctor, and Maria, a former teacher are not presently integrated by working in a general labour occupation. Five of them are integrated including Dr. Vera (DDM), Helen (RN), Mary (CGA), and two OCTs, Anita and Vlad. The remaining three IEPs are working in unregulated but related professions such as Ron, a revenue officer; Li, a bank account manager; and Cathy, an HR officer. There is a high level of satisfaction among the early arrival IEPs including Maria despite of her employment in unrelated occupation.

The recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 also depicts a good illustration of present employment scenario with 10 or 77% of the total (n = 13) who arrived during this period are integrated just slightly lower compared with the percentage of the early arrival IEPs. The most distinguishing characteristic among the recent arrival IEPs is the significantly large number of cases at present who are employed in more than one job (17%) which is the same number as those who are employed full-time (17%). Moreover, the absence of IEPs who are employed part-time in their present employment and the increase in the number of IEPs who are employed full-time can be a significant gain among members in this group. However, there is a higher level of dissatisfaction expressed among the recent arrival IEPs as in the cases of Mario, Mia and Singh, who are still struggling to integrate in their intended profession up to the present.

The most important criteria in determining the improvement in the employment situation of the IEPs is probably the extent in which they change jobs from predominantly precarious
employment during their first year in Canada to integration in their CoP. These criteria can be observed among both the early arrival IEPs where 27% have been presently integrated and the recent arrival IEPs that constituted 30% of the total study participants who are integrated with their present employment. The differences can be explained with the slightly higher number of participants among the recent arrivals during the pre 2008 recession. Of the 10 IEPs in this group who are integrated, five of them had been employed already in their intended or related profession as early as during their first year of stay in Canada, although in some cases, were in a much lower status. Nevertheless, the professional status of all of these five IEPs with the addition of Alec and Allan, both civil engineers has been upgraded with their present employment situations. The two engineers somewhat portrays a contrasting employment trajectories. As for Alec, it took him 8 years to be integrated in his current profession (see the outlier case in Figure 26) as a construction inspector in a city engineer’s office of a large municipality in the GTA. Whereas Allan had also experienced working precariously during his first year of stay in Canada, he stayed in this type of job for only six months and then integrated in his CoP quite easily afterwards. Comparing the employment situation during the first year of stay in Canada with the present, the most interesting observation that can be drawn among the IEPs in this group category is the higher probability that they will be integrated in their CoP based on the nature and type of their employment during their first year in Canada. This observation has been found not only with the recent arrival IEPs but also with the early arrival IEPs as in the cases of Dr. Vera and Cathy who both employed in their related profession during their first year in Canada and has been upgraded to their present employment status. The cases of Pam and Pedro who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 also support this claim. Both IEPs have started working in their related profession during their first year and had been upgraded and integrated in the same professions in their present employment.

Overall, there is a positive employment situation among the IEPs in the three group categories which is more evident among the early arrival IEPs. Although the present employment indicators are somewhat identical with the latest recession and the succeeding recovery periods, the existence of various immigration policies and programs most recently as highlighted in the preceding discussions may have offset the impact of economic slowdown resulting in better integration of the IEPs. Despite of the role of the Canadian government and Ontario policies in the integration of skilled immigrants, the individual factors which include the IEPs varying
levels of income and their employment seeking experiences which are quite unique to each individual participant may have, for the most part, influenced their employment trajectories. In the next chapter, I explore and examined the sociolinguistic factors that may shed more understanding on how the IEPs were integrated in their various areas of employment.

Summary

This chapter explored and examined the role of individual factors in the employment of IEPs focusing on level of income and the employment seeking experiences that may be unique to individual IEPs. Based on the literature that the time of arrival of immigrants in the labour market is affected by the economic conditions and that the high level of unemployment when they entered into the labour market will result in their unfavourable employment outcomes, participants were divided into group category according to their time or year of arrival: pre and post 1990 recession (1988 – 1994), economic recovery (1995 – 2001) and pre 2008 recession (2002 – 2008). Participants were distributed into each of the seven-year period according to the time of their arrival: 1988 – 1994 (n = 10), 1995 – 2001 (n = 7), and 2002 – 2008 (n = 13). The effect of macro economic conditions on the IEPs’ employment trajectory was determined by comparing their level of income during their first job at the time of arrival and level of income with their present job at the time of the survey.
Chapter 8: Sociolinguistic Factors

This chapter presents the sociolinguistic factors including the role of language, language ability and use, the interaction of employment on length of stay and language ability and use, and the interrelationships of language, employment and income among the IEPs. The discussions are divided into four major sections. The first section explores and examines how language plays an important role in the immigration policy, the role of language in cultural diversity and multiculturalism in the workplace, language in the integration of immigrants, language in education, language in employment seeking, and language in employment. The second section focuses on language ability and used which are further sub-divided into two analytical components. The first component analyzes how language ability is determined by the length of stay in Canada, whereas, the second component, examines the power of language to differentiate the IEPs according to their language ability and use as observed in the areas of education and employment. In this analytical component, I presented two vignettes entitled, ‘The White Lady and Miss D.’ and ‘Lost in translation: The language at work’. My objective is to explore how language ability and use becomes a powerful tool for the integration of IEPs and a sound basis for socialization among the IEPs in the specific context of their work environment. The third section explores how the length of stay influences language ability and use among the IEPs and determines how employment of IEPs in their CoP interacts with the relationship between the length of stay and language ability and use. In the last section, I examine how language ability and use influences the employment of IEPs in their CoP and their level of income.

Role of Language

The literature review that laid the groundwork for conceptual framework of this study posited the importance of second language proficiency in labour market access and social integration of the IEPs. In this section, I present the following narratives, interview extracts, and vignettes to illustrate how language played an important role in the immigration, education, employment and integration of the IEPs.

Language as an immigration policy

The role of language in the immigration of IEPs has been observed in the case of Emma, a Filipino Non-CoP who arrived in Canada in 1999. She recalls her experience as follows:
We were very much disappointed when we first denied of our application because my husband, who was the principal applicant, was assessed with low score on English speaking ability.

According to Emma, her husband who was the principal applicant was assessed and received a low score in the English language proficiency test, which resulted in their failed immigration application in 1998. Although Emma was an IEP with a bachelor’s degree in Hotel & Restaurant Management, her profession has a low demand in Canada and had a very low rating based on Canada’s National Occupational Classification (NOC) list. They decided that her husband should be the principal applicant considering the nature of his work in the Philippines as a sound technician in the film and music industry which has a high demand in Canada and is given a high rating in the assessment of their immigration application based on the NOC. They decided that her husband be the principal applicant under the economic class category where immigration application was assessed based on point system. Based on the IRPA of 1976 and the subsequent amendments of 1985 and 1992, applicants from the economic class or skilled workers category were assessed using a nine-factor points system that assigned numerical values to education (16 points), vocational preparation (18 points), occupation demand (10 points), experience (8 points), arranged employment (10 points), demography (10 points), age (10 points), language (15 points), and personal suitability (10 points). In 1998, a minimum of 70 points was required to qualify. In Emma’s case, her husband being the principal applicant was given a low score on language as determined by the immigration interview. They received the results of their immigration application stating their failed immigration interview and specifying language as one of the major factors for their failure to meet the requirements for immigration. However, Emma made an appeal for their case and sought the help of her sister in Canada. Her sister requested a letter from a Canadian Member’s of Parliament (MP) to make such an appeal for the re-assessment of Emma’s immigration application, and the Canadian immigration officials in Manila considered their appeal and their applications re-assessed and they were finally granted an approval of their applications. The case of Emma illustrated the role of language in the immigration of IEPs and how the changing policy landscape had impacted on their arrival in Canada.

With the most recent immigration policies, language has continuously become an important factor, not only in the process of immigration, but most importantly in the integration of IEPs in the society upon their arrival in Canada. This has been observed among the IEPs as in the case of
Li, an IEP from other cultures CoP who initially could not find employment in her field as a former bank financial analyst because of her distinctive Chinese accent.

In Canada, you don’t start right away in a higher position. . . . I first worked as a waitress in a fast food restaurant and as a part-time cashier in a grocery store. I didn’t like my first job here so I went back to Hong Kong. After a year, I returned to Canada but didn’t work again as a waitress or cashier but got hired as a bank teller with the help of some friends.

According to Li, she was oftentimes discouraged from applying in her field because of her different language background. Due to this, she ended her up working in precarious jobs upon her arrival in Canada in 1991. She went back to Hong Kong disappointed but returned back to Canada after one year. During this time, she used her network of friends to help her find employment in her related profession and fortunately landed in a bank teller position that required someone who was fluent in Mandarin to serve the bank’s growing Chinese customers. Li’s excellent customer service skills and her ability to speak in Mandarin earned her promotion to a customer service representative position after few years. She then transferred to another reputable bank that also required someone with the ability to speak in her native dialect where she now works as an account manager. In the case of Li, the diversity of Canada’s labour market and the practices among firms and businesses to recognize multiculturalism in employment had turned into Li’s favour to help her to find a suitable job.

**Language in diversity and multiculturalism**

The practice of multiculturalism has been observed in some Canadian companies as in Rose’s workplace where communication interchange among individuals is taking place without challenging their identities despite of language differences and ethnicities. Rose commented on how cultural diversity is recognized in their workplace stating that:

> Language plays a very important role. In my workplace, it does not matter whether you have an accent but the most important thing is you can express your message very clearly and you know how to organize your thought. There’s a lot of Chinese and Indians in my office, they speak various types of accents but they are there. If you’re fluent, yes, it helps a lot. But I observed that it does not matter if you have an accent. What is important is they understand what you’re saying.

The observations that Rose recounted from her workplace can be compared with Allan’s experiences with his present employment as a Municipal Engineer. Allan emphasized more importance of the workplace-specific communication that requires ability to express oneself in a
common language that is specific to their nature and type of work. Considering the technical nature of his job as an engineer, what is most important is one’s knowledge of the professional language regardless of one’s accent, cultural or ethnic background. Allan expresses his views on the role of language in his current job such as follows:

The power to speak is the power to communicate. I work in a very professional environment. Unlike if you work in a restaurant with a Filipino employer as a cook, you need to communicate in a language that your employer can understand. In our case, fluency in English counts a lot. But it’s more on how you express yourself regardless of your language background or accent. At work, I’m the only Filipino. I’m surrounded by white people but I don’t have any problem with language barrier. My work environment is so diverse and my employer encourages inclusiveness of people from different cultural backgrounds. Each one is given respect regardless of our language or accent. Even if you have a strong accent, if they know that you’re knowledgeable and you’re well educated, they will treat you with more respect. I know some co-workers who have strong accent but they can analyze complex problems. I mean it doesn’t matter if you have different language backgrounds for as long you can do your job very well.

Language in the integration of immigrants

A similar success story depicting how language plays an important role in the integration of immigrants was observed in the case of Nena, a Filipino transmigrant nurse from Singapore and the U.K before immigrating to Canada. For Nena, language symbolizes culture that one should embrace or adapt if they want to integrate and succeed in their areas of work. The following is an interview extract from Nena:

Extract 1 (Nena)

1 Nena: In my case, I don’t see my language or accent as a problem//
2 I worked in Singapore and U.K.
3 but I tried to EMBRACE their cultures --
4 The Researcher: What do you mean by that?
5 Nena: Let us say, you two are different,
6 and . . you don’t have just to say . . . THAT’S ME!
7 that’s difficult.
8 You really have to embrace their culture.
9 The Researcher: That’s right, you embrace other people’s culture.
10 Nena: Yeah, for example, when I was in Singapore,
11 they have different accent
because they are Chinese.

Then, when I was in U.K.,

I find it hard to understand BRITISH ACCENT//

The Researcher: Uh hmm

Nena: But I studied it myself because I need to adopt.

The Researcher: I see. In nursing certification,

do they require language proficiency tests?

Nena: They do//But in my case,

they didn’t because I came from an English speaking country.

The Researcher: I understand.

Nena: When I worked in [Hospital X], people are so MULTICULTURAL/

and I tried to mingle by studying their accents.

Every morning, when I arrived,

I listen to the news, and then I studied their HUMOR//

The Researcher: Oh, yeah?

Nena: Yeah, because I NEED to//

The problem is/ some people are stuck up

and they don’t want to learn.

That’s why it’s hard for them/

to overcome their language barrier.

The Researcher: That’s right!

Nena: I really studied different people’s way

of communicating because I NEED to.

In this extract, the role of language in the employment and integration of IEPs has been articulated based on the experiences of Nena while working as a nurse in several employment contexts. What she narrated was more of a prescription on how to communicate to people in a workplace with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. She pointed out the importance of embracing the norms of the host society as a means of social inclusion in the context of her working environment (Line 3). She further elaborated as to what embracing one’s culture means, which according to her, is not just a matter of saying ‘that’s me’. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to get along well with others considering the differences among individuals (Lines 6 –
She outlined some of the strategies that she used while working as an immigrant in other countries. For example, studying the different accents among the Chinese when she was in Singapore as well as the British accent when she was in the U.K. She learned how to mingle with people in her workplace by imitation -- watching the news every morning and studying the peoples’ humour. When she started working in Canada, she learned how to adapt to her multicultural workplace by studying how to speak or communicate with people from various cultures. According to Nena, language barriers can be overcome by learning other’s people way of communication.

**Language in education**

Whereas Nena shared her perspective on the role of language in the integration and employment of IEPs, Dr. Vera, a dentist by profession, had considered language as a means of differentiation among individuals.

**Extract 2 (Dr. Vera)**

1 Dr. Vera: “... language is a barrier/
2 sometimes it’s also the level of education.
3 When you come here to Canada
4 and you attended a university here,
5 I don’t think there is not much a problem //
6 . . . However, when you come here
7 to Canada without higher education/
8 and worked here as an ordinary worker,
9 then, they really have problems on language//
10 The Researcher: Uh hmm . .
11 Dr. Vera: I noticed that among Filipinos
12 who came to Canada through sponsorhip//
13 They really have problems on communication.
14 But Filipino professionals can understand/
15 and speak English well.
16 The Researcher: But still they cannot find jobs!
17 Dr. Vera: We’ll . . hmm, because . . maybe our English
For Dr. Vera, language is a barrier in the case of immigrants who cannot express themselves in English. The ability to speak in English is normally tied up to one’s level of educational attainment. Hence, language is not much of a problem among the Filipino IEPs except for others who came to Canada through sponsorship and did not have to attend university–level education. However, what is problematic are the cases of Filipino IEPs who despite their ability to speak in English cannot find employment in their professions. Based on Dr. Vera’s narrative, the role of language was a factor for Filipino IEPs who could speak and communicate well in English but still could not find appropriate employment. She acknowledged that Filipinos have unique variety of English that sets them apart from others, and while language might affect employment opportunities, Filipino professionals could understand and speak English well. This unique variety of English among Filipinos and the many different ways of communicating in English among nationalities in Canada may become a means of differentiation among individuals in various aspects of employment including hiring, employee selection, job transfer or mobility, and promotions.

**Language in employment seeking**

The hiring and selection of prospective employees for a vacant position normally takes place during job interview. It is within job interviews where the identities of IEPs are most often challenged because of many factors including their ethnic backgrounds and being a NNES. Grace, a Filipino CoP, who is now an OCT and a permanent teacher shares the following employment seeking experience in one of the job interviews she attended:

> I attended a lot of interviews. In most of them, I failed . . . [in one of these interviews] there was a long line up of applicants waiting outside. I was not yet finished answering some of the questions. But . . . I felt like the principal [the interviewer] was already pushing me out of the door in favour of other job candidates. . . I felt like I came from a different planet.

Although there is no clarity in Grace’s statement as to why the interviewer did not give her a chance to finish what she was saying, the interviewer should have treated her properly, by at the very least giving her an opportunity to complete her answers to the interview questions. The job interview could have been conducted more positively has the interviewer encouraged Grace to ask questions or seek any point of clarifications before the end of the job interview. The
information that Grace had provided in her narratives reveals her feelings of being treated unfairly because of her identity as an IEP with a different language background and ethnicity.

The discursive construction of the reality where the identity of individuals with different cultural backgrounds are challenged have been observed within the community of practice among the teaching professionals. The role of language in shaping the identity of the IEPs is evident in the case of Ann, an OCT and occasional teacher, who shares the following narratives.

In the staff room, I heard two regular teachers talking to each other. One of the teachers was questioning why the board is letting occasional teachers who have strong accent to substitute for ESL classes. I was offended to hear that conversation because I have qualifications to teach ESL although I’m not a native English speaker. “Is there anything wrong about that? . . . How come the college gave us certifications on specific subject areas but schools don’t want to give us a job to teach the subject?” Our students are mostly immigrants too, and they can relate very well with us. In one of the schools I worked in, the children were mostly Asian immigrants including Filipinos and one of the students said to me: “We love to see you teachers in this school. Why we don’t see many of you coming here?”

The compartmentalization among teachers who are qualified to teach specialized subject areas such as ESL has been brought forward in the experiences of Ann as an occasional teacher. The conversation of two regular teachers suggesting the hegemony of teachers who are NES to teach this specialized subject is a complex issue that challenges the identity of teachers like Ann who is a NNES. Although Ann is already qualified to teach ESL based on her OCT certifications, some members of the teaching staff are apparently not in favour of allowing NNES teachers to teach ESL because of their different English accent. The dichotomization among teachers and their intolerance for difference based on language, to some extent, appears to be problematic. In the case of Ann, her legitimacy to teach ESL can be judged not only with her certifications but on the basis of the changing demographic composition of students who, like Ann, have different linguistic backgrounds and do thrive and survive in a multicultural environment.

**Language in employment**

Parallel with the cases of Dr. Vera, Grace and Ann, the role of language as a barrier in the integration and employment of IEPs and the visible and audible ethnic minorities has been revealed in the narratives of Ron, a former accountant from the Philippines who is now a revenue officer in one of Canada’s largest public corporation. Ron said:
Sometimes we’re not able to relate to and say what we want because English is not our first language. This is one of our barriers being a visible minority, we’re too humble. However, we can get the attention of others by the quality of our works. Our hiring manager looks behind the colour of our skin. Instead, he looks at our potentials and our ability to lead the company. The problem at work is that many of them are native speakers and they can easily sell themselves that often results to bragging. That makes them easier to go to the top.

For Ron, being a NNES is sometimes a barrier particularly when he is not able to relate to or say what he wants. Filipinos are too humble and often they let other people step on them without saying a word. Despite this, Ron is well liked by his superior from whom he can always get attention for job well done. Although he is fortunate to work in a company that does not discriminate employees, Ron’s work environment is dominated by NES, which he finds very challenging when they can easily get of their way and make it to the top by selling or bragging about themselves.

While seeking employment, Helen, a Filipino RN had encountered a similar situation to Ron’s in her workplace. In the following extracts, she pointed out some of the most enduring Filipino qualities or traits which can be a positive response during the time when her identity is being challenged because of language differences. Helen said:

> But as long as you are honest . . . , it’s okey even though you don’t know the language. Me? I have a strong Ilongga accent. But I’m not ashamed. I showed them my honesty and sincerity. What I can say is I don’t give them any signs of attitudes. You have to tell them that we have positive energy, we’re willing to learn, and we’re respectful and honest. That’s how we Filipinos sell ourselves.

According to Helen, most Filipinos seldom brag about themselves. However, they can sell themselves to their employers by showing their honesty, sincerity, positive attitude and by being respectful despite their language and cultural differences.

Nevertheless, the role of language as a barrier in the integration and employment of IEPs as NNES is more evident in the cases of Martin and Vlad, both occasional teachers. Based on the employment experiences of occasional teachers, the role of language was crystal-clear in their struggles to be integrated in the mainstream teaching profession. In the case of Martin, he mentioned how his students had once ridiculed him regardless of his best efforts on the job as he recalled:
I managed not to comeback in one of the schools I was assigned to teach when a Grade 9 boy in my class used to mimic my strong English accent [somewhat staccato sound] every time he spoke to me. I felt being annoyed with that! . . . One time, I was writing on the board. I heard a group of students laughing at my back and then, suddenly one of them threw an apple on my desk to get my attention.

Whereas Martin recounts his integration experiences related to the performance of his work that sounds similar with Ron, Vlad shares his struggles in finding a permanent teaching job for more than 10 years now. Vlad’s experiences resonate more of the employment seeking experiences as presented earlier in the cases of Grace and Ann who are in the same field of teaching.

Vlad is an IEP from another culture CoP. He is in his late 50s of European descent and works as an occasional teacher. He graduated with Bachelor’s and a Master’s degree in engineering. He came to Canada in 1989 and had his first job as a general labourer. He underwent re-certification procedures by taking a one-year B.Ed program and obtaining a teacher certification to teach in Ontario secondary schools. After his certification, he was hired as an occasional teacher in another school board. After four years, he moved to a different school board where he is still employed in the same position up to the present time. The following interview extracts reveal his perspectives on the role of language in his employment and employment seeking experiences.

Extract 3 (Vlad)

1 Vlad: Language is a BIG issue. . . .
2 based on my experience/ with the other
3 school board where I stayed for four years
4 as a supply teacher// I moved
5 to another board because
6 I also can’t get a permanent job.
7 The Researcher: You can’t get a permanent job?
8 Vlad: Yeah . . even here I can’t get permanent . . .
9 The Researcher: Uh hmm . .
10 Vlad: They said my English is NOT very good . . .
11 But how about my MATH?
12 . . . I’m a Math teacher, and for us/
the language issue should be taken separately.
I was not there to speak about Shakespeare/
... [but] Math is a universal language.

According to Vlad, he moved from the previous school board where he was teaching as an occasional teacher to his present employment with a different board. His problem was he could not get a permanent teaching position, neither from his previous nor his present employer, as he continues to struggle with English. In Vlad’s case, his employer seems not to favour his unique variety of speaking in English. As a middle-aged NNES with a Bachelor and a Master’s degree in engineering from his native country of Romania, Vlad has a thick Spanish-like accent that immediately places him as eastern European.

The main argument presented in Vlad’s case was that he cannot get a permanent teaching position because of his not very good English (Line 10) and he was critical of the ambiguity and biases that he experienced in the hiring of NNES teachers. The ambiguity that existed in the hiring of NNES such as Vlad lies in the failure of the school system to delineate the teacher’s content knowledge and expertise of the subject matter that they are supposed to teach. Instead, too much of the focus appears to be on other factors, such as the unique variety of English that Vlad brings in the classroom. In Lines 13 – 15, Vlad questions the biases of the school system in recognizing his expertise to teach the subject and he feels that his NNES status influences the recruitment and hiring process for occasional teachers to get a permanent employment. Vlad made this explicit with his remark that he was trained to teach Math -- which is a universal language -- and not to speak about the language of Shakespeare. In the next extract, Vlad offered a prescription on how to alleviate the observed biases he experienced in the selection and hiring of teachers.

Extract 4 (Vlad)

1 The Researcher: ... what do you think most Canadian employers look for in hiring prospective candidates for a job?
2 Vlad: With our school board, they’re looking for generalities/
3 I would SUGGEST that the members of the interview panel/ should be a specialized teacher in the field/ if not a head of the department//
The problem is/ people who are conducting interviews/ DO NOT have knowledge about the subject content of the teacher/ that they’re going to hire.

The Researcher: That’s right.

In this extract, Vlad was criticizing the people involved in the recruitment process in their school board who were normally looking for generalities. He proposed that this can be avoided by assigning members of the interview panel in the hiring of teachers who are either academic department heads or staff members who are specialized and knowledgeable of subject content for the vacant positions.

In the next section, I explore and examine the language ability and use of the IEPs according to their year of arrival in Canada.

**Language ability and use**

Based on the longitudinal study that the language ability or level of proficiency in the second language of immigrants may be influenced by the length of their stay in the host country (Statistics Canada, 2005), I explored and examined how language ability and the use of a second language among the IEPs had progressed in each of the succeeding years since they arrived in Canada. In this study, I defined *language ability* as referring to the language proficiency among the IEPs as determined by their level of confidence in speaking English as a Second Language (ESL). Language ability or proficiency can also be determined using external criteria such as the government-mandated Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) and other recognized standardized methods of language assessments. Whereas *language ability* or proficiency in the second language involves linguistic competence that includes mastery of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation, language use is broader in scope, which refers to the individual’s knowledge of a particular sociocultural context and his ability to use or speak the language in a given context or situation. Language use can be sometimes referred to as *pragmatic communicative competence* or *sociolinguistic competence* (Derwing & Waugh, 2012).

In this study, I examined the *sociolinguistic factors* which are broad set of factors encompassing both *language ability and use* (linguistic competence and pragmatic communicative competence) among IEPs that may be influencing their employment trajectories and shifts in
professional status. In the following discussions, I present two analytical components drawn from participants’ responses on the questionnaire and in-depth interview. In the first part of analysis, I examined the participants’ language ability or proficiency according to their level of confidence in speaking English, and in the second part, I delved into the concept of language use among the IEPs using their narratives. My analysis results as presented in this section supported findings from the literature suggesting that linguistic competence is not all that matters. Sociolinguistic factors that include the immigrant’s knowledge of the given context contributed more significantly in their social inclusion and integration in their community of practice (Derwing & Waugh, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2005).

In the first part of analysis, I examined how language ability was determined by the length of their stay in Canada based on the participants’ responses to the interview question that asked how much their level of confidence in speaking English has improved with their present employment compared during their first few years of stay in Canada. The length of stay is defined in terms of the time or year of arrival of IEPs in Canada. The influence of length of stay on language ability was determined by categorizing IEPs according to their year of arrival. The responses of participants in the interview were triangulated with their responses in the questionnaire. In processing the participants’ responses from the questionnaire, the 4-level response options in a rank-order category ranging from Not Confident at All to Very Confident were translated into binary response category to facilitate interpretation. In this manner, responses for Not Confident at All and Somewhat Confident were considered as not confident or interpreted as having low or negative level of confidence. Conversely, Confident and Very Confident were considered as confident or interpreted as having high or positive level of confidence in speaking English.

According to the length of stay, there were three of the 13 recent arrival IEPs (23%) during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 who had responded that they had not improved or had a low level of confidence in speaking English with their present employment as they did in their first few years upon arrival in Canada. They were Alec and Singh, both IEPs from other cultures, with Alec being a CoP while Singh is Non-CoP. The third was Mia, a Filipino Non-CoP.

There were only two of the 10 earlier arrival IEPs (20%) during the pre and post 1990 recession period of 1988 – 1994 who had reported to have no improvement or low level of confidence in
speaking English with their present employment compared their first few years of stay after they arrived in Canada. They were Vlad and Sindhu, both IEPs from other cultures except that Vlad is a CoP whereas Sindhu is Non-CoP.

All of the seven IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 (100%) responded to have experienced improvement in their level of confidence in speaking English with their present employment compared to their first few years of stay after they arrived in Canada.

Thus, there were only five of the total 30 IEP participants (17%) who responded to have no improvement or low level of confidence in speaking English with their present employment compared to their first few years of stay after they arrived in Canada. However, the fact that a small number (10%) who reported to have no improvement or low level of confidence in speaking English were recent arrival IEPs during the period of 2002 – 2008 may require particular attention or further examinations in terms of their employment trajectories relative to the group of IEPs who arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994. The information I collected on the basis of 30 IEP participants revealed that there is slightly positive relationship between language ability and length of stay among the participants.

In the second part of analysis, I examined the power of language to differentiate the IEPs according to their language ability and use as observed in the areas of education and employment. In this analytical component, I present two vignettes to determine how language ability and use become a powerful tool for integration of IEPs and a sound basis for socialization among individuals in the specific context of their work environment.

**Schools as Complicit in Class Inequality**

The narrative account of Tina was part of her experiences with the language education and re-credentialing processes and procedures to practice her teaching profession in Canada. In her narrative entitled, *The White Lady and Miss D.*, she reflected on how the language education program and related policies became agents of social divide in the re-certification program for IEPs.
The White Lady and Ms. D.

Just call me, Tina. I work as an occasional teacher and I’m currently on Long-Term Occasional Teaching (LTO). I went through the re-certification program required by the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) by pursuing a one-year B.Ed program in an Ontario university.

The story that I’m going to share happened when I was applying for an Additional Basic Qualification (ABQ) course in one of the universities as required by the OCT for me to get a teaching certificate. Before I could apply to this, I was required to pass an oral and writing test. I passed all the requirements and my results were really good. In one of the tests, the highest score was 3+ and I got 3. With the other test, the highest score was 7+ and I got 7. When I went to the orientation for an ABQ course, there was a staff apparently an Indian lady who was assisting the orientation session. She approached me and asked where I came from. When I replied that I came from the Philippines, she said: *Ah, you came from the Philippines, your language there is not English so you are not allowed to register for an ABQ course.*

There was another staff, a white lady, who was in-charge of an orientation. She made an announcement to everybody in the orientation room saying: *Those who have the requirements should come to me, and those who do not have should go to the other lady (referring to an Indian lady).* I went to the Indian lady whom I would simply called as Miss D. I showed to her that I already passed the English language requirements. I brought with me the letter from OCT stating that my qualifications had already met their English language requirements, my transcripts and the letter from my university back home attesting that our medium of instruction is in English. I told Miss D. all about the requirements that I already passed. Then, Miss D. said: *Let’s go upstairs to the Registrar’s Office but I assure you that you cannot register for the course.* When we came to the office, Miss D. said in a loud voice: *Look, your credentials are from the Philippines and your first language is not English!*

I felt downgraded with her remarks. I cannot do anything in that situation. I think Miss D. holds a higher position in that office. But the point was I had already given an interim teaching certificate from OCT which I need to register for an ABQ course. Despite of this, she told me that I came from the Philippines and my first language is not English and I’m not allowed to register for the course. After that incident, I applied to another Canadian university to register for the same course. Whereas the other university had declined on the basis of my language credentials, this university had offered me an admission to register for the course.
In the case of Tina, her passing scores in the language proficiency tests are found not sufficient to warrant her acceptance to register in an ABQ course in which the OCT required for her teacher certification. This means that neither the professional regulatory body like the OCT nor any of the policy documents like the ES, CLB and CF can prove Tina’s worth as an IEP to get an acceptance from a Canadian university. Her failure to be considered to register in an ABQ course can be explained by the rigid standards and admission requirements of the Canadian university in which she had chosen to pursue her studies.

The case of Tina reveals the marked discrepancy among the Canadian universities in the manner through which they accept or refuse applicants who are immigrants from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. This is evident in Miss D.’s blunted remarks on Tina’s educational credential despite of her passing scores in the Canadian government-mandated language proficiency tests. Hence, Miss D. commented in a loud voice: *Ah, you came from the Philippines, your language there is not English so you are not allowed to register for an ABQ course.* Whereas Tina was refused registration in a course by one Canadian university, she was accepted by another university in the same field of study as part of her re-credentialing process. This result contributed to the bodies of evidence in Bowles and Gintis’ (1975) Marxian critique on the problem of human capital theory and Bourdieu’s (1984) cultural capital suggesting the power of an educational institution to sort and divide students. Schools who are agents of social justice are the same institutions that exercise class inequality and its perpetration.

The next narrative presents the case of Nena to illustrate how language becomes an important component of the socialization process in the workplace and how language use and differences in linguistic backgrounds may result in various interpretations according to the work culture or specific context of the working environment. Nena, a Filipino nurse, shares this narrative from her point of view.
Lost in translation: The language at work

Although the hospital where I work as a staff nurse is a multicultural environment, there are more white people than blacks or Asians. One thing I observed among my white co-workers is that they talked around but not direct to the point simply because they are good in English and they love talking. I am not saying that they are not good. But when they talk, they cannot pinpoint directly what they want. They used to play around with words and they cannot talk direct to the point.

You know what I mean? I’ll give you one example. We have a white secretary who only finished Grade 12. She does not have further education aside from that. Because she is part of the nursing staff as well, she might have some ideas of what we’re doing. Actually, she only knows what she picks up from us but she really does not know exactly what we are doing. But when you tell her what she is supposed to do, she thinks that she knew already and we, the nurses in the station who are mostly Asians do not understand what she is saying.

Let me illustrate this point. We have a Filipino nursing staff who does the scheduling of procedures and she needs to coordinate this with the secretary. A part of the secretary’s job is to transmit these communications to the patients through letters, memos, etc.
continued:

There was a time when this secretary was not really doing her job – typing the schedules on the computer, composing letters, etc. When that happened she was blaming this Filipino nurse because according to the secretary, she misinterprets or cannot understand what this Filipino nurse is saying to her. The secretary would just say to the Filipino nurse: *I did not get you or I didn’t understand what you’re saying.* Of course, that’s not true! (Nena, exclaimed in a loud voice).

The communication of the Filipino nurse to her was very clear. It was just about the patient on Monday and dialyzed on the same day. *What is not clear about that?* And here she is saying, *I don’t understand you!* WHAT! Simply because she was not able to do her job . . . and she would make that kind of remark as an excuse because she did not do her job?

This a very simple instruction for this secretary not to understand. But here she is making an impression that we Asians do not know how to communicate in English. I felt bad about that. They’re making us look stupid! But who does not know how to understand, then? I think it’s about time for us to speak up, to be assertive, and to point out with them their mistakes. The way they talk, like this secretary of ours, she obviously look down on us.

There was a time this secretary of ours insisted that she would be a part of the work group. But we said NO because she is not a nurse and she does not know how to troubleshoot any problem about vascular access. *But you know what?* This secretary of ours once said that she likes me better than the other Filipino nurse. Because according to this secretary, the other Filipino nurse is not very polite the way she talks to her. Maybe because when I approach the secretary, I would first say *How are you?* before I say what I intend to say.
continued:

I noticed that the other Filipino nurse does not approach the secretary that way, and the impression is that she is not being nice or polite to the secretary. I think we need to adopt to this kind of culture. We have to do the same. The problem among the Filipinos is when we talk to somebody, we talk directly about what we would like to say. But for others like the secretary, this can be interpreted as being impolite or not being nice.

In the hospital work setting, I think saying *How are you?* or *How is your day?* is very important. Because it’s a very stressful place and sometimes when you tell directly the purpose of your conversation to the other party, like for example, telling about the patient’s condition as being in a bad state, they would just reply, *what?*

I think saying *How are you* is a good way to start a conversation. But the problem is, *tayong mga Pilipino sana’y sa biglaan* [We Filipinos are used to talk directly]. In the hospital environment, this way of communication will not work. For example, when you are a nurse and you just say: *You have a patient that needs to be done because your pistula is not working,* the person you’re talking to might have a different reaction unlike when you first say *How are you today?* That would create a calming effect to the person you are talking to.
The Workplace and Sociolinguistic Factors

The narratives presented in the case of Nena revealed the complexities of the socialization in the workplace resulting from differences in cultural backgrounds among workers. According to Nena, there is greater tendency among the visible ethnic minorities in her workplace to be challenged by the predominantly white co-workers including the secretary. The misunderstandings between the secretary and the Filipino nurse can be explained largely by the sociolinguistic factors that include the cultural norms, expectations, work context and the effects of language use in the social interaction among workers.

In Nena’s narrative, the notion of white supremacy can be inferred in the manner through which the secretary interacts with her Asian co-workers. Indeed, the secretary’s tendency to undermine the knowledge of the nurses and blame them for her mistakes, is particularly true where the Filipino nursing staff who are considered as minority are concerned. However, Nena discovered herself that the conflict arising between the secretary and her fellow Filipino nurse is a matter of different Discourses (uppercase “D”) and language use (lowercase “d” discourse) that existed between them (see Glossary for definition of D and d discourses). The tension and contradiction among the nurses in their workplace can be explained by their distinctive ways of talking and interacting which are associated with their unique identities, ethnic backgrounds, and culture. My findings clearly supported the notion of individual distinctions on the basis of these characteristics or traits which Gee (2011) called as “discourse identity” (p. 100). From Nena’s perspective, the secretary finds excuses for her own mistakes at the workplace by pointing her fingers to the Filipino nurse who according to her, is not getting her point across in their communications or blaming the Filipino nurse for not being able to understand her English. Whereas the secretary had dealt with the other Filipino nurse in this manner, she had treated Nena differently or in a nicer way.

According to the secretary, the other Filipino nurse is not very polite the way she talks to her. As Nena observed, this can be due to the fact that the other Filipino nurse does not know how to greet the secretary by saying How are you? which was interpreted by the secretary as “impoliteness” or not being nice to her. As for the Filipino nurse, it does not mean a lot whether or not you first greet the other person by saying How are you? before the start of conversation.
Similar with other Asians - the Chinese or Japanese, this greeting is not normally a part of the Filipino old traditions, culture and social etiquette. The other Filipino nurse’s approach could have got “lost in translation” as what she has considered as normal in their culture (such as being straightforward in conversation) is being misinterpreted by the secretary as an act of impoliteness.

According to Nena, the knowledge of language-specific communication at the workplace is important particularly in the hospital setting. Thus, to greet the other person by saying *How are you?* before the start of conversation is not only an act of politeness or being nice but it has a calming effect to others that can alleviate the workload in a stressful working environment.

The narrative of Nena entitled, *Lost in Translation* has presented one of the many challenges confronting some Filipinos in their work setting. Indeed, because of their insufficient knowledge of Canadian work culture that they sometimes failed to translate the meaning of their communication to others. The miscommunication problem that existed between the Filipino nurse and the secretary can be explained by the failure of either one of the parties to recognize the appropriate language use or language-specific communication that may be unique to a given context or situation.

Whereas many NES can easily dominate in the workplace with their language ability and use, Carlo, a Filipino bank manager observes that this is one of the common weaknesses among the Filipinos as revealed in the following interview extracts.

**Extract 5 (Carlo)**

1  Carlo: Filipinos are hardworking people/
2  I think, that is one of our biggest strengths//
3  The Researcher: Oh, yeah? 
4  Carlo: Yeah, even we’re quiet/
5  and don’t talk much at the workplace (hhh),
6  you can see good results from their work outputs.
7  We don’t BRAG, you know that!
8  --- we’re quiet and humble people.
9  But when it comes to work, we really work.
The Researcher: How about people from other cultures?
Carlo: You know, people from other cultures, particular the whites, they talk a lot.
You might be mistaken that they know more.
You have to listen carefully to what they’re saying.
Because when they speak, they GO AROUND THE BUSH.
They don’t speak directly to the point.
. . . and you’ll be misled that they know a lot,
but actually they just love to talk.

The Researcher: Do you think being quiet, and humble people
is a strength or weakness among Filipinos?
Carlo: I would say it’s more like a WEAKNESS.
Why do you say so?
We need to SPEAK UP, and be MORE ASSERTIVE.

The importance of language ability and use and how it impact on the socialization or interaction among individuals in the workplace has been eloquently stated in the narratives of Carlo. He observed the linguistic differences among the Filipinos and their white co-workers which resonate with what has been mentioned earlier in Nena’s narratives. Parallel with Carlo, Nena described her white NES co-workers as having fondness of talking around “but not direct to the point simply because they are good in English and they love talking.” Carlo’s perspective in this regard has exactly converged with Nena describing his white co-workers who when they speak, they go around the bush . . . not directly to the point. . . and you’ll be misled that they know a lot, but actually they just love to talk (Lines 15 – 18). He criticizes the Filipinos for being too quiet and humble in the workplace, which according to Carlo is one of their weaknesses. For Carlo, Filipinos should learn how to speak up and be more assertive.

In the workplace, the hard work and humility observed among the Filipinos often resulted in having some of them being taken for granted or abused by their employers as in case of Cathy, a Filipino HR officer employed in one of Canada’s largest government corporations who said:

I noticed that if my boss found out that I worked very well, they give me more work to do. The more I work well, the more they give me more jobs. For me, it’s not fair because we’re a unionized company and we’re receiving the same pay. For those workers who do not come up to their desired output, my boss does not mind giving them more work to
do. The tendency is for those of us who work more, we experience work overload because my boss thinks that we can make it. But why not my boss give more work also to those people who are not doing very well?

In the case of Cathy, her quality work-outputs had resulted in inequitable distribution of workload in their work organization. She reported certain amount of unfairness on her part by getting more work to do for doing a job well done. Whereas this could be an indication that she is well-favoured by her boss because of the great amount of quantity and quality of work she produced, there is some sense of injustice on her part when others are not having much work to do simply because they do not meet the expectations of the company. The inequitable distribution of workload among individuals in this work organization may be attributed in part to Cathy’s failure to speak up to her boss about her situation and to assert her right to a fair amount of work, which she deserves being a good worker. The case of Cathy illustrates how her being quiet and humble, and to some extent lack of language ability to communicate her demands, resulted in her unfavourable situation in the workplace.

The lack of assertiveness as a typical trait among those from the Filipino culture was also presented in the narratives of Helen. In this narrative, Helen pointed out what she observed as the common areas of weakness among the Filipinos in the area of language ability and use with relevance on employment seeking particularly during job interview. Helen states:

The problem among Filipinos is that we’re too shy. Even we’re so smart, and we know a lot, and we’re hardworking, we don’t want to show it to the interviewer kasi masyado tayo mapapakumbaba [we’re so humble]. Ang akala ng interviewer, takot tayo na malaman nila kung ano yung gusto mo [The interviewer thinks that we’re afraid of them]. NO! Masyado tayo mahiyain [We’re so shy]. Ang akala nila hindi tayo marunong [The interviewer thinks we’re nuts], that’s the message we’re giving them. Although the employer would like to hire you, nag-aalangan sila, kasi nga you show them na nagaalangan ka rin [The interviewer hesitates to hire us because we’re showing that we’re not sure about ourselves]. They’ll try you first that’s why during the interview you have to show them that you’re confident about what you’re saying.

Helen pointed out how Filipinos’ weaknesses in the area of language ability and use become an obstacle in the employment seeking process, particularly during a job interview. Although the Filipinos are knowledgeable in their areas of expertise and they are known for being a hardworking people, most of them are not getting the kind of job that they are intended to because they are so humble and afraid to let the interviewer know what they really wanted for themselves. According to Helen, the kind of image that most Filipino job seekers are trying to
project to their employer is that they are too shy and they are not sure of what they are talking about. Many of them failed in their job search because of the wrong message that most Filipinos are trying to convey during this gate-keeping encounter. Although the employer would like to hire them, they hesitate to make a decision about an offer of employment because most job seekers are showing their hesitations or lack of confidence. Such may be the typical image among the Filipinos and a source of the wrong message that they most often project about themselves. As a result, the interviewer might think of the Filipinos as not knowledgeable enough, or in the words of Helen they are nuts. According to Helen, this is not necessarily due to their lack of language ability but more on their inappropriate knowledge of language use, or lack of ability to articulate oneself in relation to the given context, situation and nature of employment. Based on Helen’s perspective, these common misconceptions among Canadian employers for some Filipino job seekers can be traced to lack of assertiveness as attributed to their inherent characteristics. Findings supported the basic idea of nature identity among the Filipinos according to Gee (2000). The nature identity or the so-called N-identity can be recognized as an identity “through the work of institutions, discourse or dialogue or affinity groups, that is, the very forces that constitute our other perspectives on identity” (p.102).

In the next section, I examined how language ability and use is influenced by the length of stay or year of arrival of IEPs and explore how IEPs’ employment in their CoP interacts with the relationship between language ability and length of stay in Canada. In the last section, I determined how language ability and use influences the employment of IEPs in their CoP and their present level of income.

**Interaction of Employment on Length of Stay and Language Ability**

Among the 13 recent arrival IEPs during the period 1988 - 1994, there were three who responded that they had not improved or had a low level of confidence in speaking English with their present employment in comparison with their first few years after arrival in Canada. These included Alec, Singh and Mia. Of these three, only Alec has been integrated by working in his related profession as a construction inspector. Both Singh and Mia have been working in a general labour occupation.
There were two of the 10 earlier arrival IEPs during the period 1988 – 1994 who responded not having improvement or having low confidence in speaking English with their present employment compared to their first few years after they arrived in Canada. This group included including Vlad, an occasional teacher and Sindhu, a former medical doctor who has been working as a general labourer. All of the seven IEPs who arrived during the period of 1995 – 2001 had reported to have improvement in their confidence in speaking English with their present employment as compared to their first job upon arrival in Canada.

There were only five or 17% of the total 30 IEP participants in this study had responded not having improvement or having a low level of confidence in speaking English with their present employment. Among these five IEPs, three of them were recent arrival IEPs during the period of 2002 – 2008 who were not integrated in their CoP. These results reveal that language ability and use in terms of improvement in the level of confidence in speaking English may be slightly positively related to the length of their stay in Canada. This is interpreted to mean that the IEPs who had longer years or length of stay (at least more than 20 years) in Canada or had arrived earlier during the period 1988 – 1994 could have positive improvement or higher level of confidence in speaking English compared to IEPs who had shorter years or length of stay (at least 10 years) in Canada or had arrived recently during the period of 2002 to 2008.

The interaction between employment in CoP and a slightly positive impact of length of stay on language ability and use was determined by obtaining the percentage or proportion of IEPs who were integrated in their CoP with the total number of participants in a particular group category according to the length of their stay or year of arrival. In this procedure, I determined that eight of the 10 IEPs (80%) who had longer years of stay in Canada (at least 20 years) or had arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994 had been integrated in their CoP or intended profession. There were 10 of the 13 IEPs (77%) who had shorter years of stay in Canada (at least 10 years) or had arrived more recently during the period of 2002 – 2008 who had been integrated. Only four of the seven IEPs (57%) who arrived during the period of 1995 – 2001 were integrated in their CoP. Despite that only relatively a small number of IEPs who arrived during this period were integrated in their CoP, two of the Filipino IEPs who were Non-CoP had reported higher level of satisfaction in their present employment including Ben and Emma who are both general labourers. The discussions on job satisfaction among the IEPs whether or not they are integrated in their CoP are given more attention in the next chapter on contextual factors of employment.
There were higher number of IEPs who had longer years of stay in Canada (at least 20 years) or had arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994 who had been integrated relative to the number of IEPs who had shorter years of stay (at least 10 years) in Canada or had arrived more recently during the period of 2002 – 2008. Therefore, results of this present study reveals that the employment in CoP could have interaction with the positive impact of length of stay or year of arrival on language ability and use among the IEPs.

Using the IEP data, results revealed that IEPs who had stayed in Canada for more than 20 years had higher incidence of employment in their CoP compared with IEPs who had stayed in Canada for less than 10 years. This was determined based on the percentage of IEPs who found their present employment in intended professions in relation to the total number of IEPs who arrived within a given period.

Based on the year of arrival among the IEPs from 1988 to 2008, there was a decreasing incidence of employment among IEPs in their CoP relative to the total number of IEPs who arrived in Canada from earliest to the most recent years. Among the IEPs who arrived during 1988 to 1994, 80% were integrated in their CoP, 57% among those who arrived during 1995 to 2001, and only 77% during 2002 to 2008. Although there was a sharp decline in the number of IEPs who arrived during 1995 – 2001 and had been integrated in their CoP, this can be explained with the fact that two of the three IEPs namely Ben and Emma had intentionally decided not to integrate in their intended professions for some reasons and personal satisfactions from their present employment. The percentages refer to the frequency of those who were able to find present employment in their intended professions based on the total number of IEPs who arrived during the given years. Although it was observed that the percent of change was very minimal across the given year category, a pattern suggests that the positive association of language and length of stay is mediated to some extent by their employment in their CoP or intended professions. This is evident in the cases of Helen, Cathy, Ron, Li, Dr. Vera, Mary and Anita who had considerable length of stay in Canada and had demonstrated positive language ability and use resulting in their integration or employment in their CoP in comparison with group of IEPs who had arrived and stayed in Canada most recently.
Language, Employment and Income

The positive influence of language proficiency on employment and income is well established empirical evidence from several countries with large concentration of immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Chiswick & Miller, 2005; Boyd & Cao, 2009). In Canada, empirical studies in this area were conducted using the Canadian Census from 1981 to 2001 (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004) with every 5-year interval and from 1996 to 2006 (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2012). Boyd and Cao (2009) used the same census data from 2001 whereas Picot, Lu and Hou (2010) used the census data over the last three decades from 1981 to 2006. Results of these studies all pointed towards the same conclusion that the immigrant’s language proficiency in the official language of the destination country is paramount in obtaining better employment opportunities and the corresponding increase in levels of income. Based upon their well-documented research, Aydemir and Skuterud (2004) estimated that one-third of the deterioration in entry earnings of successive cohorts of immigrant men and women in Canada from 1981 to 2001 can be traced to language ability and ethnic origins.

Picot et al. (2010) have identified at least three factors underlying the immigrants’ deteriorating labour market outcomes during the last three decades. First and foremost is the change associated with the characteristics of the new immigrant cohorts, most particularly, proficiency in official languages, perceived or real differences in their educational systems, and their diverse cultural backgrounds. “The second factor is the general decline in labour market entry earnings during the 1980s and 1990s that affected both ‘recent’ immigrants and the Canadian-born alike. The third set of factors relate to the decline in earnings returns to foreign work experience and other immigrant specific characteristics” (p. 13).

The present study supported the major findings from the empirical studies previously cited indicating the direct impact of language proficiency on income and employment. My findings suggest that IEPs who received the highest annual income range had been integrated in their CoP; this group of IEPs obtained a first job related to their intended professions and all had reported being confident in spoken English. These included the cases of three nurses, (Nena, Pam, Helen), a regular teacher (Grace), and a real estate agent (Pedro). The other IEPs who are noteworthy to mention are Dr. Vera (dentist), Ron (revenue officer), Rose (CGA), and Singh (former engineer from India and now a general labourer). It was found that Singh is an exception
among this high income group of IEPs, not because of his high level of language proficiency, but because he manages to have two high earning jobs, one as a full-time tool and die worker and the other as a part-time worker in a warehouse.

According to the year of arrival, there were more recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 who had the highest annual income range including Nena, Grace, Rose and Singh. Early arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 like Helen, Dr. Vera, and Ron also had a high income as did Pam and Pedro who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001.

Conversely, among the IEPs with the lowest annual income range, are those who had reported to have a low level of language proficiency and, at the same time, dissatisfaction in employment. In this group of IEPs, there were three general labourers (Mia, Ben, and Maria) and four occasional teachers (Anita, Martin, Vlad, and Ann).

According to the year of arrival, there are equal numbers of IEPs with both three earlier arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 (Maria, Anita, and Vlad) and recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 (Mia, Martin and Ann). One of the seven low income IEPs identified as Ben had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001.

The information collected suggests that many of the low income IEPs had reported having lower level of language proficiency or not having confidence in speaking English as their most distinguishing characteristics. Results of this present study reveal that the low income IEPs are facing challenges in their employment and employment seeking on the basis of their identity as NNES. This finding is very evident in the cases of Vlad and Ann, both occasional teachers and Mia, a former teacher who is now employed as a food service attendant. The important role of language in employment and income is most evident in the cases of these three IEPs.

Vlad is an IEP from another culture CoP, who has been struggling to find permanent employment status with his present job as an occasional teacher. Interview extracts 3 and 4 as previously presented revealed that Vlad’s identity as a NNES has been challenged because of his language issues based on his employment seeking experiences. The experience of Ann which includes being treated in a different way within her community of practice, the OCT, because of
her linguistic background, is also relevant in the present discussion. The case of Mia, the former school teacher illustrates another situation of an IEP who had been confronted with difficulties in finding employment in her intended profession because of her self-reported lack of confidence in spoken English. However, interview data revealed that Mia’s case was more complicated than a major language issue that included her age factor, unfavourable employment situations, and her continuing economic dependence and family support due to her sponsored immigrant status.

In contrast with the high income IEPs, the low income IEPs are characterized as having their first job in precarious types of employment, having inadequate understanding about the labour market as in the case of Mia and Ben, navigating unfavourable employment experiences, and not having confidence in speaking English. The unfavourable employment experiences had been reported among the four occasional teachers despite the fact that they are already integrated in their CoP. The underlying factors behind their job dissatisfaction can be explained by their relatively low-income status. It has been noted how the annual income range of occasional teachers had been consistently much lower compared with IEPs from other occupational categories, and this can be explained in part by their irregular employment status.

The persistent job dissatisfaction that is being experienced among occasional teachers was explained in a study suggesting that language acquisition, employment opportunities, as well as earnings differ widely across non-white immigrants based on their ethnic origin (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003). A study conducted in the United Kingdom also showed that while white immigrants have very similar earnings patterns with those of native-born individuals, the earnings of immigrants from ethnic minority groups are about 25% lower with all other factors being the same. According to Dustmann and Fabbri, this income differential remains constant with the years of stay of immigrants in the UK. Whereas white immigrants have an initial wage advantage compared to native workers, immigrants from the West Indies and India have an earnings disadvantage. However, wage differentials between this group and white natives decrease with the time spent in the UK. Dustmann and Fabbri’s findings are similar to my study results on the employment dissatisfaction being experienced among occasional teachers and that this can be explained by the income differentials between occasional teachers and the regular teachers who are both members of the same CoP.
In another study, Block and Galabuzi (2011) also found differences in income among groups of immigrants who were differentiated by race and gender. Based on Canada Census data from 2006, Block and Galabuzi explain that:

when trying to measure the impact of discrimination, it is more appropriate to compare incomes of full-time, full-year workers. These comparisons can help isolate the impact of race and gender. However, this represents a partial picture of the racialized labour market experience, since unequal access to full-time, full-year employment is one of the barriers that racialized workers and non-racialized women workers face in the labour market (p.11).

This only suggests that differences in labour market outcomes are attributed to differences in educational attainment, immigration status or factors other than race that most often results in the privileging and othering of some members of the society (Kumashiro, 2000).

In the next chapter, the contextual factors of employment are explored focusing on the membership of IEPs in the professional regulatory organization, the re-credentialing processes and procedures for IEPs, the search for employment in their intended professions, and the workplace and integration experiences of IEPs in their community of practice.

**Summary**

In this chapter, the sociolinguistic factors were examined in four major sections focusing on the role of language, language ability and use, the interaction of employment on length of stay and language ability and use, and the interrelationships of language, employment and income among the IEPs.

The discussions were focused on how language plays an important role in the immigration policy as demonstrated in the case of Emma, the role of language in the cultural diversity and multiculturalism policy as observed in the employment of Li, Rose and Allan. Whereas language is a key to integration as revealed in the case of Nena, the different ways of speaking English among individuals of various ethnicities also revealed the power of language to become a barrier to employment and a means for differentiation among the IEPs. This is evident in the employment seeking experience of Grace and the narratives of Ann, Dr. Vera, Ron and Vlad. According to Helen’s perspective, a Filipino RN, the language barriers facing among IEPs can be overcome with the positive attitudes and some of the enduring qualities and traits among the Filipinos.
The discussions on language ability and use were divided into two analytical components. In the first component of the analysis, I examined how language ability was determined by the length of stay in Canada based on the participants’ responses to the interview question that asked how much their level of confidence in speaking English has improved with their present employment compared with their first few years of stay in Canada. The information collected on the basis of 30 IEP participants revealed that there is slightly positive relationship between language ability and length of stay among the participants.

In the second part of analysis, I examined the power of language to differentiate the IEPs according to their language ability and use as observed in the areas of education and employment. In this analytical component, I presented two vignettes to determine how language ability and use become a powerful tool for integration of IEPs and a sound basis for socialization among individuals in the specific context of their work environment. The narrative of Tina reflected how the language education program and related policies become agents of social divide in the re-certification program for IEPs.

The narrative of Nena entitled, ‘Lost in Translation’ presented one of the many challenges confronting some Filipinos in their work setting because of their insufficient knowledge of Canadian work culture that they sometimes failed to translate the meaning of their communication to others.

Language ability and use was examined to determine the ways it is influenced by the length of stay in Canada and how employment in the intended profession or CoP among the IEPs interacts with the relationship between language ability and length of stay. Results of this present study reveal that language ability and use in terms of improvement in the level of confidence in speaking English may be slightly positively related to the length of their stay in Canada. This is interpreted to mean that the IEPs who had longer years or length of stay (at least more than 20 years) in Canada or had arrived earlier during the period 1988 – 1994 could have positive improvement or higher level of confidence in speaking English compared to IEPs who had shorter years or length of stay (at least 10 years) in Canada or had arrived recently during the period of 2002 to 2008.
There were higher number of IEPs who had longer years of stay in Canada (at least 20 years) or had arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994 and had been integrated relative to the number of IEPs who had shorter years of stay (at least 10 years) in Canada or had arrived more recently during the period of 2002 – 2008. These results reveal that the employment in CoP could have interaction with the positive impact of length of stay or year of arrival on language ability and use among the IEPs.

In the last section, I determined how language ability and use influences the employment of IEPs in their CoP and their level of income. The present study supported the major findings from the literature indicating the direct impact of language proficiency on income and employment.

My findings suggest that IEPs who received the highest annual income range had been integrated in their CoP; they all had started with their first job that is related to their intended professions; and they all had reported to have confidence in spoken English.

In contrast with the high income IEPs, the low income IEPs are characterized having their first job in precarious types of employment, having inadequate understanding about the labour market as in the case of Mia and Ben, navigating unfavourable employment experiences, and not having language proficiency. The unfavourable employment experiences had been reported among the four occasional teachers despite the fact that they are already integrated in their CoP. The underlying factors behind their job dissatisfaction can be explained in part by their relatively low-income status. Results indicated very clearly that among the IEPs with the lowest annual income range, are those who had reported to have a low level of language proficiency and, at the same time, dissatisfaction in employment.
Chapter 9: Contextual Factors

This chapter presents the contextual factors of employment that may be influencing the employment trajectories of the IEPs. It is divided into four major topics or sections: membership in professional regulatory organizations, re-credentialing processes and procedures, search for employment in the intended professions, and the application of Bourdieu’s theory in the integration of IEPs. The main objectives of this chapter are two-fold: first, to identify the contextual factors influencing the employment and integration of IEPs in their intended profession or community of practice; and second, to provide an explanation how these factors influence their employment and integration.

To achieve the first objective, the employment and integration experiences of IEPs were explored and examined focusing on several aspects of employment including their membership in professional regulatory organizations, the re-credentialing processes and procedures, their search for employment in their intended professions, and the culture of work and their integration experiences in the context of their work environment. To explore and examine the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs, they were categorized according to their year of arrival to determine how the changing policies and economic conditions influenced their employment and integration experiences. The IEPs were also categorized according to their occupational category including accounting, engineering, nursing and allied health, HR and administration, IT, banking, and teaching professions. To further identify the contextual factors influencing the employment and integration of IEPs, they were further categorized according to their membership in professional organizations as whether the IEPs were member of their community of practice (CoP) or Non-CoP. The second objective of this chapter was achieved through the application of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and institutional cultural capital in the employment and integration experiences of IEPs. This provided an explanation of the analysis results of the present study as to why some members of the IEPs were integrated in their CoP while others were not.

The first section focuses on the membership in professional regulatory organizations which presents the profile of IEPs according to their membership in the regulated (RG), unregulated (UG), and occupations unrelated (OU) to their professions. The second section focuses on the re-
credentialing processes and procedures for IEPs with the professional regulatory organizations. In this section, the topics were organized according to the professional category of IEPs.

The third section explores and examines the search for employment in the intended professions among the IEPs focusing on the contextual factors of employment that are fundamentally, the Canadian experience, soft skills requirements and the culture of work. To explore and examine the culture of work, the interview extracts and narratives on integration experiences of IEPs in their workplace were analyzed and discussed using the constant comparative method of grounded theory and the CDA methodology. In this section, I presented two vignettes with the first entitled, *A Day in the Life of an Occasional Teacher* that portrays how the power relation and domination in the school setting is established and maintained through language use and social practice, and the second entitled, *The Math Teacher* illustrating how an identity of an IEP is challenged and being treated with indifference in the context of a workplace on the basis of his status, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. The vignettes were explored and examined with multiple cases using within-case and cross-case analysis approach. Based on interview extracts and narratives, the dominant themes that emerged centered on the contextual factors of employment including discourses of power relation, domination, subordination, and employer-employee relationship. In the light of the emerging findings, the dynamics of modern-day employer-employee relationship is discussed involving the three interrelated components of worker efficiency, trust and equity in the workplace. Based on the present study results as observed even among the IEPs who were Non-CoP (Ben, Emma, Maria), the importance of balancing the power relation was also discussed including the worker’s level of satisfaction, freedom of expressions, and his rights as human agents which can be realized in an ideal workplace, thus, defying the mainstream economic theory that the labour market is perfectly competitive with the shifting paradigm and the basic notion of an imperfect world of work.

The fourth section presents the application of Bourdieu’s theory on the integration of IEPs in their community of practice using the concepts of habitus and institutional cultural capital. The concept of habitus was examined and analyzed focusing on the workplace, among the multiple cases of IEPs, and most importantly, the habitus of the professional regulatory organizations. A sub-topic in this final section discusses in detailed the five interlocking components of Bourdieu’s theory as applied in the integration of IEPs in their community of practice - the lower cycle, upper cycle, inclusion of non-IEPs, exclusion of IEPs, and the upgrading of educational
Membership in Professional Regulatory Organizations in Ontario

In this section, I presented the membership profile of IEPs in their professional organizations. The percentage distribution of the 30 IEPs according to integration in their community of practice is shown in Figure 20. In this study, there were 14 IEPs (46%) who had been certified with various professional regulatory organizations in Ontario and currently employed in regulated (RG) professions, 27% were employed in unregulated (UG) professions, and likewise, 27% were employed in occupations unrelated (UO) to their professions. I defined regulated (RG) professions as referring to certain types of professions among the IEPs that have been certified through the re-certification processes and procedures of a particular provincial regulatory body such as nursing, dentistry, engineering, accounting and teaching professions.

The unregulated (UG) professions refer to IEPs who have been working in certain types of occupations related to their intended professions but are not registered or certified by any of the provincial regulatory organizations. These are most common among IEPs who have been employed in their related professions as in the cases of Li, Sarah, Ron and Carlo who are accounting and banking professionals although they were not certified by any of the professional regulatory body. The unrelated occupations (UO) refer to IEPs who have been employed in occupations not related to their intended professions and the professional regulatory body does not certify them.
Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of IEPs according to their occupational category and membership in regulated (RG) professions through the professional regulatory organizations, unregulated (UG) professions, and occupations unrelated (OU) to their professions. A greater number of IEPs are in the regulated professions with six of them are teachers. Of these six, only one has been employed on a regular teaching position (Grace) and the other five teachers (Ann, Anita, Tina, Martin and Vlad) are on occasional or casual employment. The second large number of IEPs in the RG category included the nursing and allied health profession with four of them consists of three nurses (Nena, Pam and Helen) and one dentist (Dr. Vera). The two engineers employed in the RG category are Allan and Alec. The two other IEPs in the RG category include Rose and Mary who are both CGAs. Many of the accounting and banking professionals with four of them have been working in the UG professional category including Li, an account manager; Sarah and Ron, both accounting professionals; and Carlo, a bank manager. The other three IEPs in this category are employed in HR and admin professions such as Pedro, an office staff and real estate agent; Cathy, an HR officer; and Celia, an HR manager. Joe who is currently working in IT as systems engineer, is also included in the UG professional category. There is a total of eight IEPs who have been employed in UO category. These include the IEPs whose educational credentials were likewise denied by the PRO but did not pursue any further re-certification and had been employed in a general labour occupation. In this category, there are...
three former engineers (Rene, Mario, and Singh); two teachers (Mia and Maria); one in HR (Emma); one IEP who was previously a bank professional (Ben); and one former medical doctor (Sindhu).

Table 5
Frequency Distribution of IEPs by Occupational Category and Membership in Professional Regulatory Organizations, Unregulated Professions, and Unrelated Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Category</th>
<th>Regulated</th>
<th>Unregulated</th>
<th>Unrelated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nursing &amp; Allied Health</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting &amp; Banking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR &amp; Administration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows the employment of IEPs according to their year of arrival and membership in regulated (RG) professions, unregulated (UG), and unrelated occupations. There is higher percentage among the recent arrival IEPs (54%) during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 who have been certified (Allan, Nena, Martin, Rose, Ann, Alec and Grace). This is followed by the earlier arrival IEPs (50%) during the pre 1990 recession of 1988 – 2001 including Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Vlad and Anita. Only two of the seven IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 were member of their professional organization, namely, Pam, RN and Tina, OCT. The IEPs who had been integrated in their professional organizations were teachers and nurses. This can be explained with the growing number of government-initiated programs, services and policies that are designed to assist new immigrants in their integration. The legislation of the Fair Access to Regulated Professions Act (FARPA) in 2006, the creation of Foreign Credential Recognition Program (FCRP), and the Enhanced Language Training (ELT) were some of the many initiatives undertaken most recently that facilitated access of IEPs
in their professions through various credential recognition and assessment programs. The successful integration of the internationally educated nurses in this study can be explained by the increasing demand of the nursing professionals not only in Ontario but also in the North America.

Furthermore, Table 6 shows that there is the same number of IEPs who arrived earlier during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 as well as the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession who had been employed in unregulated professions. The three IEPs who arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 and employed in unregulated professions were Li (bank account manager), Ron (revenue officer), and Cathy (HR officer). The other three IEPs in unregulated professions who arrived during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 were Sarah (accountant), Celia (HR manager), and Carlo (bank manager). The remaining two IEPs in unregulated professions who had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 were both IT professionals, Pedro and Joe. However, only Joe stayed in the same field at present as systems engineer as Pedro had shifted career into a lucrative real estate profession while remained employed as a full-time office staff in administration. Although these eight IEPs did not pursue membership in their professional organizations, they had shown tremendous professional success and career growth in their employment trajectories.

Table 6
Frequency Distribution of IEPs by Year of Arrival and Membership in Professional Regulatory Organizations, Unregulated Professions, and Unrelated Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regulated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unregulated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the eight IEPs who were employed in unrelated occupations as general labourers, three of them were recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 including Mario and Singh (both former engineers) and Mia (former elementary school teacher). The other three IEPs in unrelated occupations had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 including Emma (former food and beverage supervisor), Ben (former bank financial analyst) and Rene (former engineer). The remaining two IEPs in unrelated occupations and employed as general labourers were earlier arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession, namely, Maria (former elementary school teacher) and Sindhu (former MD).

In the following section, I discussed the experiences among IEPs with regards to the re-credentialing processes and procedures.

**Re-credentialing Processes and Procedures**

In Canada, the continuous influx of immigrants is being decided upon a shared responsibility between the federal, provincial and the territorial governments. Whereas the federal government is unilaterally reforming the immigration system, many of the provincial governments including Ontario need “more economic immigrants who are ready to step into skilled jobs” (CIC, 2014, p. 3). According to the CIC, the provincial government of Ontario needs 70% of immigrants coming from the economic class as is the case in most other provinces. The statement of CIC that these “economic immigrants are ready to step into the skilled jobs” is actually misleading. Results of the present study indicate that most of the IEPs are in fact not ready yet to step into skilled jobs as they normally have to undergo years of re-credentialing processes and procedures. This explains why many of the IEPs have developed a sense of mistrust to the Canadian immigration system as revealed in the succeeding narratives of the IEPs because of what seems to be a double standard assessment of their credentials which they have experienced in coming to Canada.

As many of the IEPs in the present study have experienced, they have undergone a long process of re-credentialing procedures upon their arrival to integrate in their CoP. This is regardless of the fact that their qualifications have already been subjected to rigid assessment by Canadian immigration authority prior to their coming to Canada and have been found qualified or fit in the Canadian labour market. This re-credentialing process of qualifications that many of the IEPs had subjected to when they came Canada lasted from one year to more than a decade as in the
case of Mary whose employment trajectory was intertwined with parental responsibilities and obligations. As for Mary, the re-credentialing of her qualifications to become a CGA in Canada had spanned 14 years. Although her CGA program of study had formally started in 2008 until 2012, the Certified General Accountants of Ontario (CGAO) had required her first Canadian work experience in related field of specialization which she pursued in 1997. There were IEPs who had given up with the re-credentialing process and shifted their gears to traverse a different career path as observed in the cases of Ben, Emma, Maria, Mia, and Rene. Some of the IEPs had not given up their optimism that one day they would be integrated in their CoP as in the cases of Mario, Sindhu, and Singh. In this study, there is another group of IEPs who have been recertified but struggling to be recognized in their profession as they are continuously experiencing indifference and marginalization in their employment as in the cases of occasional teachers including Vlad, Ann, Martin, and Anita. Nevertheless, some of the IEPs who have been categorized in this study as high achievers on the basis of their present employment have described the re-credentialing processes and procedures that they had experienced in Canada as unfavourable. This offers an explanation to what has been called as the ‘double standard assessment’ of the IEPs’ credentials representing the nature of reality’ that Vlad called it ‘a foul play’ and ‘a waste of their time and money’. On the other hand, Rose described her experience as ‘a punch on her face’ when her job offer and contract was retracted by her prospective employer because of her being a newcomer in Canada and lack of Canadian experience. This reality had caused Rose to pursue the re-certification of her credentials in Canada that took her five long years of study to get her CGA designation.

The practice of professions among IEPs in Canada is regulated at the provincial level through various professional regulatory bodies. According to Girard and Bauder (2007), “the division of legislative responsibility between levels of government is relevant to the immigration of skilled workers because it creates a structural gap between the federally regulated immigration policy and provincial-level professional regulation systems” (p. 37). Through statutory by-laws that are translated into policies, the Provincial Government of Ontario provides various professional regulatory bodies or associations the authority to regulate the provincial labour market for various types of professions. The autonomous functions of various professional regulatory bodies have granted them with the power to issue licenses or certifications to IEPs in order to practice their professions in Canada. Because of this, the IEPs who would like to enter in their
profession are required to have their educational credentials and professional work experiences be evaluated by the provincial professional regulatory bodies and be subjected to the re-credentialing processes and procedures. In this section, I briefly highlighted the narratives extracted from the interview among selected IEPs who experienced the re-credentialing processes with various PRO in Ontario.

**Rose, CGA.** I really have no idea how the CGAO come up with their own prescriptions for accounting professionals or immigrants from other countries. But the CGAO told me that the reason why I was asked to take seven courses was because some of my accounting credentials were not applicable or credited here in Canada. They said that Canada is following the British system of education. They advised me to take seven courses only which I believed could be greater if I’m not a university graduate.

**Mary, CGA.** I think they based that on what school and the year you graduated in the Philippines. The CGAO look at the reputation of the university where you graduated. Unfortunately, the CGAO look down on some schools in the Philippines. In that case, they will require you to take more courses. I graduated from a university in one of the provinces in the Philippines. But they’re evaluating the credentials of accounting professionals differently. It’s a case-to-case basis.

**Allan, municipal engineer.** One thing I like with the re-credentialing requirements in Ontario is that it is very different from the Philippines where you’re getting a license even you don’t have work experience yet. In Canada, educational credential is not enough. They see to it that you also have the work experience. Engineering license here does not only mean that you just finished your education but that shows you also have the work experience that proves your competence.

**Vlad, OCT.** But I was refused to register in an AQ course that would lead me to a specialist designation in Mathematics because . . . they are not considering my teaching experience as an Occasional Teacher (OT) and they require me to have a permanent teaching job as a requirement to upgrade my teaching certificate to an Honour Specialist designation. But how can I become a permanent teacher when during job interviews they mostly hire the Canadian graduates?

**Ann, OCT.** I was not permitted to take the course and to get the specialist designation because according to them I do not have a permanent teaching assignment in the area of specialization. They do not consider my long years of teaching experience as an OT. That’s not fair! This only shows that they want to keep immigrants to a much lower category.

Among the experiences of the IEPs with the professional regulatory bodies in Ontario, the problem of inconsistency, transparency, lack of recognition of their foreign credentials and financial burden were found to be most evident. The inconsistency in the manner how the professional regulatory bodies evaluated the foreign credentials among the IEPs was observed to
be most problematic among the accounting professionals. The discrepancy on the prescribed number of courses between Rose and Mary, what courses they were exempted or required to take as well as the length of time involved which they had completed their program of studies were shrouded with ambiguities. Despite of these, there were no accurate clarifications or explanations given by professional regulatory body for the IEPs to understand their re-credentialing processes and procedures. Without any feedback on the evaluation results of their credentials and qualifications, the IEPs were left wondering without a clear idea of the ongoing processes on which they were engaged in. The experiences of the internationally educated accountants in my study are parallel with the experiences of the international medical doctors (IMDs) who were described as ‘shooting in the dark’ (Peters. 2011) as they were evaluated with unfamiliar screening tools during their residency interview.

Results of this present study supported what has been observed as the ‘lack of transparency’ (Peters, 2011) on the part of the professional regulatory bodies and their apparent ‘arbitrariness’ (Kelly et al., 2009) in terms of how they evaluate the credentials of foreign-trained immigrants. My findings reveal that this apparent arbitrariness is likewise observed in the case of the CGAO who required the Filipino accounting professionals to pursue a program of study, as in the cases of Rose and Mary, to take as few as seven or as many as twelve courses, without providing sound justifications for these requirements.

There is another issue as reflected in the statement of Rose, a Filipino CGA who said: “Unfortunately, the CGAO look down on some schools in the Philippines”. Having said this, Rose is sadden on how certain schools in the Philippines where the IEPs have graduated from were being incorrectly labeled and stigmatized by the professional regulatory bodies in Ontario. This labeling can be interpreted as ”an ignorance [among] professional regulatory bodies on the quality of specific Philippine educational institutions, the quality of their [American type] of curricula, and the rigours of the profession regulatory system in the Philippines” (Kelly et al. 2009, p.26). In relation to this, Kelly et al. (2009) cited the Mapua Institute of Technology, the foremost engineering institution in the Philippines, as an example. According to Kelly et al., the professional regulatory body in Ontario tends to look down and assessed poorly a Filipino IEP who graduated from this institution because of the connotation of the term “institute” which is something that is not clearly identified as a university or an institution of higher learning.
The economic issues have been observed among the IEPs as in the cases of Mario and Maria who did not proceed with the re-certification process at all because of financial difficulties, family concerns or parental obligations. Similarly, Ben and Emma have raised the same concerns that have changed the course of their employment trajectories. They had settled to work in a general labour type of occupation that offered them with lesser challenges but have found greater job security, equity, voice and freedom of expression in a unionized working environment. Ben seems to demonstrate his inner peace of mind and his sense of satisfaction in various employment transitions that he made while working in a general labour type of jobs. Similar trajectories have been found in the case of Maria, a former teacher from the Philippine who has certification as an elementary teacher in the U.S. and immigrated to Canada. When her foreign teaching credentials were turned down by the OCT, Maria had prioritized her family responsibilities and then later on, decided to change her career path by studying a dental reception course. However, having experienced the stress associated with this kind of job, she ended up working in a warehouse but had found an internal satisfaction and did not mind whether it was related to her profession or not. Although Mario’s foreign engineering credentials and qualifications had been recognized by the PEO and had shown a greater potential of being certified in his profession, the economic factors involved in re-certification were creating too much financial pressure as he said:

I already applied for certification with the PEO. I paid $350 for this application. The PEO assessed and evaluated my credentials. Based on the results, I was only advised to take the examination. They did not require me to take courses because they considered my 16 years of professional engineering experience outside Canada. I worked for seven years in the Philippines as an engineer and then, after that I went to Bahrain, and worked there for nine years as Production Engineer before I immigrated to Canada. However, I need to send my two growing up children to the university first, and I can’t afford the costs of pursuing my engineering certifications. I set aside this matter for now.

As for Mario, he can only afford the initial assessment fee for the evaluation of his credentials which he had done already but he cannot move on to the next step that includes another fees for the engineering licensure examination. To take this examination has also required him to review or study and that means he needs some days off from his work in a warehouse where he gets paid on a daily basis. This makes the entire re-credentialing process very difficult for him to carry on. The financial aspect of the re-credentialing process that Mario encountered supported Kelly et
al.’s (2009) findings on the de-professionalized Filipinos in their study. According to Kelly et al. (2009):

the combination of financial vulnerability . . . the need for a survival job, the lack of time or money to undergo retraining or upgrading, and a desire to stay in secure unionized jobs rather than seek advancement might be common to many immigrant groups as they integrate into the Toronto labour market (p. 22).

Search for Employment in the Intended Professions

The conversation on contextual factors of employment including Canadian experience and soft skills as requirements for employment in the intended professions among the IEPs are explored and examined. My discussions are primarily focused on the perspectives of IEPs on the

Canadian experience requirement in their employment seeking particularly during the year of their arrival and the soft skills requirement from the point of view of the managerial IEPs.

Canadian experience requirement

Many of the IEPs have considered the Canadian experience requirement as part of the realities of their employment seeking experiences as in the cases of Mary and Cathy who arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994. Cathy emphasized the importance of having the first Canadian experience in related profession that largely determined future employment as she said:

I attended a lot of job interviews when I was new in Canada. I found out that most Canadian employers were really looking for Canadian experience. I was just lucky enough that I was able to get my first job that was related to my field. I noticed the importance of having your mind focused only into one direction or career path.

Whether Cathy’s employment with her first job was only by chance or not, she is certain that her employment in related profession during the early stage of her career had greatly influenced the kind of jobs which she had subsequently engaged in leading up to her present employment in the same area of interest. Based on her experience, Canadian employers had really looked into her previous employment experiences and they see to it she had the related work experiences in the position she had applied in. This is why Cathy suggested “the importance of having your mind focused only into one direction or career path.”
There are times when employers would really want to know if the job applicant has the skills and experience that they are looking for by giving an on-the-spot test during the interview as what Mary had experienced during her employment seeking. Mary who is now a CGA stated:

I think most Canadian employers are looking for the depth of Canadian experience that should be reflected in the resume. In one of the employers who interviewed me, I was given an exam to test if I really know the job. The exams they gave me ranged from simple to complex tasks. In my case, they gave tests to test my knowledge on particular accounting software. It was as simple as Excel. Three people interviewed me and they have certain set of questions. That was how I got my job.

Clearly, the employers are looking for work experiences where knowledge and skills can be readily transferred into actual situation based on the nature of job. Whereas Cathy and Mary had only applied for jobs that were related to their intended professions, Maria who was a former elementary school teacher, applied for many different kinds of jobs to get a Canadian experience as she complained:

Before I got this job (general labour), I had several interviews applying for different kind of jobs. They always asked me for Canadian experience. And I said: **How can I have a Canadian experience if they will not hire me?** The population of Canada is growing because of new immigrants. For me, I think the Canadian Government should not only look after the Canadian experience. What’s happening here is even though you have credentials, still they’ll not hire you because of lack of Canadian experience.

The sentiment expressed in Maria’s case is a reality not only in seeking employment in the intended profession among the IEPs but also in looking for work in precarious jobs. Tina, an occasional teacher in a long-term position commented by saying: “employers were really looking for a Canadian experience. Yeah, they asked me for that even during the first time I applied here . . . even for a factory job.” The difficult situations encountered among the IEPs in employment seeking can be probably explained by the economic conditions during the time of their arrival as in case of Maria during the pre and post economic recession of 1988 – 1994 that she applied for many different kinds of jobs regardless of whether they are related to her intended professions or not. However, Maria observed that she couldn’t find employment even in unrelated occupations.

Tina who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 echoed the same complaint as Maria affirming that employers were asking for Canadian experience even for IEPs who were looking for precarious employment such as factory jobs. Joe, a former systems analyst
and currently working in the same field also arrived during this period and shared his perspective on the Canadian experience requirement as follows:

I think this is a big concern here in Canada. They should have acknowledged our previous experience back home. I came to Canada to work as a professional. I already have the skills, credentials, and work experience that passed through rigid assessment of the Canadian immigration. I spent money and paid the Canadian immigration for that assessment, or else I will not be able to come here. But where’s the job that they told me I could find in Canada? Why they’re asking for my Canadian experience when in fact they assessed me already?

In Joe’s narrative, he stressed about his skills, credentials, and work experience that passed through the rigid assessment of the Canadian immigration. According to Joe, he came to Canada as a professional and he paid an amount of money to the Canadian immigration for the assessment of his qualifications. Therefore, there is an assumption that he is suited for his profession once he come to Canada following the results of the assessment on his credentials by the Canadian immigration officials in the Philippines. Joe rationalized that he should not come to Canada, if in the first place, he was found unfit for the Canadian labour market based on the assessment results of the Canadian immigration officials. The two questions that Joe raised at the end of his narrative can be interpreted within the discourses of trust and mistrust between the IEPs and the Canadian immigration system. Joe seeks answers to his two questions: “. . . where’s the job that they told me I could find in Canada? Why they’re asking for my Canadian experience when in fact they assessed me already?”

This same issue was also common among the IEPs from other culture CoP as in the case of Li, who is now an account manager. Similar with the experiences of some Filipino IEPs, Li likewise started working in a restaurant as a waitress when she first came to Canada in 1991. When Li was asked during the interview about her opinion on the Canadian experience requirement and the role of Canadian government and Ontario policies on the employment of foreign-trained immigrants, Li replied: “I don’t know about Canadian policies . . . I came to Canada because people in Hong Kong said there were lots of jobs here . . . but when I came here, there were no jobs (speaking with her strong Chinese accent)!”. Despite that Li had previously worked as a bank officer in a prestigious bank in Hong Kong for 10 years, she ended up in Canada working in precarious employment as a waitress and a part-time work as a cashier in a grocery store. Many of the IEPs had a very little information about the realities of employment in
Canada prior to their arrival. In the case of Li, she was probably misinformed by unreliable source from the people in her home country about the actual employment situation in Canada. Results revealed that only when the IEPs arrived in Canada that they came to realize the difficulties of finding jobs particularly in their intended professions. The IEPs had come to terms to this realization and did not mind working in precarious jobs. Joe rationalizes this reality when he said:

I worked in many different companies just for me to gain a Canadian experience. I have worked in the factory and in the automotive business to support my family. I really didn’t like it. In my first job, my coworkers passed on to me all the dirty jobs that no one would like to accept. *I was like doing, a sort of . . . jack-of-all-trades.* But I was laid off and obtained an Employment Insurance (EI) benefits. A part of this benefit was an education subsidy, which I used to study a course on IT. Without this, I don’t think I will be able to get my current job because most employers require Canadian experience and certifications. How can you obtain a Canadian experience if you’re new in this country?

In this narrative, Joe expressed his dissatisfaction and discontentment with his first job describing this as *a sort of jack-of-all-trades or doing all the dirty jobs that no one would like to accept.* Being discontented with his first job as a cellular phone technician in a telecom company, Joe continued to seek employment in his intended profession moving into one or more precarious jobs to another until he found his most recent employment as a systems analyst. However, Joe’s employment trajectory leading to his intended profession at present was not a straight path. His employment during his first five years in Canada was tarnished by frequent labour turnover as he moved from one type of employment to another. After his brief employment in the telecom company, he worked for another six months in a manufacturing company as a factory worker, then, as a computer sales associate in a retail computer store, and then as an automotive assistant in large retail department store. He experienced a series of job layoffs from two of his previous employers with these types of employment. The unfavourable employment experiences resulting in a series of job layoffs during his first few years of employment had qualified him for an EI benefits that compensated him in unemployment situation and offered him an education subsidy to get a certification and a decent job in the IT field. Despite of many ups and downs in his employment trajectories, Joe was also grateful for this kind of social liberal policy that exists in Canada. This explains Joe’s statement:

Without the help from the government at that time through education subsidy as part of EI benefits during my period of unemployment, I don’t think I will be able to get my current job because most employers require Canadian experience and certifications.
Although Joe criticized the Canadian experience requirement in the hiring of IEPs as revealed in his narrative, he was also grateful for the Canadian government who offered him benefits during his period of unemployment. This can be explained with the fact that his most recent lay off was like a blessing in disguise because he took advantage of the EI benefits that he claimed from the Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) during his period of unemployment to pursue further training in his field. Although he experienced being laid off from his job, his satisfaction in his situation during the early stage of his career was evident with his opportunity to study a network certification course related to his IT profession. This course of study that lasted for less than a year through education subsidy from the Government of Canada was part of insurance benefits being offered for displaced workers as a result of company restructuring, downsizing, and other labour cost-cutting measures. The turn of events which Joe had experienced characterized by unhealthy economic practices among profit-seeking companies to the disadvantage of workers in a capitalistic society can be interpreted within the neoliberal discourses. Joe rationalized his unfavourable economic condition by taking advantage of the government subsidy as part of Canada’s social liberal policy. This social liberal policy that characterized Joe’s context of employment in this particular situation has dominant role in charting the course of his employment trajectory.

The present social liberal policy in Canada can be traced from Brigg’s (1961) conceptualization of the term welfare estate in which he defined three types of welfare state activities: the provision of minimum income; the provision for the reduction of economic insecurity resulting from contingencies such as sickness, old age and unemployment; and the provision to all members of society of a range of social services. This definition served as the foundation of the passage of the Canada’s social welfare reforms of the 1960s.

Results of the preceding analysis showed that Joe’s employment trajectory was largely influenced by his perspective on the Canadian experience requirement which was developed resulting from many unexpected turn of events beginning from his precarious employment, job lay-offs, receiving an employment insurance benefits, obtaining an education subsidy program from the government to the employment in his intended profession as a systems engineer. But the most evident manifestation of the Canadian experience requirement as a barrier in the employment among the IEPs was observed in Rose’s employment seeking in one of the companies she applied in after her arrival in Canada during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 –
Rose, a CGA and currently works in the same field as an auditor tells her ordeal on the Canadian experience requirement as follows:

I attended a lot of job interviews with big and good companies. But it was a very disappointing experience. There was a time I almost get hired after passing through a series of interviews, and they offered me the job. There was already a contract to be signed in front of me, but still they delayed. After a week, I received a phone call. They told me that they’re retracting the job offer and the contract. It was a big punch on my face . . . I was very disappointed! They said: I was very knew in Canada, and they preferred someone with a Canadian experience. Even though I already worked for 18 years as an auditor in a large government institution in the Philippines.

Clearly, the reason why Rose’s offer of employment was retracted is because of her lack of Canadian experience considering that she was then very new in Canada and that the employer preferred job candidates with a Canadian experience. This is also an indication that the IEPs were not being trusted by the Canadian employers and explained why they preferred other job candidates. The Canadian employers’ low level of trust of IEPs, as revealed in the present study because of their lack of Canadian experience, soft skills and/or lack of person-organization fit, was also mentioned in several empirical studies (Girard & Bauder, 2007; Kelly et al., 2009; Kerekes et al., 2013). Whereas the rest of the IEPs in this study had a negative perspective on the Canadian experience requirement, Allan, a municipal engineer shared different views on this issue as revealed in his statement:

I didn’t have difficulty with that because I was already working in an engineering field before I got a license. I heard many immigrants who cannot get into their field because of that. A great number of them were in the field of medicine. For example, a Filipino Ob-Gyn doctor felt bad because she can’t get a license in Canada due to lack of Canadian experience. Although she is saying that she had already done a lot of work experience in the Philippines with mothers delivering a baby in the operating room, Pero nasaan sila? . . . nasa factory? [But where are they? . . . working in a factory?] Because they failed in language or Canadian experience requirements and they didn’t want to pursue further education or get the work experience related to their field.

Among the narratives of the IEPs as presented above, the perspective that Allan articulated runs contrary to the fact that the Canadian experience requirements for foreign trained immigrants are absolutely unnecessary and discriminatory. In contrast with the narrative accounts of other participants, Allan favours the importance of the Canadian experience requirement in the context of the Canadian employment that he compared with that of the Philippines. He succinctly expressed this argument in his statement: “I think they’re (referring to the Canadian employment policy) just doing the right thing, and I hope that other immigrants will also understand that. I
think that’s right. And this is one thing that the Philippines does not have.” Allan draws a comparison in the hiring and selection of professional engineers in the Philippines where even a newly graduate without previous work experience can get a license and find an employment because of company connections. Allan’s argument seems to favour the Canadian re-credentialing processes and procedures where work experience is integrated in the educational credentials. He criticizes the failure of some immigrants to pursue further studies in Canada to upgrade their credentials that ended up their careers in precarious employment. He cited the case of a Filipino Ob-Gyn doctor who cannot get a license in Canada because of lack of Canadian experience. Allan wonders: “Where are they? . . . working in a factory? In this argument, Allan pointed out the importance of upgrading the professional qualifications among IEPs by pursuing further education and to get the work experience related to their field.

**Soft skills, Canadian experience and educational credentials**

To triangulate the above findings, the narratives drawn from an interview with two of the IEP participants in this study who occupied a managerial position can provide a more balanced perspectives on the current discourse of the Canadian employers’ trust or mistrust in the selection and hiring of IEPs for employment in their professions.

According to Celia, an IEP from another culture CoP with an extensive years of professional experience as a hiring manager in many of the largest and reputable companies and organizations in Canada including her most current designation, *soft skills* or otherwise known as people skills and work experience represent the two most important contextual factors that determine whether or not a job applicant will be hired for employment. Among the reasons why many IEPs are not considered for the positions is because they lack soft skills and related-work experience. This is regardless of their educational credentials, which according to Celia is the least of these three factors being taken into consideration in the selection and hiring of jobs candidates. As a hiring manager, she believes that experience does not only mean Canadian experience but it could also be any work-related experiences and skills that a job candidate has acquired from foreign countries that can be transferred to the job in a different contexts. Celia stated: “Personally, I don’t take Canadian experience as very high for as long the person has the experience for the job that can be translated across borders or countries. Depending on the role, experience can be translated across country.” This perspective has been shared with Carlo, a Filipino CoP who is
directly involved in personnel recruitment, selection and hiring of job candidates with his current designation as a bank manager in one of Canada’s largest banks.

According to Carlo, the most important factors that he look after the job candidates for employment includes a sense of accountability, honesty, customer service skills, and being a good team player. Although Canadian experience is important as this provides an opportunity for an employee to demonstrate the skills previously acquired with the performance on the job, a job applicant without Canadian experience may also be considered for the position if they believe that he or she has strong potentials to grow with their company. New employees who lack Canadian experience and who have been hired in their company are provided with job coaching and on-the-job training in the performance of their daily tasks.

Carlo’s perspective on hiring policies for prospective employees in their organization clearly resonates the policy being adopted by the hiring manager with Ron’s present employer as he articulated in his previous narrative saying that “candidates were selected based on their abilities and strong potential to lead the company and not necessarily on individual factors as determined by race, ethnicity, linguistic and cultural differences.”

**Culture of work and integration experiences of IEPs**

In this section, I presented the within-case analysis of two vignettes based on IEPs in their CoP and then a cross-case analysis with IEPs who were Non-CoP. The analysis was based on the narratives and extracts from interview transcripts and examined by comparison and contrast based on the experiences of other IEP participants that provided a window of the culture of work in the Canadian employment contexts. The problems presented in these two vignettes and the within-case and cross-case analyses of IEPs using interview extracts and narratives were analyzed using the CDA methodology to address the opaque nature of power, ideology and domination as reflected in the integration experiences of the IEPs in the specific context of their employment.

As there were no substantial problems or issues presented among the greatest number of IEPs from other occupational group categories, the following analysis and discussions are limited to IEPs whose responses during in-depth interview had relevance to the topic area in question within the scope of this present study that required more attention. My study showed that the
cases presented among occasional teachers and a number of IEPs who were Non-CoP were most problematic that deserved further analysis and investigations.

**Within-case Analysis in the Community of Practice**

Using the constant comparative method of grounded theory and critical discourse analysis, the *within-case analysis* of the integration experiences of IEPs in the community of practice was discussed in this section focusing on the cases of occasional teachers including Ann, Vlad, Martin and Anita.

**A day in the life of an occasional teacher**

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**A Day in the Life of an Occasional Teacher**

I received a late morning call to substitute for an absentee teacher. Considering that I’ll be late, I called in the school as a courtesy to ask them if it is still alright for me to come in late because I received the job late in the morning. The secretary who answered my phone call said that it is alright, and advised me to report to the office as soon as I arrived the school.

When I arrived in the school, I was told by Ms. Smith, the Vice-Principal (VP) to go directly to the classroom. I found the school Principal named Mrs. Johnson who was already covering for my class already. Mrs. Johnson instructed me to go back to the office and see Ms. Smith to give me my schedule for the day in which she left on her desk for me. When I went back to Ms. Smith, she did not find my schedule and the lesson plans which Mrs. Johnson was referring to. Miss Smith buzzed Mrs. Johnson in the classroom to clarify what she was saying but she never responded. Ms. Smith asked me to wait for a while because she didn’t have any idea about the lesson plans that was left for me by the absentee teacher. Since I have been waiting already for half an hour, Ms. Smith instructed me to go the Resource Office because there might have some students who are dropping by in there to ask for a teacher assistance while doing their classwork. I stayed in the Resource Office for two hours. Afterward, Ms. Smith asked me to see Mrs. Johnson who maybe in her office at that time to give me my day’s schedule and the lesson plans left by the absentee teacher whom I was supposed to cover. When I came in to Mrs. Johnson’s office, she told me to just stay in the Resource Center for rest the day.
I found out later on that there was really no lesson plans left for me by the absentee teacher and my assignment for the day was already given to somebody else for the main reason that I came in late. When I was about to leave the Principal’s office, Mrs. Johnson confronted me by saying: *Do you have any problem about coming in late?* I said politely, no. *I came in late today because I received the job offer from the board very late in the morning.* Then, the Principal replied to me: *If you cannot make it, can’t you not just accept the job? I don’t know who is the lesser evil but the class starts at 8:30 and you came in at 9:15 and I can’t imagine the disruptions you’re creating with the school.*

I responded, *I will never be late should the board offered me the job much earlier. I can decline the job offer from the board for the late morning calls, but I’m taking the risk of getting no job at all because it is a last minute call already. I will be ended up jobless for the day if I declined. So when the board called in for a job offer in the morning, I just accepted it and ran to the school. But Mrs. Johnson said that accepting the job and coming in late to the school will impact negatively on my performance. She said that she will report against me to the board.* Then, she turned her back from me and left away.

I felt so powerless that I can’t even get the chance to defend myself in front of her. She definitely did not understand the difficult situation that we supply teachers are facing everyday. I felt I was being harassed by her comments. She treated me so badly.

The preceding narrative is a true account of the many challenges that Ann has encountered with her daily work as an occasional teacher. Mrs. Johnson’s negative remarks about Ann’s coming to school late could be probably true pointing to the fact that the class starts at 8:30 AM and she came in late at 9:15 a.m., and thus, she pointed out: *I can’t imagine the disruptions you’re creating with the school.* But she seemed to be insensitive and showed very little understanding of the entire situation that she did not even manage to query as to why Ann came in late that
morning. Instead, her opening conversation with Ann reflected her judgmental character as if Ann has been facing a habitual issue of tardiness.

Since occasional teachers work on a case-to-case basis and depending on the interval of time when the school board calls out for substitutes through their computerized management system and the start time when the job is needed, there is some amount of uncertainty about the timeliness of the substitutes’ arrival to their job. For Ann to decide as to whether she will accept or decline a job offer by the school board during a last minute call in the morning is a dilemma between economic survival for getting a job for a day with her meager income as a supply teacher and to suffer with the negative consequence of coming in late for work. However, the latter choice can be managed most often as in the case of Ann who called in the school as a courtesy - a standard office procedure (SOP) among substitutes if they knew for sure that they would be coming in late for the job because of sometimes-unforeseen circumstances. This widely acceptable SOP between the occasional teacher and the school enable the latter to manage their situation, and therefore, to prevent what Mrs. Johnson said about the disruptions to the school resulting from late arrival of an occasional teacher. With this respect, Ann’s narrative reveals that she did not fall short about following any of the conventions related to her job, except for the fact, that she accepted the job which was offered to her by the school board late in the morning, and Mrs. Johnson, the school Principal cannot understand this. Thus, she asked: “Who is the lesser evil - the occasional teacher who accepted the job or Mrs. Johnson as representing the school who was disrupted because of the occasional teacher’s late arrival to her job?”

The question raised by Mrs. Johnson can be examined within the framework of critical discourse analysis which considers language as a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and the context of language use as being crucial. Using CDA, the whole conversation of who is the lesser evil can be understood by looking into language as a social practice and this “implies the dialectical relationship between this particular discursive event and the situation, institution, and social structure, which frame it” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 5). The question arising the interaction between Mrs. Johnson and Ann can be dealt with by considering the context or situation when the discursive event took place and most importantly the social positioning of the two parties.
In this situation, Mrs. Johnson may be quick in pointing her fingers to Ann who is seen as being greedy – the greater evil for accepting a job when she knew in the first place, that she cannot arrive for work on time. In the context of this conversation, Mrs. Johnson projected herself as the lesser evil being a person of authority who was responsible for making everything in the school in proper order, and this included the assigning of substitute teachers for classes where there were absentee teachers. But how can Ann be judged as the greater evil in this context when she did what she was supposed to do by following the school SOP and accepted the job because, in the economic point of view, she needs to feed herself and to survive with her on-call job assignment? The onus may be on the school board that called out for substitutes late in the morning. In this situation, however, the school board may be viewed both positively and negatively from the standpoint of an occasional teacher. In the case of Ann, she might either be thankful that the school board offered her the job or apprehensive about receiving an on-call job late in the morning that created her some difficulties.

**Discourse of power relations and domination**

The structure of power relation and the tendency of Mrs. Johnson to be indifferent of Ann’s situation are shown in the beginning part of the narrative with Ann going back and forth of the classroom that she was supposed to teach but unfortunately found Mrs. Johnson, the Principal taking over of the class. It was then that Mrs. Johnson instructed Ann to see the VP and to find her schedule and the lesson plan that was left for her by the absentee teacher on Mrs. Johnson’s desk. After waiting for two hours, Ann had later on found out that neither there was a schedule nor lesson plan prepared for her. Moreover, Ann learned to her surprise that her assignment for the day was already given out to another teaching staff in the school. This situation appears like a ploy for Ann and an obvious manifestation of power abuse on the part of Mrs. Johnson since she learned ahead of time through Ann’s courtesy call to the office secretary that she will be running late of arrival to the school.

Using the methodology of CDA, it is critical to address the question of who is the lesser evil from the social, moral and economic standpoints. The language use of Mrs. Johnson as expressed in the ending part of Ann’s narrative is a demonstration of her power and domination through harsh treatment with Ann stating that she will report Ann to the school board for her coming late to work. Although there is some truth on what Mrs. Johnson said that “accepting the job and
coming in late to the school will impact negatively on [Ann’s] performance,” she appears to be very unsympathetic with the difficult situation that many occasional teachers like Ann are facing with the nature of their work. The conversation between Ann and Mrs. Johnson clearly reveals the structure of imbalance power relations in the school setting when Mrs. Johnson failed to understand the situation of an occasional teacher who is not only in the lower social position of their professional practice but in many cases, are struggling for daily survival in the economic sense. Mrs. Johnson’s lack of understanding of how the school board system works for assigning jobs among occasional teachers was evident. In the case of Ann, Mrs. Johnson, the school Principal may be motivated in the pursuit of power and ideology which she clearly enacted in the manners and ways she socialized with an individual in a much lower position. The analysis of text and the ideological representations of this discursive event from Mrs. Johnson’s perspective have contributed towards establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination, apathy or manipulation of a marginalized individual in the workplace.

Parallel with the case of Ann, the next narrative illustrates a within-case analysis with Vlad, an IEP from another culture CoP who was also an occasional teacher. Although both teachers had already been certified as members of their community of practice, the within-case analysis of their narratives revealed that both teachers have not yet been truly integrated in the practice of their profession based on their experiences in the context of their work environment.

There are two separate discursive events in Vlad’s narrative as shown below indicating how they turned out to be against his expectations.
The Math Teacher

In one of the secondary schools where I’m teaching as an Occasional Teacher (OT), they want to offer a course on Calculus. I intended to apply but no Principal can give me a recommendation letter because I was only an OT, and they have no sufficient basis about the way how I teach.

I approached Mr. Robert, a Principal in one of the schools where I usually work in and asked for a recommendation letter. There was a time Mr. Robert gave me a chance to have a demonstration teaching in Calculus. On that occasion, only Ms. Sullivan, the Head of the Math Department was there to observe me. Mr. Robert was not available at that time. At the back of my mind, I had such notion that for some reason Ms. Sullivan had scheduled my demonstration teaching on a day where Mr. Robert cannot sit down with us.

After my teaching demo, Ms. Sullivan gave me some feedback and asked me why I was not teaching the textbook and I was teaching only on my own. I told her that I was just trying to infuse my own creativity in the classroom where students will not only rely on their textbook. I simply found so many empirical data to plug in that the students do not need. That was the main issue and so Mr. Robert did not give me a recommendation that I needed to apply to another school.

After that incident, I realized that Ms. Sullivan had intentionally blocked Mr. Robert to observe me during my teaching demo by moving this into a different schedule when Mr. Robert was not available. In this way, Mr. Robert will miss an opportunity to observe me and that his decision to give me a recommendation to apply for a vacant position will only depend on the comments and feedback provided to him by Ms. Sullivan. “That’s too bad,” Vlad responded. I was not given a recommendation because based on Ms. Sullivan’s feedback that she gave to Mr. Robert, I was not using the class textbook. But the reason for this is because I believed that the problem in teaching Math is that teachers are too bookish and they don’t want to teach the students about creativity and critical thinking.
In the first discursive event, Vlad did not get the recommendation that he was seeking from Mr. Robert, the Principal because he did not make it in the teaching demo. Based on Ms. Sullivan’s feedback, the Head of the Math Department, Vlad was not using the textbook. During in-depth interview, however, Vlad explained that the reason for this was because of his belief that there was lack of critical thinking skills among students in the Math classroom and that most teachers were just teaching them to memorize the formula. Vlad believed that this was a serious problem in teaching Math because the teacher apparently did not want students to go beyond the tasks of

continued:

Let me illustrate my point. There was a time I substituted for a Grade 10 Math teacher named Ms. Howell, and I was teaching the class about the formula of the quadratic equation. On the following day, I met Ms. Howell in the hallway and this was how our conversation went:

Ms. Howell: You know, you don’t need to re-teach the class//
I already teach them thoroughly about the formula.

Vlad: I teach the class/ something bigger//
I told them that they NEED/
to apply the quadratic equation formula/
ONLY when the discriminant is positive.

Ms. Howell: Oh no! everything is in the book.
Let the students apply the formula,
because that is the way/
for them to memorize it.

Vlad questions: *I can’t understand why they don’t let the supply teacher teach. Is it because they don’t trust us? . . . or because they might be thinking that we are only a supply teacher?* But you know, the Principal in one school called me most of the time because she knows me. But look at what happened to me, this is a real incident and I’m not inventing. When the regular teacher gets an impression that I’m more knowledgeable about the subject content, that teacher didn’t want me to come over anymore and teach her class again. That teacher was avoiding me from then on. This is another problem.
memorization. He addressed this problem during the interview by questioning: *Where is the thinking skill come in . . . where is creativity?*

According to Vlad, Ms. Sullivan, the Head of the Math Department had intentionally scheduled her teaching demo on the day when Mr. Robert, the Principal cannot observe him so that Mr. Robert will simply rely on Ms. Sullivan’s feedback to decide on whether to give Vlad a recommendation letter or not. Whereas Vlad trusted that Mr. Robert can give him a good recommendation letter since they knew each other very well for quite a long time already, the sequence of events in the narrative showed Vlad’s lack of trust on Ms. Sullivan.

Based on within-case analysis results, an interesting analogy can be drawn between Ann and Vlad’s situations such that they both had developed a feeling of being treated indifferently by their superior or someone who is in the position of power in their respective areas of work. However, Vlad’s case was more complicated than Ann that the former revealed many other issues associated with the performance of his job.

The second discursive event in Vlad’s narrative revealed his observed lack of integration in his job as an occasional teacher to the extent that his colleague did not want him to teach the actual content of the course. This was evident in his conversation with Ms. Howell. Vlad complained by saying: “The chronic problem with the system is that they do not want to give supply teachers the chance to teach the actual content of the lesson particularly in the secondary schools.” He further asked: “Does an occasional teacher’s job simply to babysit the students and not to teach them with the actual content of the course for which they are qualified?” With this question, Vlad addressed the complex issue that most occasional teachers like him were experiencing in the school system. Based on Vlad’s experience, he was only there to babysit students and not really to teach the actual content of the course. This experience had resulted in his realization that there were many aspects of teaching that were exclusive only for the regular members of the teaching staff in which the occasional teachers were restricted. This kind of realization was supported in the case of Martin that caused him to feel downgraded, inferior, or having low self-esteem as revealed in the following interview extract:
Extract 6 (Martin)

14 Martin: . . . students normally have very little
15 respect among supply teachers/
16 It is very DIFFERENT/ from
16 the way they respect their regular teachers/
17 Maybe because we’re only substitutes.
16 . . . I thought I would be teaching here/
17 at the same level back home/
18 When I arrived, I saw the realities . . .
19 --- I worked as a store merchandiser/
20 that involved folding clothes/
20 which I feel a very humble experience for me . . .
21 The Researcher: Uh huh
19 Martin: I worked for my certification and got it.
20 I realized that getting a teaching certificate/
21 is not even a guarantee for a decent teaching job,
22 I feel DOWNGRADED as a supply teacher.

In this extract, Martin expressed his disappointment with the nature of work in which he was engaged when he first came to Canada and the realization that his present supply teaching job falls short of his expectations when compared to the level of work that he had been doing back home. He appears like devaluing the teaching certification that he obtained in Ontario when in the first place he does not feel like being respected with his job as an occasional teacher. According to Martin’s own words, he feels downgraded with this kind of job.

The lack of respect among students, which Martin had experienced in the performance of his job as an occasional teacher, was also the dominant theme in the case of Anita. However, Anita’s case was more complicated than Martin in the sense that there was an apparent lack of support among members of the teaching staff to the performance of his job as an occasional teacher. In one of the elementary schools where Anita was assigned, she provided an account of an extremely difficult class from the junior grade with a number of characters among the students as presented in the following narrative:
There was one student hiding under the teacher’s desk and he didn’t want to come out no matter what I said . . . a couple of students were asking permission to go to the washroom but I said NO and still they both run out to the hallway . . . one student throw a pencil to another student and hit her on the face . . . many students kept on standing up, roaming around the classroom, and playing loud music with their cell phones.

I turned off the light to get the students’ attention and said in a loud voice, QUIET! I started counting down from 5 to 0 because I want everybody to sit down, take their proper seats, and to stay on the tasks that they were supposed to work on. I sent the student who threw a pencil to another student, down to the principal’s office but he was sent back to me right away in the classroom.

During recess time, I met the principal on the stairwell while I was about to pick up the students from their line in the school yard, and she told me: You know, you should be firm with that class to be able to manage them! I was taken a back by her remarks. To my mind, how can a supply teacher who is only in a class for a single day ever manage the troublesome students without the support of other regular members of the school staff who are more knowledgeable of the students?

The difficult class that Anita presented in this narrative can be the most challenging experience that any occasional teacher can ever imagine. When Anita sent down to the principal’s office the student who threw a pencil and hit another student to her face, she was acting to insure the safety of other students in the classroom which she certainly knew as the fir first and foremost rule as a teacher. She was probably concerned more about this safety rule by isolating any disruptive or hurting student from others in the classroom before this matter gets worst.

The language use of the principal and the context where it was communicated to Anita can be critically examined within the structure of power relations in the school setting with the principal or the school who is viewed as being indifferent towards an occasional teacher. The principal’s open remark to Anita that she should be firm with the class to be able to manage them is definitely a challenge for any occasional teacher and can be interpreted as the principal’s lack of concern to the difficult situation that Anita was experiencing in the classroom with the students. This kind of remark can explain why the student whom Anita sent down to the office was quickly sent back to her in the classroom. Whereas Anita was concerned about the safety of the entire class and this was the reason why she isolated the disruptive student by sending him down to the office, the principal was probably did not like this idea as this may be a reflection that the teacher cannot manage the class. This may also offer a justification of the principal’s open remark to Anita telling her to be firm in class to be able to manage them. From the perspective of an occasional teacher, however, it is almost impossible to manage a difficult class where the
students and occasional teacher have known each other just for a day. To instill discipline among
the students may normally take a long process of consistent reinforcement of classroom rules and
the code of proper conduct and behaviour for the students. For an occasional teacher like Anita
who was assigned to a difficult class only for a day, the act of sending any disruptive or hurting
student to the office or calling for assistance can be a preventive solution and a feasible
alternative to deal with the situation. Regardless of the level of competence, an occasional
teacher will never get the respect of the students without the support of the entire school staff.
The within-case analysis of Anita’s narrative provided an answer to Vlad’s perplexing inquiry
regarding the role of an occasional teacher who is tasked not only to teach but also to babysit,
supervise or manage the students.

The preceding analysis shows that although there were five occasional teachers included in this
study (Ann, Vlad, Martin, Anita, and Tina) who were already integrated in their community of
practice as they had already been re-certified by an Ontario professional regulatory body, many
of them questioned their role and the social inclusiveness of the school system where they
performed their duties and responsibilities as occasional teachers. When asked if occasional
teaching is a part of the mainstream teaching profession or not, Ann expressed doubt:

    I feel I am considered only as a second class [teacher] . . . I have no power because I only
    follow what has been told me by the school and the teacher I’m substituting . . . I feel I
don’t have any voice.

The low self-esteem among occasional teachers may be reflected in Ann’s statement suggesting
the need for empowerment in the daily performance of her duties and responsibilities. This may
include the type of professional and moral support that Martin had pointed out in his narrative
that was further elucidated in the case of Anita and Ann. The within-case analysis of their
narratives suggested that occasional teachers could never manage the class or gain the respect of
the students without the proper support of other members of the school staff, office secretary and
the principal in an atmosphere of professional work environment that is free from threat,
harassment and indifference.

The preceding narratives have presented the entire gamut of complex issues that this study
exposed by bringing into the open the experiences, challenges and controversies surrounding the
role of occasional teachers and providing a better understanding of their employment situation for the advancement of social equity and inclusion.

**Cross-case Analysis in the Non-community of Practice**

Whereas the preceding sections presented the discussion of *within-case* analysis results among occasional teachers in their CoP, the following section focuses on IEPs who were Non-CoP to provide a sound basis for *cross-case* analysis and to understand how the culture of work and their integration influenced the employment trajectories of different groups of IEPs. In this section, the culture of work and the integration experiences of the IEPs in their CoP can be compared with the IEPs who were Non-CoP focusing on the case of Sindhu, Ben and Emma.

The narrative of Sindhu, an IEP from another culture Non-CoP draws some similarities with the integration experiences of the occasional teachers in terms of the culture of work that prevailed in the context of their work environment. Similar with the integration experiences of occasional teachers as previously presented, the case of Sindhu, a former MD who became a general labourer demonstrated how the culture of work associated with the nature of his job became the source of his dissatisfaction as revealed in the following extract:

Extract 7 (Sindhu)

1. The Researcher: How did you get into your most current job?
2. Sindhu: I just applied --- but my work here is not helpful.
3. The Researcher: What do you mean not helpful?
4. Sindhu: It did not help me to get closer/ to the medical field.
5. The Researcher: --- How do you find your job in a warehouse?
6. Sindhu: *Most often*, our supervisor talks about/ the number of outputs/ they expect from us//
7. The Researcher: What does your supervisor normally EXPECT?
8. Sindhu: Our boss expects us to come up with a better production/ to be punctual (???) all the time,
not leaving our assigned duties too early/
during breaks/ and wash up breaks/
and NO sitting down or reading newspapers.

17 The Researcher: I see.
18 Sindhu: When we see some well-dressed guys (managers)/
20 roaming around the plant - they’re from
the management/ and we make sure that
we’re doing our work//

21 The Researcher: --- How do management people treat you?
23 Sindhu: They don’t speak directly to us// They only talk
to our supervisors --- they treats us differently.
25 --- we have to work fast especially when they’re around.

In this extract, Sindhu tells about the context of his present employment as a general labourer. He mentioned some of the negative attributes of his working environment. First and foremost is the recognition that his present employment does not help him to get any closer to his profession as a medical doctor. The rest of the extracts describe the context of his work environment and provide details on company rules for the workers to follow – increase number of outputs (Line 8), better production (Line 12), punctuality (Line 13), and other expectations and demands from the workers (Lines 14 – 16). These work rules, which can be interpreted as the manifestation of the company policies, have no difference from Taylor’s scientific theory of management (Esch & Roediger, 2009) that coalesced with the new management ideas that form the fabric of neoliberal policy and pervade the modern industrial capitalism.

Although the emerging themes from Sindhu’s narrative focused more on worker-employer relationship that can be explained and interpreted from the neoclassical economic perspective, they are similar with the discourses on the integration experiences of occasional teachers. The similarities are evident on the power relations that existed and the pressures and demands of the work environment resulted from domination and subordination in the employer-employee relationship as in the case of Sindhu or the occasional teacher – school staff relationship as revealed in the cases of Vlad, Anita, Ann and Martin. The only contradiction in the integration experiences between the IEPs within their CoP and the IEPs who were Non-CoP is probably on the different dimensions of their work environment and the nature of work they were engaged. In
the case of the IEPs who were members of their CoP, they usually dealt more with the abstract domains of their job functions. On the contrary, the IEPs who were Non-CoP functioned more heavily with the physical dimensions of their work. Nevertheless, both groups of IEPs either CoP or Non-CoP had encountered similar integration experiences where their distinctive identities were challenged by hegemony and the dominant culture and ideology that prevailed in the workplace.

**Discourse on employer - employee relationship**

In the case of Sindhu, the company policies that are observed in his workplace can be interpreted within the neoclassical economic perspective where the company aims to increase production at a lower cost while increasing order, efficiency, standardization, and social control. In this perspective, the structure of the work environment and the relationship between management and workers are determined based on the rational decisions of employer to maximize profit and this entails exercising control of the workers to attain efficiency and increase productivity. This profit-maximization motive of employer that includes the exercise of control in the workplace as Sindhu describes in Lines 12 – 16 often exerts pressures on workers who are, in turn, motivated to maximize work satisfaction through preservation of their rights -- not as an economic agents, but as a rational human beings.

The employment experiences of Sindhu in the specific context of his working environment can be explained with the neoliberal ideology of scientific management that originated from the U.S. history of the plantation system where slavery and the management of racialized workers became the models for modern-day factories and corporations (Casey et al., 2013). In Sindhu’s workplace, the management’s failure to make the workers more intrinsically motivated is reflected in his statement that they will make sure to be on task when the managers are around to monitor -- if not to police -- the workers. The neoliberal ideology of scientific management is well exemplified in Sindhu’s statement saying that they need to work faster when their supervisor is around (Lines 24 – 25). Another interpretation of this conversation would paint a scenario where the workers cannot be trusted to work at their optimum level of efficiency if the managers are not around in the plant. The new management ideas, as observed in the case of Sindhu, did not only make the workers less motivated -- but they felt that they were reduced into puppets that can be controlled and manipulated. Casey et al. explained that this kind of treatment
among factory workers existed because of new scientific management ideas that they argued were “historically, materially and ideologically connected from slavery through scientific management in factories and social efficiency in education” (p. 46).

Although the modern economies of scale with the new manufacturing methods, specialization and division of labour have increased workers’ productivity, the means of achieving efficiency have further results in a narrowly-defined and repetitive jobs among industrial workers that make them more “stupid and ignorant” (Budd et al., 2004, p. 5). Therefore, efficiency could not be the only means to make the workers more productive but there are other factors that are more important like workers equity and self-actualization (Kaufman, 1993). Whereas scholars proposed to achieve balance on the competing interests, that is, the profit-maximization objectives between management and workers, the key to meaningful and trusting relationship between management and workers should focus on “greater efficiency in production, greater equity in the distribution of economic rewards, the utilization of labor, and the administration of employment policies in the workplace, and greater individual happiness and opportunities for personal growth and development” (p. 13).

To achieve efficiency in the workplace, there should be a meaningful working relationship between management and workers and this depends on three fundamental elements, namely, efficiency, equity and trust. Figure 21 illustrates the functional relationship of these three elements, that is, \( \text{EFFICIENCY} = \text{FUNCTION} \left( \text{EQUITY} + \text{TRUST} \right) \). The dynamic relationship among the three elements suggests that efficiency can be achieved by a combination of equity and the trusting relationship between management and workers.

Conversely, the trusting relationship between management and workers can be achieved with the combination of efficiency and equity. The balanced in the functional relationship among the three elements can also be achieved through transposition of one of the elements where a trusting relationship between management and workers can be a function of a combination of efficiency and equity, as can be expressed in the equation, \( \text{TRUST} = \text{FUNCTION} \left( \text{EFFICIENCY} + \text{EQUITY} \right) \). This observation is grounded on the case of Sindhu where the trusting relationship between management and workers is most likely to be achieved only when the management can trust that the workers are efficient. This means that the workers are doing their jobs at an optimum level of performance even without their presence in the plant. Second, there should be
an element of equity as manifested in workers’ level of motivation, both intrinsically and extrinsically.

![Figure 21. Employment relationships dynamics](image)

Based on Sindhu’s case, my findings suggest that the key towards goodwill and productivity in the context of employment involves resolving the profit-maximization goals or balancing the competing interests between the management and workers through the implementation of the three dynamic elements both in work policies and practices such as efficiency, equity and trust.

The most recent scholarship on high performance work practices advocates the relevance of equitable treatment for maintaining efficiency in the workplace and the existence of trusting relationship between management and workers. Drawing on the modern-day employer-employee relationship paradigm, there is a growing recognition that labour as a factor of production in the economic sense is distinguished from inanimate commodities but labour requires fairness, voice, and security to make their maximum contributions to real efficiency (Barbash, 1989). Moreover, in support of the present findings based on Sindhu’s case, Meltz (1989) explains that:

> an employer dedicated to the purest form of short-run profit maximization without any reference to the human element in the factors of production is likely to create a negative reaction that in the long run will impede the achievement of the desired efficiency” (p. 110).
Results based on Sindhu’s employment experiences supported the relevant findings that workers can be efficient when there is equity in the workplace, a trusting relationship between employees and employer, and an understanding among workers that they are being treated with respect and not as commodities in the economic sense (Barbash, 1989; Meltz, 1989; Budd et al. 2004).

Whereas Sindhu expressed dissatisfaction with the nature of his job as a general labourer in the warehouse, this was not the case with Ben, a Filipino Non-CoP who articulated the satisfaction he derived in his employment. In addition to the findings revealed in Sindhu’s case, the case of Ben lend support to the dynamics of modern-day employer-employee relationship as previously discussed involving the three interrelated components of efficiency, trust and equity in the workplace as presented in the following extract:

Extract 8 (Ben)

1 Ben: My present employer is the best!
2 The Researcher: Why did you say that?
3 Ben: They give good pay and benefits – THAT’S ALL.
4 The Researcher: Really?
5 Ben: They also have good company policies for workers
6 because it is unionized. Although there are times/
7 --- I doubt if those are being implemented properly.
8 The Researcher: Uh hmm.
9 Ben: . . . sometimes there is coordination among them
10 (shop steward, supervisor and the management)
11 . . . in solving problems among employees /
12 It’s like “scratch my back and I will scratch your back.”
13 (between the supervisor and the management)//
14 But the good thing is we can make COMPLAINTS
15 whenever we want to . . . thru our union shop steward.
16 The Researcher: What do you mean?
17 Ben: I mean we can ARGUE with our superiors/
18 when things seem not to be doing well,
right on the floor.

In this narrative, Ben appears to be well compensated with his present employment (see Line 3) in a warehouse environment. This suggests the importance of extrinsic rewards in Ben’s value system and how these rewards kept Ben motivated to remain in this line of work.

**Shifting paradigm and the imperfect world of work**

The interview data reveals that the case of Ben is exceptional in the context of the present study. It can be described as a shifting paradigm in the light of the present findings that not every IEP is driven to work in their intended profession. In Ben’s case, the connotation of the term *intended profession* is actually a misnomer because, in reality, it appears that he never intended to work in his profession in Canada or to integrate in his CoP.

In addition to extrinsic compensatory reward, the second important factor that influenced Ben to stay in this line of work -- despite that it lacks relevance to his profession -- is the unionized characteristic of his present employment context. In Lines 5 – 6, Ben states the good policies in his present employment that offer an intrinsic motivation among workers in a unionized working environment. Ben’s satisfaction with his present context of employment is undoubtedly derived from the great deal of benefits in a unionized workplace. The high level of the pay and benefits of a unionized workplace defies the mainstream economic theory that the labour market is perfectly competitive. The present context of Ben’s employment can be explained within the Marxian perspective where a balance of power exists and that the rights of workers as human agent are represented by the union through institutional policies and collective agreements with the employer.

Although Ben claimed satisfaction in his present employment -- at an ideal workplace in a unionized company -- he also criticized the existing power relations among the supervisor, the management, and the union (represented by the shop steward) for their lack of coordination sometimes in solving problems among employees. His statement in Line 12, “scratch my back and I will scratch your back”, can be interpreted as Ben’s description of the existing asymmetrical power relations between parties in what is supposedly a pluralistic workplace but seems to fall behind in the implementation of company policies for the workers. As for Ben, who once said, “I’m a person who always speak up especially when I know that I’m right” he had
probably found his present context of employment to be a safe haven. Here he can voice out his demands in a unionized working environment that recognizes his rights -- even to the point of criticizing individuals who are sitting in power including his work superiors and the management (Line 17). Cross-case analysis results clearly showed that this is a contradiction when compared to the cases of Ann and Martin who had been integrated in their CoP but their voices were silenced in the context of their employment as occasional teachers.

Although Ben never had the chance to practice his profession in Canada, there is evidence to show that the satisfaction of his internal (freedom of expressions) and external (compensatory reward) motivations appear to be the most important factors influencing his rationale to work in this kind of environment. The level of satisfaction that Ben had derived in the context of his present employment can be explained with the pluralist perspective of the work environment where the fundamental principle of balancing competing interests is recognized in an imperfect labour market – an ideal world of work that is within the reach of the working class including the general labourers. This can be achieved with the presence of employment policies and practices that promote democratic freedom and adhere to the pluralist perspective that the employment relationship should be modeled as a complex bargaining problem between human agents operating in imperfect markets—one where competing interests need to be balanced in order to ensure not only efficiency, but also the fulfillment of workers’ rights and expectations (Budd, Gomez & Meltz, 2004).

Using the within-case analysis, the culture of work that was observed in the case of Ben where job security, equity and expression of workers’ rights are recognized can be validated in the case of Emma, another Filipino Non-CoP.

Extract 9 (Emma)

1 The Researcher: Are you still working in that warehouse?
2 Emma: Yes, but I’m not on-call any more/
3 The Researcher: I have been working in that warehouse full-time since 2004/
4 Emma: You mean, um, you have two full-time jobs?
5 Emma: Oh no! I already quit as a legal mortgage admin staff
6 The Researcher: when I was offered full-time in a warehouse.
7 The Researcher: I thought, ah, you said, that you didn’t like midnight shift
that’s why you’re applying to get a job in your related profession . . .
but this full-time warehouse work that you’re saying/
is also on a midnight shift.
Did you like that?
Emma: Well, I’m getting a much higher pay for that//
. . . and I don’t mind if it is more physical.

In the case of Emma, she gave up the comfort and convenience of her previous job as legal administrative assistant and accepted a job in the warehouse that offered her better job security through full-time employment (Line 3) and a much higher pay (Line 13). Moreover, Emma revealed during the interview that what made her most happy with this kind of work despite of its physical nature was because of the inclusive work environment where she feels accepted including workers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

**Integration in the Community of Practice: Application of Bourdieu’s Theory**

In this section, the employment and integration experiences of IEPs is further examined using Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) concept of *habitus* and *institutional cultural capital* to explain how the re-credentialing processes and procedures of the IEPs with the professional regulatory organizations had influenced their membership or integration in the community of practice.

The within-case and cross-case analysis results as presented in previous discussions can be explained within Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and the institutional cultural capital theory. By looking into the case of Tina who was denied of entry to a program of study leading to her teacher certification revealed the working of habitus that resides among educational institutions who reward students on the basis of their cultural capital and marginalizes others who do not possess it. Although Tina had educational credentials, the Canadian university where she intended to study did not recognize it because of her status as an IEP. The procedure for the selection of students in Tina’s program of study can be described as divisive in the manner how it was implemented by an educational institution. This is reflected in the context of Tina’s narrative entitled, *The White Lady and Miss D* with the language use and pronunciation of the school staff during the student orientation stating that: “Those who have the requirements should
come to me, and those who do not have should go to the other lady (referring to an Indian lady).”

In this context, the division among students was based on the possession of both institutional and embodied cultural capital such as educational credential and second language proficiency. In the case of Tina, both forms of cultural capital that she possessed were downgraded by the Canadian university. The initial sign of bias was evident with the way how Miss D. handled this situation giving an assurance that Tina will not be accepted in the course as she stated: “Let’s go upstairs to the Registrar’s Office but I assure you that you cannot register for the course.” The importance of both credentials and language proficiency as the catalyst for the division among the IEPs in their re-credentialing process constituted an essential components of educational and employment policies in various institutions in Canada. This has been demonstrated in Tina’s case with the reactions shown by Miss D. to her credential saying in a loud voice: “Look, your credentials are from the Philippines and your first language is not English!” This perpetrated class inequality as student like Tina who did not possess the required cultural capital such as language proficiency was denied of access to a program of study as part of her re-credentialing process because of the habitus of the Canadian educational institution that does not valorize the IEPs’ educational credentials.

The integration experience of Tina resonates the case of Grace, an OCT who is now a teacher on a permanent status. In a similar account, Grace encountered the same scenario as part of her employment seeking experiences when she was being interviewed for applying in a teaching position. While she was still talking, the principal who was interviewing her suddenly interrupted their conversation by abruptly ending up her job interview in favour of other job candidates who were lined up outside. In this experience, Grace recalled:

I was not yet finished answering some of the questions. But . . . I felt like the principal (the interviewer) was already pushing me out of the door in favour of other job candidates. . . . I felt like I came from a different planet.

The cases of Vlad and Ann revealed different scenarios for IEPs who have already been certified by a professional regulatory body but they are continuously experiencing marginalization, unfair treatment or being treated as different members of the teaching profession. The discourse of being treated as a different member of the profession on the basis of language or accent has been observed in the case of Vlad who failed in several job interviews because of his not being good in English (see Extract 3).
The case of Vlad can be validated in the context of Ann’s integration experiences as an occasional teacher. In a similar situation, Ann revealed how the members of the regular teaching staff in her workplace showed their negative perception towards ESL occasional teachers who have non-native English speaking background. The conversation between two regular teachers that Ann had encountered in the staff room was an explicit account of how the culture of work with dominant background exercised exclusionary practices in schools and the manner how colleagues in the same profession interacted with the Internationally Educated Teachers (IETs) who were NNES and members of visible ethnic minorities. In Ann’s narrative, the two teachers who were apparently NES were questioning the legitimacy of the non-native English-speaking teachers to do substitute teaching for ESL classes. As for Ann, her identity was challenged upon learning this conversation and she reacted by addressing two addressing critical questions: “Is there anything wrong about that?” and “How come the college gave us certifications on specific subject areas but schools don’t want to give us a job to teach the subject?” With the first question, Ann seeks to find out what is wrong with the occasional teachers substituting for ESL classes where they were certified to teach. The second question may reflect Ann’s lack of confidence on the integrity of the professional regulatory body that only issued licenses and certifications but neither guarantees nor protects the course of employment among professionals in the specific context of work environment. Undoubtedly, the functions of professional regulatory body are limited in protecting only the interest of the general public but not the interest of the professionals on how they will be hired for employment in their profession.

My present findings suggest the limitations of Canadian government and Ontario policies including the language education and re-certification programs to insure and protect the employment and integration of the IEPs. There appeared to have the presence of invisible hands in the context of employment among the multiple cases that had been analyzed that restricted the full integration of the IEPs in this study. This may be in the form of habitus – disposition or system of internal structures that defines the distinctive identities of either the IEPs, the workplace or the context of employment. The presence of invisible hands was most evident in the sociolinguistic and contextual factors that in one way or another had influenced the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs. This had been supported in the case of Tina who despite of her acceptable level of language proficiency was denied of access to pursue a program of study in a Canadian university on the basis of her status as an IEP. The presence of
invisible hands was observed in the employment experiences of occasional teachers as in the cases of Ann and Vlad showing how they were both marginalized and treated with indifference by their employers as they struggled to be recognized in the organizational functioning of their work environment. Nevertheless, it is certainly none of the business of the professional regulatory body to look after these kinds of problems that some IEPs in the present study had encountered. Results revealed that the contextual factors of employment such as the culture of the workplace characterized by an imbalance of power, the indifference of colleagues and employers as well as feeling of marginalization experienced by IEPs, replicated some findings on the integration of foreign-trained immigrants in Canada (Kelly, 2006; Türegün, 2008; Reitz, 2001, 2007a, 2007b; Pollock, 2010).

Türegün (2008) explained that this problem might be attributed to the labour market preferences that affect the integration of the IEPs because of their language barriers, accents, and the problem of person-organization fit. Furthermore, Reitz (2001) pointed out that this problem existed because of the power relations in the labour market where employers’ decision were most likely influenced by the social, cultural, and political factors of the given work contexts which dictated the norms of employment and served as the basis for employers to decide who among job candidates will be hired for employment.

In this section, I applied Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* which refers to the disposition, system of internal structures, scheme of perception and conception, firstly, in the specific context of a workplace using the case of Ann; secondly, I examined how the application of habitus can be replicated in the multiple cases including Mario, Maria, Mia, Ben, and Emma; and thirdly, the application of habitus in the re-credentialing process or membership of IEPs with the professional regulatory organizations.

**Habitus of the workplace**

The application of the Bourdieu’s theory can be illustrated as in the case of Ann’s workplace using the concept of *habitus*, which may be influencing the *embodied cultural capital* (language, accent, ethnicity and race) of the members of the teaching staff. The disposition commonly held by the majority in Ann’s workplace recognized only the embodied cultural capital of the dominant group who were NES. On the other hand, members who did not possess this capital were considered as deficient and therefore, subject to exclusion or marginalization.
In this context, the habitus which was in place among members of the teaching staff had important implication in the selection and hiring of ESL teachers by excluding the NNES to maintain the culture of the dominant group and thus, to reproduce the cycle of class inequality. This only suggested that the internal structure of the work environment in Ann’s case was not adapting to the changing multicultural student population of the school where children represented the majority from the immigrant population. The lack of representation if not exclusion of teachers with nonnative English speaking background and visible ethnic minorities with physical resemblance of the majority of the student population was observed in the context of Ann’s workplace based on the student’s remarks saying: “We love to see you teachers in this school. Why we don’t see many of you coming here?” The critical issue of class inequality was evident in the context of Ann’s workplace where the composition of teaching staff may be dichotomized between NES who were predominantly permanent teachers, and NNES who were mostly IEPs and members of visible and audible ethnic minorities (Asians, Africans, Latin Americans) serving as a vast army of occasional teachers and survived through employment on a casual on-call basis.

**Habitus of the IEPs**

In this section, I examined how Bourdieu’s concept of habitus can be applied among multiple cases of IEPs. The analogy of the employment and integration experiences as observed in the cases of Tina, Grace, Ann and Vlad can be interpreted in Bourdieu’s theory as a form of symbolic violence that resulted from the imposition of different perception, treatment, systems of symbolism, culture and meaning upon certain groups or classes as a way of legitimizing class inequality and reproduction.

Results of this present study also revealed that the IEPs were constraint to undergo with the re-credentialing process to become a member of the professional regulatory body because of social and economic factors as in the cases of Mario, an Internationally Educated Engineer, and Maria, another Internationally Educated Teacher. Although Mario indicated a better potential of obtaining the certification from the professional regulatory body, his difficult economic circumstances had caused him not to pursue with the upgrading of his qualifications. Mario reasoned out: “I need to send my two growing up children to the university first, and I can’t afford the costs of pursuing my engineering certifications. I set aside this matter for now.”
Consequently, Mario had locked up himself in a dead end career for almost ten years by working as a general labourer. This resonates the experiences of Maria, a former teacher with certification from the Philippines and the United States but both credentials were not honoured in Canada. In a statement, Maria succinctly expressed: “How can I go back to school when my kids needed it more than myself? My priority at that time was the education of my children and to take care of them”. Instead of pursuing the re-credentialing process, she had chosen a different career path and had found satisfaction by working in the same occupational category as Mario. The case of Mia who may be considered as *low achieving IEP* based on her low level of language proficiency, low income, and unfavourable employment situation had resulted in her lack of integration in her CoP. On the other hand, both Emma and Ben had decided neither to pursue an upgrading of their qualifications nor to find jobs related to their professions for personal and economic considerations. Although this was not mainly attributed to language barriers but because of their habitus, predispositions, personal beliefs as well as intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that they had both decided not to integrate in their CoP.

Moreover, the employment experiences of Mia, Emma and Ben can be analyzed within Bourdieu’s concept of habitus that influenced in one way or another their decision not to pursue the certification or upgrading of their credentials. In the case of Ben, he was predisposed not to look for jobs in his profession because of the orientation that he previously received from his sister who had been living in Canada telling him that he needed to study in order to work in his related profession. However, this did not materialize as Ben explained:

> . . . we came here as a family, I should earn money first. So I did not get the chance to apply in my intended profession. . . . The reason is because . . . there is no assurance that I’ll get into my field even if I finished my schooling here.

This extract from Ben’s interview represented the habitus or disposition that had caused his deep-seated way of thinking. As a result, Ben was not determined neither in pursuing to upgrade his credential nor to look for employment related to his profession.

In the same vein, Mia’s habitus had caused her not to attempt any further in upgrading her credentials because of preconceived notion of not having confidence in spoken English in addition to her having a strong Filipino accent with her native dialect from the Philippines called *Ilongga*. 
Based on the analysis of the multiple cases presented, the habitus has been observed to mediate the cultural capital either institutional (educational credential) or embodied (language, accent, or style) among the IEPs that determined the integration in the community of practice and their re-credentialing processes through the provincial regulatory organizations in Ontario and thus, influencing their employment trajectories.

**Habitus of the professional regulatory organizations**

Figure 22 shows the mechanism how the exclusion from and inclusion in the community of practice among the IEPs are implemented by various professional regulatory organizations (PRO) in Ontario through the re-credentialing processes and procedures. This illustration is an adaptation from Harker’s (1984) critique of Bourdieu’s theory and Girard and Bauder’s (2007) study that used the same framework in the certification of foreign trained engineers in Canada with the professional regulatory body, the Professional Engineers Ontario (PEO).

In my study, I used Bourdieu’s concepts of institutional cultural capital and habitus which have been discussed earlier to show how the processes and procedures of membership with the professional regulatory organizations produced a cycle of class inequality and its reproduction among members of IEPs and non-IEPs who are obtaining a license or certification to practice their professions. In Bourdieu’s (1986) theory, an educational credential is a form of institutional cultural capital representing a value that confers the holder with cultural competence. According to Bourdieu, an educational credential can be considered as valuable depending on how it is recognized by the society. In the case of foreign educational credentials, the professional regulatory organizations “determine what constitutes [as] valuable institutional cultural capital within a particular legally regulated occupations” (Girard & Bauder, 2007, p. 38). Based on this conceptualization, Figure 22 illustrates how the institutional cultural capital among IEPs in the form of their foreign educational credential is being valued or devalued, that is, recognized or not being recognized by the professional regulatory organizations in Ontario.

Results of the analysis as presented in the preceding sections are comparable with the empirical studies by Girard and Bauder (2007). My present study revealed how the processes and procedures of membership through the professional regulatory organizations have produced class inequality and the perpetration of the valuation and recognition of educational credentials between two classes, the IEPs and non-IEPs. Membership in the professional regulatory
organizations can be perceived as a field of power struggle and conflicts on domination and subordination between the collective societies represented by the professional regulatory organizations and different classes of individuals who are seeking membership and integration with the collective societies. The existing power struggle is reflected in the processes and procedures of membership through the professional regulatory organizations which are depicted as a dual process of exclusion from and inclusion in group membership on the basis of individual or group attributes including race, language, social origin, class, and educational credential.

Parallel with Weber’s theory of social closure, the professional regulatory organization seeks to maximize rewards as an exclusionary closure strategy using the rhetoric of public interests and professional autonomy by restricting access to membership resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles (Parkin 1979). Bourdieu (1984) explains that this phenomenon exist because “those aspiring to or holding a position may have an interest in redefining it in such a way that it cannot be occupied by anyone other than the possessors of properties identical to their own” (p. 151).
Figure 22. Membership through the professional regulatory organizations and the cycle of reproduction.

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Figure 22 is designed to illustrate the dual processes and procedures that the professional regulatory organizations used to grant license for IEPs and non-IEPs depicting the upper and lower cycles of class inequalities and reproductions. The lower cycle represents the IEP participants (54%) who have not been granted a license to practice their professions in Ontario because of various factors as presented in their cases. This comprised of IEPs who were excluded or not a member of the PRO (54%) and employed in either occupations unrelated (OU) to their professions (general labourers representing 27% of the cases) or IEPs in unregulated professions (UG) who did not seek further certifications from PRO but employed in their related or intended professions such as accountants, HR officers, bank managers and IT professional (27%). The upper cycle represents the non-IEPs who are normally given greater chances to be certified because of their native Canadian status and non-foreign educational credentials, skills and experience. According to this model, some IEPs in the lower cycle may qualify for certifications, moved to the upper cycle, and become a member of eligibles or integrated in their CoP. Results of the present study showed that 46% of the IEPs in this study had passed through the membership or licensing processes and procedures and had been integrated to practice in the regulated professions (RG) – IEPs whose employment trajectories had moved from the lower cycle to the upper cycle.

The dual processes and procedures of membership through the PRO as indicated by the upper and lower cycles suggested the existence of class inequalities between the non-IEPs and IEPs. This resulted in the way the PROs favour the non-IEPs because of their possession of Canadian credential and work experiences over the IEPs’ foreign credentials. In this aspect, the application of Bourdieus theory on the re-credentialing processes and procedures for IEPs by the PRO in my study was similar to the re-credentialing of engineers in Girard and Bauders study (2007). According to Bauder (2003), the class inequalities in the licensing process between the non-IEPs and IEPs are produced because of “the tendency among the professional regulatory organizations to valorize Canadian credentials over foreign degrees [suggesting] that these organizations seek to reproduce their own membership of Canadian-born and educated professionals by excluding foreign-trained immigrants” (cited in Girard & Bauder, 2007, p. 38).
Habitus as a mediating construct

The perpetuation of social inequality in a given field or context can be demonstrated through interaction between the institutional cultural capital and habitus. I used the interlocking mechanism in Figure 22 to illustrate habitus as a construct that mediate through the IEPs possession of cultural capital (or vice-versa) and their exclusion or inclusion in the regulated professions. Bourdieu (1977) explains that the habitus is a “durably installed principle of regulated improvisations [and] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle” (p. 78). The existing social inequality characterized by the exclusion and inclusion of IEPs in their intended professions through re-certification with the professional regulatory bodies can be explained with the processes of how the habitus mediates with the institutional cultural capital of either individual IEPs or collective societies as in the case of the PRO and the reproduction of the cycle of inequality – inclusion or exclusion in the collective society. Bourdieu contends that “what is reasonable and unreasonable is a consequence of the habitus, which reproduces those actions and perceptions that are consistent with the conditions under which it was produced” (Swartz, 1997, p. 103). Habitus being represented by an individual’s predispositions is “both structured by the social forces producing it and structuring through its influence over human behaviour as a product of structure, producer of practice and reproducer of structure” (Wacquant, 2008 cited in Murariu, 2010, p. 3). The notion of class habitus is relevant in explaining how the concept of inequality functions in the re-credentialing processes and procedures among IEPs with the professional regulatory bodies.

The concept of habitus is essential in understanding the exclusion from or inclusion in of IEPs in their community of practice. For Bourdieu (1974), “cultural capital refers to style, language, taste, disposition, social grace, etc. which are acquired from family through socialisation as part of the habitus . . . habitus is the way a culture is embodied in the individual” (Harker, 1984, p. 118). Bourdieu’s concept of habitus mediates with the cultural capital of either the individual or social groups such as the professional regulatory organizations that reinforce class inequalities through the cycle of exclusion and inclusion of the members of different social classes. Figure 22 shows that the dominant group such as the non-IEPs control the economic, social and political resources that are necessary in the certification of their credentials and whose cultural capital is
the embodiment of the professional regulatory organizations. The relationship of the cultural capital which is mediated by the habitus is established with the professional regulatory bodies when members of the dominant class such as the non-IEPs are reinforced through inclusion in the regulated profession (RG) while the non-dominant class or the IEPs are excluded and thus, produced either an employment in unregulated professions (UG) or unrelated occupations (UO) or dead end careers.

Figure 22 suggests that the processes and procedures for membership through the professional regulatory organizations are structured to favour the non-IEPs “who already possess the cultural capital which are defined according to the criteria of the dominant hegemony” (p. 118). Whereas the non-IEPs are given recognition for inclusion in the regulated professions (RG) because of their habitus and cultural capital that embodied the criteria of the professional regulatory organizations, the IEPs who do not possess the habitus and cultural capital are not given recognitions and therefore, excluded for membership in their community of practice. This lead to the employment among IEPs in either unregulated professions (UG) or unrelated occupations (UO). In Bourdieu’s theory (1974), this can be explained with the concept of habitus that mediates with the institutional cultural capital that the professional regulatory bodies take for granted to filter the processes of distinctions, reproduction and perpetration of class inequalities in a hierarchical society. The processes and procedures for membership through the professional regulatory organizations constitute a cycle that produced class inequalities and geared towards reproduction because the inclusion of the dominant group through the possessions of cultural capital and habitus further reinforces the exclusion of the non-dominant group of IEPs who lack the same capital.

As shown in Figure 22, the licensing process or the processes and procedures for membership through the professional regulatory bodies is situated at the center of the model that divides the cycle of inclusion for the non-IEPs or the dominant group at the upper part and the cycle of exclusion for the IEPs or the non-dominant group at the lower part. Each group possesses its own habitus mediating with the cultural capital in which the professional regulatory bodies determine the membership of each group through their exclusion and inclusion criteria. The membership through the professional regulatory organizations represents the cycle of inequalities and reproduction because only members whose cultural capital and habitus are identical with the dominant group that embodied the selection criteria of the professional regulatory bodies are
given the privileges of being member of the regulated professions. In order for the IEPs with the non-dominant background to be integrated or become members of the regulated professions, there must be a shift from the lower cycle to the upper cycle. As shown by an arrow in the right corner of the model, this means that an appropriate cultural capital has to be required among the IEPs by undertaking the re-credentialing processes and procedures to be integrated in the regulated professions.

**Five interlocking components of integration process**

The integration experiences of IEPs based on the results of the present study can be presented with five interlocking components showing the process of integration in their community of practice. Drawing an insight from Bourdieu’s theory, Figure 22 depicts the integration process and the manner in which the professional regulatory organizations facilitate the process of selection between the non-IEPs and IEPs for integration in the regulated professions. Parallel with Harker’s (1984) study, the application of Bourdieu’s theory in my research can be summarized with five interlocking components representing various stages of the integration process based on the experiences of IEPs leading to their exclusion or inclusion in the community of practice. These include the lower cycle, upper cycle, inclusion of non-IEPs, exclusion of IEPs, and the upgrading of educational credentials. In each of these components or stages, the habitus that refers to the disposition or way of thinking of either individuals or social group is assumed to mediate or interact with the cultural capital possessed by either type of agents. The habitus and institutional cultural capital in the form of educational credential make possible the reproduction of class inequalities between the non-IEPs and IEPs. The model shown in Figure 22 illustrates how habitus mediates with cultural capital and results in either inclusion of non-IEPs or exclusion of IEPs in their community of practice. As shown, class inequalities such as the non-IEPs and IEPs are produced and reproduced in a separate mechanisms through cycles of exclusion from and ‘inclusion in the regulated professions. The illustration suggests that in order to integrate into the regulated professions, members must acquire the necessary cultural capital and the dominant habitus of the dominant group. The mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion between the non-IEPs and IEPs are described with details through each of the following components or stages resulting in the reproduction of class inequalities.
The first component represents the *lower cycle* constituting the IEPs or the non-dominant group who have lesser chances of finding employment in their intended profession because of the lack of recognition of their educational credentials. In this stage, the IEPs are expected to seek employment in their professions and this becomes a part of their habitus or way of thinking. Many of the IEPs in this stage may find precarious employment and make wrong career choices or dead end jobs.

The second component represents the *upper cycle* including the non-IEPs or dominant group whose habitus and cultural capital embodied the criteria for membership with the professional regulatory organizations (PRO).

The PRO with their sets of policies determine the integration of members constituting the third component or stage in which they confer certifications only for the non-IEPs as rewards through *inclusion* for membership in the regulated professions (RG).

The fourth component represents the *exclusion of IEPs* because of the devaluation of their credentials and the problem on person-organization fit. In Bourdieu’s theoretical perspective, the IEPs are excluded for membership in the RG because the PRO look for a particular preference in style such as soft skills, Canadian experience and credentials which are based on the habitus of the cultivated classes – the dominant group who are non-IEPs, and “this can never be fully mastered by those without the appropriate [cultural] background” (Harker, 1984, p. 119). In the present study, this can be observed among the IEPs who have been observed as *low achieving* as in the case of Mia, the former teacher who settled for a dead-end career choice as a food service attendant; the 27% of the IEPs who possessed the cultural capital but had found their habitus into the general labour types of occupations such as Ben, Maria, Rene, and Emma; and the *struggling IEPs* who are continuously trying and hoping to obtain membership in their intended professions as in the cases of Mario, Sindhu, and Singh.

The fifth component is called the *upgrading of educational credentials* which refers to the re-credentialing processes and procedures that some of the IEPs had passed through and subsequently integrated in the regulated professions. These refer to the *highly achieving IEPs* who had demonstrated the appropriate habitus and cultural capital as in the cases of Allan, the municipal engineer; the two Filipino accountants – Mary and Rose who already achieved their
CGAs status; and the three nurses who had found high satisfaction in their chosen professions - Nena, Pam and Helen. Whereas some IEPs have been integrated in their intended professions, others are not because of their habitus or dispositions and cultural capital that observably need to be developed and upgraded further.

The five components function with high level of interconnectivity in a circular motion such that the mechanisms for exclusion and inclusion in either lower or upper sections are reproduced. With the higher number of IEPs shifting from lower to upper cycles, the upgrading of educational credential among the IEPs in the lower cycle and their attempts to pursue the re-credentialing process may turn employers to other criteria for selection purposes. According to Bourdieu (1979), these criteria are “determined by habitus, including such things as style, presentation, language and so on. The possession of the appropriate habitus then constitutes a form of symbolic capital which acts as a multiplier of the productivity of educational [credentials]” (cited in Harker, 1984, p. 119). This observation may be true in the teaching profession where there are increasing numbers of teacher candidates and pursuing certifications but cannot find suitable employment. My present study pointed evidence to the cases of five occasional teachers who despite of their membership in their professional organization had been facing challenges in their employment and integration experiences. The influence of the dominant group and their habitus in the selection criteria for employment or membership in professional organization among IEPs can provide a better explanation for the observed inequalities in a collective society.

In the next chapter, I examined how the professional identities of the IEPs have transformed resulting from their employment trajectories as influenced by various factors which have been explored and analyzed including the socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors. The employment trajectories of the IEPs were described, and explained how various factors and the pathways they navigated had shaped their professional identities.

**Summary**

In this chapter, the contextual factors of employment influencing the employment trajectories of the IEPs were explored and examined focusing on four major topics or sections: membership in professional regulatory organizations, re-credentialing processes and procedures of IEPs, search for employment in the in the intended, and the application of Bourdieu’s theory in integration of
IEPs in the community of practice.

To explore and examine the contextual factors of employment, the IEPs were categorized according to their year of arrival, occupational category, and group category based on their ethnicity and CoP. The interview data as presented in extracts and narratives were analyzed using the constant comparative method of grounded theory specifically, the within-case and cross-analysis approach. Using this analytical approach, the most dominant themes on contextual factors influencing the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs were identified including the Canadian experience, soft skills requirement, and the culture of work. Based on the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs who were Non-CoP (Ben, Maria and Emma), other contextual factors that emerged included the discourses on power relations and domination in the workplace and the determinants of employer-employee relationships including the three essentials components, namely, worker efficiency, trust and equity in the workplace.

Among the contextual factors, the Canadian experience and soft skills requirement for employment in the intended professions were explored and examined. Based on the experiences of the IEPs, this present study found that: (1) The first job or first Canadian experience had largely determined their future employment; (2) Employers were looking for work experience where knowledge and skills can be readily transferred into actual situation based on the nature of job; (3) The Canadian experience requirement was most prevalent during the period of economic recession and recovery that employers had required the IEPs including those who were looking for factory jobs or precarious employment; (4) During the period of work stoppage or labour turnover, the IEPs had greatly benefited from pursuing a program of study or taking a course related to the intended profession; (5) The Canadian experience requirement was found to be the primary source of bias or an excuse among employers to turn down an IEP in favour of other job candidates; (6) From the perspective of a managerial IEP involved in the recruitment and hiring of employees, the Canadian experience requirement was an integral part of the licensing procedures and should go hand in hand with the educational credential; (7) Soft skills or otherwise known as people skills and work experience represent the two most important factors that determine whether or not a job applicant will be hired for employment; (8) Work experience does not only mean Canadian experience but it could also be any work-related experiences and skills that a job candidate has acquired from foreign countries that can be transferred to the job in a different contexts; (9) The most important factors that employers look after the job candidates
for employment includes a sense of accountability, honesty, customer service skills, and being a good team player; (10) The job applicant without Canadian experience may also be considered for the position if they believe that he or she has strong potentials to grow with their company.

In the last section, the education, employment and integration experiences of the IEPs as presented in the extracts and narratives were explained and interpreted using Bourdieu’s theory including the concept of habitus and cultural capital.
Chapter 10: Employment Trajectory and Shift In Professional Status

This chapter examines and describes the employment trajectory and the resulting shifts in professional status of the IEPs as influenced by the four broad categories of factors as analyzed and discussed in the preceding chapters. The discussions are divided into four major topic areas: the winding trail or curvature and straight path representing the two types of employment trajectories, pathways to success, policy and materialization of discursive reality, and a comparative analysis between the Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures according to their year of arrival, employment trajectory, and the integration-satisfaction principle.

The topic on pathways to success is further sub-divided into three essential elements including the three emerging factors influencing the employment trajectory – job satisfaction, job designation and job pay and its funneling to each of the four broader factors – socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual. The relationship between integration and satisfaction were analyzed as important elements determining the IEPs’ pathways to success resulting in their four categorizations as drawn from the four principles of integration-satisfaction. The distinguishing characteristics of each of the four classes of IEPs were highlighted in this chapter according to the integration-satisfaction principles as drawn from the study results. To determine how the changing policies and economic conditions impacted on the employment success among the IEPs, the low achieving IEPs was compared with high achieving IEPs according to their year of arrival and employment trajectory. The topic on policy and materialization of discursive realities problematizes the dichotomous perspectives of employment trajectories, namely curvature versus straight path or persistence versus pragmatism. In so doing a more nuanced account of IEPs’ employment outcomes, level of integration and job satisfaction emerges from participants’ employment experiences.

In the final section, the employment success of high achieving Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures was further examined to determine which of the two types of employment trajectories, either curvature or straight path, had resulted in integration and job satisfaction according to the integration-satisfaction principle.
The Winding Trail

In this study, the many pathways through which the IEPs have traversed can be categorized and described either like a *winding trail (curvature)* or a *straight path* leading to the realization of their different goals and objectives. In this section, I analyzed how the employment trajectory of many IEPs that can be described like a winding trail as presented in the interview extracts and narratives of the early arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 (Ron, Dr. Vera, Helen, Maria, Vlad, Li, Anita), the IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 (Joe, Tina and Emma), and the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2002 – 2008 recession (Allan, Sarah, Martin, Ann, Alec, and Grace).

According to the time or year of arrival, there is slight variation in terms of describing the employment trajectory of various groups as winding or curvature. The analysis of interview extracts and narratives appears that the employment trajectory among the early arrival IEPs had the highest instance of curvature path. Results of this present study suggested that the changing economic trends or the year when they arrived to Canada may have an impact on their employment trajectory and explain why the path that they navigated was more curvature than straight. The case of Ron is presented in the following vignette called, *The Winding Trail* that exemplified the employment trajectory of most IEPs in this study.
The Winding Trail

When I came to Canada in 1988, I first worked for my uncle’s business selling goods to Filipino retail stores. With my first job, I was delivering merchandise to different oriental stores across towns and cities in the GTA. We have a warehouse and I phoned in customers to get their orders and delivered them. We have contacts in the Philippines and consolidated our shipments to our customers here. *Sa madaling salita, katulong ako* [In other words, I was a Helper]. I was doing errands of all sorts.

After a year, I worked as an accountant in a fast food company. Although this job was related to my profession back home, I only stayed there for less than a year as I was only receiving a very low pay with this kind of job. *I came to Canada because I want to earn money, that’s a part my goal, . . . I don’t mind if it was related to my profession or not. I know there are people who really want to stick into their intended profession but I think that kind of thinking is going to be thrown out of the window once you came to Canada.*

There were many people losing jobs in the early 90s because of the Middle East war. I was getting only a very low pay the very first time I worked in Canada as an accountant despite that it was related to my professional experience and credential back home. So I quit that job and accepted a delivery man position owned by a large firm that offered a higher pay.

I was just lucky to get hired by a stable company at that time eventhough it was a low position compared to my previous white collar job. However, working as a Delivery Man gave me too much physical hardships. *I felt too much pain on my knees working outside delivering stuff of all sorts offered by our company. During summer time, it was too hot . . . but I can’t bear the cold either during the harsh winter months.* Because of that, I applied for a position inside the company and was hired as a plant supervisor for a group of warehouse workers. With this position, Ron commented: It was a very stressful job because I always got caught in the middle of conflicting interests between the labour unions who was always fighting for their workers’ rights and the management who was always demanding for higher production.
continued:

As I had found a hard time dealing with the company union, I decided to leave my plant supervisory position and applied for an officer level designation in the same company. With this designation, I was promoted to become a member of the management team and now holds a management position as a revenue officer (not the actual or titular position for confidentiality purpose) in this large corporation. In this capacity, I perform analysis, investigations and reconciliation of unpaid products and services, review, implement and identify revenue risk exposures of the company and draw some recovery solutions to recoup losses. I also provide feedback on business cases for contract renewals and responsible for national reporting of the national recovered revenue.

To get that position, I went through the process of internal company selection and hiring. I went through tough competition with other applicants. I attended the interview which is called targeted selection. Although it is one of the top management positions in this company, I have been facing different kind of challenges: . . . If you’re a visible minority here, and they know that you have the potentials, they are reluctant to share their knowledge because they feel insecure that you can get ahead of them. . . . they don’t want to give you the training.

During my early months in this new position, Mr. Osborne, the one who was supposed to train me did not want to share his knowledge knowing that I’m more senior than him. If I had to ask questions, Mr. Osborne will tell me that he has no time. Mr. Osborne who was supposed to teach me was the one whom I replaced. Because he knew that my position is now much higher than him, he has been reluctant to share his knowledge with me. He just gave me the job manual and he lets me study everything on my own. Since it’s a managerial position, most of the time I have no one to turn to and ask for questions. It’s really difficult for me to handle this job particularly when I was very new. To succeed in this job had always been a great challenge for me!

As indicated above, Ron’s case was a typical immigrant story that started from a lower to a higher position. The early sign of integration was evident as he landed to his related profession as an accountant in a matter of one year. However, he quit this job because of low pay and returned to his deliveryman position that offered him a higher pay than he was able to secure working in his related position. He reasoned that, “when you come to Canada, the idea of working in intended profession is going to be thrown out of the window . . . I want to earn
money, that’s a part of my goal.” In this statement, Ron was explaining his circumstances within the context of the economic recession during that time when many people were losing jobs. Thus, Ron considered himself lucky enough to be employed in a large reputable firm that offered a higher pay. For physical reasons, however, Ron moved on to another position in the same company and was hired into a supervisory position at the plant. In this supervisory position, Ron had found himself between two conflicting interests – the labour union and management—which led him to apply for another internal company position as a revenue officer. From this officer-level position, he was recently promoted to become a member of the management team, a higher rank management-level position.

Clearly, the employment trajectory that Ron had gone through to achieve his present designation was more like a curvature than a straight path. In this top-level managerial position, Ron admitted having difficulties working with Mr. Osborne, one of his colleagues whom he replaced who was supposed to train him in this new position. Despite of Ron’s higher position, he had been facing new challenges and this included Mr. Osborne’s reluctance to offer assistance in the performance of his new job. Ron attributed this challenge not to his present position which was higher than Mr. Osborne, but to his identity as Ron said: “If you’re a visible minority here, and they know that you have the potentials, they are reluctant to share their knowledge because they feel insecure that you can get ahead of them. . .”

Although Ron was facing new challenges related to his new management position, he had certainly overcome the contextual factors and systemic barriers that encompassed the linguistic and cultural differences in the work environment. From a delivery man to becoming a revenue manager, Ron’s employment trajectory as an IEP showed that his goal of attaining greater economic security was ultimately realized with his present employment in his related and intended profession. Results revealed that Ron’s achievement in his related profession can be traced from his feeling of discontentment and desire for personal growth and self-improvement in every stage of his career life despite whether he was in a lower or higher position. In the final analysis, Ron had obviously attained his goal not only in an economic sense, but also in terms of his career and professional achievement.

The within-case analysis draws parallels on the employment trajectory in the multiple cases of Dr. Vera, Helen, Vlad, Anita, and Li. Dr. Vera who was a dentist admitted that although she is
very much successful with her experiences in Canada, her employment trajectory was “not a straight path to success because she encountered so many bumps and stumbling blocks along the way”. She described her experiences as follows:

. . . I started it right by working as a dental assistant. But I was not satisfied because I know that I can do more than that like what I was doing in the Philippines. In those periods, I felt I was downgraded and often I felt bored. I don’t want to be just an assistant and take orders from my superiors. I dreamed of running my own dental clinic. But I needed to earn more money to comply with the RCDSO requirements. So I worked in a factory at the same time. You can imagine the physical and mental hardships I went through. On days, I worked in a clinic and at night I worked in a factory, that’s too much! When I got an associate dentist designation, I know that I was moving up again.

Vlad, an IEP from another culture CoP who arrived in 1989, was first employed as a general labourer until he pursued his teacher certification and was hired as an occasional teacher in 2005. Since then Vlad had been struggling to find a permanent teaching position. A Filipino CoP, Anita, who arrived in 1991, had experienced a similar situation as Vlad. Anita started working initially as a customer service crewmember at McDonalds before she obtained her teacher certification in 2002 and was hired as an occasional teacher. Li, an IEP from another culture CoP commented that this reality happened because according to her: “In Canada, you don’t start right away in a job that you like . . . they will try you first.” In the case of Li, she started working as a waitress in a restaurant and a cashier in a grocery store but she went back to Hong Kong when she cannot find a decent job in Canada during the pre and post 1990 economic recession period of 1988 – 1994. After a year, she returned to Canada and found an employment as a bank teller who required someone who was fluent in Mandarin through the support of her Chinese friends and relatives. After working several years as a bank teller, she applied as a customer service representative in another bank and was then promoted to her present position as a bank account manager.

A curvature path employment trajectory was observed even among IEPs who were not integrated in their CoP as in the case of Maria, a Filipino Non-CoP who was a former teacher. When the PRO did not accept Maria’s teaching certification from the Philippines and the U.S., she decided not to pursue this anymore due to constraints such as the economic reason and family responsibilities. Because of her desire to upgrade herself, she was motivated to keep on learning by attending short-term courses not related to teaching including ESL and basic computer training. Consequently, she decided to shift from her teaching profession by taking a dental
reception course that she completed and was eventually hired in this line of work. However, she experienced a lot of stress with this kind of work, which led her to leave the job. She ended up employed as a warehouse worker in a unionized company where she found personal satisfaction.

Cross-case analysis results showed that a similar employment trajectory was found in at least three of the IEPs (Joe, Emma and Tina) who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001. Joe was a system engineer in a government office whose employment trajectory was characterized by a series of ups and downs including being laid off twice as he worked from one company to another. In one of the job layoffs he experienced, he pursued an IT course as part of his EI benefits that landed him into his intended profession. In the midst of all these, Joe displayed his strong character, determination and perseverance as he said: “I worked in so many different companies . . . getting into my current job was not easy, I had worked in the factory . . . to support my family.” Tina who was a Filipino CoP started working as an education assistant and had managed to work in a factory as well to find her way through teacher re-certification and similar to Joe had done so to support her family.

The employment trajectory of Maria can be replicated with the case of Emma, both Filipino Non-CoPs. Parallel with Maria, Emma shifted from her intended profession by pursuing a short-term course in office administration and had worked in related field as import-export coordinator. When her company went bankrupt, she moved to another company where she was hired as legal administrative assistant. However, Emma quit this job in favour of her employment in a warehouse that offered her with a much higher pay. This situation resonates Ron’s experience as he also quit a white-collar job in favour of a lower position with a higher pay. But unlike Ron, Emma had given up working in her related profession and settled in her work in the warehouse where she found motivation and personal satisfaction.

Noticeably, all of the six IEPs who arrived during the pre 2008 recession and had employment trajectories that can be described like a winding trail (Allan, Sarah, Martin, Ann, Alec, and Grace) were integrated in their CoP despite the fact that they all had started with their first job in an occupation unrelated to their intended professions. Not even Allan who rigorously pursued his engineering re-credentialing process in the shortest period of time was an exception. Allan had also experienced working as a general labourer, however, he only did so for six months. Allan seemed to show a clear grasp of the re-credentialing procedures, a strong determination and
persistent attitude to work for his intended profession in Canada that made it easier for him to achieve his career goal. Noteworthy to mention among this group were the cases of Alec and Grace who were integrated in their intended professions most recently. Although Grace had been an OCT since 2005, she had just attained her permanent teaching status lately after eight years working as an occasional teacher. In Alec’s case, he was integrated in his intended profession as a construction inspector in a city engineer’s government office after 10 years of contractual or seasonal work status in related field.

Whereas the employment trajectories of the IEPs were predominantly curvature, I presented in the following discussions how the straight path in the employment trajectories among the IEPs can be described based on their experiences according to the year of their arrival in Canada.

**The Straight Path**

In this section, I analyze the interview extracts and narratives among the IEPs whose employment trajectories can be described as a straight path based on their experiences according to the year of their arrival in Canada during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 (Mary, Cathy and Sindhu), economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 (Pedro, Pam, Ben, and Rene), and pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 (Nena, Rose, Carlo, Mario, Mia, Celia and Singh).

Based on the time or year of arrival and how the IEPs had changed jobs during their first employment to the present, it appears that a greater number of the recent arrival IEPs had followed one direction or straight path in their employment trajectories than the other group two group categories of IEPs. In describing the employment trajectories among the IEPs that resemble a straight path, it is important to consider the relatedness of their occupation to their intended profession as an important analytical dimension. This can be explained with the most recent immigration policies and programs initiated in the early 2000s by the federal and provincial government that aimed to facilitate the labour market access and integration of IEPs.

Among the IEPs who arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994, the employment trajectory of Cathy can be described as one directional leading towards her intended profession as presented in following vignette called, *The Straight Path.*
The Straight Path

I was only 24 when I immigrated to Canada in 1988. . . I want to experience about going abroad, to earn dollars, to feel the excitement of leaving, and to take the adventure. My first job in Canada was in office administration and accounts payable which I had found through a friend. I was subsequently hired for a full-time administrative assistant position in a large company that engaged in handling, processing, and distribution of mail, publications and advertising products. I applied with this job through walk-in and submitted my resume, then I was called in for an interview.

While working as an administrative assistant, I managed to work in two part-time jobs as a data entry clerk with a different employer who was also engaged in a courier and shipping business and as an on-call staffing clerk with another employer in an automotive industry. I worked with my two part-time jobs on nights. As an on-call staffing clerk, my job involved administering dexterity test for job applicants which was similar to what I was doing in the Philippines. I applied for this job through print adds posted in one of the government offices.

In the same company where I worked as Administrative Assistant, I was promoted to become an HR officer. In this current position, I mostly do internal staffing, promotion, transfer, demotion, and takes charge of internal movements of staff within the organization.

I was hired with my present designation through internal competition. Nobody helped me to get into this position except with the fact that I have been with the company since 1989 doing related duties and responsibilities . . . my boss said he hired me because of my honesty and he trusted me. Then, he trained me. I didn’t pursue any further education since I already know the system, and the company’s collective bargaining agreements. I’m the only one in our HR department with the closest educational attainment related to this field as a BA in Psychology graduate from the Philippines.

I attended a lot of job interviews particularly when I was new in Canada and I found that most Canadian employers were really looking for Canadian experience. I was just lucky enough that I got my first job related to my field. I think it’s important that you focus your mind only into one direction.
In the case of Cathy, she demonstrated how she had moved up the organizational ladder of a large corporation where she was initially hired as an administrative assistant in 1989 to become an HR officer at present in the same company. Although she experienced working with several employers, many of the functions she handled were interrelated allowing her to develop the skills sets that she needed to move on to a higher-level position within the same job hierarchy and professional category. As she ended her narrative, Cathy reflected on her experiences by pointing the importance of having a Canadian experience and a first job in the intended profession to become successful in an area of specialization.

Mary who also arrived in Canada during the same period as Cathy, had a similar employment trajectory. During the interview, Mary was asked if she would accept a job offer that is not related to her profession. The following extract revealed Mary’s perspective on this conversation and provided an explanation why her employment trajectory was more like a straight path than a winding trail.

Extract 10 (Mary)
1 The Researcher: How about if it was a sales clerk position/in a department store, are you going to accept that?
2 Mary: NO
3 The Researcher: Why not?
4 Mary: Because it’s not related/to what I was trained and studied for/
5 It was my personal choice/
6 that I will NOT work in any other job
7 that is not related to my profession.

In this extract, Mary’s response represents an embodiment of the research paradigm where an IEP is typically directed in the pursuit of goal to integrate in the community of practice. She appeared to be not sidetracked by any other means except her parenting obligations but had shown persistence and dedication in the pursuit of her intended profession. This perspective of Mary had been shared with Cathy who also arrived during the same period and had followed only one direction in employment seeking experiences. The only difference was that Mary
pursued her career in a way that intertwined with her child-rearing responsibilities and family obligations. As a result, Mary had only worked with two employers, one with her first job in 1994 as an accounting clerk and the other with her most recent job as a senior accountant with her CGA designation. On the contrary, Cathy had work with several employers right after her arrival in 1988, although she had only worked in her related field and simply following one career path. Within-case analysis showed that Sindhu, an IEP from another culture Non-CoP had also worked in only one type of occupation as a general labourer. However, he mentioned that this did not help him in anyways to get an employment in his intended profession in Canada as a medical doctor.

A cross-case analysis with IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 showed that Pam, an RN, and Pedro, a former IT professional shifted careers to become a real estate agent and an office and administrative staff worker, respectively. Thus, Pam and Pedro had followed a straight path of one-directional employment trajectory. Whereas Pam was a member of a regulated (RG) profession, Pedro was employed in unregulated (UG) profession. In this group category according to the time of their arrival in Canada, Ben and Rene were both Filipino Non-CoP who shared a similar employment trajectory following a straight path but in an unrelated occupation (UO) as general labourers. Ben offered an explanation as to why he followed only one direction in seeking employment and did not pursue his profession in Canada as expressed in the following extract:

Extract 11 (Ben)

1 Ben: . . . In my case, I only applied for
2 industrial and factory jobs/
3 The Researcher: I see// But were you satisfied with those kind of jobs?
4 Ben: . . . long before I came here, my elder sister
5 who had been in Canada for so long/ ORIENTED me
6 about the kind of jobs that I would probably be doing here//
7 The Researcher: Uh hmm.
8 Ben: She told me that if I want to get the job/
9 that I was doing in the Philippines, I need to STUDY.
10 But since we came here as a family/
I should earn money first //
So I did not get the chance/ to apply in my intended profession -
The Researcher: May I know the reason why?
Ben: The reason is because . . . there is no assurance (hhh)
that I’ll get into my field even if I finished
my schooling here.

Based on this extract, Ben’s case is exceptional among this group category of IEPs that requires further inquiry and examinations. According to Ben, he only applied for industrial and factory jobs because of his preconceived idea that he will never get into his field in Canada unless he studied further (Line 9) and the lack of assurance that he will get into his field even he finished his schooling here (Lines 14 – 15). His sister was instrumental in instilling this belief into Ben and it no doubt was a contributing factor (Lines 4 – 5). However, other factors also affected Ben’s work experiences—pursuing an education was very difficult because he definitely needed money to support his family when they first came to Canada (Line 10). This helps to explain why he neither attempted to apply for his intended profession nor pursued an education further.

While Ben followed a straight path or one-direction in his employment trajectory, a cross-case analysis revealed that his situation bears some resemblance to Emma’s case whose trajectory is like a winding trail as presented earlier. The similarity of situation in both cases can be explained with the fact that both of them succumbed to the compensatory reward of not working in their intended professions. This could be a metaphor for an old Filipino adage that says ‘kapit sa patalim [Gripping the knife’s edge], a common reaction when a person is facing a threatening situation, even to the point of suffering or losing something for the purpose of survival or expectation of some future gains. In this perspective, however, Ben and Emma differ in some respects. Emma responded to her situation by exploring other work-related opportunities in her field and pursuing further training by taking a course in administration. She chose work and educational experiences that might help her achieve her employment in her intended profession. Although Emma did not succeed in both of her previous administrative positions, she rationalized her decision to concentrate with her job in the warehouse with an economic perspective.
The goal-directed approach and exploratory-seeking strategy that were observed in Emma’s case were obviously lacking in Ben’s case. On the contrary, Ben displayed a more defeatist approach in his employment seeking strategies that can be explained, in part, by the kind of orientations that he received from her sister who was already living in Canada. The orientation that Ben received from her sister prior to his immigration to Canada was explicit. In Ben’s own words, as stated in Line 5, *I was oriented* . . . and this can be interpreted as a form of wash back that may produce either beneficial or harmful effects on a new immigrant. His sister’s orientation about the nature of employment in Canada would naturally affect how Ben approached the realities of life in Canada. In Ben’s case, it appears certain that it did not encourage him to pursue his chosen profession.

As a form of wash back, the orientation that Ben received from his sister could also have had a powerful beneficial effect. It might have encouraged Ben to prepare himself through further training or education to upgrade his skills to be better able to pursue a career in his profession. It would have been prudent for Ben to have consulted a career counselor for more professional advice and see what other options were available to assist him to get into his intended profession in Canada. He could have also attended job fairs that were available in various government-sponsored employment resource centers located in their community, or established connections with other IEPs in their own communities of practice. These forms of beneficial or positive employment seeking strategies were absent in Ben’s case, but the exact reasons were not fully articulated by Ben in the interviews. Ben’s education as a business graduate, and his work history including more than 10 years banking experience appear to be strong enough positive factors on the surface to overcome even a negative orientation from his sister. As evident with Ben’s statement in Lines 1 – 2 that says: *I only applied for industrial and factory jobs* . . . , he decided his fate to not pursue his chosen profession for whatever reason or combination of reasons. Instead, he became a general labourer in Canada.

The case of Ben can be explained with Bourdieu’s theory using the concept of habitus and institutional cultural capital. Ben’s defeatist approach to pursue his profession in Canada and his deterministic attitudes as resulted from the kind of orientation that he received from his sister had become a part of Ben’s habitus – a way of thinking, perception, disposition, character and action that mediated his educational credential (institutional cultural capital) shaping or influencing his employment trajectory. In Excerpt 12, Ben talks about his employment background and the
various job transitions he made moving from one company to another and all leading to a straight path – a general labour type of occupation.

Extract 12 (Ben)

1  Ben: I first started working in large retail store/
2       and then, two days after/ I worked in glass factory/
3       where I stayed for one month//
4  While I worked in a glass factory,
5       I applied in an employment agency/
6       and I was HIRED to work for a lighter industrial job/
7       manufacturing contact lenses.
8       I work in that company/ for a three-month contract only.
9       Then, I worked in a pharmaceutical (?) company.
10  The Researcher: You really changed jobs a lot.
11  Ben: Oo, sabihin ko syo [Yeah, I’m telling you].
12  The Researcher: Uh um.
13  Ben: While I moved from one job to another,
14       my wage level also increases.
15  I did not change jobs if I knew that in the next one,
16       I would have the same wage level.
17  kaya sabi ko s’yo umaangat din ako kahit puro
18  factory jobs lang yun mga pinasukan ko.
19  [That’s why I told you, I was also moving up
20       even though I only employed in factory jobs.]

In this extract, Ben relates his sense of satisfaction in the various employment transitions that he made while working in a general labourer type of job. In Lines 13 – 14, he details his wage level increases as he moved from one company to another and this helps to explain what enticed Ben to remain in this kind of occupation. In Ben’s perspective, his employment trajectory seems to be moving in an upward direction even though he did not get the chance to work in a field that is related to his profession. Ben appears to be well compensated with his present employment in a
warehouse environment. This suggests the importance of extrinsic rewards in Ben’s value system and how these rewards kept Ben motivated to remain in this line of work.

Cross-case analysis showed that among the IEPs who arrived during the 2008 pre-recession period of 2002 – 2008, the cases of Mario, Singh and Mia also followed a one-directional path in their employment trajectory as Ben in unrelated occupations. However, unlike Ben who settled his mind with his work in the warehouse, Mario and Singh were struggling and hoping that someday they will get an employment in their field in Canada. Mia had also expressed the same kind of mentality as Mario and Singh, however her lack of confidence in spoken English, her prolonged exposures to unrelated work experiences, job dissatisfaction resulting from low income status, and her inadequate knowledge of the culture of work in the teaching profession in Canada had been keeping her away from her intended profession as an IEP. Considering all these factors, Mia may be considered as low achieving compared with IEPs within her group category and other IEPs across different categories according to year of arrival and integration to CoP.

The four remaining IEPs representing the greater number among the cases examined in this study had arrived recently who had one directional employment trajectory and all integrated in their intended professions. These included Nena (RN), Rose (CGA), Carlo (Bank Manager) and Celia (HR Manager). Both Nena and Rose were employed in regulated (RG) professions while Carlo and Celia were employed in unregulated (UG) but related professions. Considering various factors (individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual), they all had high level of confidence in spoken English, a high level of annual income, and reported to have the highest level of satisfaction associated with their jobs. Thus, this group may be categorized as high achieving IEPs considering these factors compared with IEPs within their group category and IEPs across the other group categories based on their year of arrival and integration to CoP.

**Pathways to Success**

In this section, the discursive construction of the meaning of success is examined by interweaving at least four interrelated components in connection with the previous discussions: the employment trajectories of the IEPs, their shifts in professional status, integration to their CoP, and level of job satisfaction. The discussion on this topic is relevant to identify the elements of success based on the employment experiences of IEPs and provide a better understanding of the many pathways that brought them into their present situation as to either
success or failure by drawing on insights from their own perspectives. The conversation of success and the pathways to achieve this was made clearer according to Ron’s perspectives as revealed in the following extract:

Extract 13 (Ron)

1 The Researcher: So you accepted the deliveryman position?
2 Ron: Exactly/
3 The Researcher: you seem to have some sort of
4 being demoted/
5 after getting your accountant designation/
6 Is that right?
7 Ron: --- No. That’s a very DECEIVING measure.
8 Because you’re only looking in terms of
9 designation/ But I don’t look at the particular
10 period/ in my employment experience/
11 as like a DEMOTION . . .
12 because when I accepted the delivery man
13 position/ after working as an accountant,
14 I was offered by a much HIGHER salary.
15 The Researcher: Uh hmm
16 Ron: In my case, I’m not looking at designation/
17 The Researcher: So how do you illustrate/your employment
18 trends in your case?
19 Ron: I would say, it was still moving upward/
20 Because I’m not looking at the title.
21 I would look at it in terms of the pay perspective/
22 --- And this is one way of looking at success.
23 You can also look at success in terms of job satisfaction.
24 The Researcher: So into what perspective are you looking at to define success?
25 Ron: I would say/ a combination of three different perspectives:
26 job satisfaction/ job designation/ and job pay/
27 But it depends on what’s your goal.
In this extract, Ron seems to argue that his decision to accept a deliveryman position that offered him a much higher pay cannot be considered as a demotion on his part. The reason for this was because he did not look at the job title or designation (Line 16) but instead he was looking at the pay perspective (Line 21), and this is one way of looking at success. This offers an explanation why he considered himself moving up despite of the nature of his position in this particular stage of his employment as a deliveryman. According to Ron, the way to success involves three essential elements: job satisfaction, job designation, and job pay (Lines 25 – 26). The meaning of success as related to job satisfaction has been supported by the greater number of participants in this study as in the case of Sarah, a Filipino CoP and an accountant who said:

It’s when I arrived home and feel happy for the job well done. It’s more on getting satisfaction for what you’ve done. I don’t mind how small or big my accomplishment is for as long as I have done my best. I’m okay with my previous and present employment. They’re all nice people. That’s one good thing if you have the same Christian faith. I’m happy for what I and my family are enjoying now. I think we’re so blessed for the many good things in life. We thank God for that.

Whereas Sarah’s definition of success relates more on her spiritual beliefs and personal satisfaction, Martin, an OCT defined success in terms of employment in the intended profession saying that: “Success for me is getting into your intended profession and to do the kind of work that you want. Also, it is when you feel accepted and satisfied with the people you worked with.”

The pathway to success as getting employed in the intended profession has been the dominant theme among the IEPs including Mario and Helen. Mario, a Filipino Non-CoP and a former engineer, pointed out the same perspective as Martin when he said: “Employment success for me is doing the kind of job that I want, and that is to get into my intended profession as an engineer. That’s what I’m here for in Canada. I want to give it a chance.” Similarly, Helen (RN) defined the pathway to success as: “. . . it’s when you established yourself in a particular profession and you’re happy about it”. Grace who was an OCT had the same perspective saying that: The way to success for me is to get employed in the field where I really want to get into.” Moreover, to find an employment that is related to one’s level of education has been voiced by Tina (OCT) as she mentioned: “I think . . . success is getting a job which is in line to what you have studied”. In addition to defining success as a concept akin to job satisfaction and employment in the intended profession, many of the Filipinos measured success based on the provision of material needs and comfort for their family as in the case of Ben, a Filipino Non-CoP who said:
I’m very satisfied now with my present job. I’m well off economically. My two children have both graduated from the university, and they are now working as registered nurses. Me and my wife are both happy. Ano pa bang hihingin ko? [What else could I ask for?].

The feeling of satisfaction and contentment that Ben has achieved for now is evident in his statement adding that he cannot ask for more. This dimension of success or happiness that could be found in providing for the needs of the family was also expressed by Maria as she reflected:

... when I think of my family and my kids right now, it makes me happy. It does not matter to me even I did not get into my intended profession here in Canada. What matters to me now is that all my kids are grown ups. We raised them with good education; they got good jobs, and now living with their own families already. Me and my husband are more than happy about that. I think and feel very much compensated for all I have done here.

The importance of pay was emphasized strongly among the IEPs as a pathway to achieving success as in the case of Pedro who mentioned: “... it’s when you’re happy in what you’re doing, you’re happy with the people you worked with, and most of all you’re happy with your pay”. Although the theme of higher pay had been one of the most important dimensions of looking at success among the IEPs, this was opposed by Rose (CGA) as she said:

It’s hard to find success in money alone ... success is not all about money. For me, the most important thing is when you’re happy with the people around you. What is the use of money when you’re getting a lot of stress at work?

Allan, a municipal engineer, had espoused this sentiment as he explained:

I already got the highest position in my field here in Canada as an engineer but I learned that when you have a high salary, you still have to work Saturdays and Sundays and you’ll never be happy because it suffers your time and rests.

**Factors Influencing the Employment Trajectory**

The perspectives held among the IEPs on the conversation of success can be summarized according to three fundamental elements or dimensions which clearly revealed the pathways and the multifaceted ways of finding fulfilment in employment. These include: *job satisfaction*, *job designation* and *job pay*. Through comparing and contrasting the many different perspectives on this topic, it appears that these three dimensions of looking at success are in most cases interrelated depending on the goal of an individual in a given situation (see Ron’s Extract 13, Line 27). This dimension of looking at success reverberates in what Pedro says: “... it’s when you’re happy in what you’re doing, ... with the people you worked with, and most of all ...
with your pay.” Figure 23 shows how the three fundamental dimensions of the pathways to success (job satisfaction, job designation, and job pay) can be funneled into four factors (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors) determining the employment trajectories of the IEPs (curvature and straight).

The funneled three dimensions into four factors is illustrated in Figure 24 that indicates how each of the three dimensions of the pathways to success are defined according to each of the factors influencing the employment trajectory. As illustrated, the concept of job pay can be defined by individual factors, the changing economic conditions and level of income. The dimension of job designation can be defined by the sociodemographic factors (age, ethnicity and educational attainment), integration to the CoP and the concept of the employment in the intended profession. Furthermore, job satisfaction based on results of the present study were related to the contextual factors and may be defined by the changing policies on immigration and employment, sociolinguistic factors (language ability and use), and the systemic barriers of employment - Canadian experience and soft skills requirements.

The resulting employment trajectories of the IEPs and their shifts in professional status as categorized according to their year of arrival are illustrated in Appendix I showing in detailed the 30 IEP participants – their year of arrival, professions in home country, first job in Canada, present job, employment trajectory, and their integration and level of satisfaction with present employment. Resulting from various factors as previously analyzed, the employment trajectories of each IEP participant can be described as either curvature (winding) or straight path (one-directional). Each of the employment trajectories of IEP participants has been defined based on their shifts in professional status which refer to the changes in their professional status from their first job to present job.
Figure 23. Dimensions of pathways to success: Job satisfaction, job designation and job pay

Figure 24. Dimensions of pathways to success according to factors influencing the employment trajectory
Figure 25 shows that based on employment trajectory and year of arrival, the early arrival IEPs during the period of 1988 – 1994 and those who arrived during the 1990 economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 had an employment trajectories that are more curvature or winding. This may suggest the difficulties among the IEPs to look for jobs during these periods that led many of them to different types of employment including precarious jobs. Moreover, the employment trajectories of some of the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 were also curvature. However, there were also some recent arrival IEPs whose employment trajectories were more straight than curvature. The straight path employment trajectory among the recent arrivals which is different from other groups of IEPs can be explained by the changing macro economic conditions during the time of their arrival and thus, lend support to the previous findings (Aydemir, 2003; McDonald & Worswick, 1997).

Figure 25. Comparing the employment trajectories of IEPs according to the economic conditions of the time of their arrival
Integration and Satisfaction

Results of the present study seem to suggest that the employment success among the IEPs can be determined not only by their employment trajectory (curvature or straight) and their resulting shifts in professional status, but also by their integration or lack of integration to their intended or related profession in conjunction with level of job satisfaction.

It is important to consider that not all of the IEPs who were integrated had a straight path employment trajectory, rather many of them passed through a curvature path leading to their success. Therefore, it only makes sense that the criteria for success among the IEPs cannot be based solely on their employment trajectory and shift in professional status but most importantly on their integration or lack of integration to their profession. However, as this present study results reveal some IEPs who were not integrated or employed in unrelated occupations (UO) such as general labourers or warehouse workers had also reported a considerable level of satisfaction in their employment, meaning it is important to define success not only in terms of integration in the intended profession but also according to the individual’s level of job satisfaction. Thus, the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status of the IEPs were analyzed and interpreted according to the fundamental principle of integration or lack of integration and level of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This basic analytical frame had resulted in the categorization of IEPs according to their characteristics as determined by the four principles of integration-satisfaction.

As shown in Figure 26, the four principles described the fundamental relationships between integration in the intended profession and job satisfaction among IEPs based on the study results. As an important criteria or dimension of integration, the principle may describe the direction of integration as to either moving to (upward) or moving away (downward) from the intended profession, and the level of job satisfaction as to either satisfied (positive) or not satisfied (negative). In this manner, the four principles in employment can be drawn describing the nature and direction of the relationship between integration and satisfaction into four basic types: positively upward (integrated and satisfied), positively downward (not integrated but satisfied), negatively upward (integrated but not satisfied), and negatively downward (not integrated and not satisfied).
Four integration-satisfaction principles in employment

- Positively upward (+ +): Integrated and satisfied.
- Positively downward (+ -): Not integrated but satisfied.
- Negatively upward (- +): Integrated but not satisfied.
- Negatively downward (- -): Not integrated and not satisfied.

In the following discussions, the four principles of integration and satisfaction are elaborated further in the light of the present study results. The four principles describing the integration-satisfaction relationship had resulted into four classes of IEPs according to their distinguishing characteristics such as high achieving or positively upward (integrated and satisfied), contented or positively downward (not integrated but satisfied), struggling or negatively upward (integrated but not satisfied), and low achieving or negatively downward (not integrated and not satisfied). The direct translation or funnelling of the integration-satisfaction principles according to the four classes of IEPs are illustrated in Table 7 and Table 8. Table 7 shows how each individual IEP is categorized according to their integration and satisfaction, year of arrival and employment trajectories. Additionally, Table 8 illustrates the frequency distribution of the four groups of IEPs according to their year of arrival and employment trajectories. This latter illustration serves as a useful guide in conducting a more detailed analysis of how the four groups of IEPs were impacted by the economic conditions during the time of their arrival.
Table 7
Four Classes of IEPs by Employment Trajectory, Year of Arrival, Integration and Satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>High Achieving IEPs: Integrated and satisfied</th>
<th>Contented IEPs: Not integrated but satisfied</th>
<th>Struggling IEPs: Integrated but not satisfied</th>
<th>Low Achieving IEPs: Not Integrated and Not Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helen – curvature</td>
<td>Ben – straight</td>
<td>Anita – curvature</td>
<td>Mario – straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary – straight</td>
<td>Rene – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mia – straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cathy – straight</td>
<td>Emma – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td>Singh - straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ron – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Li- curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 – 2001 (n = 7)</td>
<td>Pedro – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martin – curvature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joe – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ann – curvature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pam – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tina – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002 – 2008 (n = 13)</td>
<td>Allam – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nena – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rose – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carlo – straight</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alec – curvature</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Celia – straight</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grace – curvature</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The results presented in Table 7 and Table 8 revealed the four different classes of IEPs according to their integration in their CoP and their job satisfaction, year of arrival, occupational categories or professional backgrounds and their resulting employment trajectories and shifts in professional status. The results were determined using the multiple embedded case study design where the IEPs where divided and sub-divided according to these categories and sub-categories representing the different units or levels of analysis of the study.

According to year of arrival, 18 of the 30 IEP participants were high achieving. Of the 18 high achieving IEPs, eight were recent arrivals between 2002 – 2008 (Allan, Nena, Rose, Sarah, Carlo, Alec, Celia, and Grace), six were early arrivals between 1995 – 2001 (Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Cathy, Ron, and Li), and four were mid-range arrivals who came between 1995 – 2001 during an economic recovery period (Pedro, Joe, Pam, and Tina).

According to occupational backgrounds, six of the high achieving IEPs (integrated and satisfied) were employed in the field of accounting and banking, four were in nursing and allied health professions (see Figure 27). The remaining eight of the high achieving IEPs were equally distributed in other types of professions with two in engineering, two in IT, two in HR and
administration, and two in teaching. On the other hand, there were four low achieving IEPs (not integrated and not satisfied) including two engineers, one medical doctor and one teacher. The other two classes of IEPs consisted of the four contented IEPs and four struggling IEPs. The four contented IEPs (not integrated but satisfied) who were employed in unrelated occupations (UO) in Canada had professional backgrounds in their home country with each one of them in the field of engineering, accounting and banking, HR and administration, and teaching. It is noteworthy that the four struggling IEPs (integrated but not satisfied) were employed in their professions in Canada as occasional teachers.

According to employment trajectories, many of the high achieving IEPs (18) had navigated a curvature employment trajectory with 10 of them who were recent arrivals and eight early arrivals. Of the four contented IEPs who were mostly mid-range arrivals, three had curvature employment trajectory while only one had a straight path. Surprisingly, all four of the struggling IEPs who were occasional teachers were recent and early arrivals and had curvature employment trajectory. In contrast, the four of the low achieving IEPs were mostly recent arrivals and all had a straight path employment trajectory.

*Figure 27. Comparing low achieving and high achieving IEPs by occupational category*
The matrix in Figure 28 depicts the integration-satisfaction relationship resulting in the major distinctions and descriptions of the four classes or groups of IEPs as presented in the following discussions.

![Four Classes of IEPs](image)

*Figure 28. Four classes of IEPs according to the integration-satisfaction principles*

**The high achieving.**

Describing the information presented in Figure 28, the first category of IEPs is identified as *high achieving* (Quadrant 1) who were *integrated and satisfied*. This is based on the study results in which the first principle of integration-satisfaction was drawn, which says ”all IEPs who were integrated were satisfied”. This can be explained with their most distinguishing characteristics that set them apart from other groups as evident in their highly successful present employment status resulting from their acceptable level of language proficiency or confidence in spoken English, having their first job related to their intended profession, receiving a high level of income, and possessing unique personal qualities such as perseverance, patience, dedication to
lifelong learning and the pursuit of knowledge and skills for their own professional growth and advancement. Table 8 shows that the employment trajectories of the high achieving IEPs were more curvature than a straight path. Most of the IEPs in this quadrant were recent (2002 – 2008) and early arrivals (1988 – 1994) who were integrated in their intended professions in the fields of accounting and banking, nursing and allied health.

**The contented.**

The second group is categorized as *contented* (Quadrant 4). These IEPs are categorized as *not integrated but satisfied*. According to the second integration-satisfaction principle, “some IEPs who were not integrated had also expressed their job satisfaction”. This can be explained not because of their socio-demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, education), but because of their acceptable level of income, culture of work, and contextual factors of the workplace characterized by inclusiveness despite of diversity, voice or freedom of expression, and equity as attributed to company unionization. Similar to the high achieving IEPs, the employment trajectories of the contented group were more curvature than a straight path (see Table 8). The contented IEPs were predominantly mid-range arrivals (1995 – 2001) during an economic recovery period. The IEPs in this category had professional backgrounds in their home country in the field of engineering, accounting and banking, HR and administration, and teaching.

**The struggling.**

The third group of IEPs is described as *struggling* (Quadrant 2), those who were *integrated but not satisfied*. According to the integration-satisfaction principle as drawn from the present study’s results, although some IEPs had already been integrated in their CoP, they were not satisfied in their employment as they were often confronted with issues of indifference or lack of belongingness or acceptance in the workplace. This had resulted in their feeling of inferiority or lack of self-esteem. The source of dissatisfaction among this group can be traced from the fact that their distinctive identities were challenged by the dominant group. Results suggest that the challenges they had been facing in their employment can be attributed to their socio-demographic characteristics (ethnicity, education and professional status), individual factors (low level of income), and sociolinguistic factors (language ability and use, linguistic and cultural differences). Moreover, contextual factors of the workplace such as exclusion among some members within the CoP, and highly structured power relations established and sustained
domination, subordination, and marginalization. The IEPs in this group had employment trajectories that can be described as curvature, suggesting many contours in the employment paths that they traversed in their struggle to be accepted, recognized and fully integrated. In this study, the struggling IEPs consisted of occasional teachers who were mostly recent (2002 – 2008) and early arrivals (1988 – 1994).

**The low achieving.**

The fourth group of IEPs is identified as low achieving (Quadrant 3), this group included those who were not integrated and not satisfied. According to the integration-satisfaction principle, some IEPs were not integrated and not satisfied resulting in their unfavourable employment situation. This group often lack the means or economic resources to meet the requirements of the re-credentialing processes that they had failed in their attempts to be integrated. The source of their job dissatisfaction can be explained by their socio-demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, education), individual factors such as low level of income, finding themselves in a precarious employment situation in their first job or staying in an unrelated occupation (UO) over an extended period of time. The combination of these factors often coalesced in this group finding themselves stuck in dead end jobs. Although some of the low achieving IEPs had expressed intention to be integrated, they were incapable to do so because of their low level of language proficiency, accents, distinctive personal style, disposition and preconceived idea that they were not recognized by the dominant group. Whereas the three other groups of IEPs had employment trajectories that are curvature, an interesting finding shows that the low achieving IEPs have a straight path employment trajectory. They were predominantly recent arrivals (2002 – 2008) with professional backgrounds from their home country in the field of engineering, medicine and teaching.

The low achieving IEPs were compared to high achieving IEPs to determine if their failure to integrate was related to the changing policies and economic conditions or the year of their arrival and employment trajectory. Figure 29 shows that both groups were recent arrivals and that the difference in their level of achievement or employment success was mainly attributed to their employment trajectories.

Comparing the two groups of IEPs who arrived during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008, the employment trajectory of the high achieving IEPs was characterized by a curvature
path suggesting that they went through various employment experiences as part of their exploratory employment seeking strategies during the time of their arrival. On the contrary, the low achieving IEPs experienced employment trajectories that were more characterized as straight than curvature suggesting that they did not pursue any further attempts to explore other employment opportunities that were related to their intended professions. This may explain in part why they stayed too long in unrelated occupations (UO) and they were stuck in dead-end jobs. Indeed, failing to pursue other employment opportunities may have resulted in their having a straight path employment trajectory yet low level of success in their employment experiences.

The impact of the changing economic trends in comparing the level of achievement or employment success between the low achieving and high achieving IEPs can be explained by the fact that among the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 economic recession of 2002 – 2008, there were higher cases of high achieving IEPs than the low achieving IEPs. The cases of high achieving IEPs could have been lower had they arrived during the 1990 pre and post economic recession. Table 8 indicates very clearly that of the 13 IEPs who arrived recently, eight IEPs were high achieving or successful within their chosen field in Canada, three IEPs were low achieving as they failed in their attempts to integrate in their intended professions, and two IEPs were struggling as they attempted to be recognized in their employment status as occasional teachers that resulted in dissatisfaction with their jobs. However, the high number of high achieving IEPs was also noted among the early arrivals during the pre and post 1990 recession between 1988 – 1994. Parallel with the recent arrivals, the employment success among the early arrivals can be explained by their curvature employment trajectory suggesting their changes or movements in various occupational categories.
To summarize the preceding discussions, Figure 30 shows that a higher number of IEPs in this study were high achieving or integrated and satisfied (60%) and there were only a small number who were not integrated but satisfied (13%) – the contented; integrated but not satisfied – the struggling (13%); and not integrated and not satisfied (13%) – the low achieving.

In this discussion, it is noteworthy that although some of the IEPs who were not integrated also reported job satisfaction as in the case of the contented group, there was no cases found among the IEPs who were integrated but not satisfied. Results clearly showed that all of the IEPs in this study who were integrated, representing 60% of the total participants, were all satisfied with their professions in Canada. This only suggests that there is higher satisfaction that can be derived when the IEPs become integrated than when they are not and this satisfaction may reap many benefits not only for the IEPs themselves, but also for the entire society and economy.
The Policy and Materialization of Discursive Reality

Although the influence of the changing policy landscape and the changing economic conditions were evident in the employment trajectories of the IEPs based on the study results, there was an observed lack of awareness or ignorance among the IEPs on the existing policies, programs and services that the government offered to skilled immigrants. As Li said: “I don’t know about policies . . . I only heard that there were lots of jobs here, but when I came to Canada I can’t get employed in my profession.“ A better understanding of how the immigration system works for skilled immigrants is vital in finding the right kind of employment as early as during or before their arrival in Canada. In relation to the role of government policies on immigration and the employment of immigrants, Pedro, a Filipino CoP shared his views on this conversation with his comments:

Eventhough they [Canada] are very strict about their employment requirements, now I learned that Canada is a fair country. It’s like an open door . . pwede kang pumasok pero kailangan magsumikap ka [you may go in but you have to be hardworking].

In this statement, Pedro was trying to emphasize the importance of hard work and individual responsibility among immigrants for their own needs and not only to depend on others or seeking
support from the government. He also expressed his belief that Canada is a fair country despite the strict employment standards.

Although the great number of IEPs in this study were not fully aware of the many government programs and services being offered for them, the role of the Canadian government and Ontario policies on the integration of IEPs had either directly or indirectly influenced their employment trajectories.

Based on Foucault’s (2002) analytical lens, the employment experiences presented in this study in the form of interview extracts and narratives, which in many instances were emotionally laden, are common discourses (discursive) according to the IEPs. These perspectives had guided their choices or actions (non-discursive) leading to their present employment situation as the construction of the discursive realities (materialization). The common discourses on the employment experiences of IEPs that this present study had generated become the representation of many social realities that can be understood as material reality (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The validity of results of this study is anchored on the perspective that:

... discourses can be viewed as not a second-class material reality, not ‘less material’ than ‘real’ reality, not passive media into which reality is imprinted. . . [these are] are fully valid material realities among others. Therefore, discourse cannot be reduced to a notion of ‘false consciousness’ or ‘distorted view of reality’ (pp. 26-27).

The contradiction among the policies and the common discourses on the integration of IEPs can be looked at from the vantage point of the materialization of the discursive realities in terms of the present employment situation of the IEPs and the manner how their identities have been transformed encompassing the multifaceted nature of their professional life. According to the perspectives of many IEPs, their employment experiences had turned out favourably to their own advantage as can be summarized in the following extracts as in the case of Mario who draws personal reflections based on his employment experiences in Canada from the past and the present saying that:

My professional identity has changed a lot from being an engineer to becoming a general labourer in Canada. But looking back through the years, I can say that I’m still lucky because I was able to support my own family. In 2007, me and my wife were able to buy our own house. I feel happy about that. Although I was not able to practice my profession here, I’m still hoping, and I’ll keep on trying to make it one day.
In this statement, Mario expressed ambivalence on his employment experiences in Canada as to whether it was a success or failure. However, he is looking forward to one day when he will be integrated in his intended profession. He also expressed satisfaction about what he had accomplished for his family in terms of economic aspect. In the case of Grace who was already integrated, she reflected on the difficult process she went through and how it changed her professional identity at the present:

My professional identity has changed a lot beginning as a teacher assistant, a supply teacher but now I’m a full-time permanent teacher. My transformation did not happen overnight. Looking back, I went through a very long and difficult process. But I got into this through patience and strong determination.

Like Grace who was also a teacher, Anita was proud of becoming a teacher in Canada. However, she somewhat regrets that if she had decided to stay in the Philippines then, she could have been in a much higher position now like her contemporaries as she said:

Since my first job when I arrived in Canada working as a customer service crew in McDonald’s way back in 1996, I feel happy that I was able to overcome that challenge. I’m happy that I’m now doing a work of the teacher. However, I feel sad too. Because if I stayed back home, I must have been doing a much better job like my contemporaries who are now a Secretary of Education in the Philippines.

Among the IEPs in this study, an IEP from another culture CoP named Vlad, had the strongest and highly emotionally-charged opinion on this conversation about the employment of immigrants in Canada as he asserted:

*I feel very bad . . .* I was teaching Calculus in the university back home, and when I came to Canada, I started from a very low position. Although, I’m highly qualified, they still keep me from a very low position as a supply teacher, and I feel discriminated! I think very clearly that the government policy only favours and protects the Canadian born and those who are educated here.

The perspective that Vlad has shared differs from other IEPs such that he is critical of his employment situation and feels being discriminated with his perception about the biases of the government policy that only favours the native-born. Although Dr. Vera, a Filipino CoP and a dentist had also encountered many challenges in Canada, she expressed being proud of her present achievement as she recalled:

Well . . of course, I’m proud that I got it (certifications), the fact that I went through a very long and difficult process. I went my way through this profession by working initially as a factory worker. I had many lapses along the way not only because of financial difficulties but also due to family responsibilities.
Parallel with Dr. Vera, Allan who was a Municipal Engineer had mentioned about prestige and confidence related to the re-certification of his professional status in Canada as he stated: “It changed me a lot. Having a designation or title of a Professional Engineer (PE), it gives you more prestige and confidence. When you get that license, that shows that you’re competent in your field.” In relation to what Allan is saying, Rose a CGA offers an important lesson based on what she learned from her employment experiences:

The most important thing here is you should start working in line with your field. This makes it very difficult for most immigrants because they come here and just take all kinds of jobs that come along their way. I think this is wrong mentality among Filipino immigrants. You have to start working in the field which is in line to your profession. Even though it is low position, it’s okay for as long as it is related to your area of specialization. In my case, I started working as an accounting clerk. Although I was doing menial jobs inside the office, the point is I was already in my line of work.

In this statement, Rose strongly suggests that new immigrant should start right from the very beginning by finding jobs related to their professions. However, she is also aware that this is a reality that is very difficult to accept among many Filipino IEPs. This argument is quite true in Emma’s case who articulated an entirely opposing view on this conversation:

I have learned in Canada that you have to grab whatever opportunities that comes along your way. You need to start somewhere and take the job whether it is related to your profession or not. In Canada, I learned how to humble myself although I worked in the Philippines in a supervisory capacity in a world-class five star hotel. I thought then that I have to start somewhere, and to live my life all over again in a different environment. Once you have started, then that’s the time, you have to decide where you really want to go. . . although my professional identity has changed from a hotel supervisor in the Philippines to becoming a warehouse worker in Canada.

As this thread of conversation among the IEPs reveals, Emma has absolutely contradicted Rose who also presented her own rationalizations. The observed contradictions may be resolved depending on the situation of an individual IEP. The persistent attitude among the Filipinos that Rose has brought forward may be acceptable. However, considering that not so many Filipino have the financial resources to move on with their re-certification process, it is also necessary to adopt a pragmatic view on this issue which can be learned from the employment experiences of Ron as he stated:

In the Philippines, I was an accountant in a prestigious accounting firm. When I came to Canada, I became more mature and get a better understanding of how the world is like. I started from the bottom and my employment experiences have shaped my
identity into a better person. When I started, I want to be in a position where I can earn and live a decent life, and to be more secured, and attain a stable position.

The lessons learned from the employment experiences of Ron suggest the importance of having the right balance between persistence and pragmatism. The perspective that the IEPs held in this study can be scrutinized into two different conflicting views that may explain their employment trajectories resulting in their shifts in professional status—persistence versus pragmatism. Based on what perspective an individual IEP adopted, either one or the other, had dictated the pathway that he or she navigated be it a straight path or curvature path. To end this conversation, there is nothing more practical and humane than to adopt the position that Emma held saying: *I have to start somewhere and to live my life all over again in a different environment. Once you have started, then that’s the time, you have to decide where you really want to go.*

However, the critical issue on what Emma stated is the element of time and the question is how much longer would an IEP to decide whether to stay or leave from an unrelated occupation. For some IEPs, they did not want to stay too long in precarious employment as Allan stated: *Six months lang ako nagtrabaho sa factory and then, umalis agad ako [I only work in the factory for six months and then I left right away] to look for jobs in my field.* Although there is nothing wrong with being *persistent* to achieve one’s professional goal in life as what Rose and other groups of IEPs in this study has articulated, the contradictions on the opposing views among the IEPs on this conversation can be resolved by adopting a combination of both perspectives. Depending on the need of the situation, an IEP may also adopt a *pragmatic* view as what Emma, Ron and other IEPs have shared. This does not mean to say that the goal of integrating into one’s intended profession shall be set aside permanently. However, as there are many other priorities that come along the way, this goal may be temporarily suspended for the time being in favour of other life’s goal, which according to Ron includes a decent life, security, and stable position. According to Emma, when this time sets in, “then that’s the time, you have to decide where you really want to go.”

To achieve a broader perspective on this conversation, the analysis is extended in the following discussions by comparing the Filipino IEPs with IEPs from other cultures.
Comparing the Filipino IEPs with Other IEPs

The two-group category of IEPs according to their ethnicity and CoP (Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures) were compared according to their year of arrival, employment trajectory, and the principle of integration-satisfaction. Table 9 shows the four classes of Filipino IEPs according to their year of arrival, employment trajectories, and shifts in professional status according to the four integration-satisfaction principle, that is, the integration in their intended profession and job satisfaction. Within-case analysis results showed that the 24 Filipino IEPs in this study can be distributed according to their year of arrival with seven as early arrivals during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 (Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Cathy, Ron, Maria and Anita), seven arrived during 1990 economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 (Pedro, Joe, Pam, Tina, Ben, Rene and Emma), and 10 were recent arrivals during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008 (Allan, Nena, Rose, Sarah, Carlo, Grace, Martin, Ann, Mario and Mia).

Describing the Filipino IEPs as a whole, their employment trajectories were more like a curvature path (14) than a straight path (10). The curvature employment trajectory was found among the Filipino IEPs including Dr. Vera, Helen, Ron, Maria, Anita, Joe, Tina, Rene, Emma, Allan, Sarah, Grace, Martin and Ann. On the other hand, the Filipino IEPs with straight path employment trajectory included Mary, Cathy, Pedro, Pam, Ben, Nena, Rose, Carlo, Mario and Mia).

According to the integration-satisfaction principle, 15 of the 24 Filipino IEPs were highly achieving (Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Cathy, Ron, Pedro, Joe, Pam, Tina, Allan, Nena, Rose, Sarah, Carlo and Grace), four were contended (Maria, Ben, Rene and Emma); three were struggling (Anita, Martin and Ann), and two were low achieving (Mario and Mia).
Table 9
Four Classes of Filipino IEPs by Year of Arrival, Employment Trajectory, Integration, and Satisfaction (N = 24)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Arrival</th>
<th>High Achieving IEPs: Integrated and satisfied</th>
<th>Contented IEPs: Not Integrated but satisfied</th>
<th>Struggling IEPs: Integrated but not satisfied</th>
<th>Low Achieving IEPs: Not Integrated and Not Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988 – 1994</td>
<td>Dr. Vera – curvature</td>
<td>Maria – curvature</td>
<td>Anita – curvature</td>
<td>Mario – straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 7)</td>
<td>Pedro – straight</td>
<td>Ben – straight</td>
<td>Martin – curvature</td>
<td>Mia – straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helen – curvature</td>
<td>Rene – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary – straight</td>
<td>Emma – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cathy – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ron – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 – 2001</td>
<td>Allam – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 7)</td>
<td>Joe – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pam – straight</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tina – curvature</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2002 – 2008</td>
<td>Nena – straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(n = 10)</td>
<td>Rose – straight</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah – curvature</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carlo – straight</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grace – curvature</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 shows the classes of IEPs from other cultures according to their year of arrival, employment trajectories and shifts in professional status as defined by the four integration-satisfaction principles. As for the six IEPs from other cultures, results showed that according to the year of arrival, they were equally distributed between the early arrivals during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 (Li, Vlad and Sindhu) and the recent arrivals during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 (Celia, Alec and Singh). The employment trajectories of the IEPs...
from other cultures were more like a curvature path (Li, Celia, Vlad and Alec) than a straight path (Sindhu and Singh). According to the integration-satisfaction principle, three of the six IEPs from other cultures were high achieving (Li, Celia and Alec), one was struggling, and two were low achieving (Sindhu and Singh).

Cross-case analysis results show very clearly that there were no significant differences between the Filipino IEPs and the IEPs from other cultures. According to the year of arrival, there was a higher number of both Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures who were recent arrivals, having an employment trajectories described as curvature, and that based on the four integration-satisfaction principles, a great number of them were both high achieving (see Figure 31). This can be interpreted to mean that there were similarities in the employment experiences of both Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures in terms of the influence of the changing policies, changing economic conditions, and the four factors previously discussed in this study (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual factors).

Table 10
“Other” IEPs by Employment Trajectory, Year of Arrival, Integration and Satisfaction (N = 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Arrival</th>
<th>High Achieving IEPs: Integrated and satisfied</th>
<th>Contented IEPs: Not Integrated but satisfied</th>
<th>Struggling IEPs: Integrated but not satisfied</th>
<th>Low Achieving IEPs: Not Integrated and Not Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988 – 1994</td>
<td>Li - curvature</td>
<td>No observations found</td>
<td>Vlad – curvature</td>
<td>Sindh - straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 3)</td>
<td>Alec – curvature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Celia - straight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 – 2001</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No observations found</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002 – 2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>(n = 3)</td>
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In the this final section, the impact of employment trajectory on employment success was further examined by focusing the analysis mainly on the high achieving IEPs, and thus, to find out which of the two employment trajectories as to either curvature or straight path had resulted in their successful integration and better job satisfaction. Figure 32 illustrates the present study results showing that among the 18 high achieving IEPs with 15 Filipinos and three from other cultures, there was slightly higher number of IEPs with employment trajectories which are curvature rather than a straight path. Result suggests that although finding a job only in an intended profession with a persistent attitude and one-directional focus is more desirable based on the employment experiences of eight IEPs (Mary, Cathy, Pedro, Pam, Nena, Rose, Carlo, Celia), navigating a curvature path in the search for employment in the intended profession is even much more to be desired. This perspective was according to the experiences of 10 IEPs (Dr. Vera, Helen, Ron, Joe, Tina, Allan, Sarah, Grace, Alec and Li) who also started from scratches but in the end have found their way through a workplace to where they intended to be.

*Figure 31. Similarities of Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures*
The final chapter is presented in the next section which integrates the findings of the present study and the implications to the underutilization of the skilled immigrants, policy and the changing economic conditions, policy and reality, theory building and knowledge construction and the pathways to employment success.
Summary

The chapter can be divided into six analytical components as follows. First, employment trajectories among the IEPs resulted from various factors as either curvature or straight path, and how the time or year of arrival had influenced the employment trajectories. Second, the emerging themes identified as the three essentials elements or dimensions of the pathways to success include job satisfaction, job designation and job pay, influencing the employment trajectory. These dimensions were funneled into the four factors of socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual. Third, four classes of IEPs are determined by the fundamental principles of integration satisfaction. Fourth, comparisons of the low achieving and high achieving IEPs were undertaken according to year of arrival and employment trajectory. Fifth, policy and materialization of discursive realities resulted in the two major conflicting perspectives on the employment trajectory. Sixth, comparisons of the Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures were made according to year of arrival, employment trajectory, and the integration-satisfaction principle. Finally, it was determined how employment trajectory impacted employment success, integration and job satisfaction focusing on high achieving IEPs.
Chapter 11: Integration and Implication of Findings

This final chapter presents the summary of results as presented in the previous chapters and divided into four key areas: first, integration of findings; second, implication of findings; third, the conclusion based on the given findings; and fourth, recommendations for future research. The first section called, integration of findings summarizes the entire study including the results and major key points during data analysis and discussion of results. The second section discusses the relevant implications of the present study results in six different areas including: the Canadian economy in terms of the underutilization of skilled immigrants; the policy and the changing economic conditions; policy and reality with sub-topics on contradiction in the policies and contradiction between policy and reality; the IEPs then and now and policy initiatives for the future; theory-building and knowledge construction; education policy and practice; and the lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs. The third section presents the conclusion of the study in relation with the three major research questions that guided this research; and lastly, the recommendation of this study for future research based on the implications of the present findings.

Integration of Findings

In this section, results of the present study are summarized into six major topics, namely: (1) the participants; (2) the study context; (3) individual factors which included two sub-topics, level of income and employment seeking experiences. The results on employment seeking experiences can be further sub-divided into four components including the length of time in seeking employment for first job as may be influenced by the professions in home country, integration to community of practice as may be influenced by the length of practice of professions in home country, length of time in seeking current employment as may be influenced by previous Canadian experience, and present employment situation based on employment status during the first job in Canada and the present; (4) sociolinguistic factors which included two sub-sections on the role of language and language ability and use. The discussion of results on language ability and use is further sub-divided into two sections: firstly, the interaction of employment on language ability and length of stay and secondly, the interrelationships of language ability, employment and level of income; (5) contextual factors including the discussions on the membership in professional regulatory organizations, re-credentialing processes and procedures,
the search for employment in the intended professions focusing on the Canadian experience and soft skills requirement, the culture of work and integration experiences of IEPs encompassing the discourses on power relations and domination in the workplace, the determinants of employer-employee relationships, and the application of the Bourdieu’s theory on the integration in the community of practice among the IEPs; and lastly, (6) employment trajectory and shifts in professional status.

The summary of the factors which have been explored and examined in this study are presented in Table 11. The influence of each factor on each of the four classes of IEPs is indicated by an X mark suggesting the importance of the factor on the IEPs as categorized into four classes. Based on the participants’ responses from the EEQ and the emerging themes from interviews, results showed that of the 24 factors which were embedded into four broad set of factors (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual) including the policies and year arrival, only two were identified as not important to IEPs. These included the integration to CoP based on the length of professional practice in home country (see Figure 15) and the length of time in seeking employment for the current job (see Table 16) under the individual factors. These factors were not important in explaining the IEPs’ employment experiences and trajectories.

Moreover, the summary of important concepts drawn from the major findings of this study are presented in Figure 33 to illustrate how the grounded theory were integrated in the conceptual framework as previously presented in Chapter 3. Lastly, a comparison of the major findings of this study with other relevant empirical studies are summarized in Table 12 suggesting how the present study may contribute to the existing body of knowledge based on the literature review and studies.

**Participants**

This section summarizes the discussions on socio-demographic factors presented in Chapter 5. Participants in this study consisted of 30 IEPs with 13 males and 17 females. Most of them were aged from 45 to 55 \((n = 18)\), others were 36 to 45 years old \((n = 7)\) and a smallest number from age group 56 to 65 \((n = 5)\). According to educational attainment, 13 had master’s degrees, 15 were bachelors, one was a medical doctor and one was a doctor of dental medicine. A higher number of the participants were teachers \((n = 7)\), accountants and bank professionals \((n = 7)\). There were six engineers, five in nursing and allied health, three in HR and administration and
two in IT. According to ethnic background, there were 24 Filipinos, three Europeans, one Chinese, one Indian and one African. In terms of integration, 22 were CoP while eight were Non-CoP. Among the IEPs who were integrated in their CoP, 14 were re-certified in Canada, members of PRO or employed in regulated professions (RG) and eight were employed in unregulated (UG) professions related to their field. The remaining eight participants were employed in occupations unrelated (OU) to their intended professions or area of expertise. Based on ethnicity and membership in their CoP, there were 18 Filipino CoP, six Filipino Non-CoP, four IEPs from other culture CoP and two IEPs from another culture Non-CoP. According to the time or year of arrival, 13 were recent arrivals between the years 2002 to 2008, 10 were early arrivals during the period 1988 to 1994 and seven arrived during the years 1995 to 2001.

Table 11
*Summary of the Factor Importance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>The Internally Educated Professionals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High achieving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policies and changing economic conditions</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early arrivals/ Pre and post 1990</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic recovery period of 1995 - 2001</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent arrivals/ Pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-demographic:</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational attainment</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*X = Importance of factors among IEPs*
Table 11 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>High achieving</th>
<th>Contented</th>
<th>Struggling</th>
<th>Low achieving</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integration to CoP</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Levels of income</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment seeking experiences:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Length of time in seeking employment for first job</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration to CoP **</td>
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<tr>
<td>Length of time in seeking current employment **</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present employment situation</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Sociolinguistic:</strong></td>
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<td>Role of language</td>
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<td>Language ability and use:</td>
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<td>Interaction of employment on language ability and length of stay</td>
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</table>

*X = Importance of factors among IEPs  
** = Not important*
Table 11 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Struggling</th>
<th>Low achieving</th>
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<td>Re-credentialing processes and procedures</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Search for employment in the intended profession:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian experience and soft skills</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Culture of work and Integration experiences:</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Power relation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Employer-employee relationship</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency, trust and equity</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Employment trajectory</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*X = Importance of factors among IEPs*

**The study context**

The study was positioned in the context of the changing policy landscape on immigration and employment in Canada and the shifting macro economic conditions that significantly impacted on the labour market access and integration of skilled immigrants. Drawing from the previous study results (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004) which suggested the significant policy changes in
relation to changing economic conditions that impacted on the labour market situation including employers and labour groups, the immigrant population has been identified as the most vulnerable group who are often severely impacted by economic downturns and experiences significant difficulty re-entering employment during economic recessions (Aydemir, 2003). Based on previous studies (Chiswick et al. 1997; Chiswick & Miller, 1999; Aydemir, 2003) that the changing economic conditions during the time or year of arrival of immigrants significantly influenced their labor market access, integration and employment trajectory, participants in the present study were categorized according to their year of arrival and identified into three group category, namely, the early arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994; economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001; and the recent arrivals during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008. This categorization of IEPs was based on findings using the Labour Force Survey (ESDC, 2015) that revealed the sharp decline in the employment rates in Canada either at the federal or provincial levels during each of the three world’s major recessions in 1981, 1990 and 2008. Consequently, the unemployment rates had remarkably increased during these periods.

The relevant policy implications of the changing macro economic conditions as revealed in the fluctuations in the labour market situations were examined. The present study results illustrated the changing policy landscape on immigration and employment across the shifting macro economic conditions from 1976 to 2014 encompassing the two major world recessions in 1990 and 2008 during the time when the IEP participants had arrived in Canada. My findings on the changing policy landscape revealed at least three important considerations. First, major policies were identified that resulted to a change in the Canadian immigration which included the passing of the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947, the Immigration Act of 1976, Multiculturalism Act of 1988, and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2002 in which the present immigration policy has come to evolve. Second, the changing policy landscape most recently revealed the contradicting layers on policy objectives particularly between the federal and provincial levels of government such as the federal government sponsored Canada Experience Class (CEC) category and the OHRC policy on removing the Canadian experience requirement as barrier in the employment of immigrants. Third, using CDA, my findings revealed the existing contradictions in the immigration policies between the federal government and Ontario and the conflicting discourses in the conceptualization of the recent immigration policies. My analyses focused on
the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 which have been proposed in response to the current changing labour market situations.

Clearly, the policy analysis results showed that the introduction of CEC category in the immigration policy is not only contradicting with the OHRC’s policy on removing the Canadian experience requirement barrier in the employment of immigrants but this policy is paving the way towards a more divisive rather than an inclusive labour market scenario. With the critical perspective, the contradictions surrounding the recent immigration policies and regulations such as the CEC program and the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014 are manifested in the neoliberal globalization discourse that masks the problematic nature of policy objectives under the common rhetoric of competition, economic efficiency or global competitiveness.

**Individual factors**

The role of individual factors in the employment trajectories of the IEPs were explored and examined focusing on level of income and the employment seeking experiences, which may be unique to individual IEPs. Grounded on the literature that the time of arrival of immigrants in the labour market is affected by the economic conditions and that the high level of unemployment when they entered into the labour market will result in their unfavourable employment outcomes, participants were divided into group category according to their time or year of arrival: pre and post 1990 recession (1988 – 1994), economic recovery (1995 – 2001) and pre 2008 recession (2002 – 2008). The effect of macro economic conditions on the IEPs’ employment trajectory was determined by comparing their level of income during their first job at the time of arrival and level of income with their present job at the time of the survey.

**Level of income.**

The impact of economic conditions on IEPs’ employment trajectory was examined in terms of three factors: effects of the group characteristics of IEPs at the time of their arrival; economic conditions at the time of arrival (level of income with the first job), and economic conditions at the time of the survey (level of income with the present job). Using these three factors, results revealed that the time of arrival had impact more significantly on the employment outcomes of IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001. This shows higher increases in the levels of income between their first job and their present job as determined
during the time of the survey. Either the early arrival IEPs (1988 – 1994) or the recent arrival IEPs (2002 – 2008) has also indicated significant increases in their present levels of income compared with their levels of income during their first job in Canada. However, there was a high level of employment dissatisfaction among the recent than the earlier arrival IEPs, which can be explained by specific group characteristics that may moderate the impact of economic conditions during the time of their arrival or entry in the labour market. Moreover, the time of the survey may explain in large part the significant increases in the levels of income among the three groups of IEPs as well as the most recent immigration policies and programs designed to assist skilled immigrants to integrate in their intended professions. The significantly higher level of income among the IEPs with their present job during the time of the survey compared to their level of income with their first job in Canada can be explained by the economic conditions that may have impacted the employment experiences of the different groups of IEPs in this study according to the year of their arrival in Canada. These results supported the empirical studies suggesting how the time of the immigrants’ arrival including the changing policies and shifting macro-economic conditions and their labour market entry may have impacted on the long-term employment trajectories and integration experiences of immigrants (Aydemir, 2003; McDonald & Worswick, 1997).

Employment seeking experiences.

The employment seeking experiences of IEPs which are largely determined by individual factors or characteristics were also explored and examined. This was further sub-divided into four basic analytical components including the length of time in seeking employment for first job (as may be influenced by professions in home country), the integration to community of practice in Canada (which may be influenced by the length of years in IEPs’ professional practice in home country), and the length of time in seeking present employment (as may be influenced by IEPs’ previous employment experiences), and comparing the employment situation or status during first year in Canada and the present. Each analytical component was presented according to the three groups of IEPs by their year of arrival.

Length of time in seeking employment for first job.

Based on the length of time in seeking employment for first job (as may be influenced by professions in home country), results suggested that the frequencies of IEPs were not evenly
distributed across various time categories. There is substantial information suggesting a higher number of IEPs who found their first jobs in less than one year (< 1 Year) compared with IEPs in any other time categories after their arrival in Canada. Summarizing the results, of the 25 IEPs who found their jobs in less than one year (< 1 Year), 12 were recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008, eight were early arrivals in 1988 – 1994, and five had arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001. The remaining five IEPs had found their jobs in more than one year. Despite of the shorter length of time in seeking for their first employment, a great number of IEPs had their first jobs in the general labour category.

**Integration to community of practice.**

According to the integration to community of practice in Canada (which may be influenced by the length of years in IEPs’ professional practice in home country), results suggested that there was only a marginal differences on the length of professional practice in the home country among the IEPs in various time categories. Although a greater number of IEPs who were integrated had arrived during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 - 2008, many of them were able to integrate into their CoP regardless of whether they had only fewer than 5 years (< 5 Years) or more than 10 years (> 10 Years) of professional practice in their home country. Based on the study results, this explains why the number of years of professional practice in the home country was not an important factor influencing the integration experiences of the IEPs.

**Length of time in seeking current employment.**

On the length of time in seeking current employment (as may be influenced by IEPs’ previous employment experiences), present results suggested that the differences in the year of arrival did not make the employment seeking experiences much shorter for one group while more prolonged for other groups of IEPs.

**Present employment situation.**

The improvement in the present employment situation of the IEPs was determined by comparing how employment status of IEPs has changed from the time of their arrival to their present employment situation. Each group of IEPs was analyzed separately according to the time of their arrival by comparing their employment situation or status during the year of their arrival and the present. My analysis revealed that the early arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession
of 1988 – 1994 somewhat portrays a better employment scenario at present and this can be explained with the fact that there was larger number of participants in this group (8) who was able to integrate in proportion with the total number of participants (n = 10) who arrived during this period (80%). The recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 also depicted a good illustration of present employment scenario with 10 or 77% of the total (n = 13) who arrived during this period were integrated just slightly lower compared with the percentage of the early arrival IEPs. However, there was higher number of IEPs in this group category who expressed higher level of dissatisfaction with their present employment relative with the earlier arrival IEPs.

**Sociolinguistic factors**

The sociolinguistic factors were examined focusing on the role of language, language ability and use, the interaction of employment on length of stay and language ability and use, and the interrelationships of language, employment and income among the IEPs.

**Role of language.**

Results revealed an important role of language in the immigration policy, cultural diversity and multiculturalism policy. Language was a key to integration. The different ways of speaking English among individuals of various ethnicities had also revealed the power of language to become a barrier to employment and a means for differentiation among the IEPs. The language barriers facing among IEPs can be overcome with the positive attitudes and some of the enduring qualities and traits among the Filipinos.

The findings suggest that the NNES status and the educational attainment of the IEP participants impacted their integration experiences, particularly among the high achieving compared with the low achieving IEPs. As the educational credentials of the IEPs, who were all NNESs, were acquired in their country of origin where English was used as the medium of instruction, the findings showed that language ability and use had influenced the employment success of the participants. The greater number of high achieving than the contented, struggling and low achieving IEPs in this study could mean that the NNES status of the IEPs and their educational credentials from a country of origin where English was a medium of instruction were important to their employment success.
The role of language can be explained with the differences in the employment trajectories between the high achieving and low achieving IEPs. Whereas the high achieving IEPs were integrated in their intended professions despite their different linguistic backgrounds, the other participants in this study particularly the struggling and low achieving IEPs were facing barriers in their integration process because of certain sociolinguistic factors such as language ability and use including accents. Considering the employment experiences of the struggling and low achieving IEPs, the integration or distinction among the IEPs was evident based on their NNES status and membership in visible and audible ethnic minorities, despite the educational credentials from their country of origin where English was used as a medium of instruction for both Filipino IEPs and from other cultures. These results suggested the important role that language played in the employment success or failure among the IEPs.

**Language ability and use.**

The discussions on *language ability and use* were divided into two analytical components. Firstly, language ability and use was examined with the length of stay in Canada based on the participants’ responses to the interview question that asked how much their level of confidence in speaking English has improved with their present employment compared during their first few years of stay in Canada. The information collected on the basis of 30 IEP participants revealed that there was slightly positive relationship between *language ability* and *length of stay* among the participants. Secondly, the power of language to differentiate the IEPs according to their *language ability and use* was examined in the areas of education and employment. The narrative of Tina entitled, “The White Lady and Ms. D.” illustrated how the language education program and related policies became an agents of social divide in the re-certification program among IEPs. The narrative of Nena called, “Lost in Translation” has presented one of the many challenges confronting some Filipinos in their work setting because of their insufficient knowledge of Canadian work culture that they sometimes failed to translate the meaning of their communication to others.
Interaction of employment on language ability and length of stay.

Language ability and use was examined to determine how it was influenced by the length of stay in Canada and how employment in the intended profession or CoP among the IEPs interacted with the relationship between language ability and length of stay. Results of this present study revealed that language ability and use in terms of improvement in the level of confidence in speaking English may be slightly positively related to the length of their stay in Canada. This is interpreted to mean that the IEPs who had longer years or length of stay (at least more than 20 years) in Canada or had arrived earlier during the period 1988 – 1994 could have positive improvement or higher level of confidence in speaking English compared to IEPs who had shorter years or length of stay (at least 10 years) in Canada or had arrived recently during the period of 2002 to 2008.

As there were higher number of IEPs who had longer years of stay in Canada (at least 20 years) or had arrived earlier during the period of 1988 – 1994 and had been integrated relative to the number of IEPs who had shorter years of stay (at least 10 years) or had arrived more recently during the period of 2002 – 2008, results of this present study revealed that the employment in CoP could have interaction with the positive impact of length of stay or year of arrival on language ability and use among the IEPs.

Language ability, employment and level of income.

The influence of language ability and use in the employment of IEPs in their CoP and level of income was also examined. The present study supported the major findings from the literature indicating the direct impact of language proficiency on income and employment. My findings revealed that IEPs who received the highest annual income range had been integrated in their CoP. Indeed, they all had started with their first job related to their intended professions and they all had reported to have confidence in spoken English. In contrast with the high income IEPs, the low income IEPs were characterized by having their first job in precarious types of employment, inadequate understanding about the labour market as in the case of Mia and Ben, unfavourable employment experiences, and not having language proficiency. The unfavourable employment experiences had been reported among the four occasional teachers despite the fact that they are already integrated in their CoP. The underlying factors behind their job dissatisfaction can be explained in part by their relatively low-income status. Results indicated very clearly that among
the IEPs with the lowest annual income range, were those who had reported to have a low level of language proficiency and, at the same time, dissatisfaction in employment.

**Contextual factors**

The contextual factors of employment influencing the employment trajectories of the IEPs were explored and examined focusing on four major topics or sections: membership in professional regulatory organizations, re-credentialing processes and procedures of IEPs, search for employment in the intended professions, and the application of Bourdieu’s theory in the integration of IEPs in the community of practice.

To explore and examine the contextual factors of employment, the IEPs were categorized according to their year of arrival, occupational category, and group category based on their ethnicity and CoP. Results revealed that the most dominant themes on contextual factors influencing the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs were the Canadian experience, soft skills requirement, and the culture of work. Based on the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs who were Non-CoP (Ben, Maria and Emma), other contextual factors that emerged included the discourses on power relations and domination in the workplace and the determinants of employer-employee relationships including the three essentials components, namely, worker efficiency, trust and equity in the workplace.

**Membership in professional regulatory organizations.**

According to the *membership in professional organizations*, there were 14 IEPs (46%) who have been certified with various professional regulatory organizations in Ontario and currently working in regulated (RG) professions, eight IEPs (27%) were employed in unregulated (UG) professions, and eight (27%) worked in occupations unrelated (UO) to their professions. According to the year of arrival and employment or integration in their intended profession or community of practice, there was a greater number among the recent arrival IEPs (54%) during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 who had been re-certified (Allan, Nena, Martin, Rose, Ann, Alec and Grace). This was followed by the earlier arrival IEPs (50%) during the pre 1990 recession of 1988 – 2001 including Dr. Vera, Helen, Mary, Vlad and Anita. Only two of the seven IEPs who arrived during the economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 were members of their professional organization, namely, Pam, an RN and Tina, an OCT. The large number of
recent and early arrival IEPs who had been integrated in their professional organizations were teachers and nurses. The increased number of certified teachers who arrived most recently during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 to 2008 can be explained with the growing number of government-initiated programs, services and policies that were designed to assist new immigrants in their integration.

On the re-credentialing processes and procedures, the emerging themes were divided into three problem areas. First was the problem of inconsistency, lack of transparency, and failure to recognize the foreign credentials among IEPs. Second, the downgrading of the educational credentials of IEPs and labeling on the part of the PRO according to the educational institutions where the IEPs graduated. Finally, financial difficulties among the IEPs made it difficult to complete the requirements for re-credentialing processes and procedures. The re-credentialing processes and procedures among the IEPs were discussed according to their occupational category.

**Search for employment in the intended professions.**

The most dominant themes on contextual factors influencing the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs were identified including the Canadian experience, soft skills requirement, and the culture of work. In search for employment in the intended professions, among the contextual factors explored and examined in this study were Canadian experience and soft skills requirement. Based on the experiences of the IEPs, this present study found that the first job or first Canadian experience had largely determined the future employment among the IEPs. Employers were looking for work experience where knowledge and skills can be readily transferred into actual situation based on the nature of job. Furthermore, the Canadian experience requirement was most prevalent during the period of economic recession and recovery which impacted the IEPs including those who were looking for factory jobs or precarious employment. Finally, during periods of work stoppage or labour turnover, the IEPs had greatly benefited from pursuing a program of study or taking a course related to the intended profession, among other findings.
Culture of work and integration experiences of IEPs.

Based on the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs, other contextual factors that emerged from extracts and narratives included the discourses on power relations and domination in the workplace and the determinants of employer-employee relationships including the three essentials components, namely, worker efficiency, trust and equity in the workplace. The emerging themes focusing on the culture of work and integration experiences of the IEPs were examined using the constant comparative method of grounded theory and the CDA methodology. Based on the analysis results from the vignette entitled, “A Day in the Life of an Occasional Teacher,” the power relation and domination in the school setting was portrayed, and illustrated how it was established and maintained through language use and social practice.

Analysis results on the vignette entitled, “The Math Teacher” revealed how an identity of an IEP was challenged and being treated with indifference in the context of a workplace on the basis of employment status, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences. The vignettes were explored and examined with multiple cases using within-case and cross-case analysis approach.

Results revealed that although there were five occasional teachers included in this study (Ann, Vlad, Martin, Anita, and Tina) who were already integrated in their community of practice as they have already been re-certified by an Ontario professional regulatory body, many of them questioned their role and the social inclusiveness of the school system where they performed their duties and responsibilities as occasional teachers. Findings revealed their experiences of being marginalized, treated with indifference by superiors or colleagues, and facing challenges, which the IEPs perceived to be related to their distinctive identities, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences in the context of their work environment. The challenges that they confronted had resulted in their feelings of being downgraded, feelings of inferiority with their position or lacking in self-esteem. Although this results were found only in small percentage of the total participants (17%) who were mostly occasional teachers, this also required further attention and discussions in terms of the implications of this study results.

Cross-case analysis results revealed that the themes on power relation, domination, subordination, and employer-employee relationship were also emerged among the IEPs who were Non-CoP. The analysis of extracts revealed the dynamics of modern-day employer-employee relationship involving the three interrelated components: worker efficiency, trust and
equity in the workplace. Based on analysis of extracts and narrative among the IEPs who were Non-CoP (Ben, Emma, Maria), the present study results suggested the importance of balancing the power relations between employee and employer in the workplace. Such balanced relationships were found among the contented IEPs – those who are not integrated but satisfied. Results revealed that the satisfaction among the contented IEPs was attributed to their work environment with acceptable level of pay, satisfaction of their intrinsic motivation (freedom of expressions) and extrinsic motivation (compensatory reward), job security, equity and inclusiveness. These were evident among the Non-CoP employed as general labourers in a unionized workplace. An importance lesson can be learned from the contented IEPs that the integration in the community of practice is not all that matters but it is the worker’s level of satisfaction, freedom of expressions, and his/her rights as a human agent. Results suggested that this can only be realized in an ideal workplace that defies the mainstream economic theory that the labour market is perfectly competitive with the shifting paradigm and the basic notion of an imperfect world of work.

**Integration in the community of practice: Application of Bourdieu’s theory.**

The re-credentialing processes and procedures of the IEPs with the PRO and their integration experiences can be explained by Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) concept of *habitus* and *institutional cultural capital*. Based on Tina’s experience and the other IEPs, my present findings suggested the limitations of policies on language education and re-certification programs to insure and protect the employment and integration of the IEPs. There appeared to have the presence of *invisible hands* in the context of employment among the multiple cases, which restricted the full integration of the IEPs in this study. The presence of invisible hands was most evident in the sociolinguistic and contextual factors that, in one way or another, had influenced the employment and integration experiences of the IEPs.

Bourdieu’s theory was evident among the high achieving IEPs and the reproduction of their employment success as a form of social capital that sets them apart from the struggling and low achieving IEPs. On the other hand, the situation of the contented IEPs can be explained by the concept of habitus that mediated with their educational credential (institutional capital). In the light of Bourdieu’s theory, results seemed to suggest that the level of satisfaction the contented IEPs attained with their present employment had also indicated some manifestation of power for
reproduction. In this study, the application Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and institutional capital was discussed first in the specific context of a workplace using the case of Ann, second in the reproduction of Ann’s situation in multiple cases of IEPs including Mario, Maria, Mia, Ben, and Emma, and third in the application of habitus in the re-credentialing process or membership of IEPs with the professional regulatory organizations.

Results of the analysis revealed how the processes and procedures of membership through the professional regulatory organizations have produced class inequalities and its perpetration on the valuation and recognition of educational credentials between two classes, the IEPs and non-IEPs. The membership through the professional regulatory organizations can be perceived as a field of power struggle. In this power struggle, conflicts of domination and subordination between the collective societies represented by the professional regulatory organizations and different classes of individuals who are seeking membership and integration with the collective societies can be seen. The perpetuation of social inequality in a given field or context was demonstrated through interaction between the institutional cultural capital and habitus. In this study, the interlocking mechanism was used to illustrate habitus as a construct that mediates through the IEPs possession of cultural capital (or vice-versa) and their exclusion or inclusion in the regulated professions.

**Employment trajectory and shift in professional status**

Results of the study showed that the role of the changing policies and economic conditions can be explained by the differences in the employment trajectories among IEPs according to the time or year of their arrival in Canada. In this study, the employment trajectories of the higher number of early arrival IEPs during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994 and those who arrived during the 1990 economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001 were found to be more curvature or winding. On the contrary, the employment trajectories of many of the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008 were more like a straight path. This result suggested the difficult nature of finding a job, particularly among the IEPs who arrived during pre and post 1990 recession and the following economic recovery period that led most of them into various types of employment including precarious jobs. On the other hand, the straight path employment trajectories of many IEPs who arrived during the pre 2008 recession can be a good indication that they had more stable employment during this
period compared with other IEPs who arrived during the peak of economic recession and the following recovery period. Clearly, the differences in the employment trajectories among the three groups of IEPs can be explained along with other factors by the changing policies and macro economic conditions during the time of their arrival and thus, lend support to the previous findings (Aydemir, 2003; McDonald & Worswick, 1997).

In terms of employment success or failure, results showed that not all of the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 recession who had a straight path employment trajectory were high achieving. Some of the recent arrival IEPs who had straight path employment trajectory were also low achieving (not integrated and not satisfied) and struggling (integrated but not satisfied). Whereas, the cases of high achieving IEPs with the straight path employment trajectory among the recent arrivals can be normally expected, the cases of low achieving IEPs during this period can be explained by their increasing job dissatisfaction and lack of integration. Findings have relevant policy implications on the present immigration and employment of immigrants in Canada.

Given the resulting employment trajectories of the IEPs, the discursive construction of the meaning of success was examined by interweaving the four interrelated components: employment trajectories of the IEPs, shifts in professional status, integration to their CoP, and level of job satisfaction. Drawing insights from the employment experiences of the IEPs, there were three factors that emerged from their interview extracts and narratives providing explanations of the many pathways that brought them into their present situation as to either success or failure. These three emerging themes included job satisfaction, job designation, and job pay. These three elements or dimensions refer to the pathways to success that can be funneled or directly translated into the four factors (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors) influencing the employment trajectories of the IEPs (curvature and straight). The funneling of the three dimensions of the pathways to success into the four factors indicated how each of the dimensions was defined according to each of the factors influencing the employment trajectory.

By examining the three dimensions of the pathways to success (job satisfaction, job designation, and job pay) as funneled through the four factors (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors), results revealed that the employment success among the IEPs cannot be
determined alone by their employment trajectory (curvature or straight) and their resulting shifts in professional status. Rather, success can also be understood in terms of their integration or lack of integration to their intended or related profession in conjunction with level of job satisfaction.

Considering that not all of the IEPs who were integrated had a straight path employment trajectory, it only makes sense that the criteria for success among the IEPs cannot be based solely on their employment trajectory and shifts in professional status but most importantly on their integration or lack of integration to their profession. However, as this present study results revealed that some IEPs who were not integrated or employed in unrelated occupations (UO), such as general labourers or warehouse workers, also reported a considerable level of satisfaction in their employment, it is important to define success not only in terms of integration in the intended profession but also according to the individual’s level of job satisfaction. Thus, the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status were analyzed and interpreted according to the fundamental principle of integration or lack of integration and level of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This basic analytical frame had resulted in the categorization of IEPs according to their characteristics as determined by the four principles of integration-satisfaction.

The four principles describing the integration-satisfaction relationship had resulted into four categories of IEPs according to their characteristics such as high achieving or positively upward (integrated and satisfied), contented or positively downward (not integrated but satisfied), struggling or negatively upward (integrated but not satisfied), and low achieving or negatively downward (not integrated and not satisfied). The four categories of the IEPs were discussed in detailed according to their distinguishing characteristics representing the most important highlights of this study.

To determine if the failure to integrate among the IEPs was related to the changing policies and economic conditions or year of their arrival and employment trajectory, the low achieving IEPs were compared with the high achieving IEPs according to the year of their arrival and employment trajectory. Results revealed that there was higher number of recent arrival IEPs in both groups and that the difference in their level of achievement or employment success was mainly attributed to their employment trajectories. Comparing the two groups of IEPs, who both arrived during the pre 2008 recession period of 2002 – 2008, the employment trajectory of the high achieving IEPs was characterized by a curvature path suggesting that they went through
various employment experiences as part of their exploratory employment seeking strategies during the time of their arrival. In contrast, the low achieving IEPs were characterized by employment trajectory that was straighter than curvature suggesting that they did not pursue any further attempts to explore other employment opportunities that were related to their intended professions. This may explain in part why they stayed too long in unrelated occupations (UO), that they were stuck in dead-end career jobs resulting in their straight path employment trajectory and low level of success in their employment experiences. Based on this result, the employment trajectory of the high achieving IEPs was strongly suggested because it resulted in successful integration and better job satisfaction than the straight path employment trajectory of the low achieving IEPs.

The impact of the changing policies and economic trends in comparing the level of achievement or employment success between the low achieving and high achieving IEPs can be explained with the fact that among the recent arrival IEPs during the pre 2008 economic recession of 2002–2008, there were higher cases of high achieving IEPs than the low achieving IEPs. The cases of high achieving IEPs could have been lower should they arrive during the 1990 pre and post economic recession. Results indicated very clearly that of the 13 IEPs who arrived recently, eight IEPs were highly achieving or successful with their chosen field in Canada, only three IEPs were low achieving as they failed in their attempts to integrate in their intended professions, and two IEPs remained contented in their present employment in occupation unrelated (OU) to their professions.

Summarizing the discussions on the four categories of IEPs according to the four integration-satisfaction principles, results revealed that the higher number of IEPs in this study were high achieving, integrated and satisfied (60%). The rest of the participants were spread equally among the contented who were not integrated but satisfied (13%), the struggling who were integrated but not satisfied (13%) and the low achieving, not integrated and not satisfied (13%). It is noteworthy that although some of the IEPs who were not integrated had also reported their job satisfaction as in the case of the contented group, there were no cases found among the high achieving IEPs who were integrated but not satisfied. Results clearly showed that all of the IEPs in this study who were integrated, representing 60% of the total participants, were all satisfied with their professions in Canada. This only suggests that there is higher satisfaction that can be
derived when the IEPs become integrated than when they are not, and this satisfaction can reap many benefits not only for the IEPs themselves but also for the entire society and the economy.

Based on Foucault’s (2002) analytical lens, the interview extracts and narratives as presented in this study which in many instances were emotionally-laden involved the three fundamental aspects of the employment experiences of the IEPs: discursive, non-discursive and materialization of discourse. The discursive aspect are the common discourses according to the IEPs’ beliefs and perspectives while the non-discursive aspect refers to the IEPs choices or actions leading to their present employment situation. The present employment situation of IEPs which can be either success or failure represents the construction of their discursive realities or otherwise referred to as, the materialization of discourse. The contradiction among the policies and the common discourses on the integration of IEPs can be looked at from the vantage point of the materialization of the discursive realities in terms of the present employment situation of the IEPs and the manner through which their identities have been transformed encompassing the multifaceted nature of their professional life. The perspective that the IEPs held in this study can be scrutinized into two different conflicting views that may explain their employment trajectories resulting in their shifts in professional status - persistence versus pragmatism. Based on what perspective an individual IEP adopted, either one or the other, had dictated the pathway that he or she navigated – a straight path or curvature path.

The Filipino IEPs were compared with IEPs from other cultures according to their year of arrival, employment trajectory, and the integration-satisfaction principles to achieve a balance perspective on the conversation regarding employment in the intended profession. Cross-case analysis results showed very clearly that there were no substantial differences between the Filipino IEPs and the IEPs from other cultures. According to the year of arrival, there was a higher number of both Filipino IEPs and IEPs from other cultures who were recent arrivals, having an employment trajectories described as curvature, and that based on the four integration-satisfaction principles, a great number of them were high achieving. This can be interpreted to mean that there were similarities in the employment experiences of both Filipino IEPs and the IEPs from other cultures in terms of the influence of the changing policies, changing economic conditions, and the four factors previously discussed in this study (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual factors).
To determine which of the two employment trajectories had impacted in the successful integration and better job satisfaction among the IEPs, the employment trajectories of the high achieving IEPs were examined. Results revealed that there was a slightly higher number of IEPs with employment trajectories that are curvature than a straight path suggesting that the curvature is most likely to result in employment success based on the experiences of the high achieving IEPs.

The important concepts and major findings of this study can be summarized in Figure 33 depicting the factors influencing the employment trajectories of the IEPs and their shifts in professional status vis-à-vis a summative-integrative model.

According to the theoretical lenses previously discussed and used to analyze and interpret the data collected in this study, the different concepts that emerged from the study results are presented in Figure 33 combining the conceptual framework from the literature review and the

Figure 33. Factors influencing the employment trajectories and shifts in professional status of IEPs: A summative-integrative model
study results according to the grounded theory. This summative-integrative model can be divided and explained into five major components corresponding to the five boxes with thick solid lines which are numbered accordingly to guide in the discussions. These are identified as: (1) the factors; (2) pathways to success; (3) employment trajectory -- shifts in professional status; (4) integration - satisfaction; and (5) the four classes or categories of IEPs. The direction of the arrows connecting the five boxes with thick solid lines suggests the causal links of the five major components. Each component consists of several sub-components that are interconnected as indicated by several other boxes situated at the lower portion of the five major components.

As illustrated, there are four broad set of factors influencing the employment trajectories of IEPs (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual), the policies and the changing economic conditions as they funneled into three other emerging factors, namely job pay, job designation, and job satisfaction. These factors are considered as elements of the pathways to success, which are directed to a straight path employment trajectory. Such a path is considered linear in that it is theoretically inclined towards the IEPs intended professions, which normally results to employment success. But depending on how the factors are influencing the IEPs, they might be sidetracked and find an employment in occupation unrelated (OU) to their intended profession. Based on how they changed employment from their first job to their present job, the two types of employment trajectories were determined such as curvature and straight path.

The employment trajectory of IEPs may be influenced by policies, economic conditions during year of arrival, and socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual factors. The curvature employment trajectory also known as winding refers to the employment experiences among IEPs characterized by frequent job changes or movements in various occupational categories. It represents movement in the IEPs’ occupational categories from the time of their arrival in Canada, to the time they acquired their first job, to the job that they held at the time of participating in this study. On the other hand, the straight path employment trajectory also known as one-directional refers to the employment experiences among the IEPs who experienced less movement in their occupational categories from the time of their arrival, to their first job, to their job at the time of participation in this study.
The *frequency* or duration of job changes or movements along the continuum of success or failure and the *direction* of movement towards or away from the community of practice (CoP) or integration in the intended profession are two important dimensions of employment trajectories that distinguished the different categories or classes of IEPs (high achieving, contented, struggling, and low achieving). In this study, there were only few cases of high achieving IEPs who had successfully integrated in their CoP or intended professions through a straight path. Whereas many of the high achieving IEPs and struggling IEPs had navigated the curvature employment trajectory, many of the contented and low achieving IEPs had a straight path employment trajectory.

The linkage between employment trajectory and shift in professional status has been indicated in this model by a cyclical arrow. Consequently, the four classes of IEPs were identified based on the results suggesting the relationship or linkage between integration in the intended profession and job satisfaction that: (1) Not all IEPs who were integrated had a straight path employment trajectory as many of them had also navigated a curvature path; (2) There were IEPs who were integrated but they were not satisfied with their jobs; (3) There were IEPs who were not integrated but they were satisfied with their jobs. Accordingly, it appears that employment success or failure cannot be solely determined based on whether the IEPs had a curvature or a straight path employment trajectory, or whether they are integrated or not; rather, it is a question of whether or not they are satisfied with their employment achievements that determines employment success.

By examining the relationships between integration and satisfaction, there were four principles that determined the four classes or categories of IEPs. As shown in the lower portion of this major component, these were identified as *high achieving, contented, struggling* and *low achieving*. The distinctive characteristics of each class of IEPs are discussed in the findings chapter. The conceptual definition of each one is also provided in the glossary section.

Lastly, the comparisons of major findings in this present study with other relevant empirical studies are summarized in Table 12. The important discussions comparing or relating the major findings with other relevant studies are found in the findings chapters according to the page numbers provided.
Table 12
Comparison of Major Findings with Relevant Empirical Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Findings</th>
<th>Relevant Empirical Studies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language ability and use (pp. 111, 118, 122)</td>
<td>Statistics Canada (2005), Derwing &amp; Waugh (2012), Gee (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-credentialing processes and procedures (pp. 140, 175, 178)</td>
<td>Girard &amp; Bauder (2007), Kelly et al. (2009), Peters (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers’ distrust on IEPs: Lack of Canadian experience, soft skills requirement and person-organization fit (p. 147)</td>
<td>Girard &amp; Bauder (2007), Reitz (2007b); Kelly et al. (2009), Kerekes et al. (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underutilization of skilled immigrants (p. 254)</td>
<td>Reitz et al. (2014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing policies, macro economic conditions, and the employment trajectories of IEPs (pp. 206, 235, 245)</td>
<td>Aydemir (2003); McDonald &amp; Worswick (1997);</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Implications

Based on the given findings, the present study had relevant implications from the vantage point of the economy and society in terms of the optimum utilization of skilled immigrants as a form of human resources, immigration and employment policy, education policy and practice, and for the individual IEPs in terms of the lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs. The implication of findings are divided into seven different areas including: i) the Canadian economy in terms of the underutilization of skilled immigrants; ii) the policy and the changing economic conditions; iii) policy and reality with sub-topics on contradiction in the policies and contradiction between policy and reality; iv) the IEPs in the present policy contexts and changing economic conditions; v) theory-building and knowledge construction; vi) education policy and practice; vii) the lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs. Each of these implications is discussed in detailed as follows:

Underutilization of skilled immigrants

Results of the present study had greatly contributed to the body of knowledge on the underutilization of skills among foreign-trained immigrants who came to Canada for the purpose of finding employment in their related professions. The results of the present study revealed that neither the employment trajectory nor integration in the intended profession can be a criterion for employment success or failure among the IEPs, but that job satisfaction was important for many IEPs in describing success in employment. From the human perspective, the satisfaction of personal needs that can be derived from employment is acceptable. However, this may not be the case from the economic point of view considering that the cost of not working in the intended profession is enormous for the national economy.

The findings have relevant implications in the underutilization of skills among the IEPs which can be looked at according to their economic and functional obsolescence. In the cases of the contented, struggling and low achieving IEPs, economic underutilization could mean their inability to generate a fair return on their educational credentials as a form of human capital investment. Corollary, functional underutilization may refer to the reduction in the valuation of the utility, usefulness, and desirability of the IEPs’ human capital because of their prolonged
exposure to unrelated occupations leading to dead-end careers or jobs. The underutilization or obsolescence of skills among IEPs were evident among 40% of the participants who were identified as low achieving (13%), struggling (13%), and contented IEP (13%). In the cases of Mario and Singh who were both engineers with more than 10 years of professional experience in their field, they could have earned much higher should they have been employed in their intended professions. The lost in earning potential is even greater in the case of Sindhu, a former medical doctor who was also trapped in a dead-end occupation as a general labourer for almost 10 years. In Sindhu’s interview extract, he somehow expressed regrets for staying too long in this kind of employment as he said: . . . this job did not help me get closer to my intended professions. In the same vein, Singh was remorseful on what he attained in Canada saying: . . . I was already doing a white-collar job back home . . . but here I have been doing an entry-level job for several years already.

The wastage in terms of underutilization of skills among the Non-CoP participants in my study is huge. Indeed, it contributed to approximately $2 billion annually in lost revenue in the form of taxes for the Canadian government according to Reitz (2001), and between $3.4 – 5B per year in lost productivity (Conference Board of Canada, 2004). In a more recent study, the value of work lost to the Canadian economy resulting from underutilization of the skills among the IEPs has skyrocketed from $4.80 billion per year in 1996 to approximately $11.37 billion in 2006 (Reitz, Curtis & Elrick, 2014). The same study had also reported the increasing number of university-educated immigrants based on census data indicating that their access to skilled occupations declined during the period of 1996 – 2006. The findings of this study are somewhat aligned with the finding that there has been a decline in access among skilled immigrants since the early 2000s and that “this coincided with increased program efforts, including foreign credential assessment, bridge training, and others . . . and that the policy differences among the provinces had little impact on the aggregate trends on the employment of the skilled workers (p. 1)”’. The narratives and interview extracts in the present study reveal the realities of employment as evident in the experiences of the contended, the struggling, and the low achieving IEPS. Results of my study provide an explanation of the existing employment realities in the midst of the government policies that can be summarized in Mario’s narrative:
I think the Canadian Government and Ontario policies are honest in helping immigrants. But immigrants should also do their part. They need to comply with the Canadian re-credentialing requirements and that’s the hardest part. Most of the time, immigrants can’t comply with those requirements because it involves a lot of time and money. In my case, I don’t have both resources.

Moreover, the employment realities as the IEPs experienced in this study can be understood from the perspective of Vlad, other struggling IEPs who explains:

I started from a very low position. Although I’m highly qualified, they still keep me from a very low position . . . and I feel discriminated. I think very clearly that the government policy only favours and protects the Canadian born and those who are educated here.

The explanations provided on the realities as experienced among the IEPs were cross-validated with other participants in this study. Clearly, they are situated in the playing field of the economic and socio-cultural dimensions of the employment arena that in Bourdieu’s theory explains the social divide among different members of the society’s hierarchical structure. Considering the employment realities among the IEPs that this study reveals, results have relevant implications in the formulation of immigration and employment policies. It may be necessary to determine the soundness of the various government-initiated programs and services that are designed to assist the skilled immigrants and to evaluate how well the Canadian government and Ontario have fully addressed the chronic problem of skill underutilization as experienced among the IEPs.

Policy and the changing economic conditions

On the practical side, the results of the present study have implications on policy formulation in consideration of the time or year of arrival of immigrants. Based on results suggesting that the employment success of IEPs can be determined in part by the time or year of arrival that most likely dictate the employment trajectory that they have to pursue, policy-makers can have a better idea of how to determine the appropriate policy that would help immigrants. Based on the employment experiences of the IEPs, the first job or employment experience that they had chosen during the year of their arrival had most likely determined their employment trajectory, employment success and their shifts in professional status. Although the economic context was important during the time of their arrival, result of my study suggested that it is the nature and the relatedness of their first job during their arrival that determined their employment success and a more lasting impact on their employment trajectory. This provided an implication for
policy-makers to design an assistance programs and services for skilled workers as early as 
during their year of arrival that offer them with greater chances of employment in their intended 
professions in a shorter period of time. Results further revealed that their first year of arrival is 
the most crucial period where an IEPs are normally facing many cross-roads. With this, they can 
be easily sidetracked to pursue a type of employment in occupations unrelated (OU) to their 
intended professions and that their extended stay in this type of employment may further 
aggravate the chances that they will not be integrated.

Policy and reality
The present study results offered an explanation to the existing realities that the government 
policy-makers might consider in the formulation of various policy alternatives and other 
government-initiated programs and services amounting millions of dollars to support skilled 
immigrants in their integration. Results of the study as presented in Chapter 6 focusing on the 
changing policy landscape have tackled the conflicting layers of government-policy making that 
involved the contradictions between the federal and provincial levels in the conceptualization of 
policy problems, objectives and execution in many of the recent policy initiatives. My study 
revealed the existing contradiction between the federal government sponsored program called 
Canada Experience Class (CEC) category in the recent immigration policy and Ontario 
Immigration Act of 2014. The latter act aims to level off the playing field between the Canadian-
born who worked in the regulated professions that comprised 62% among those employed in 
2006 compared with only 24% of foreign-educated immigrants (Government of Ontario, 2012). 
Results of my study have shed more light on the opaque nature of the policy problems as hidden 
in the textual messages, quotations or pronouncements among key players of this new 
legislation, the Ontario Immigration Act of 2014. Specifically, results have important 
implications in terms of resolving the contradictions found in two-dimensional frames: firstly, 
contradiction in the policies and secondly, contradiction between policy and reality.

Policy contradictions.
Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), results had brought into open the contextual problems 
and issues in which this the Ontario Immigration Act 2014 has been intended as a solution, and 
determined how these issues were conceptualized in the policy document. Through analysis on 
the discursive formation of policy, results have identified what are complimentary policies
required in education and employment to ensure the achievement of this new policy legislation’s goal. Additionally, results have determined how the policy texts as written in the document were constructed linguistically and how were they related to policy ensemble, which have been highlighted and discussed in this study including the Ontario Human Rights Commission’s (OHRC) policy on removing the Canadian experience barrier in the employment of immigrants. CDA results using the policy document called, “New Direction: Ontario’s Immigration Strategy” (Government of Ontario, 2014) have relevant policy implications on the issue of removing the Canadian experience requirement and the increasing competitiveness in the labour market. Such outcomes have been brought about by the neoliberal globalization discourse and were extracted through textual analysis of the document that often resulted in the marginalization of the lower class and the reproduction of social inequality.

From the critical perspective, results of the study may serve as an eye-opener among policymakers who failed to visualize the contradictions between the CEC federal sponsored program and the OHRC’s (2013) policy on removing the Canadian experience barrier in the employment of immigrants for human rights considerations. Using the methodology of CDA, results had posed the two critical questions, which may have been overlooked among government policymakers that may have caused the problems and issues facing many skilled workers or foreign-trained immigrants. These two critical questions have relevant policy implications on Canadian immigration and employment:

1. How can the employment gap between the Canadian-born and foreign-trained immigrant be reduced when the Canadian employers and professional regulatory bodies favoured specific group or class of job applicants with Canadian experience over the other?
2. How can the OHRC remove the Canadian experience barrier “when the Canadian government is institutionalizing this as a criterion in the immigration selection process, awarding credit to potential immigrants who already have work experience in this country — an opportunity not available to all[?]” (Sakamoto, 2013, para. 8)

**Contradiction between policy and reality.**

Whereas the Ontario government recognizes the need for a new direction in immigration strategy through legislation of the new Ontario Immigration Act (CIC, 2014), the employment seeking experience of the IEPs in this study and the actions of their prospective employers run contrary
to the Canadian government policies of supporting newcomers to succeed and contribute to the economy and communities more quickly. To reiterate what has been presented in the previous section of this chapter, the CIC once stated with their new immigration strategy: “We [also] need to help immigrants who are already here . . . we must do more to help them succeed by removing barriers to meaningful employment” (p. 4). However, no matter what the immigration policy says to help immigrants to integrate in the Canadian economy, the IEPs will never succeed should there be no cooperation on the part of Canadian businesses and employers who are directly involved in the selection and hiring of foreign-trained immigrants.

Results of the study may inform both the government and employers so that they will be equipped in finding alternative solutions in terms of resolving the observed contradictions between the policy and reality based on the employment experiences of the IEPs. The knowledge that may be derived from this study may be useful for both government and employers in terms of formulating employment policies and programmatic suggestions that aim towards closing the employment gap between the IEPs and non-IEPs who are native-born. In response to the Canadian Government and Ontario policies to remedy the increasing underutilization of skills among foreign trained immigrants and reduce the discrepancy in employment between the Canadian-born and the IEPs, lowering the standards in the selection and hiring of the foreign trained immigrants can eliminate employment gap. The study results that led to this implication were articulated from perspective of Celia, HR Manager engaged in the recruitment and hiring of job applicants who once stated:

The government would probably lower down their standards to recognize the education of immigrants. They are not recognizing the credentials that these people have completed in their home countries. I think the government has to identify those professions that need to lower the gap. They should have equal ranking for skilled immigrants with those of their Canadian counterparts. . . I think the government has been doing a good job of advertising what are available for immigrants. But they should do a much better job of closing the gap in education and employment for immigrants.

Notwithstanding the government programs and initiatives to educate the immigrants and providing them with the right information how to access their professions in Canada, it shows that the government functions only in this limited capacity. In this narrative, Celia who is representing a hiring manager seems to point out that it is the responsibility of an individual IEP to look for the job opportunities in his field of specialization. In a perfectly competitive labour market conditions, however, the IEPs tend to be in the disadvantage position as the employer
decides to hire job seekers as dictated by their own institutional demands. This means that the government has very little control of the labour market and that neither the government policies nor the human capital theory can explain why despite the IEPs educational credential, there is an existing gap in their employment. Results of this present study have relevant implications in resolving the gap in employment between the IEPs and the Canadian-born. However, this appears to be a challenge among Canadian employers because of the invisible hands – the unwritten rules of employment policies that create the double standard assessment of the IEPs’ credentials. These unwritten rules generate the nature of realities prevailing and dictating the labour market, namely, the Canadian experience and soft skills requirements that emerged to be the most important rules of game. This would explain why the playing fields in employment cannot be leveled off in Canada because the immigrants based on the results of this study were perceived to be lacking of these requirements not unless there is a concerted efforts and communication between the government and employers or the business sectors to change the way how immigrants are selected and hired for employment in their target professions.

The IEPs then and now: Policy initiatives for the future.

Considering the present economic conditions and the more recent immigration policies from 2008 to 2015 including the legislation of Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2008, the Canada Experience Class (CEC) category, the Ontario Human Rights Commission’s (2013) policy on removing the Canadian experience requirement in the employment of immigrants, the 2012 language policy and the 2014 draft Ontario Immigration Act among others, the participants in my study, most particularly the contented, struggling and low achieving IEPs may have experienced more challenges in finding employment in their related professions had they arrived during this time period. This can be explained with the existing contradictions among different layers of government policy formulation and implementation including the federal and provincial governments. Moreover, the groups of IEPs who immigrated to Canada a few years earlier as revealed in my study may be facing more stiff competition with the most recently arriving IEPs under the new immigration policies.

 Whereas the most recently arrived IEPs may be more oriented to the changing labour market trends in Canada as a result of new government immigration policies, programs and initiatives that make them much easier to integrate in their professions, the government may be confronted
with difficult challenges of how to deal with IEPs who had been in Canada for several years and are still struggling to find employment that matches their education and training. Findings may offer suggestions for immigration policy makers on future directions among IEPs who are experiencing similar situations as revealed in my present study through understanding of various factors that will assist the IEPs’ integration in the labour market. These may include some preventative policy measures and remedies in the area of adult learning and development, changing cultural practices in schools and the workplace through various training programs focusing on equity, diversity and intercultural sensitivity. The government should strengthen their various initiatives and programs that are aligned to their existing policies in collaboration with employers, the business sectors, educational institutions, and various immigrant-serving organizations. A mechanism for monitoring policy implementation and program evaluation could be established including a system of incentives provided to various agencies and organizations to ensure best practices that promote inclusion and equity in the increasingly diverse Canadian society.

**Theory building and knowledge construction**

Results of the present study have contributed in theory-building and the construction of knowledge that offered new insights and perspectives on the factors influencing the employment trajectory and shifts in professional status of IEPs that can be explained in the intersection of human capital theory and Bourdieus’s cultural capital theory. The empirical evidence generated through interview extracts and narratives based on the employment experiences of the IEPs have contributed in the refinement of existing theories and the construction or deconstruction of knowledge towards better understanding of the conflicting realities in the world we live in.

Policy analysis results revealed the ambiguity of recent changes on immigration policy as in the Ontario Immigration Act 2014 which manifested the neoliberal globalization discourse that masks the problematic nature of policy objectives under the common rhetoric of competition, economic efficiency or global competitiveness. Based on CDA results, this study showed that the policy text of the proposed Ontario Immigration Act as expressed in the Immigration Strategy’s document was framed by the human capital, knowledge economy and the neoliberal globalization discourses where competition, if not discrimination, has been implicitly stated. Given the definition provided by Rizvi and Lingard (2010), *neoliberal globalization* discourse
can be viewed as an ideology that masks various expressions of power, hegemony and range of political interests. Although the common discourses in which the immigration and employment policies were conceived of can explain the context of my study as evident in the emerging themes as in power relation and domination, employer-employee relationship, culture of work and the emphasis on worker efficiency, trust and equity, results seemed to suggest that the human capital theory did not fit very well in the light of the present results. The basic assumption of the human capital theory that any stock of knowledge or skills that an individual possesses can be considered as forms of investment that increase his or her productivity. However, this assumption appears to be contradictory with a number of cases in my study, yet the concept of human capital is well suited only in the perspective of employer or market because it increases the company’s profit. In the education perspective, human capital offers capacity for individuals to work in organizations, obey orders, and to adapt to life in a capitalist society. This is primarily because the main role of schools is to instill in individuals the correct ideology and approach towards life (Bowles & Gintis, 1975). Nevertheless, the fundamental assumption of human capital theory that education will often result in workers’ productivity and higher level of income can be very misleading. Results of the present study strongly supported this argument.

Based on the employment trajectory and shifts in professional status of the contented IEPs, struggling and the low achieving representing 40% of the participants, they had ended up in occupation unrelated (OU) to their professions despite of their educational credential. This only shows that the human capital is not a better framework that can explain the realities of the employment experiences among the IEPs. The human capital model can only be applied in the case of the high achieving IEPs whose employment success can be determined in large part by their educational credential. However, it failed to explain the employment realities of the less successful IEPs who cannot integrate because of certain factors including socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic, and contextual in nature. The problem with human capital theory as a framework to explain my study is that it rejects the very notion that workers are heterogenous and each one has unique characteristics, sets aside the differences between labour (actual work) and labour power, and abolishes the concept of social class. The major weakness of human capital theory is that labour is considered not as human being but as commodity that can be used for exchange in the labour market.
My study can be well understood using Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory. Unlike the human capital theory that can only explain the employment realities of the high achieving IEPs, Bourdieu’s theory on class inequality and reproduction can explain the four categories of IEPs using the concept of habitus and institutional cultural capital, and thus, provided a useful framework in understanding the employment experiences of IEPs in this study. Results of my study provided empirical evidence in support of Bordieu’s theory. The application of Bourdieu’s theory in my study was accomplished in three areas: first, the habitus of the workplace; second, the habitus of the IEPs; and third, the habitus of the PRO. The data collected in my study was useful to illustrate Bourdieu’s concept of habitus which can be applied in the specific context of the work environment of each individual IEP. The factors influencing the employment trajectory and shift in professional status of IEPs can be explained using Bourdieu’s concept of habitus that resulted in their employment success or failure. In this study, the interaction between the habitus of IEPs and their institutional cultural capital in the form of educational credential determines their employment trajectory that results in either success or failure.

The perpetuation of social inequality in a given field or context can be demonstrated through interaction between the institutionalized cultural capital and habitus. In my study, this was illustrated with an interlocking mechanism where habitus as a construct mediated through the IEPs possession of cultural capital, or vice-versa, determining their exclusion or inclusion in the regulated professions. The existing social inequality characterized by the exclusion and inclusion of IEPs in their intended professions through re-certification with the professional regulatory bodies can be explained with the processes of how the habitus mediates with the institutionalized cultural capital of either individual IEPs or collective societies as in the case of the PRO. The notion of class habitus is relevant in explaining how the concept of inequality functions in the re-credentialing processes and procedures among IEPs with the professional regulatory bodies. The processes and procedures for membership through the professional regulatory organizations are structured to favour the non-IEPs who already possess the cultural capital which are defined according to the criteria of the dominant society. Whereas the non-IEPs are given recognition for inclusion in the regulated professions (RG) because of their habitus and cultural capital that embodied the criteria of the professional regulatory organizations, the IEPs who do not possess the habitus and cultural capital are not given recognitions and therefore, excluded from membership in their community of practice. This lead to the employment among IEPs in either
unregulated professions (UG) or unrelated occupations (UO). In Bourdieu’s theory (1974), this can be explained with the concept of habitus that mediates with the institutional cultural capital that the professional regulatory bodies take for granted to filter the processes of distinctions, reproduction and perpetration of class inequalities in a hierarchical society. The empirical evidence generated in my study on IEPs had further contributed to theory building and knowledge construction in support of Bourdieu’s theoretical argument.

**Education policy and practice**

Based on the emerging results in this study, the employment situation confronted among the group of occasional teachers was found most problematic. The question that many of them have put forward as to whether their status as teachers and members of a professional regulatory body is a part of the mainstream teaching profession or not deserved further attention and shall be addressed in the field of education. In the light of the employment experiences of Anita, Vlad, Ann, Martin and Tina, the problems and issues which they encountered in the context of their work environment that included incidence of marginalization, being treated with indifference and lack of belongingness or acceptance that resulted in their feeling of inferiority and low self-esteem suggesting that they should be empowered as members of the teaching professionals.

The implication of this finding to education is immense and in consideration of the current trends in occasional teaching as a result of the growing oversupply of teachers in Ontario. Indeed, there is a need for institutionalization of this type of employment through proper education, training programs or orientations as part of the teacher education with regards to the nature of job, definition and delineation of duties and responsibilities, career expectations and pathways, and the roles of occasional teachers in the local structure of the school community and the broader spectrum of the Ontario educational system.

The implication to the field of education based on the cases presented among occasional teachers is how to teach young minds how to respect individuals who may look differently and speak differently as they are and yet co-exist in a shared learning or work environment that promotes inclusion and engender social equity. The challenge is how occasional teachers can gain the proper respect from the students when other teachers and/or the principal in the school do not know how to exercise the basic principle of social justice, equity, professionalism and collegiality among themselves as members of their community of practice. How can teachers
ever become an effective agent of change among students who will become future leaders of this society when they are facing challenges on the basis of their distinctive identities, status or position in a work environment that they perceived as threatening and unsupportive to their professional growth? The absence of any intervention on the emerging issues that this present study unearthed results in what Bourdieu explained as the perpetration and legitimization of class inequality through its cycle of reproduction.

Considering the employment experiences of the IEPs in this study who were confronted with challenges based on their ethnicity, linguistic and cultural difference, results of the study have relevant implications in the classroom curriculum design that value diversity, the empowerment of the minoritized through curriculum re-thinking and inclusion in the context of the Canadian multicultural society. The theoretical underpinnings behind the critical discourse presented in this study were intended to contribute further understanding on the nature of difference and diversity to advance the cause of social justice by challenging and resisting any form of oppression in the context of multiculturalism. Results of the present study have relevant implications in education policy and practice: changing the school cultural practice, and the need for equity and intercultural sensitivity.

**Cultural practice in schools.**

Although the present educational system in Canada is based on multicultural policy, the realities of the integration experiences of IEPs suggest that the education system has not fully realized the ideals of a multicultural society. From Bourdieu’s perspective, schools are responding to the ever changing economic, social and political environment within the constraints of habitus that prevails in various educational institutions and professional regulatory organizations (PRO) through the neoliberal agenda of global competitiveness and the perpetuation of the dominant culture.

Many educational institutions nowadays are offering courses to meet the demands of the global labour market and the increasingly competitive nature of employment. Consequently, schools teach students how to apply for jobs or respond successfully to job interviews. In Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction, these are employment seeking strategies that aim to translate the style, language, accent and other indigenous characteristics of the IEPs to the culture of the dominant group. The manifestations of habitus as a cultural practice in schools have resulted in
their own failure of maintaining balance of power among various members of society (Harker, 1984). The cultural practice in which the education system responds to the labour market demands entails the continued dominance of the group (capitalists, employers or owners of the factors of production) “whose habitus is embodied in schools” (p.122). The continuous dominance of certain groups over non-dominant groups such as immigrant workers or IEPs is what Bourdieu termed as “symbolic violence” (p.122) that explains the legitimization of social inequality.

Results of the present study contributed to this existing knowledge in relation to the ways in which the education system sustains the reproduction of social inequality through cultural practices that do not take into account the importance of human agency and the subjectivities of the minoritized group. The inequalities experienced among the IEPs necessitate changing the hegemonic cultural practices in schools and the ways that schools operate in relation to students and the community it serves. There is a need for educational system to change this cultural practice from domination and competition to the recognition of difference and diversity that the IEPs can contribute to a multicultural society. The education system can mediate the cycle of reproducing social inequities by moving away from cultural practices that marginalize the knowledge and skills of foreign-trained immigrants. Schools are responsible for designing and developing curriculum and instructions to teach employers and future employers about the values of equity and intercultural sensitivity in the workplace.

**Equity and intercultural sensitivity.**

Results of this present study clearly pointed out that despite the changing immigration policy in Canada over the past decades, employment integration among the struggling IEPs and low achieving IEPs did not measure up to the objectives of an inclusive society that many of these policies are intended to accomplish. The global migration of workers and various ethnic groups from countries with less developed economies who are unable to integrate may be attributed to the weaknesses of government social policies that are meant to address the problems of inequality and marginalization among IEPs. The insensitivity and discrimination among the IEPs in the workplace as revealed in this study has relevant implication for the educational system and point to a need for the system to be more responsive to the ever-changing socio-demographic landscape of the present Canadian society.
The cultural diversity in Canada posed greater challenges for the educational system. Educators and curriculum planners need to integrate the many silent voices that are not given chances to be heard in conversations related to the interplay of knowledge and power in the employment arena. In doing so, schools can connect to workplace problems and issues by developing educational policies and culturally sensitive curricula that integrate the voices of the minoritized and marginalized members of society including IEPs and immigrant workers. Considering that educational institutions are powerful agents of social change, they are instrumental in creating a just society that promotes more equitable employment policies and practices. Schools can help address the problems of social inequality and marginalization in employment by integrating multicultural perspectives, and apply intercultural sensitivity through teaching strategies that encourage students from diverse backgrounds to become successful in their chosen fields of employment. To this end, educators must take on the important tasks of designing, implementing and evaluating curriculum guides, and school board policies related to educational equity.

In the light of the results of the present study, it is imperative for an educational system to produce the needed manpower including knowledge workers for the economy who are sensitive to cultural differences and aware of the social realities. Colleges and universities who are responsible for preparing future teachers can develop teacher education programs that foster meaningful and engaged learning for all students regardless of their race, gender, ethnicity, linguistic or cultural differences. Schools can develop a curriculum that challenges the increasingly globalized and standardized education and employment policies. They can teach children at an early age who will become future workers and may become employers and managers to be more sensitive to people of diverse cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, students should learn to critically assess the mainstream political trends and social realities arising from increasing globalization and capitalistic-oriented knowledge societies that have fragmented the social order and widened economic inequalities. Indeed, education policy and practice are important sites where it is possible to elaborate new modes of imperial power and to devise ways of resistance through critical inquiry, critical pedagogy, pedagogy of non-violence, and other decolonizing pedagogical approaches (Rizvi et al., 2010).
Lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs

The factors influencing the employment trajectory of the IEPs that resulted in their shifts in professional status contributed to further understanding of the discourses on employment in the intended profession, and the integration of the minoritized subjects in the mainstream culture of their professional community. Although there are many lessons to be learned from each of the four classes of IEPs that resulted in this study, the findings from the high achieving IEPs required more attention and consideration. The lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs who navigated a curvature path and overcome the systemic barrier of employment may offer valuable lessons, not only for the low achieving IEPs, but also for other members of the society who are challenged and marginalized because of their distinctive identities on the basis of social status, position, ethnicity, linguistic and cultural differences. The four sets of factors that were explored and examined from the discourse plane of the intended profession and the employment trajectories shaping the professional identities of IEPs had revealed the pathways to employment success taken by the high achieving IEPs. The end result of this study pointed out the theoretical argument that a curvature employment trajectory was the pathway that would lead to employment success based on the evidences presented from employment experiences of the high achieving IEPs. However, the study also revealed that the combined perspective of persistence and pragmatism or curvature and straight path employment trajectories can be an alternative route that would end up in the same destination.

According to the experiences of many high achieving IEPs who traversed a curvature path, they did not stay very long in occupations unrelated (OU) to their intended professions and had maintained a proper career focus despite that they also experienced employment in precarious jobs. Results of this present study revealed that prolonged exposure to OU had further kept the IEPs away from their CoP that integration for them becomes even more difficult. This finding is reflected in the case of Sindhu, a former medical doctor who was enticed to work as general labourer because of favourable income in a good company but after 10 years regretted it, and said: . . . it did not help me to get closer in any way to my intended profession. Many of the IEPs in this study had shown to overcome this barrier as in the cases of high achieving IEPs (Ron, Dr. Vera, Helen, Allan, and others) and had adopted a pragmatic view in confronting their own realities but also persistent through constant movement with various jobs in a short amount of time leading up to their career goal. The opposing views associated with the employment
trajectories that emerged in this study can be resolved with a combined pragmatic and persistent attitudes as observed in the case of Ron who navigated a different horizon but in the end, he justified the means by saying: . . . I became more mature and get a better understanding of how the world is like. I started from the bottom and my employment experiences have shaped my identity into a better person.

Whereas Ron and others who were once in the crossroads had already accomplished their career goals through a curvature employment trajectory, there is still a small number of IEPs in this study that could learn from the experiences of the high achieving IEPs. These included the low achieving and struggling IEPs as in the cases of Ann, Anita, Mario, Singh, and Vlad, among others who in spite of their challenging employment situations are keep on trying and hoping that someday they will be fully integrated.

In the context of the unsettling employment situation of the contented IEPs from the perspective of government policy and the sobering realities of the low achieving and struggling IEPs, the lessons learned from the high achieving IEPs were revealed through the complex thread of conversation and discourses in this study. As the study concluded these realities ring quite loud and clear as Dylan Thomas (1962) imparted in his poem: Do not go gentle into that good night. . . rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Conclusion

Drawing insights from the interview extracts and narratives presented by the participants, the textual meanings were interpreted according to my position as a researcher and the paradigm that influenced the conduct of this study. Hence, according to the tenets of the interpretive qualitative research, results as summarized in the preceding section should be interpreted with caution.

Given the findings in this study, the following conclusions are quite evident as determined by the three research questions:

1. The integration experiences of the different groups of IEPs in Canada can be understood and explained by interweaving four interrelated components of their employment experiences including their integration to CoP, job satisfaction, employment trajectories, and the resulting shifts in their professional status.
Based on how the participants understood their experiences in education, employment and integration, there were four classes of IEPs that emerged from the study of factors influencing their employment trajectories, namely, the high achieving, contented, struggling, and the low achieving. Each of them is described as follows:

The high achieving - integrated and satisfied. This class of IEPs can be described with their most distinguishing characteristics that set them apart from other groups as evident in the following: highly successful present employment status resulting from their acceptable level of language proficiency or confidence in spoken English, having their first job related to intended profession, high level of income, unique personal qualities such as perseverance, patience, dedication to lifelong learning and the pursuit of knowledge and skills for their own professional growth and advancement. The employment trajectories of the high achieving IEPs were more curvature than a straight path. Many of them were both recent (2002 – 2008) and early arrivals (1988 – 1994) who were integrated in their intended professions mostly in the fields of accounting and banking, nursing and allied health.

The contented - not integrated but satisfied. This group of IEPs can be described with their acceptable level of income, culture of work, and existing contextual factors of the workplace characterized by inclusiveness despite of diversity, voice or freedom of expression, and equity as attributed to company unionization. Similar with the high achieving IEPs, the employment trajectories of the contented group were more curvature than a straight path. The contented IEPs were predominantly mid-range arrivals (1995 – 2001) during an economic recovery period who had professional backgrounds in their home country in the field of engineering, accounting and banking, HR and administration, and teaching.

The struggling - integrated but not satisfied. Although this group had already been integrated in their CoP, they were not satisfied in their employment as they were often confronted with issues of indifference or lack of belongingness or acceptance in the workplace. This had resulted in their feeling of inferiority or low self-esteem. The source of dissatisfaction among this group can be traced from the fact that their distinctive identities were challenged by the dominant group. Results suggested that the challenges they had been facing in their employment can be attributed to their socio-demographic characteristics.
(ethnicity, education and professional status), individual factors (low level of income), sociolinguistic factors (language ability and use, linguistic and cultural differences), and the contextual factors of the workplace such as exclusion among some members within the CoP, and highly structured power relations that established and sustained domination, subordination, and marginalization. The IEPs in this group had employment trajectory that can be described as curvature suggesting the many contours of the employment path, which they traversed in their struggle to be accepted, recognized and fully integrated. The struggling IEPs, in this study, primarily consisted of occasional teachers who were mostly recent (2002 – 2008) and early arrivals (1988 – 1994).

The *low achieving - not integrated and not satisfied*. This group of IEPs was not integrated and not satisfied resulting in their unfavourable employment situation and often lacked the means or economic resources and had failed in their attempts to be integrated. The source of their job dissatisfaction can be explained by their socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, education), individual factors such as low level of income, having their first job in precarious employment or staying over extended period of time in unrelated occupations (UO) that they were stuck in dead end career jobs. Although some of the low achieving IEPs had expressed intention to be integrated, they were unable to do so because of their low level of language proficiency, accents, distinctive personal style, disposition and preconceived idea that they were not recognized by the dominant group. Whereas the three other groups of IEPs had curvature employment trajectories, an interesting finding shows that the low achieving IEPs have a straight path employment trajectory. The low achieving IEPs were mostly recent arrivals (2002 – 2008) with professional backgrounds from their home country in the fields of engineering, medicine and teaching.

2. **The factors** influencing the employment trajectory of the IEPs were varied according to their group category by integration-satisfaction:

The factors influencing the employment trajectory for *high achieving IEPs* included their year of arrival (both early arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession between 1988 – 1994 and recent arrivals during pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008); socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, professional backgrounds in nursing and allied health, accounting and
banking); individual (high level of income), sociolinguistic (high level of language ability and use); and the contextual factors (Canadian experience and soft skills).

The emerging factors influencing the employment trajectory of the contented IEPs were year of arrival (1990 economic recovery period of 1994 - 2001), socio-demographic (Non-CoP; professional backgrounds in HR and admin, engineering, banking, and teaching); individual (acceptable level of income); sociolinguistic (favourable language ability and use); and contextual (employer-employee relationship as determined by elements of trust, equity and efficiency at the workplace).

For the struggling IEPs, the emerging factors influencing their employment trajectory were year of arrival (both early arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession and recent arrivals during 2008 recession of 2002 - 2008); socio-demographic (education, ethnicity, and professional background predominantly in teaching); sociolinguistic (low language ability and use); and the contextual factors (culture of work, integration experiences, and power relation and domination).

The emerging factors influencing the employment trajectory of the low achieving IEPs were year of arrival (recent); socio-demographic (age, gender, ethnicity, professional background mostly in engineering); individual (low income, Non-CoP); sociolinguistic (low language ability and use); and contextual factors (lack of Canadian experience, soft skills, and lack of adequate knowledge on Canadian culture of work).

3. The employment trajectories of the IEPs had resulted in their shifts in professional status by pursuing either the curvature or straight path as determined by the changes in their first job to present job, the integration in their employment experiences in Canada, and their level of job satisfaction.

Results revealed that the curvature employment trajectory was found among the high achieving IEPs (both early and recent arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession and pre 2008 recession), contented IEPs (mid-ranged arrival during 1990 economic recovery period) and the struggling IEPs (both early and recent arrivals during pre and post 1990 recession
and pre 2008 recession). On the other hand, a straight path employment trajectory was found among the low achieving IEPs who were mostly recent arrivals during pre 2008 recession. Nevertheless, results revealed very clearly that neither employment trajectory nor integration in the intended profession could be a measure or criteria for employment success or failure. The principles of integration-satisfaction can explain much of the shifts in professional status among the IEPs that resulted from the combination of four complex sets of factors including the policies and the changing economic conditions during their year of arrival.

Among the four sets of factors, the individual (level of income), sociolinguistic (language ability and use), and contextual factors (most particularly the re-credentialing processes, membership to CoP, culture of work, employer-employee relationship, and power relation, among others) can explain more meaningfully the differences between integration or lack of integration, satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and employment success or failure among the four classes IEPs.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

In the light of the results of this present study and the implications of results as presented in six different areas, this section presents the recommendations for future research. The theoretical argument resulted in the present study focusing on the contradicting perspectives of the IEPs on employment trajectory between the curvature and straight path can be replicated in a different research context. Results of the present study that revealed the emerging factors resulting in the four categories of IEPs can be evaluated according to the credibility and dependability of findings. The identification of factors influencing the employment trajectory and the resulting *principles of integration-satisfaction* that define the four distinctive classes of IEPs can be replicated for further studies.

The credibility of the curvature employment trajectory resulting from various set of factors and the dependability of the four categories of IEPs based on the integration-satisfaction principles need to be replicated in another setting using different study participants. The credibility of the present study results can be determined using certain criteria or standards of evaluation procedures taking into account the end-results of this study as manifested in either employment success or failure of the IEPs and its implications for the advancement of their own cause or
well-being, the strengthening of their human potentials, and the improvement of their employment situation in the context of the Canadian society. Results suggest that the curvature employment trajectory based on the experiences of the high achieving IEPs and the factors that may be causing this can be very misleading if the assertion is based solely on the interview extracts and narratives using the limited data collection procedures used in this study. I proposed that Messick’s (1995) definition of validity be used as a guiding principle in evaluating the credibility of this study suggesting that it is not the results of the study itself where it can be judged as whether it is credible or not. The evaluative judgment for this present study should be based on the degree to which the empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of the interpretations made and actions taken on the basis of the study results. Thus, the credibility of this study cannot be determined alone based on the four categorization of IEPs that defines one group as being more successful than the other groups but rather the meaning and interpretation of their distinctive characteristics that resulted from various factors (socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual) which have been explored and examined.

In this study, the four categories of the IEPs are not only reflections of “who they are” and “how their professional status have been transformed” but they also reflect the employment trajectories that they traversed through the course of their working life, and the context of their employment according to the changing policies and economic conditions as determined by their year or arrival. The most important aspect of the credibility of this study is determining the meaning and interpretation of the distinguishing characteristics of each of the four categories of IEPs in relation with specific set of factors and the implication that this meaning entails for individual IEPs; the immigration and employment policies, programs and services; and the other stakeholders, namely, government policy-makers, human resources and personnel development officers, education researchers, adult education specialists, community development workers, and classroom teachers. The extent to which the meaning and interpretation of the four categories of IEPs – their employment trajectories and shifts in professional status and their implications—hold across individual IEPs or specific groups of IEPs either Filipinos or IEPs from other cultures in the wider population of the GTA as well as across various Canadian settings or context will strengthen the credibility of the present results.
In the context of the present study, the task of validating results for the purpose of finding the truth in the results is a never-ending process of asking perennial empirical questions. With the use of critical lens within the periphery of the scientific inquiry, the hegemony that legitimizes inequality and marginalization of the minoritized can be challenged and resisted with rational argument. Such an argument must aim not only to strengthen the conceptual definition and interpretation of what really an employment trajectory and shift in professional status should meant to be, but most importantly, correcting what is wrong in the social order by challenging and resisting the hegemony that legitimizes inequality and marginalization of the minoritized to effect social change. In view of the recommendations to strengthen the criteria of credibility and dependability of this study, there are a number of limitations in this current research that I would like to address for considerations in future research undertakings. These areas may be focused on the improvements in data collection, data analysis, methodology and suggestions for a more specific studies on related topics of interests but were not presented in this present study due to space and time constraints.

Based on the traditional data collection tools primarily questionnaire, in-depth interview and the restricted interactions between researcher and participants using semi-structured interview questions, future researchers should endeavour to overcome these limitations using other innovative qualitative data collection procedures. Although the face-to-face interview was triangulated with questionnaire data, future research endeavours in this area should take into account the combination of various qualitative data collection tools such as life-history method, biographical sketch, personal calendar method, and most of all the use of repeated-interviews for all IEP participants, with particular attention to both the quantity and quality of researcher-participant interaction. In selected cases particularly the struggling IEPs who were found to have the most challenging experiences, a longitudinal follow-up study with the same IEP participants may be conducted by collecting prospective data on their subsequent employment seeking experiences and see if there will be any changes on their employment situations. The information to be collected can be compared with retrospective data, which have already been collected through this study. Information on participants’ level of job satisfaction, level of confidence in spoken English as they change jobs and the degree in which they have been integrated in their CoP or not shall be collected at different points in time, including semi-annually or annually in order to establish their employment trajectories and the factors associated with this over an
extended period of time. Considering that the same group of participants shall be studied, the researcher can note changes in their characteristics based on integration-satisfaction principles as resulted in the present study. This procedure shall determine the credibility of the present findings through subsequent repetitions of the combinations of various data collection tools and procedures.

Considering the vast amount of data that were extracted through in-depth interview, there was only limited time available within the scope of this present academic undertaking to conduct a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the factors that were generated during the data collection period. As a result, only limited set of factors during the exploratory stage were extracted that would fit in within the available space and time frame allocated for this research. Although there was certainty that the relevant set of factors presented in this study were carefully examined and analyzed, there were several other factors in the entire set of interview transcripts collected from the 30 IEP participants that may not be sufficiently accounted for due to time and space constraints. Thus, the relevant emerging themes were only limited to four sets of factors that were explored and examined, namely, socio-demographic, individual, sociolinguistic and contextual factors.

The findings obtained from an interpretive qualitative analytic approach may be limited to support substantial claims on the influence of factors including socio-demographic such as gender, ethnicity and language ability on the integration experiences, trajectories or employment success or failure among the IEPs. There is a need for further studies focusing on selected factors to re-examine the present results using other research designs which include combining qualitative and quantitative methods or using mixed methodology.

Despite its limitations, taking into account the enormous amount of information collected in this study as archived through interview transcripts, there are indeed many potential topics to explore in greater depth. There is a need for a more detailed study focusing on the enduring qualities of the Filipino, their most cherished life values, work ethics and culture as a people. The story revealed in the interview transcript from the high achieving IEPs as in the cases of the Filipino nurses (Nena and Helen) may require a separate in-depth research study on Filipino language socialization, language use, work ethics and social etiquette. To illustrate, the contradicting layers of social conversation between the Filipino nurse and the white staff secretary in the
narrative of Nena entitled, *Lost in Translation* can be studied separately in the interstices of interactional linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatics. Although results of this study showed what the Filipinos are like, the image of the Filipinos as depicted in this research were limited to drawing of their portraits as an Internationally Educated Professionals. As there were many other areas in which this study required to address in relation to the research questions, there was a great amount of time and space that were allocated to the discussions of other equally important topics particularly on Canadian government and Ontario immigration and employment policies and the re-credentialing processes and procedures.

The problems and issues confronting many Filipinos, aside from their colonial history and their varied reasons for coming to Canada, only constituted a strand of conversation because of space and limitation in this study. But this could have become a centrepiece in the discussion of results as a chronic syndrome among the Filipinos. Indeed, this theme is eloquently articulated in Jose Rizal’s famous novel, *Noli Me Tange*ere as a social cancer that most often results in Filipinos’ loss of national identity, tendency to succumb to Western influences and be overpowered by the dominant group. The colonial history of the Filipinos explains why many of them choose to become migrant workers in various Western countries like the United States who had once colonized them and work mainly as nanny, domestic helpers, caregivers and other precarious employment. Nonetheless, extra efforts in this study were made to present this interesting conversation under the discourse plane of pathways to success. There is a need for more studies that tackle the issue of colonialism among the Filipinos to explain further their experiences of domination and subordination in cross-cultural setting. A separate case study on this topic area may be conducted using the postcolonial, culturalist and the neoliberal globalization frameworks as future research agenda.

On methodological considerations, each factor examined in this study could be the focus for another research study. In the same vein, the four classes of IEPs can be studied as a separate case study with the use of different methods of analysis and theoretical lens such as narrative inquiry and Vygotsky’s sociocultural framework. Considering the implications of this study, the narrative of Vlad, entitled, *The Math Teacher* can be presented as well into a separate research case study focusing on the empowerment of minoritized teachers and its relevance to the re-thinking of curriculum and critical pedagogy within the area of curriculum studies and teacher development.
Given the impetus provided in the present findings, the possibilities for further research in many areas of interests in education and beyond are promising.
References


Glossary

*Accent* - a distinctive style or manner of English pronunciation that is characteristic of a particular person indicating his place of origin or social background.

*Accentedness* – the extent to which the individual’s spoken communications are judged to vary from the accent of the dominant society.

*Agent* – a concept of Bourdieu that represents habitus and capital as they interact in a given field or context and embodied in the internalized structures of thought and perception among individuals, groups, institutions or organizations.

*Audible ethnic minority* – for the purpose of this study, refers to differences in language ability and use specifically spoken communication and accent among the IEPs as determined by their ethnic origin.

*Bridging education programs* - are designed to provide the newcomers with academic training, language training, work experience and other occupation-specific services to help them access the labour market.

*Canadian experience requirement* – a contextual factor of employment that represents one of the systemic barriers for labour market access and integration of IEPs into their community of practice.

*Capital* – means the power to own capital and the ability to influence its accumulated value.

*Class inequality* – sometimes referred to, as *social inequality* is the differential possession of capital among different classes or members of the society. It relates to the person’s habitus that results in reproduction and symbolic violence.

*Community of practice* - a system of relationships between people, activities, and the world which embodied certain beliefs and behaviours to be acquired; also known as “integration in one’s profession”.

*Constant comparative method* – an analytic procedure that entails various methods of constantly comparing participants’ responses during the process of in-depth interviewing.

*Contextual factors* – refers to institutional or systemic barriers of employment such as Canadian experience and soft skills requirement, social support networks, cross-cultural interaction, employment practices, culture of work, among others.

*Critical discourse analysis* - concerns the study and analysis of written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias (van Dijk, 1998).
Critical perspective – to investigate critically the aspect of social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimized by language use or discourse.

Critical theory - a set of principles used to make judgments on how the entire system works for the purpose of bringing about social transformation such as improvement in the employment situations of IEPs.

Cross-case analysis – a data analytic procedure that involves comparative analysis of individual cases or participants between or across two or more groups in the study.

Cultural capital - refers to the symbolic assets that a person possesses including institutional (educational credential), embodied (ethnicity), and objectified cultural capital (scientific or art works).

Cultural diversity - refers to the variety and differences that exist among individuals in a multicultural society based on ethnic origin, language, race, religion, education, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic background.

Culture of work - refers to shared beliefs, practices, or norms which identify or characterize a particular work environment or organization.

Curvature employment trajectory – also known as ‘winding’ which refers to the employment experiences among IEPs characterized by frequent job changes or movements in various occupational categories since their arrival from their first job to present job.

Data triangulation – a process of establishing the credibility and authenticity of a qualitative study by collecting data from multiple perspectives.

Description – the first step in critical discourse analysis that normally involves the analysis of grammatical, phonological, morphological and semantic aspects of language.

Direction of job change – also known as direction of job movement refers to the employment experiences that runs along the continuum of success or failure; movement in various occupational categories which can be either towards to (moving to) or away from (moving from) the community of practice or intended professions; synonymously used as employment trajectory.

Discourse – literally means as a form of dialogue, discussion, communication or conversation; an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and therefore, exerts power.

Discourse (uppercase D) - discourses are integral parts of the culture in which they are used, and can be found across diverse texts.
**discourse** (lowercase d) - discourses are invoked in localized settings and may pertain to the isolated context; refer to a language use, distinctive identity or way of talking that is only known to a particular context.

**Discourse analysis** - the study of speech and writing in their context.

**Early arrivals** – for the purpose of this study refer to a group of IEP participants who arrived during the pre and post 1990 recession of 1988 – 1994.

**Economic capital** - refers to the material assets and financial worth of an individual which are “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243).

**Economic conditions** – refers to the changes in the macro economic situations determining the labour market access and integration among IEPs.

**Economic underutilization** – the inability among the IEPs to generate a fair return on their human capital investment.

**Economic recovery period** – refers to a group of IEP participants in this study who arrived in Canada during the 1990 economic recovery period of 1995 – 2001.

**Embodied cultural capital** - refers to “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243) such as ethnicity, language proficiency, accents, and race.

**Employment Experiences Questionnaire** - a survey questionnaire designed to collect the participants’ background information to supplement the process of in-depth interviewing.

**Employment success** – in this study can be defined in terms of IEPs labour market access, employment in their community of practice, integration, and job satisfaction.

**Employment trajectory** – refers to employment experiences of IEPs that run along the continuum of success or failure, upward (moving to) or downward (moving away) movement in their professions or simply the integration or lack of integration in their community of practice.

**Explanation** – the third step in critical discourse analysis that involves determining what effects or consequences that the texts have on society.

**Filipino CoP** – Filipino IEPs who are members of their community of practice.

**Filipino Non-CoP** – Filipino IEP participants who are not members of their community of practice.

**Frequency of job change** – also known as frequency of job movement refers to the period of time or duration how often the IEPs change or move across different occupational categories.
**Functional underutilization** – refers to the reduction in the valuation of the utility, usefulness, and desirability among the IEPs resulting in their prolonged exposure to unrelated occupations leading to dead-end careers or jobs.

**Glass ceiling effect** – an invisible barrier to promotion among immigrants due to their minority status (Reitz, 2007b).

**Grounded theory approach** - is an inductive form of qualitative research where data collection and analysis are conducted concurrently; in this approach, the *theoretical sampling* -- also known as “cases” -- and the *constant comparative method* are used to support the systematic discovery of theory from the data.

**Habitus** – “a system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception and action common to all members of the same group or class constituting the precondition for all objectification and perception” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 86). It is a way of thinking, perception, disposition, character and action that is common among individuals, group, institution or organization.

**Human capital theory** – assumes that workers’ earnings are based on their productive value which, in turn, is largely determined by formal education, training and years of experience, among others.

**Identity** - refers to anything that can be ascribed or assigned to a person including ethnic origin or skin colour, gender, language use, accentedness, employment or certain characteristics or connections based on what the person does and identifies with; sometimes used interchangeably in the context of the present study as *professional status*.

**IEPs from other cultures CoP** – a group of IEP participants from other cultures who are members of their community of practice.

**IEPs from other cultures Non-CoP** – a group of IEP participants from other cultures who are not a member of their community of practice.

**Individual factors** – for the purpose of this study refer to a set of factors that include level of income as determined by level of education, experience, ability, habitus or personal disposition, and employment seeking experiences.

**Inner circle** – represents the third stage of the systemic migration flow model which occurred when IEPs have already successfully passed through each successive stage (outer circle and periphery) including the regulatory barriers and have been integrated into their community of practice and the knowledge economy.
Institutional cultural capital - is a formal recognition of qualifications held by an individual such as educational credentials, Canadian experience, skills set, professional certification or licensure.

Internationally Educated Professionals – also known as foreign-trained immigrants or knowledge workers who acquired university degree in different fields of study and seeking employment in their community of practice.

Interpretation – the second step in critical discourse analysis that primarily involves finding of the various meanings from the texts and understanding how the analyst perceives these in relation to social realities.

Interpretive qualitative case study design – an inductive method of research that seeks to understand the meanings and processes of employment experiences of IEPs using multiple sources of evidence and methods of data collection.

Job satisfaction – a subjective self-report among IEPs as determined by their employment situation and their perceived level of employment success or failure.

Knowledge economy – a system of knowledge consumption and production existing in many developed economies that largely utilizes intellectual capital or worker's knowledge.

Language proficiency – for the purpose of this study refers to the ability among IEPs to express confidence in spoken English.

Methodological triangulation - establishing the credibility and authenticity of a qualitative study by using different methods of data collections.

Mid-range arrivals – in the context of this study refers to the arrival of IEPs in Canada during the 1990 economic recovery period between 1995 – 2001, in contrast to the early arrivals between 1988 – 1994 and the recent arrivals between 2002 - 2008.

Multicultural society – a society characterized by cultural diversity composed of different individuals living in a community with various languages, ethnicity, race, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, and socio-economic and demographic backgrounds.

Multiple embedded case study (Yin, 2003) – also known as comparative case study (Merriam, 2009) or collective case study (Stake, 1995), is an in-depth and detailed descriptions and analysis of multiple bounded systems (cases) through collection of multiple sources of information.

Native English speakers – refers to individuals who speak English as a mother tongue.
Nonnative English speakers – refers to new immigrants who are members of visible and audible ethnic minorities with mother tongue other than English.

Objectified cultural capital – refers to physical objects that an individual owned such as clothing, books, scientific or works of art. Unlike the embodied cultural capital, the objectified cultural capital is cultural goods that can be transmitted for economic gain.

Occasional teacher – is a certified teacher who is employed by the school board occasionally to replace a regular teacher in the elementary and secondary schools, who is absent for an indefinite or short period of time, and to teach in various grade levels and subject areas by virtue of Education Act and Regulations of the province of Ontario.

Other IEPs - the second group category of participants in this study referring to IEPs who are members of visible and audible minorities with ethnic backgrounds other than the Filipinos.

Outer circle – the first stage of the systemic migration flow model describing a context where most IEPs become unemployed or cannot find appropriate employment in their intended professions usually during the first few years after their arrival in Canada.

Periphery - the second stage of the systemic migration flow where IEPs can find precarious employment describing a context where IEPs are usually underemployed or de-professionalized through precarious employment (Kelly, et al., 2009).

Policies – in this study refer to immigration and employment policies influencing the labour market access and integration among IEPs.

Professional status – also known as professional identity, job designation, position, status or something that identifies an IEP with employment or nature of work whether it is related or unrelated to the IEP’s profession in home country.

Purposeful sampling – a non-probability random sampling procedure in which participants are only selected if they meet the basic criteria according to the purpose of the study.

Precarious employment – also known as survival jobs usually characterized by unstable and marginalized working conditions in which most IEPs are employed with while trying to find access in their community of practice.

Re-certification programs – refers to various programs required for IEPs by various professional regulatory bodies in order for them to practice their professions in Canada; also called skills upgrading requirements, re-credentialing processes and procedures, or credential recognition or assessment of foreign qualifications.
Recent arrivals – refers to a group of IEP participants in this study who arrived during the pre 2008 recession of 2002 – 2008.

Regulated professions - refer to certain types of professions among the IEPs that have been certified through the re-certification processes and procedures of a particular provincial regulatory body.

Regulatory barriers – refers to the systemic barriers in the employment of IEPs preventing their labour market access and regulating the practice of their profession in Canada.

Shifts in professional status – refers to changes in various aspects of professional lives of IEPs resulting from their immigration and employment trajectories; the change(s) in professional status of IEPs from their first job to present job.

Snowball sampling - is a data collection procedure in which participants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study.

Social capital - refers to the social support networks, family, friends and connections that an individual can be used and mobilized to generate advantages or benefits.

Social integration – a social context or situation where IEPs find employment in their intended professions or community of practice; referred to as learning as situated in social practice.

Sociolinguistic factors – for the purpose of this study include the IEPs language ability and use influencing their employment trajectories.

Sociolinguistics - a descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context on the way that language is used and the effects of language use on society.

Soft skills - are called people skills that refer to the personal attributes of an individual and his ability to interact with others.

Stage I - refers to the outer circle of the systemic migration flow model in which most IEPs normally find themselves unemployed during the first few years of their arrival in Canada.

Stage II – refers to the periphery of the inner circle of the systemic migration flow model in which most IEPs normally find precarious employment because of systemic barriers that prevent their labour market access and integration in the community of practice.

Stage III – refers to the inner circle where knowledge workers or IEPs have successfully passed through each successive stages of the circular model (outer circle and periphery).
*Straight path employment trajectory* – also known as *one-directional*, which refers to the employment experiences among the IEPs characterized by less and/or no movement in various occupational categories since their arrival from their first job to present job.

*Symbolic violence* – a concept of Bourdieu that refers to the imposition of systems of symbolism, culture and meaning upon certain groups or classes as a way of legitimizing class inequality and reproduction (Jenkins, 1992).

*Systemic barriers* – may refer to the contextual factors of employment that prevent labour market access of IEPs and integration in their community of practice such as culture of work, employment practices, language education, skills upgrading requirements, and re-credentialing processes and procedures imposed to foreign trained immigrants.

*Systemic migration flow model* – a lens showing the employment trajectories of IEPs as they undergo three different employment stages resulting from their immigration as represented by three independent multi-layered circles (i.e., inner circle, periphery, and outer circle) and how they are mobilized from the outermost circle (i.e., unemployment stage) to the innermost circle (i.e., community of practice).

*Theoretical sampling* – also known as *cases*; a procedure of selecting additional cases or participants to develop new insights or expand and refine concepts already acquired in the study (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

*Time of the survey* – for the purpose of this study, refers to the period of time when the IEPs participated in this study from August 2013 to March 2014.

*Trajectory* – refers to various patterns, processes, directions, paths or ways in which the employment experiences of IEPs have been developed over a period of time resulting in their shifts in professional status; this includes the IEPs’ successes, failures and changes in various aspects of their professional lives.

*Triangulation* – a method used to check and establish the validity or credibility and authenticity of qualitative study; in this study, two types of triangulation are used, namely, data triangulation and methodological triangulation.

*Underutilization of skills* – also known as the obsolescence of knowledge and skills among the IEPs which can either be economic or functional.

*Unregulated professions* - refer to IEPs who have been working in certain types of occupations related to their intended professions but are not registered or certified by any of the provincial regulatory organizations.
Unrelated occupations - refer to IEPs who have been employed in occupations not related
to their intended professions and they are not certified by a professional regulatory
body.

Visible ethnic minority – the word visible indicates the difference in skin tone as determined by
the person’s ethnic origin.

Within-case analysis – a data analytic procedure that involves comparative analysis of individual
cases or participants within a particular group in the study.
Appendices

Appendix A: Employment Experiences Questionnaire (EEQ)

Thank you for your participation in this survey. The purpose of this survey is to examine the factors influencing the employment experiences, successes, or failures of foreign-trained immigrants or Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs) who are members of visible and audible ethnic minorities in the GTA.

With your approval, your interview will be scheduled on (date and time) at (place).

Prior to your scheduled interview, please complete this 50-item survey to provide us with some background information about your personal, educational, and work experiences. Please answer each question truthfully and completely.

Rest assured that all of your responses in this questionnaire will be held in the strictest confidence and will be used only for research purposes in which you have given consent to participate. We only need to match this questionnaire with your interview transcripts, and after that, we will remove your name from this document in which we will only assign a coded identifier without any trace of your identity.

Background Information

1. What is your gender?
   Please check one of the following:
   ___ Male
   ___ Female

2. What is your age group?
   Please check one of the following:
   ___ Below 35
   ___ 36 - 45
   ___ 46 - 55
   ___ 56 - 65
   ___ 66 – 75

3. What was your highest educational attainment in your country of origin?
   Please select one of the following:
   ___ Bachelor's
   ___ Master's
   ___ Ph.D.
   ___ Other. Please specify ______________

4. What was your profession in your country of origin?

_________________________________________
5. For how long did you practice your profession in your country of origin?
_________________________________________

6. What year did you arrive in Canada?
_________________________________________

7. When did you get your first job in Canada? Please give month and year.
_________________________________________

8. What was your first job in Canada?
_________________________________________

9. How long did it take you (in months) before you got your first job in Canada?
_________________________________________

10. How satisfied were you with your first employment in Canada in terms of its 'appropriateness' to your intended profession?
    Please check one of the following:
    __ Not very satisfied
    __ Somewhat satisfied
    __ Satisfied
    __ Very satisfied

11. How confident were you with your 'speaking ability' in English when you got your first job in Canada? Please check one of the following:
    __ Not confident
    __ Somewhat confident
    __ Confident
    __ Very confident

12. During your first year in Canada, what was your employment status?
    Please check all that apply:
    __ Never employed
    __ Mostly unemployed
    __ Occasionally employed
    __ Employed part-time
    __ Employed full-time
    __ Employed in more than one job

13. What was your annual level of income with your first job in Canada?
    Please check one of the following:
    __ Below $25,000
14. What education or training did you pursue in Canada? Please indicate 'None' if you did not pursue any.

_____________________________________________________________________

B. Present Employment

We will now ask some information about your present employment . . .

15. What is your present occupation in Canada?

_____________________________________________________________________

16. When were you hired to your present employment in Canada?

_____________________________________________________________________

17. How long did it take you (in months) before you got your most current job in Canada?

_____________________________________________________________________

18. How satisfied are you with your present job in Canada in terms of its 'appropriateness' to your intended profession? Please check one of the following:
   __ Not satisfied
   __ Somewhat satisfied
   __ Satisfied
   __ Very satisfied

19. How confident are you with your 'speaking ability' in English with your present job in Canada? Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all confident
   __ Somewhat confident
   __ Confident
   __ Very confident

20. Looking back at the last 18 months in Canada, which of the following statements would best describe your situation?
Please check the applicable items:

- Not employed
- Mostly unemployed
- Occasionally unemployed
- Employed part-time
- Employed full-time
- Employed in more than one job

21. What is your annual level of income with your most current job(s) in Canada?

Please select one of the following:

- Below $25,000
- $26,000 - $35,000
- $36,000 - $45,000
- $46,000 - $55,000
- $56,000 - $65,000
- $66,000 - $75,000
- $76,000 - $85,000
- Above $85,000

22. State the name of any professional organization in Canada with which you are affiliated at present. Please indicate 'none' if you do not have any.

_________________________________________

C. Language and Employment

For item numbers 23 – 28, please answer only questions that apply depending on the number of years you have stayed in Canada. Please check ‘Not applicable’ if the question does not apply to you.

23. During your third year in Canada, how confident were you with your spoken English?

Please check one of the following:

- Not at all confident
- Somewhat confident
- Confident
- Very confident
- Not applicable

24. During your third year in Canada, how satisfied were you with your employment in terms of its appropriateness to your intended profession?

Please check one of the following:

- Not satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very satisfied
- Not applicable
25. During your fifth year in Canada, how confident were you with your spoken English? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not at all confident
- Somewhat confident
- Confident
- Very confident
- Not applicable

26. During your fifth year in Canada, how satisfied were you with your employment in terms of its 'appropriateness' to your intended profession? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very satisfied
- Not applicable

27. During your seventh year in Canada, how confident were you with your spoken English? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not at all confident
- Somewhat confident
- Confident
- Very confident
- Not applicable

28. During your seventh year in Canada, how satisfied were you with your employment in terms of its 'appropriateness' to your intended profession? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very satisfied
- Not applicable

29. How satisfied were you with the ‘appropriateness’ of your job when you had been in Canada for half of the total number of years since your arrival? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very satisfied

30. How confident were you with your speaking ability in English when you had been in Canada for half of the total number of years since your arrival? 

*Please check one of the following:*

- Not confident at all
- Somewhat confident
INDICATE TO WHAT DEGREE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ARE TRUE IN TERMS OF YOUR EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES AS AN INTERNATIONALLY EDUCATED PROFESSIONAL (IEP) IN CANADA.

31. My English language proficiency has greatly influenced my employment experiences. Please check one of the following:

__ Not at all true
__ Somewhat true
__ True
__ Very true

32. My accent when I speak English has a negative impact on my employment seeking experiences. Please select one of the following:

__ Not at all true
__ Somewhat true
__ True
__ Very true

33. I have a good command of English such that I find myself successful with my job. Please check one of the following:

__ Not at all true
__ Somewhat true
__ True
__ Very true

34. My employment success largely depends on my English proficiency level. Please check one of the following:

__ Not at all true
__ Somewhat true
__ True
__ Very true

35. My present job is related to my intended profession and I feel successful with it. Please check one of the following:

__ Not at all true
__ Somewhat true
__ True
__ Very true

D. Employment Seeking Experiences

36. I can easily find employment in Canada based on my professional background. Please check one of the following:

__ Not at all true
37. I could hardly find employment in my profession because of my minority status.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
   __ Very true

E  Workplace Experiences

38. I learn English through everyday interactions with my coworkers and employers.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
   __ Very true

39. My unique accent and ability to communicate in English is well accepted in our workplace.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
   __ Very true

40. My knowledge of job-related terminology is sufficient.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
   __ Very true

41. I develop English language skills and communicative competence while doing my job.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
   __ Very true

42. My workplace can be a great place to learn English as an additional language.
   Please check one of the following:
   __ Not at all true
   __ Somewhat true
   __ True
F. Cross-Cultural Interactions and Social Support Networks

43. My level of confidence speaking with Canadian-born native English speakers is very satisfactory.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - [ ] Not at all true
   - [ ] Somewhat true
   - [ ] True
   - [ ] Very true

44. People from my own culture help me find employment opportunities.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - [ ] Not at all true
   - [ ] Somewhat true
   - [ ] True
   - [ ] Very true

INDICATE TO WHAT DEGREE YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS IN TERMS OF YOUR EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES AS AN INTERNATIONALLY EDUCATED PROFESSIONAL (IEP) IN CANADA:

G. Language Education and Re-certification Programs

45. Canadian employers do not recognize my foreign credentials.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - [ ] Strongly disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
   - [ ] Agree
   - [ ] Strongly agree

46. The government-initiated language education and re-certification programs for immigrants are relevant and useful.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - [ ] Strongly disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
   - [ ] Agree
   - [ ] Strongly agree

H. Role of Canadian Government and Ontario Policies

47. The 'Canadian experience' requirements for foreign-trained immigrants are absolutely unnecessary and discriminatory.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - [ ] Strongly disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
48. The Canadian social policies are inclusive and responsive to the needs of foreign-trained immigrants. 
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - Strongly disagree
   - Disagree
   - Agree
   - Strongly agree

49. The Canadian Government policies posed barriers to employment of foreign-trained immigrants.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - Strongly disagree
   - Disagree
   - Agree
   - Strongly agree

I. Shifts in Professional Status

50. My professional status and identity have significantly evolved since my arrival in Canada.
   *Please check one of the following:*
   - Not at all true
   - Somewhat true
   - True
   - Very true
Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

Thank you for your consent to participate in this interview.

As you agreed upon, there are 21 major questions in this interview that ask some information about your employment experiences, employment seeking experiences, and factors that influence your employment patterns. Please note that if any time you do not feel like answering any of these questions, please let me know, and I will move on to the next question for you.

**Participant’s Interest for the Interview**

How would you be interested to be interviewed about the employment experiences of foreign-trained immigrants?

**Employment Seeking Experience**

1. What are the experiences you encountered in Canada while looking for employment in your intended profession? These include your experiences with Canadian professional regulatory bodies (e.g. Ontario College of Teachers, College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario, College of Nurses of Ontario, Professional Engineers Ontario, etc.) to apply for re-certification of your credentials. How do you find their requirements to upgrade your skills?

During job interview, in your own opinion, what do you think are the things that most Canadian employers are looking for in the selection and hiring of prospective employees in their work organization?

How much do you think English speaking ability and accentedness impact on the selection and hiring of foreign-trained immigrants for employment in their intended profession?

**Employment Experiences and Trajectories**

2. On a scale of 10 in which 1 is “Not at All Successful” and 10 is “Very Much Successful”, how do you describe your employment experiences in Canada? By using your personal calendar and looking back since your first year of arrival in Canada up to the present time, how do you illustrate and describe your employment trajectories or experiences? Although participants are free to give their own illustrations, interviewer may provide some examples for the interviewee to choose from such as the illustrations shown in Appendix B (Supplement) to help participants provide a response. Then, participants should be asked to describe, explain or tell a story why he or she chooses to illustrate his or her employment experiences in a certain way.
3. Looking back depending on what year when you first came to Canada, what can you say about your present employment or level of job satisfaction compared with your employment situation and/or satisfaction during the very first time you arrived in Canada?

4. How did you get into your most current employment in Canada? What are the experiences, opportunities, challenges, or difficulties you encountered?

5. What are your experiences at the workplace as member of visible ethnic minority? What do you normally do to overcome challenges or difficult circumstances?

6. As a member of visible ethnic minority, how do you define ‘employment success’ based on your own personal experiences?

**Language Ability and Use**

7. On a scale of 10 in which 1 is “Not at All Important” and 10 is “Very Much Important”, what can you say about the importance of ‘spoken English’ with your present job? [Can you please tell me why do say so?]

8. How much do you think your level of confidence in speaking English improves with your present employment compared during your first few years of stay in Canada? On a scale of 10 in which 1 is “Not at All Proficient” and 10 is “Very Much Proficient”, how do you assess your English speaking ability? [Can you please tell me why do say so?]

**Cross-Cultural Interactions and Social Support Networks**

9. What policies or practices have been initiated or adopted in your present employment that promote an inclusive working environment for workers of diverse cultural backgrounds?

10. As a member of visible minority, how do you express, discuss or negotiate your demands, expectations, grievances, complaints, problems, conflicts or any difficulties which you experience at the workplace with your coworkers and immediate superiors?

11. In your workplace, what are the factors that encourage or discourage you to interact or socialize with people from other cultures? How about with people in your own culture?

12. In what ways, do people from your own culture help you find employment in your intended profession? How about people from other cultures?

**Culture of Work in Canada**
13. As members of visible minority, what are unique characteristics which you have observed in your own culture which may be helpful or not helpful in your integration to the culture of work in Canada? You may cite characteristics which maybe unique to your own culture as an example.

14. What are the unique characteristics of Canadian work culture that you like most? How about the characteristics that you like least? Why?

Employment Practices of Canadian Employers

15. What is your opinion about employment practices of most Canadian employers? (hiring of applicants, work promotion, work treatment, communicating with subordinates, etc.)

Role of Canadian Government and Ontario Policies:
Re-credentialing requirements, language education, Canadian experience

16. In your opinion, what do you think are possible reasons why some foreign-trained immigrants are having difficulties finding employment in their intended professions in Canada?

(The interviewer may give some clues by mentioning the contextual factors such as lack of credential recognition and assessment of their foreign qualifications, lack of access to specific occupations, labour market niches, organizational policy, national bilingual policy, training opportunities, union representation, Canadian experience, language and accent, etc.)

17. How do you think the Canadian Government and Ontario policies help in the employment of foreign-trained immigrants in their intended profession?

18. How would you describe the role of Canadian Government and Ontario policies on employment and integration of skilled immigrants in the labour market? In your opinion, what are some aspects of these policies that need to be changed? [to make it more relevant and responsive to the needs of foreign-trained immigrants like you are?]

Shifts in Professional Status

19. How much do you think your professional status or identity have evolved or transformed at present compared when you first came to Canada? How do you describe that transformation in your professional status or identity?

Feedback about the Interview

How do you feel about the interview questions including the survey which you have just responded to? Do you have any comments, suggestions or anything which you want to discuss about certain questions or topic presented in this interview?
Appendix B (Supplement)
Suggested Prototypes or Models of Employment Trajectories for Participants

Straight Upward

Straight Downward

Negatively Upward

Positively Upward

Negatively-Positively Upward

Positively-Negatively Upward
Appendix C: Participant Recruitment Script Using Phone, Email, or Face-to-face Communication

Dear Participant,

I am contacting you to find out if you would be interested to participate in my research about the employment experiences of foreign-trained immigrants also known as “Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs)” in Canada. I am providing you an Information Letter and Consent Form (see attached) to tell you more about our research which is a requirement for the completion of my Ph.D. degree program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, Department of Curriculum Teaching and Learning.

If you would be interested, I would like to hear from you, and then I will arrange a meeting at your convenience. Prior to your participation, I will request your informed consent. This Informed Consent Form is required by the University of Toronto for all researchers before they formally collect data from participants. You may sign the Information Letter and Consent Form during our next meeting before you complete the questionnaire and participate to interview questions.

I appreciate your decision to participate in this study and I’m looking forward to our next meeting soon. Thank you very much.

Best regards,

Ariel Quinio
Appendix D: Participant Recruitment Flyer

CONSIDER TAKING PART IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

- Are you an immigrant to Canada who has either a permanent resident or citizen status?
- Have you been in Canada for at least five years?
- Have you completed a university degree in your home country?
- Have you practiced your profession in your home country before coming to Canada?
- Are you a nonnative English speaker?
- Are you a member of a visible ethnic minority?

If your answer to all 6 questions above is yes, I invite you to participate in my Ph.D. research study on the employment experiences of foreign-trained immigrants in Canada.

Participants/volunteers would respond to a survey followed by an interview.

If interested, please contact Ariel at (905) XXX–XXXX (please leave a message and I will return your call) or email ariel.quinio@XXX no later than December 15, 2013. We will schedule the interview at a time and location convenient to you.
Appendix E: Information Letter and Consent Form

Dear Participant,

I am conducting research to examine how social, language, cultural, and work-related or contextual factors influence the employment experiences or trajectories and shifts in professional status of foreign-trained immigrants or Internationally Educated Professionals (IEPs). This research is required for completion of my Ph.D. degree program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning.

In this research, I require participants to complete a 50-item questionnaire to be followed by an interview. Both survey questionnaire and interview involved questions on how various social and language factors including, but not limited to, English language proficiency and accentedness have contributed to the employment or integration of foreign-trained immigrants in their intended profession. During the interview, you will be asked about your opinion why recent immigrants are having difficulties finding employment in their professions and suggest how can Canadian Government and Ontario policies become more relevant and responsive to employment and integration of skilled immigrants in the labour market. The entire interview session will be audio-recorded and I will be writing down notes for your responses. The amount of time required for your participation would be approximately 60 minutes.

I seek your consent to participate in this research by affixing your signature in the attached Informed Consent Form.

Rest assured that all information you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may decline answering any questions you feel you are unwilling to answer for any reason. Furthermore, you have the right to withdraw your participation in this study within the next four months by informing me in writing or email, and the responses you provided in the questionnaire and interview will not be included in the analysis of results. There will be no negative consequences on your part if you wish to withdraw.

Please note that there is no risk involved in any kind if you decide to participate. Although results of this study may not have direct benefits to participants, your honest responses to survey questionnaire and interview will be very useful in developing greater awareness of cultural diversity, integration of visible minorities, and promotion of socio-economic equity. Moreover, I hope that your participation in this study will result in better understanding of your experiences in Canada’s multicultural society and thus, help achieve the objective of this study towards creating a more inclusive society.

With your full knowledge and consent, your interview will be audio recorded, transcribed and analyzed. However, it is important for you to know that all of the information you provided will be aggregated with all participants involved in this study and no individual participant could be identified from these summarized results. We will make sure that your identity will not be revealed to any one at any time and that you will not be judged or evaluated as a result of your participation.
If you have any question, please feel free to contact us with the information provided below. Moreover, you can also direct your inquiries about your rights as participants by sending an email to the Office of Research Ethics of the University of Toronto at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or contacting 416-946-3273.

Thanking you so much for your time and attention.

Sincerely,

ARIEL QUINIO  
Researcher  
Ph.D. Candidate, Department of  
Curriculum, Teaching, & Learning  
OISE/University of Toronto  
Phone No.: (905) XXX-XXXX

ANTOINETTE GAGNÉ, PH.D.  
Thesis Supervisor  
Professor, Department of  
Curriculum, Teaching & Learning  
OISE/University of Toronto  
Phone No: (416) XXX-XXXX
Participant’s Informed Consent Form for IEPs

Please check appropriate boxes below:

☐ I have read and understand the Informed Consent Letter which was provided to me in advance.

☐ I am agreeing to the note taking and audio recording of my interview.

By affixing my signature below, I hereby expressed my consent to participate in this research study. I have received a copy of this letter, and that the purpose of the study has been explained to me.

Participant’s Name: ______________________________ (Strictly Confidential)
Signature: ___________________________ Date: _______________________

Participant Consent:

Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above. You agree to participate, and you may withdraw your consent within four months, informing me in writing without any consequences to you. You have received a copy of this letter. The purpose of the study has been explained to you.

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Participant’s Name: ______________________________ (Will be kept confidential)
Signature: ___________________________ Date: _______________________
Appendix F: Transcription Symbols

/ \ Non-final intonation contour, more words are coming

// Final intonation contour, closed off

? Final rising intonation

. Final falling intonation

! Lively tone to convey strong feelings

... Separate information as if heard from a different topic sentence

--- Separate information used to elaborate what was said earlier

CAPITALS Emphatic stress, extra loudness or pitch change

*Italic* Softer voice

- Talks interrupted, cut-off

(???) Blurred speech

(hhh) Audible breathing sounds

, Brief pause

.. Long pause

[ ] English translation of a foreign language,

transcriber’s substitution or interpretation of what was said

( ) Connotation or description of what was said
Appendix G: NVivo Nodes and Number of Coding References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nodes</th>
<th>Number of coding references</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Employment experiences</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Canadian employer</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Employment success</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Canadian Government and Ontario policies</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Present employment situation</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. First year in Canada</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Language education and re-certification programs</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
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<td>8. Language proficiency and accent</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Shifts in professional status</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
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<td>10. Immigration</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Integration experiences</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cross-cultural interactions and social support</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
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<td>13. Canadian experience</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Employment barriers</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>15. Cultural diversity and multiculturalism</td>
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<td>16. Negotiating identity</td>
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<td>17. Workplace environment</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Education</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Intended professions</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Discrimination</td>
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<td>21. Post-colonialism</td>
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</table>
Appendix G (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nodes</th>
<th>Number of coding references</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Neoliberal policy</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Education and training of IEPs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Exposures working with diverse cultures</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Employment selection and hiring</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Integration experiences\marginalization</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Language ability and use</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Duties and responsibilities</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Program and policies on social inclusion and cultural diversity</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Role of Canadian government and Ontario policies</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Work standards and philosophy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Level of confidence in spoken English</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>33. Employment barriers</td>
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<td>34. Harassment</td>
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<td>35. Socio-demographic factors</td>
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**Total coding references** 617
Appendix H: NVivo Snapshot of Most Frequent Themes from Interview Transcripts
Appendix I: Employment Trajectory and Shift in Professional Status by Professional Background and Year of Arrival (N = 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants and Entry-Year</th>
<th>Professions in home country</th>
<th>First job in Canada</th>
<th>Present job</th>
<th>Employment trajectory</th>
<th>Integration-Satisfaction*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988 – 1994 (n = 10)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Vera</td>
<td>Doctor of dental medicine</td>
<td>Dental assistant</td>
<td>DDM</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Registered nurse (RN)</td>
<td>Science lab tech</td>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Certified public accountant</td>
<td>Accounting clerk</td>
<td>CGA</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathy</td>
<td>Psychometician</td>
<td>Administrative asst</td>
<td>HR officer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhu</td>
<td>Doctor of medicine (MD)</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Not integrated and not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ron</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Delivery man</td>
<td>Revenue manager</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>High school teacher</td>
<td>Warehouse worker</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Not integrated but satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlad</td>
<td>Electrical engineer</td>
<td>Maintenance worker</td>
<td>Occ teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated but not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>Bank financial analyst</td>
<td>Waitress, cashier</td>
<td>Acct manager</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anita</td>
<td>Education researcher</td>
<td>Customer service</td>
<td>Occ teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated but not satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Positively upward – satisfied and integrated; Negatively upward – not satisfied but integrated
Negatively downward – not satisfied and not integrated; Positively downward – satisfied but not integrated
Appendix I (continued)

| Participants and Entry-Year | Professions in home country | First job in Canada | Present job | Employment trajectory | Integration-Satisfaction *
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Systems analyst</td>
<td>Office clerk</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Systems analyst</td>
<td>Warehouse worker</td>
<td>Systems analyst</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pam</td>
<td>Registered nurse (RN)</td>
<td>Clinic nurse</td>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>Elementary teacher</td>
<td>Education assistant</td>
<td>Occ teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>Food &amp; beverage supervisor</td>
<td>Bakery service crew</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Not integrated but satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>Bank credit analyst</td>
<td>Retail store asst</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Not integrated but satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rene</td>
<td>Mechanical engineer</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Not integrated but satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Positively upward – satisfied and integrated;  
Negatively upward – not satisfied but integrated  
Negatively downward – not satisfied and not integrated;  
Positively downward – satisfied but not integrated
Appendix I (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants and Entry-Year</th>
<th>Professions in home country</th>
<th>First job in Canada</th>
<th>Present job</th>
<th>Employment trajectory</th>
<th>Integration-Satisfaction*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2002 – 2008 (n = 13)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allan</td>
<td>Civil engineer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>City engineer</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nena</td>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>RN</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>Associate professor</td>
<td>Store merchandiser</td>
<td>Occ teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated but not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose</td>
<td>Certified public accountant</td>
<td>Office clerk</td>
<td>CGA</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Day care worker</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>Elementary teacher</td>
<td>Caregiver</td>
<td>Occ teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated but not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlo</td>
<td>Bank executive</td>
<td>Accounting officer</td>
<td>Bank manager</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario</td>
<td>Production engineer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Not integrated and not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mia</td>
<td>Elementary teacher</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Not integrated and not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec</td>
<td>Civil engineer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Const. inspector</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>HR officer</td>
<td>HR officer</td>
<td>HR manager</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singh</td>
<td>Tool and die engineer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td>Not integrated and not satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>Elementary teacher</td>
<td>Asst. Teacher</td>
<td>Elem teacher</td>
<td>Curvature</td>
<td>Integrated and satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Positively upward – satisfied and integrated; Negatively upward – not satisfied but integrated
Negatively downward – not satisfied and not integrated; Positively downward – satisfied but not integrated