In the Mood for Mentoring: Critical Spotlights on the Canadian Integration of Immigrants as Citizens and Consumers

by

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Abstract

Historically considered an informal process of knowledge transmission, mentoring has more recently become an institutional form of intervention. Over the past forty years, formalized mentoring programs have mushroomed in workplaces, schools and non-profit organizations in North America. To specifically understand the influence of mentoring on the integration of immigrants into Canadian society, this project explored the mentoring experiences of adult newcomers from diverse national backgrounds. In two Torontonian mentoring programs with instrumental and community-based elements, mentees were matched with volunteer mentors in groups. For the examination of these experiences, the researcher utilized a theoretical framework based on critical theory as well as a conceptual framework blending studies on emotions, citizenship and consumption. Methodologically, this doctoral project employed an exploratory qualitative approach combining and integrating participant observations, individual interviews and collages. The key findings revealed that participants recognized as their mentors primarily those who were named as such, had roles, and were affiliated to organizations. Concomitantly, the same participants often ignored or discredited informal mentors. Indeed, the mentees displaying instrumental or corporate orientations seemed to fit particularly well into the researched programs, which are based on a generalized conformance to Canada’s dominant
values and mainstream social norms. Nonetheless, this study concluded that both mentoring and integration were fundamentally dynamic and partial processes. At the expense of its epistemological nature as a way of knowing, mentoring was commodified as part of a broader national training and volunteer process conducted under the Canadian multicultural framework. In this context, citizenship and consumerist discourses and practices intertwined to support the social construction of immigrant experiences fostered throughout happy narratives and representations. Overall, this study demonstrated that the institutionalization of mentoring is presently a powerful strategy for the integration of immigrants. Finally, this research also indicated the salience of nationality, language and emotions in these processes.
Acknowledgments

By using a sole image in order to illustrate the impact that this doctoral research project has had on me, I have to recur to the opening of a very old house, a place that has been probably closed for a very long time. By going to its different rooms in order to remove the covers and shutters from the windows, I have been often taken aback by wonder and pleasure, also alternated with a sense of disgust and scare. On one hand, the wonder and pleasure have been caused by all the discoveries under the presence of light on this doctoral journey, which was originally undertaken primarily because of a strong need to know more, and perhaps change our reality somehow. On the other hand, this same light has also brought disgust and scare because it made clear some outdated ideas and practices uncovering the ugly and dark side of academia, unfortunately also a place where egos are more important than ideas sometimes.

In the end, I have realized that this whole process is not only about getting this document done in an acceptable way. It is more. It is mainly about maintaining integrity and a certain humanity along the way. This is certainly the most difficult part for sure. However, I am proud to write here that I believe to have succeeded in this regard. Overall, I am fully satisfied with the outcome of this doctoral study as well. For this reason, I would like to acknowledge those who have contributed to this project in a substantial way:

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me with critical pieces of advice on a variety of occasions. He has also tried to help me throughout the constant care that I would be able to finally complete this project. In reality, I feel that I own him more than a doctoral supervision by being indebted with him for life.

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Mentor Haymitch Abernathy giving advice to mentee Katniss Everdeen in *The Hunger Games* (Jacobson et al., 2012) movie:

You really wanna know how to stay alive? You get people to like you. Oh! Not what you were expecting? Well, when you are in the middle of the games and you are starving or freezing, some water, a knife or even some matches can mean the difference between life and death. And those things only come from sponsors. And to get sponsors, you have to make people like you. And, right now, sweetheart, you’ve not off to a real good start. There it is.

To three very special mentors: Diu, Aninha and Jamie
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Chapter 1

Introduction:

(Un)settling Mentoring Experiences in Canada

Due to the high volume of information disseminated by mainstream and independent media outlets as well as in formal and informal educational settings, we are dynamically challenged by a wide range of positions and points of view on a daily basis. As a result, we may even change the way that we think, feel and act based on external discourses and practices that are enacted through this constant exchange of information. By interpreting these processes with an emphasis on the study of emotions, Ahmed (2014a) defends that moods are fundamentally relational. She also clarifies that certain emotional displays can also become projections in themselves. In particular, people tend to long for a stability of certain positive emotions like happiness, for example. In addition, she proposes that emotional investments can potentially go beyond isolated social relations by encompassing national projections. Basically, these ideas can help to explain why this doctoral project has been called In the Mood for Mentoring: Critical Spotlights on the Canadian Integration of Immigrants as Citizens and Consumers while conveying a certain “moodiness” that permeates this research project as a whole. Consequently, in this study, I will certainly show a wide range of variations in discourses and practices connected to mentoring and integration. However, I will also present recourses apparently used in order to control these imbalances.

In order to initiate this dissertation, it is important to first have a glimpse at the mentoring approaches previously analysed in the Canadian literature. This step will be of particular...
significance for this project in light of the present limitations on the field of mentoring in Canada. In the subsequent section, I will then examine why mentoring tends to generally appear as a credible solution for issues of integration. The section will mainly constitute the theoretical rationale for the project that will end with an overview of the key elements framing the upcoming discussion. Then I will position myself in regard to this study. This section will basically provide a personal overview of the reasons that have led me to undertake this project. Finally, through the convergence of the major steps introduced here, this chapter will then conclude with the research questions that will guide this doctoral study.

1.1 Present Focus on Employment-related Mentoring Programs in Canada

Despite the widespread dissemination of institutional mentoring programs in Canada, there is a dearth of research specifically focused on the Canadian context. However, the tiny Canadian literature on mentoring tends to be eclectic enough in order to cover a wide array of issues. This portion of the literature includes, for example, work on children and youth (DeJong, 2004, 2014; Klinck et al., 2005), higher education (Pidgeon et al., 2014; Spafford, Nygaard, Gregor, & Boyd, 2006), and transitions, professional development, career-related or work-related matters (Kay & Wallace, 2009; Leck & Orser, 2013; Lopez, 2013; Paré & Le Maistre, 2006; Mackinnon & Shepley, 2014; Semeniuk, 1999; Semeniuk & Worrall, 2000). It was also surprising to find a high proportion of this body of scholarly research particularly addressing mentoring for immigrants (see, for instance, Austin, 2005; Austin & Rocchi Dean, 2006; Bejan, 2011; George & Chaze, 2009; Plasterer, 2010; Schlosser, 2012). Besides, there are even a few valuable pieces on mentoring and immigrant integration from the grey literature (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of British Columbia., 2006; Canada’s Public Policy
Forum., 2008; Crawford, 2007). Unfortunately, nonetheless, not much independent research has been released these days, perhaps because of the previous political climate on the federal level.

The majority of the scholarly articles on mentoring for immigrants in Canadian literature tend to concentrate on the importance of labour market issues. At least two articles from this portion of the literature investigate the experiences of internationally-trained pharmacists in Canada (Austin, 2005; Austin & Rocchi Dean, 2006). In fact, the paper solely written by Austin has relied on psychology in order to broadly explain the barriers faced by newcomers on their insertion into Canadian society. By recognizing that integration into a new country tends to encompass a professional form of integration as well, this author mainly focuses on the centrality of mentoring for the study’s participants. With the help of networking theory, Austin argues that mentoring dyads can have a multiplying effect on the establishment of multicultural networks. In itself, this idea seems to suggest the importance of mentoring for the broader integration of immigrants. In reality, these findings are certainly not isolated in the literature on mentoring as in the case of another example that will follow now.

Drawing upon a project focused on the potential of immigrants as entrepreneurs in Canada, Schlosser (2012) suggests that immigrants should go beyond their ethnic enclaves in order to explore business opportunities. As a way to stimulate a broad involvement of immigrants in entrepreneurial initiatives in Canada, mentoring was indeed the solution encountered by participants in her research action project. Throughout the establishment of mentoring connections, networking also appeared as key for the success of the program established by/for these participants. Based on the outcomes of this study in conjunction with the studies solely developed by Austin (2005) or in partnership with Rocchi Dean (2006), networking has indeed surfaced as the ideal bridge for the economic integration of immigrants throughout the formation of mentoring initiatives. In summary, the examples provided so far
suggest that mentoring has been employed as an important networking strategy for a proper economic integration of immigrants into Canadian society. Not surprisingly, this is also the emphasis of many institutional mentoring programs operating in Canada (George & Chaze, 2009).

While most of this discussion has taken a favourable stance on the role of institutional mentoring programs for the labour-market integration of immigrants in Canada, Bejan (2011) work is a critique of a mentoring program mediated by a non-profit organization in Toronto. The goal of this particular program was to match employees of the city of Toronto with internationally trained professionals by sharing a similar economic purpose with other programs already discussed in this section as well. In regard to this particular initiative, however, the author criticizes the non-profit partner agency involved in the process for not taking the necessary steps in order to ensure the appropriate level of employment for the participants by the end of the program. This gap, she indicates, is a result of a loose understanding of mentoring. While she personally viewed mentoring as a tool possibly allowing participants to effectively secure jobs, others generally saw it merely as a form of “coaching and advice” (2011, p. 170).

What is evident from this divergence in understanding is indeed a central contention between the “passive” and “active” roles that mentoring has played and could still potentially play for the economic integration of immigrants in Canada. In fact, Bejan’s (2011) points generally resonate well with this research project as a whole even though I am not in complete agreement with her main argument presented here. Nevertheless, her work, in conjunction with other studies described here, have certainly shed light into a narrow understanding on both mentoring and immigrant integration that will be examined over the course of this doctoral project. However, for now, I will add another theoretical connection in order to support and expand the link between mentoring and integration, which has been first established here.
1.2 Rationale Positioning Mentoring as a Solution for the Integration of Minorities

In this section, I will move the discussion towards a notion of mentoring framed more as a community-focused initiative, yet on a formal basis. Here I will further explore this specific understanding on mentoring connected with integration by also including non-Canadian literature, mainly because of the scarcity of Canadian research specifically focused on this perspective. So, particularly in regard to some community services and higher education initiatives, there has been a more concerned effort to implement mentoring practices that are more culturally relevant and responsive to the needs of the populations served by these programs. In fact, the majority of the following examples should be illustrative of this idea.

Barron-McKeagney, Woody, and D’Souza’s (2000) study, for instance, has engaged with a community-based mentoring program targeted on the social peace and school achievement of Chicano children from Spanish-speaking parents in the United States. In fact, this program did not only recruit bilingual or culturally competent mentors for the children. It also included bilingual staff who could keep the communication channel open with the parents. In general, this program worked as a bridge between the children’s community and the mainstream society by not apparently strangling the links of the children with their own communities at the same time. This culturally relevant approach, note the authors of this study, has been also shared by other community-based programs.

Besides, Pidgeon, Archibald and Hawkey’s (2014) Canadian study has particularly explored the application of mentoring for the inclusion of aboriginal students in Canadian higher education. In this program, university students with an aboriginal background advised one another. In their meetings, they incorporated songs, prayers and meeting circles. Finally, they additionally had guests who apparently understood and/or followed indigenous practices of
knowledge transmission. Two main outcomes emerged from this project: (1) These meetings supposedly helped students feel more included in academia; and (2) the students also started to show more commitment with their studies after all. In another study that incorporated a similar methodology but with a cross-cultural participant composition, Ward, Thomas, and Disch (2014) recognized how sensitive an American mentoring program focused on university students was to their cultural differences. However, the structure of this program seemed to have been equally underpinned by a focus on goal-setting within an academic framework. In reality, these two different programs briefly compared here appear to have provided students with some support for them to deal with the way in which academia has been currently structured on notions of accountability and achievement.

Although the projects described in this section so far are among the most culturally-sensitive programs featured in the mentoring literature, none of them seemed to have deeply invested into changing how education and society operate. On their core, these program still seemed to be very assimilative in essence by trying to help individuals to comply with pre-defined educational and/or social systems, mainly constructed on assumptions of merit and hard work which are recurrent in the Western world. As Bejan (2011) has correctly pointed out, this Western institutionalization of mentoring may constitute a ““Band-Aid” fix” (p. 174) that disguises itself as inclusive practice while, in essence, serving as part of an exclusionary process. For her, in particular, mentoring can work as a “lip service” strategy that aims to discipline immigrants and mold them for the labour market by also failing to address the more important issues that are the real causes of their exclusion. These barriers include a lack of recognition for their credentials as well as discriminatory situations faced at work, for example. In fact, in order to ground this idea, Bejan dwells on a conceptual model, initially proposed by prestigious disabilities scholar Tanya Titchkosky (2008). Later on, I will return to an in-depth examination
of this issue in the data analysis chapters when I further explore the fine line defining the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in Canada.

In any case, the theoretical ideas exposed in this chapter so far have served to illustrate the links between mentoring experiences and the integration of immigrants. Once in Canada, immigrants tend to be confronted by mainstream discourses in regard to what mentoring means, and also how it works in practice. Challenged by a new environment, they often have to react, both discursively and practically, in order to engage with mentoring in the way that is ultimately presented to them. In other words, they may choose to resist and/or follow mentoring in the way it is more commonly practiced in this new context - Canada.

Based on this description, this project will mainly delve into issues in regard the mentoring experiences of immigrants for their integration into Canadian society through: (1) The participants’ representations of mentoring as well as their experiences with the practice; (2) the participants’ representations of experiences around integration; and, finally, (3) the intersections of mentoring and integration in the Canadian context. More concretely in regard to the methodological standpoint to be employed into this project, I will look into mentoring and integration processes of the participants throughout their own visual and discursive interpretations as well as through my own observations of their mentoring interactions in practice.

Based on the application of some ideas that are abundantly found in critical theory studies, this project aims to value alternative understandings on mentoring and integration. Along the way, I will also criticize the use of any formula leading to pre-defined interpretations of participants’ discourses and experiences. Overall, I will then attempt to foster discussions that recognize certain tensions without displaying a clear preoccupation with prescriptive solutions
for the inequities addressed by this study. In reality, some of the issues to be examined here are inherently structural, fostered through the establishment of ways of knowledge that cannot be easily dispersed through sudden interventions of social programs. If I had advocated for fast and easy solutions in this sense, I would have been complicit with a capitalist perspective that has dominated the world for a long time. However, my position is not innocent either since it has been partially developed in this same capitalism system that I am criticizing here from within. Actually, this is exactly one the ideas that will described throughout the upcoming overview of the personal reasons that have prompted me to conduct this project.

1.3 The Role of my Three Mentors in Grounding my Positionality as the Researcher

While I was taking professor Njoki Wane’s course on spirituality and schooling, I decided to write a paper on the topic of mentoring. Part of the preparation for that paper involved an oral presentation in which I shared ideas on this topic with the professor and also the peers. For that presentation, I brought a picture of my godmother, and introduced her as my mentor to the class that day. When I was talking about her, the picture was getting passed from hand to hand, so everyone in class had a chance to have a look at it. By the end of that presentation, the professor said that my words had been inspiring. In fact, I also felt touched by that particular presentation. While I was sharing my stories with the class, I sensed that some kind of connection had been established between professor Njoki and my godmother, two women with an African ancestry who have mentored others in different ways and capacities. That moment provided me with the concrete insight for this dissertation. Since then, I have reflected upon all the mentors that I have had in my lifetime, however, none of them had been named as “mentors”
up to that day. In any case, I will now share my thoughts and feelings about the three mentors who I consider to have impacted me the most: My godmother, my oldest sister and my partner.

In fact, I have already introduced the first mentor who is, of course, my godmother. She was the one who helped my mother to raise me through my childhood and teenager years. Besides, her prominent role on my life also stems from an incident on the day of my Catholic baptism, which was around forty years ago. According to the tradition at the time in the Northeastern part of Brazil from where I come from, the baptized supposedly had two godmothers – the first or main godmother, who carried the baby, and the second or “towel” godmother, who carried the towel for the baptismal ceremony. In spite of this protocol, my horrible mood partially changed not only the process but also the outcome of the ceremony. That day, I almost did not want anyone to touch me inside the church, not even the Catholic priest, my father or my mother. The only person that I allowed to hold me that day was the woman whom I eventually came to consider my dear and sole godmother.

The presence of my godmother in my earlier years has exposed me to several powerful experiences that have continued to resonate with me ever since. One particular incident occurred when I was about five years old, and it involved someone’s comment about my godmother’s skin colour. I recall someone saying something like, “sua madrinha é preta”, which means “your godmother is black” in Portuguese. From that situation, I clearly understood the person’s tone, which was neither complimentary nor neutral. After hearing that, I reacted by getting angry at the person who had made the statement, and then insisted that my godmother was “marrom” - brown in Portuguese, not “preta” or black. Inside my mind, I was defending her by trying to innocently make her look whiter in that person’s eyes. Unfortunately, I don’t recall the outcome or other details of that particular situation since it occurred such a long time ago. Nevertheless, this incident can also illustrate how much I have always cared for her.
Through our daily interactions, my godmother was the person who also made me understand my own stories, the stories of my family as well as her stories and the stories of her own family in a way that they all interweaved in the end somehow. She was never rude with me even when I was misbehaving. In fact, she would call my attention in ways that never sounded authoritarian but caring. Besides, no single experience undertaken with her was boring or unpleasant, even the potentially traumatic task of killing a turkey in our backyard for a special celebration, for example. In one of those days reserved for the killing of the turkey, I remember that she often explained what she was going to do first. First, she would get the turkey drunk for it not to suffer, and then she would go on clarifying other steps of the “process” in the same careful way. Through simple acts like that one, there was such a respect for the “rituals” and all their elements involved. When I think about those experiences today, I cannot prevent myself from feeling moved by these memories because of the full acknowledgment of the importance of those small acts for my childhood and my life in general. In several ways, she helped to foster the man who I have become today: Someone truly concerned with the welfare of others. In a way, my attachment to community-based concerns that I dearly hold today could be partially attributed to the interactions with my godmother.

In order to continue this recollection of memories, I will then proceed now with my second mentor who is my oldest sister, the one who was supposed to be one of my godmothers. On the day of my baptism, she got so sick that she was unable to go with us to the church, which was located in a different city. At the time, she was probably twenty years old. This sister was already in university, living in another town when I was growing up. While I did not live with her on a daily basis during my childhood, I usually spent my summers with her from the earliest time I can remember. Nevertheless, in spite of the distance, our connection has always been very strong. For example, whenever I was left in between her and my mother, I would always go
straight to her. As a child, I would anxiously wait for her to come home on weekends, and then dread her departures as well. During those situations, I could get so excited in her presence to the point of losing my voice for a few instants until I was able to fully recover from the impact of our encounters or farewells.

My sister also counselled me to be strong whenever she would take me to see a doctor, for example. In fact, medicines, doctors and vaccinations all comprised a major part of my life because I frequently struggled with respiratory problems during my childhood and teenager years. On one occasion in particular, she told me that I was going to receive a shot that was supposed to be very painful. I still remember going with her to the pharmacist for that specific shot. That day, she also asked me not to cry. In fact, I did not shed a single tear not to disappoint her. However, I also remember to be limping in pain while leaving that place after the shot.

Another experience with my sister that I distinctively remember occurred some years later. By that time, I was around eleven years old or so, and I was already an uncle to her two daughters. That summer, she had rented a beach house for her family’s vacation. This one-month vacation stands out for me as the happiest in my lifetime for several reasons that include the short story that I will be sharing now. At that time, she and my brother-in-law were wishing to instill an entrepreneurial spirit in me, something that has never fully blossomed after all. Anyway, she made freezies in different flavours, and then put them all in a Styrofoam container for me to sell. In order to prepare me for the experience, she told me the asking price of the freezies, and encouraged me to walk on the beach for a few afternoons. During those walks, I was also able to socialize with people on the beach, and also get to better know the whereabouts. By stimulating those experiences, she was simply trying to awaken my interest and/or pleasure in having my own money. In a broader way, she wanted me to trail a more entrepreneurial path in life, somehow different from the way that my parents were educating me. At that point in time,
they generally seemed to be satisfied with a child who was usually well-mannered, and who was constantly excelling at school. In any case, this example described here also tends to show a certain instrumentality which is apparently inherent to mentoring.

Then the third and last mentor that I wish to mention here is my partner. He was crucial for my adjustment to a new life in Canada. When I immigrated, he made sure that I met his family and some of the places which were dear to him. I still remember the first time when I went to a hamburger barbecue at his father’s backyard, and then met almost all his family at once. That day was particular for two reasons. Firstly, as a Brazilian, I was not familiar with the concept of a hamburger barbecue, something that I was unreasonably dreading for not being able to fully appreciate the food. Secondly, that day was the eighteenth birthday of one of his nieces. So I also gave her a semi-precious stone from Brazil as a gift.

While these simple experiences did not seem so significant at first, they truly contributed to enhance my level of comfort and familiarity with a new life here. In fact, my integration also included my English language learning which was enriched by the constant guidance and incentive of my partner. His role as my mentor does not seem to fit into either the extreme community-based or instrumental natures of the first two cases previously described. In reality, it has been more like a mix of both. In particular, his contributions as my mentor surfaced more in terms of my intense familiarization with the new spaces and their culture at that moment. That particularly important moment of my life happened about fifteen years ago when I left Brazil for Canada. In fact, the role of mentoring across spaces and times is an aspect that I will be certainly taking notice in this doctoral project.

In the gradual progress of my experiences in Canada, time has slightly changed roles. Somehow, my mentoring experiences have become more balanced overtime, not only in the case
of my partner, but also in the cases of the other two mentors who have been influential to me. These connections have certainly become more complex as well. In reality, these shifts can indeed point out to the dynamic way in which mentoring can sometimes operate.

In conclusion, all the three main mentors presented here are the ones that I have been able to recognize during and after that presentation for professor Wane’s class. Of course, this process of recognition has not been fast. It has been indeed slow and gradual. However, all these mentors, not formally named as such, have probably become significantly more important to me than any mentor who may still cross my path in a formal capacity in Canada. Due to the connection of all these memories, I have become more and more interested to know if other people would also share equivalent feelings and/or think in the same way that I do in this regard. This is, in fact, an important premise that has guided this research project after all. Then, in the end, all the main theoretical and personal connections included in this chapter so far have indeed served to set the background for the presentation of the research questions of this project in a more logical manner that will follow now.

1.4 Research Questions

In regard to this doctoral project, I wish to understand not only how mentors and mentees perform their mentoring practices on the ground but also how they interpret them. In fact, based on the ideas presented so far, I assume that it can be a huge gap between the common institutionalized format of mentoring experiences in Canada, and the way in which I have experienced these same practices in other capacities. Moved by this curiosity, I have purposefully chosen an institutional environment where mentoring experiences were constantly and recognizably happening in a formal way. By specifically studying two institutional
mentoring initiatives with both instrumental and community-based elements associated with them, I aim to better understand the dynamics as well as the impact of the mentoring experiences of adult immigrants who took part in these programs in Toronto on their integration into Canadian society. So, in order to conduct this study, I am proposing here the following research questions:

1) How do participants interpret their experiences as mentors and/or mentees?

In regard to this first question, the spotlight is on the participants’ interpretations of mentoring based on their past and/or the current experiences in the two mentoring programs in focus. This question can also help me to investigate the impact of structural issues on (re)interpretations of mentoring practices carried by the participants in Canada. Indirectly, their mentoring connections can possibly challenge (or not) the mainstream view(s) on mentoring in North America (to be explained later) through interpretations via a series of comparisons of their own interactions.

2) How do participants experience the impact of their mentoring connections for their integration into Canadian society?

This question will basically explore how mentoring can effectively help participants to become part of Canadian society. In particular, this question can pragmatically and discursively explore how mentoring can be used as a valuable avenue allowing immigrants to better integrate into Canadian society. Additionally, I am also interested in learning more about how their mentoring connections can fit into acceptable practices of Canadian citizenship that can potentially define which immigrants are “integratable” and which ones are not.
3) How do instrumental/consumerist and/or communitarian/citizenship discourses and practices permeate mentoring and integration through immigrants’ social performances?

The third research question will look at how the participants of this project will place their own mentoring experiences in the context of the two institutional mentoring programs that blend communitarian and instrumental elements. The primary goal here is to uncover how participants will define their own goals for the program, and thus their own perceptions in regard to their experiences with their mentors or mentees while possibly framing their positions in a broader framework around citizenship and consumerist values and ideas disseminated in Canada. In other words, it is assumed here that participants’ positions towards their mentoring interactions can be both discursively and visually analysed in light of positions held in respect to their integration into the new country as well.

1.5 Organization of the Dissertation

This project will follow now with key points of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks (chapter 2), an extensive literature review (chapter 3), a comprehensive methodological clarification (chapter 4), the presentation of all the data originated from the project as well as its analysis (chapters 5, 6 and 7), and, finally, the conclusion (chapter 8). Since these are all standard chapters in most doctoral research projects, I am bypassing a detailed explanation of their content here. However, by the end of the methodological chapter (chapter 4), it will be an explanation of the specific content to be covered in each one of the data analysis chapters because they usually tend to display more variations in comparison to other projects. So, at this point, the project will then move to the framework section.
Chapter 2

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks: An Integrated Approach

This project has been conceptualized under a critical paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). In fact, “[a] critical paradigm deals with how power, control, and ideology dominate our understanding of reality” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 48). However, before I delve deeper into the explanation of the critical approach employed here, I will first clarify what the inclusion of the term “paradigm” means for this study. In order to do so, I will then borrow a definition from Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006). For them, “paradigms are powerful ways of looking at reality, and they provide windows into information about the social world and often frame the particular questions that we seek to answer” (p. 49). In line with a more pragmatic approach, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state that a paradigm encompasses four major pillars: ethics, ontology, epistemology and methodology. So, now I will then examine each one of these pillars introduced here in light of how I intend to conduct this research project.

In terms of the critical ethical pillar employed here, it has been intrinsic to this research process in a dynamic way (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In other words, my care for ethics has permeated different stages of this research project (Gastaldo & McKeever, 2002). For example, I have paid considerable attention to ethical issues while relating to other partners, engaging with participants, analysing the data, and writing the outcomes of this study, for example. Additionally, in light of my critical ontological position, I have also conducted this study by taking into account not only my own social positionality, which has been clearly influenced by
space and time, but also the positionality of other stakeholders involved in the process (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In fact, this approach has involved a constant attention to negotiations of everyday practices which have been framed into the much larger context of the lives of everyone involved in this project (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

In relation to my critical epistemological position, I have made a clear effort to acknowledge the subjective understandings of the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). For example, this concern can be also specifically illustrated by the way in which I have come to conceptualize mentoring in this project. Finally, in regard to the methodological pillar used here, my critical position has expressed itself through a constant need to dialogue with participants in order to capture their worldviews in ways that they could be honestly voiced (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In particular, the exploratory methodology applied here as well as the methods selected, which will be further explained in chapter 4, aim to emphasize the dialogical process that has characterized this study.

This critical inquiry has been also shaped by other aspects that have influenced my critical perspective as a researcher. In fact, Kincheloe and McLaren (2008) have compiled several guiding principles that are pertinent to the role that I have played. In face of their contributions, I will punctuate certain aspects of what a critical researcher usually does while intercalating their observations with my own examples based on practice. First of all, according to these authors, the critical researcher is someone who does “a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts certain basic assumptions that all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constructed” (pp. 404-405). For this reason, based on my attention to boundaries established across national, linguistic, racial, religious, age, gender and social class differences, this project will definitively include valid attempts to detect
and analyse unequal power relations permeating the participants’ social relations across space
and time throughout my own observations and/or interpretations of these experiences.

Secondly, still in light of the work of Kincheloe and McLaren (2008), they consider that
the connection between “concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or
fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption; that
language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious or unconscious awareness)” (p.
405). Grounded on these ideas, I have paid close attention to the participants’ selective or limited
use of written and visual language in the (re)construction of their new realities as citizens and
consumers in Canada. In particular, I am willing to capture important ideas by noticing key
presences and absences in their discourses and practices through the form in which they refer and
relate to their mentoring practices and other activities in Canada.

Finally, the last theoretical contribution from Kincheloe and McLaren’s (2008) work that
I wish to highlight here has a connection with the importance of systems of oppression. In this
regard, these authors state that there are ways of privileging certain groups and societies over
others. “[A]lthough the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that
characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept
their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable” (p. 405). In fact, this point summarizes a
key feature of this project. As a whole, this study will reveal and discuss apparently hidden
mechanisms that tend to hierarchize and regulate people as well as their forms of knowledge
transmission in Canada.

In light of what has been discussed in this chapter so far, I also wish to emphasize my
own approach to knowledge from a critical perspective (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). In general,
I have constantly attempted to question knowledge in order to escape any inflexibility, not only
in terms of how to generate and interpret information but also in face of how to present it. In fact, this has been not an easy task because it has involved a constant struggle with myself, and potentially with others involved in this process. My overall approach to addressing ways of knowing have gone beyond well-established practices in research. I have not always followed research conventions in this regard without having a clear notion of the potential benefits of applying them. Not surprisingly, both through my own analysis and in my research practice as a whole, I have paid particular attention to the spatiotemporal relativity or negotiability of knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In reality, this approach was only possible because of my active and critical perspective as the main investigator of this project.

In order to further explore this critical perspective, I have divided this chapter into three main sections. In the first one, I will dwell on a broad explanation of the critical theories that will guide the analysis as a whole. In fact, I have called this section *Theoretical Framework*. Then I will proceed with the *Conceptual Framework*. In this second section, I will explore ideas around emotions, citizenship and consumption that will also serve to further ground this project. Finally, I will then integrate these two frameworks in order to set the general orientation for the study. Actually, this concluding section has been named as *Integrated Frameworks for the Orientation of the Study*. So now I will move to the first step of this overview.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Several ideas that will be exposed here already encompassed the theoretical contributions which were utilized in the preparation for this project (Berg, 2007). However, more theoretical pieces have been added after the data collection stage. In general, the theoretical insights combined should conjointly offer good starting points for a more logical understanding of the
project as a whole. In fact, this theoretical framework includes critical theories originated from Poststructural and Postcolonial studies. Nonetheless, I will not focus on these theories but rather bring together shared elements that will allow me to think critically about the topics of study. As a whole, these theories also support an initial understanding of the main points guiding the discussion in the data analysis chapters (Berg, 2007).

2.1.1 Critical theories.

In order to ground the analysis, this review will initially centre around three critical theorists of prominence. I will start with the contributions of Homi Bhabha (2004) first, then Himani Bannerji (1997, 2000), and finally, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2004, 2009). In reality, Bhabha distinctively interprets that “[m]imicry repeats rather than re-presents” (p. 125). This reading of Bhabha’s work suggests that there is nothing creative in mimetic. So, in comparison to performers, mimics may seem just dull or incompetent. Bhabha then describes how the process of mimicry produces a certain level of ambivalence in postcolonial representations. In fact, he also positions the “[h]ybridity” (p. 159) behind the reproduction of colonial power. Because of their hybridity, mimics do not only threaten the authority of the colonizers but also reproduce behaviours and discourses that tend to reinforce the authoritative power at the same time. In other words, the colonizers tend to work as references to guarantee the maintenance of the system. However, mimicry can also undermine the same process by dislocating the original reference. As a result, the reproduction of the colonizers as colonized individuals will always be inadequate because the colonized mimics are essentially incapable to fully incorporate the authority represented by the colonizers (Bhabha, 2004).
In addition to Bhabha’s (2004) references to mimicry, it is opportune to note that Butler (1993) also addresses a related concept of mimesis in one of her analyses of the work of other authors. When she states that “miming has the effect of repeating the origin only to displace that origin as an origin” (Butler, 1993, p. 45), she suggests that the apparent origin is always a recreation. So it can be broadly understood here that some recreations are more powerful than others by becoming new origins instead of just mere copies. However, probably Bhabha would have never agreed with this idea. Based on my interpretation of his work, mimicry would always make the colonized inappropriate anyway. In fact, his idea exposed here will be very relevant for this doctoral project since established immigrants are also recruited to mentor newcomers in the programs that will be studied here. In this context, the inappropriateness of immigrants as role models for their mentees can certainly become clear if mentees reject or question established immigrants as legitimate mentors.

However, questions around legitimacy do not generally appear overnight. In fact, they may be deeply buried into institutional discourses which are often portrayed as inoffensive. In reality, this is one of the main suggestions coming from Bannerji (1997, 2000), the second critical theorist of relevance for this study. Throughout her work, Bannerji (2000) particularly stresses the unique emphasis on diversity as particularly illusory because it does not go deep to the roots of social inequities which have been historically framed in colonial, capitalist and slavery systems, for example. Because of this lack of understanding, possible reactions to these forms of oppression may all get lost in history somehow. Consequently, discourses around diversity tend to escape critical and reflexive interpretations of reality. In general, Bannerji’s (1997, 2000) perspective on diversity certainly reveals a valuable take on the examination of certain values freely disseminated in Canada. In fact, her view may force us to look back, and then reconsider our own ideas in this sense.
While referring to the situation of immigrants coming to the West from former colonies, for example, Bannerji (2000) has specifically stated that immigrants can bring with them memories of oppressive situations involving class issues, patriarchy and racism. On one hand, these feelings of alienation can intensify in the destination country. On the other hand, some forms of resistance can also emerge. These ideas greatly differ from the way in which most people understand Canada as a whole – a place where immigrants originated from different countries satisfactorily and peacefully live together. Nevertheless, as Bannerji’s work mainly indicates, there is also a colonial baggage that immigrants may bring with them and/or have to face here as well. Consequently, the tensions originated from immigrants’ past struggles cannot be ignored or minimized (Bannerji, 1997, 2000). In reality, her work has been key in this sense for the consolidation of my own critical understanding in regard to some of the challenges faced by participants from this study. Her ideas are not only theoretically valuable but they are also important in terms of the multicultural contextualization of this project that will follow in the next chapter as well.

Finally, the third prominent theorist to be featured here is de Sousa Santos (2004), who is also among the authors originally mentioned in the introduction of this subsection. In his work, he has defined “contact zone” (p. 184) as “social fields in which different normative life worlds, practices, and knowledges meet, clash, and interact” (de Sousa Santos, 2004, p. 184). Although contact zones are essentially interactive yet selective places, this conceptualization did not originally include only the places where multiculturalism is institutionalized. In any case, Pratt (1991) is the author who seems to have first conceptualized “contact zones” (p. 33). This concept was basically defined by her as the friction of cultures in spaces showing a certain power imbalance due to colonial and slavery experiences, for example, both in the past or present. However, de Sousa Santos (2014) has developed this idea in a way that will better fit this
doctoral project. In the new scenario portrayed by him, Canada seems to fit well enough into the context of “multicultural contact zones” (p. 231). A new contextualization in this sense has become clearer in his work after multiculturalism started to be interpreted more specifically as a form of discourse or institutionalized system on behalf of tolerance (de Sousa Santos, 2014; de Sousa Santos, Arriscado Nunes, & Meneses, 2008).

In an analysis that could also well reflect immigrants’ experiences while trying to integrate into Canadian society, de Sousa Santos (2004, 2009) has explained why some ways of knowledge production get more valued among the array of other approaches. Since ways of knowing are essentially plural or relational (de Sousa Santos, 2009), hegemonic epistemologies can also produce other ways of knowledge as nonexistent even though they do indeed exist in reality (de Sousa Santos, 2009). In other words, “[n]onexistence is produced whenever a certain entity is disqualified and rendered invisible, unintelligible, or irreversibly discardable” (de Sousa Santos, 2004, p. 165).

According to de Sousa Santos (2004), ways of knowing produced as nonexistent can be seen as: (1) perceived forms of ignorance, (2) allegedly backward ways of thinking, (3) ways of knowing that tend to categorize people and naturalize differences, (4) ways of knowing that are deemed too particular or local and, finally, (5) forms that are seen as nonproductive. “They are social forms of nonexistence because the realities to which they give shape are present only as obstacles vis-à-vis the realities deemed relevant, be they scientific, advanced, superior, global or productive” (de Sousa Santos, 2004, p. 167). In reality, hegemonic ways of knowing can be also interpreted as “power networks” (Foucault, 1980, p. 122) by joining forces and strengthening the modes for production of nonexistence initially identified by de Sousa Santos in his work.
In light of all these processes and ideas described here, when immigrants come to a new country, they need to renegotiate the symbolic meaning of what they already know by also trying to adapt themselves to new ways of knowing. However, their own ways of knowledge may then get simultaneously devalued or ignored along the way. Overall, a good comprehension of the ways in which forms of knowledge transmission can effectively operate is essential for this research project as a whole. For this reason, this idea will be then extended in the subsection that will follow now.

2.1.2 The importance of language, time and space for processes of knowledge transmission.

Language, time and space can all interconnect through naming. First of all, Thupayagale and Dithole (2005) have defined a name as “a word devised to uniquely describe an object, a place, or a person” (p. 141). Bhatia (2005) also argues the originating dynamics behind most names tend to wane by simultaneously making surface “a series of normative associations, motives and characteristics [that] are attached to the named subject” (p. 8). In fact, both Bhatia and Alia (2006, p. 247) have referred to a politics of naming as capable of influencing the exercise of power. So “[w]hen power is unequal and people are colonised at one level or another, naming is manipulated from the outside” (Alia, 2007, p. xi). Consequently, this manipulation of power tends to create a certain structural domination, which is also implied in space and time. In reality, these ideas are so important to this project that they will be further explored in the data analysis stage, mainly through the participants’ identification or not of their mentors.

Language shapes the way in which people understand their own history. In addition, history tends to become part of how people interpret their world (Vázquez, 2006). In other
words, “the history of place can affect the way we make meaning in and through the landscape” (Saunders & Moles, 2013, p. 26). Therefore, the present cannot be disconnected from the past because the present is when the past can be constantly remade (Vázquez, 2006). Consequently, the past never gets frozen in time mainly because of human interventions. However, the big question here is if human interventions can truly have a huge impact to considerably change places overtime since some interventions appear to have a solely reproductive effect, not exactly creative though. Actually, this is another idea defended by Bhabha (1990, 2004) in his writing. In DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation, Bhabha (1990) particularly discusses the impact of pedagogical and performative elements for the construction of the nation. With the help of Julia Kristeva’s work, he then identifies “a double temporality: the process of identity constituted by historical sedimentation (the pedagogical); and the loss of identity in the signifying process of cultural identification (the performative)” (p. 304). In conjunction, these two aspects are indeed important parts of this doctoral project by suggesting not only the instrumentality or functionality attributed to language but also its performativity.

The impact of the instrumental and performative aspects of language tends to be particularly salient on the study of myths. In fact, there are theorists who have specifically focused their efforts on the study of social imaginary and/or national narratives. Among these authors, I can highlight the work of Cornelius Castoriadis (1987), Gerard Delanty (2009) and Charles Taylor (2004), for example. With the guidance of these authors’ ideas mentioned here, I will then conduct (re)interpretations of certain myths, not only around mentoring, but also around the Canadian national imaginary. These particular analyses will highlight how reality and fantasy can interplay through the institutionalization of mentoring for immigrants in the construction of their new realities in Canada.
Particularly in regard to the myths around mentoring, Spencer (2007) mentions that mentoring programs may be often presented as entertaining and transformative. In reality, these assumptions may hide challenges for mentors while exposing them to a series of social differences in relation to their mentees. Also because of the language in which mentoring programs are presented, Colley’s (2001, 2002, 2003) demonstrates that the purposes of institutional mentoring practices in community services is truly commodifying in its core. In fact, this author is also among those who have identified that the mythical origin of mentoring goes back to Homer’s (2003) *The Odyssey* (Colley, 2001, 2002). However, more details about the impact of this myth on contemporary practices and forms of knowledge production will follow not only in the next chapter, but also in the data analysis stage of this project. In any case, it is noteworthy that the use of mentoring myths has had a serious impact on the way in which the practice has been mainly institutionalized.

Then specifically in terms of Canadian national myths, it is also opportune to introduce here two myths which will be important in the data analysis stage of this project. The first one is the frontier myth which is prominently featured in Furniss’ (1999) book *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community*:

The frontier myth is a historical epistemology consisting of a set of narratives, themes, metaphors, and symbols that has emerged within the context of North American colonization, that continues to define the dominant modes of historical consciousness among the general public, and that various individuals draw upon to construct understandings of the past and the present, of contemporary identities, and of relationships with Aboriginal peoples. (p. 54)

In these nationalist narratives around the frontier myth, indigenous peoples were romanticized due to their wild nobility, were demeaned as childish or simply became invisible
(Furniss, 1999). In contrast, white settlers were the heroes of these same (hi)stories (Furniss, 1999). As a result, these myths have also attributed “Euro-Canadians with a sense of collective identity – paternal benevolence and natural superiority” (Furniss, 1999, p. 78) - through the praise for the individualism of the first settlers in face of the harshness of Canadian nature. In this regard, Hogg (2011) has also added that the conceptualization of British manliness in the metropolis and in its colonies got defined with certain attributes like self-control and resilience, for example. In the colonies, British men could also “exercise the courage, self-reliance and physical prowess” (Hogg, 2011, p. 356). All these characteristics have indeed shaped social relations in Canada, not only in the nineteenth century when the country was still an important British colony but also afterwards as well.

Besides the frontier myth, the other Canadian myth to be addressed here relates to the expansion of borders with an assurance of the country’s new identity due to the figure of the Mountie. Mounties started to arrive in the West after Canada’s independence (Fanning, 2012; Nettelbeck & Foster, 2012; Walden, 1982). They monitored errant mobilities and any rebellious predisposition from First Nations’ groups (Nettelbeck & Foster, 2012). Consequently, Mounties could be better able to control these populations (Nettelbeck & Foster, 2012). With the movements of indigenous peoples restricted to their own reserves (Nettelbeck & Foster, 2012), Mounties could concentrate on the delivery of community services (Fanning, 2012). In fact, they were far more important in the Prairies because of their precious support for the first settlements, and at the expense of their occasional yet obvious efforts on law enforcement (Fanning, 2012). In any case, Mounties assured that law and order could be ensured not only in reality but also in all the fictional stories created in light of their acts.

There is also a related body of knowledge in the literature that has helped me to better understand how myths tend to operate in reality. In order to support the upcoming critical
analysis, I will also include the work of theorists who have left their mark on human geography since they have directly or indirectly studied the influence of space, time and/or movements on people’s social relations. This group of thinkers include: Henri Lefebvre (2013), Doreen Massey (2005, 2007), Edward Relph (1976), Edward Soja (2009) and Oliver Ibert (2007). In fact, the inclusion of their work is essential here because their ideas will support my study of the participants’ social relations. In particular, they will enlighten the way in which space and time can effectively impact on processes of knowledge transmission like mentoring, for example. After this exposition about the dynamics of these processes, I will proceed now with an explanation of the conceptual framework which has been established for this project.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework consists of three core ideas that will help to additionally frame this project as a whole. For this reason, I have decided to combine them all under a conceptual umbrella called “emotions, citizenship and consumption”. Firstly, I will present the intersection between citizenship and consumption, actually an emerging field of study already. Secondly, I will then include studies that have directly or indirectly contributed to an understanding of emotions in regard to citizenship and consumption by also making connections with the context that will be employed into this doctoral project.

2.2.1 An overview of the interconnection between citizenship and consumption.

In order to discuss the overlap between notions of citizenship and consumption, I will first address Clarke’s (2007) examination of a political transition in the United Kingdom. In the same
work, he more broadly suggests that, in different contexts, the public sector is shrinking. Consequently, the private sector is generally getting bigger. In fact, this author has initially explained that citizenship and consumerism have been also presented as opposites by also defining the classical area of influence of their different set of values. Whereas citizens generally favour the state, the public realm, the political realm, the collective, de-commodification and the guarantee of rights, consumers usually lean towards the market, the private realm, the economic realm, the individual, commodification and exchange (Clarke, 2007). Eventually, by specifically using the British example in order to ground his analysis, he then acknowledges that that the opposition initially presented here is clearly an oversimplification because of complex interconnections between citizens and consumers overall. In light of this suggested interconnection, Park (2005) then states that consumption has transformed itself into “a central site from which to observe the maintenance and reproduction of citizenship, or more specifically, social citizenship” (pp. 5-6).

In fact, authors have specifically devoted time and effort to examine how consumerist philosophies have infiltrated into our daily lives in ways we do not initially realize or even care much. So, by going back to Clarke’s (2007) work, he has particularly looked into the implications of getting people defined as consumers of public services in general. In contrast, Miles (2010) seems more interested in the investigation of spaces of consumption like malls, for example. In regard to this analysis, he writes that, “[a]s consumers who actively seek pleasure through spaces of consumption, we are effectively complicit in the ideologies by which we are implicated” (Miles, 2010, p. 7). In line with this idea, he also states that the idea of consumption has been placed “at the very heart of what means to be a citizen of the society in which we live” (Miles, 2010, p. 1).
In addition, Norris (2011) mainly focuses on how consumption has been affecting students. However, he first explains that schools have been traditionally portrayed as democratic spaces. Nevertheless, the main argument of his book is that it has been a transformation in this regard, mainly because of the advance of consumerist values in these contexts. According to the same author, even in schools, “consumerism promotes a process by which the human being is depoliticized, students are reduced to passive spectators, and an active citizenry is transformed into complacent consumers” (p. 176). As it has been explained here through these references, the overlap between citizenship and consumption (or consumerism) can work in a variety of ways. Despite the importance of all these contributions, I am, in fact, more interested in specifically exploring the interface of citizenship and consumption in light of national differences affecting spaces, products and services.

First, in regard to the consumption of national spaces, Miles (2014) describes the impact of the Olympic Games in Beijing on China by emphasizing that nationalism and consumerism seemed very compatible there through the stimulation of a “consumer-driven citizenship” (p. 159) for that specific event. In fact, this idea is also similar to Paton, Mooney, and McKee’s (2012) concept of “consumer-citizenship” (p. 1470) in their research of how Glasgow was getting ready for the Commonwealth Games in 2014. In these studies, a particular form of citizenship seemed to have fostered new images of these people and their cities. However, this concept of citizenship is embedded by characteristics that tend to differ from what was strictly described by Clarke (2007) in the introductory passage here. Nevertheless, in these particular cases, consumer-citizenship has basically taken shape as nationalistic ideologies to be consumed by the masses.

Then, in light of national differences established through the consumption of certain products, Halstead (2002) explores how North American products became an important marker
as an ideal of perfection for Guyanese youth throughout their real or imagined transnational experiences of consumption. In her work, Moor (2007) has also included a source that accounted on how the acquisition of typically American brand names by recent immigrants in the United States contributed to their perceived Americanization. Similarly, McGovern (2006) suggests that nationalistic advertising messages published from the end of the nineteen century up to the first decades of the twentieth century could have led individuals to believe that their acts of consumption made them real American citizens. According to this particular author, “[b]uying and using goods Americanized the immigrant and [also] modernized the native-born” (p. 124). In face of all the studies mentioned here, the consumption of North American projects tended to have influenced the identities of individuals as citizens on a historical or contemporary basis.

Finally, in regard to the access to certain services, Hochschild (2012) first explains in her work that “[i]f we can become alienated from goods in a goods-producing society, we can become alienated from service in a service-producing society” (p. 7). Then, in a study focusing on the identity construction of Asian Americans as consumers, Park (2005) has highlighted the weight of businesses owned by immigrant families as central for their assimilation into the American society. In general, through consumerist acts and/or their socialization in spaces of consumption, tourists as well as immigrants and citizens alike may all be led to believe that they can reinvent themselves, or even be truly included into new societies throughout real and/or imagined experiences around citizenship and consumption. Whether these processes are either temporary or permanent, they also seem to specifically affect the Canadian integration of immigrants throughout a process that will be further explained as follows.

In Canada, education does not only work as one of the main requirements for the state’s selection of immigrants (Government of Canada., 2014) but it also contributes to integrate them. In general, model immigrants need to be the ones who can also practically demonstrate that they
can be more “easily "‘consumable’” (Park, 2005, p. 13) by supposedly possessing and applying skills that can be promptly transferable from one context to another. For example, “successful social integration implies immigrants’ adopting the English or French language, moving away from ethnically concentrated immigrant enclaves, and participating in social and political activities of mainstream society” (Li, 2003a, p. 316). In summary, the more adaptable immigrants are, the less likely for them to “fall outside mainstream society” (Li, 2003a, p. 316).

By using a Foucauldian understanding of this mechanism, we can also say that immigrants’ bodies tend to follow disciplinarian technologies through the “generation and interconnection of different techniques themselves designed in response to localized requirements” (Foucault, 1991, p. 80). In a way, mentoring, for instance, could be interpreted as an educational technique used in order to ensure that immigrants are properly integrated into Canadian society. In fact, this preoccupation seems to go beyond citizenship issues by also encompassing economic reasons.

In line with the previous idea, Bauman’s (2007) suggests that the consumer has displaced the producer as the ideal citizen of the nation. Also according to this perspective, “[i]n a society of consumers, everyone needs to be, ought to be, must be a consumer-by-vocation” (Bauman, 2007, p. 55). Actually, this view seems to be part of broader corporate philosophy that can also impregnate governmental decisions affecting national border crossings. Even on this realm, people can be also seen as elements to be transformed by human resources policies. As a whole, “integration and training need to be reduced to the bare minimum” (Bauman, 2007, p. 68). In fact, this strategy generally tends to follow a very neoliberal logic that marketizes political processes through the reengineering of citizenship (Ong, 2006). In this sense, based on my understanding of Ong’s (2006) position, certain practices are able to disarticulate more democratic approaches without the clear utilization of oppressive tools. In the end, the
employment of this kind of strategy cannot only civilize but also exclude individuals who are considered unproductive (Ong, 2006). For example, through their recruitment of high numbers of permanent residents in Canada, mentoring programs may help to possibly civilize individuals who are already on the path to legally qualify as Canadian citizens by also excluding those who are temporarily or permanently ineligible to become legal citizens of the country.

In reality, the way in which immigrants are broadly selected and integrated does not seem like an isolated phenomenon. In this regard, Bauman (2004) has already referred to the growing trend towards renewable relationships for those who are uncomfortable with permanent commitments in their interactions overall. In fact, he has also illustrated this idea by mentioning the phenomenon of speed and online dating. So, for him, relationships have generally become quicker and more disposable overtime. They are also more fragile and superficial (Bauman, 2004). In face of this whole consumerist (or neoliberal) scenario painted here not only by Bauman (2004, 2007) but also by Ong (2006), it will be of particular importance to investigate how the own immigrants will see themselves in this context because I am specifically suggesting that the overlap between citizenship and consumption is so salient in Canada that it has also permeated immigrants’ mentoring connections as well. In reality, the influence of emotions can also affect this same process described here. For this reason, the following discussion should add a new layer of understanding around these interactions.

2.2.2 The permeation of emotions on the study of citizenship and consumption.

The interconnection of citizenship and consumption tends to get less rational when nationalism comes into play as the necessary evil normally attached to it. In one of Berlant’s (1993) articles focused on American popular culture and national identity, for example, she
explains how the national ideology can create “infantile citizens” (p. 407) by making them forget everything that could be potentially problematic about their exercise of citizenship. By going one step further in order to establish a connection between citizenship and consumption in this sense, Bevir and Trentmann’s (2008) have linked consumerism to totalitarianism in a reference to Nazi Germany. In their example, German extermination efforts seemed to be the result of a well-orchestrated combination of state propaganda and marketing strategies in order to supposedly homogenize that country. Despite the differences between these two cases, the absence of a critical conscience is basically what appears to have approximated citizenship and consumerism via nationalist and essentializing (or ideal) notions about peoples and places.

In the same vein, Hochschild (2012) also acknowledges the apparent irrational appeal of extreme civic behaviours as in the following examples: “Consider what happens when young men roused to anger go willingly to war, or when followers rally enthusiastically around their king, or mullah, or football team” (p. 18). Nonetheless, in these cases, emotions could be even channeled in order to appear in some specific ways. As an illustration of this idea, Hochschild implies that emotion labour involves more than suppressing feelings by also including a certain creation as well. For her, “[t]his labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others” (p. 7). Then she extends this idea by saying that, “[n]o costumer wants to deal with a surly waitress, a crabby bank clerk, or a flight attendant who avoids eye contact in order to avoid getting a request” (p. 9). In light of the possibility of having certain inconsistencies disturbing normalized displays of politeness, this author then clarifies that these reactions tend to be also both real and common (Hochschild, 2012). However, in this regard, it is also important to mention that these inconsistencies may not be appropriate for a series of reasons that can include nationalistic and
economic interests, for instance. In fact, this idea will be further illustrated through the following example.

In the eighties, Bahamian authorities became worried about “the country’s growing reputation as a place where tourists were treated inhospitably” (Strachan, 2002, p. 115). Then the government launched a comprehensive campaign in order to stimulate its citizens to behave in a different way. In this campaign, black hospitality workers basically appeared providing services with smiles on their faces. In this way, Bahamian workers were basically encouraged to display an “authentic” happiness among foreign tourists in order to ensure the economic growth of the nation as a tour destination (Strachan, 2002). So, in order to guarantee a constant flow of tourists, these workers apparently had to systematically suppress their real emotions in order to create appropriate yet fake emotions.

In light of what has been presented so far in regard to emotions, it is essential to follow now with an introduction to Goffman’s (1990) insights around the value of emotions for performances carried through social relations. First, he clarifies that “[a] ‘performance’ may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of other participants” (1990, p. 26). In reality, people tend to integrate performances into their lives until they become part of their routines, so they can then influence others through their social relations.

Another central point of Goffman’s (1990) analysis is the performer’s sincerity. In this regard, Goffman concedes that “an honest, sincere, serious performance is less firmly connected with the solid world than one might first assume” (p. 78). While sincerity can be hardly measured by others on the daily basis, his statement suggests that sincerity is not so important in any social interaction because, in the end, what matter the most is what considered morally
and/or socially acceptable. In other words, even when there may be a very fine line between performances and trickeries in social relations, it all comes to how individuals will evaluate each other’s social performances in the end.

Based on these insights from both Hochschild (2012) and Goffman (1990) that have been presented here so far, in the case of immigrants in Canada, what matters the most is how the rest of the society and/or the government will see them. In this sense, immigrants will only become legitimate members of the new society if they are also able to convince others of their work as performers – not as tricksters. In the end, their social efforts tend to be intrinsically connected to their constant management of emotions.

In order to conclude this exposition of ideas around emotions here, it is now opportune to include a third theorist who also addresses emotions from a social or cultural perspective. By positioning emotions in a very unique way, Ahmed (2004) has openly abided to an “‘outside in’ model” (p. 9). Actually, this approach is different from the “‘inside out’ model” (p. 9) which is generally recognizable from psychology. “Rather than emotions being understood as coming from within and moving outwards, emotions are assumed to come from without and move inward” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 9). In this model, emotions are directly caused by social inputs. As a result, they tend to move as in a process of social “contamination” (Ahmed, 2004). Here my use of the word “contamination” could be interpreted in a negative sense, however, this process does not necessarily have to be understood only in a detrimental way. In multicultural Canada, for example, I consider that positive emotions seem to more easily circulate in social setting than the negative ones, for example. In this specific context, the need of people coming from different parts of the world to get along with each other seems to be essential for this system to work relatively well as a whole. For this reason, Canadian multiculturalism highly depends on the social control of emotions both on its institutional and discursive levels.
Among all the emotions that are important for multiculturalism, happiness seems to be a central one. In fact, Ahmed (2012) says that happiness can be constructed as a conditional outcome. In other words, people have to behave in certain ways in order to be awarded with their happiness in the end (Ahmed, 2008). So, in this sense, “[t]he will must be worked into existence in order to maximize one’s chances for living a healthy, happy and good life” (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 61). Not surprisingly, in her most recent book, Ahmed (2014b) also problematizes the will as purely individual. When people typically put their own will first at the expense of a collective good, they may find themselves responsible for problems affecting others. This situation is exactly what initially happens in the British movie *Bend it Like Beckham* (Ahmed, 2008). In this movie, the protagonist is faced with the dilemma of renouncing her dream of playing soccer in order to satisfy her family. In the end, however, she is somehow able to conciliate her own will to play soccer with the collective good of her immediate family and also her country as well. Throughout her analysis of this movie, Ahmed (2008) also shows that immigrants from minority groups may eventually aspire to be close to idealized (white) individuals in search for a happy integration. Because of their importance, this author’s ideas will be crucial for the analysis that will follow soon, which will be partially based on the emotional connections of the studied mentors and mentees with one another as well as with the broader Canadian context overtime.

In reality, Ahmed’s (2008) ideas around multiculturalism will be also readdressed in the following chapter when processes of integration will take central stage. Nevertheless, this author tends to generally expose contemporary issues around immigration and integration throughout her work, which is often grounded on cultural and media studies. In fact, I will be also employing a few movies featuring popular mentors because of their relevance for my own analysis. However, in these cases, the movies will not be central for the analysis as a whole since they will be only supporting the main argument. So, after the compilation of all these ideas in
regard to emotions, citizenship and consumption, I will now integrate the conceptual and the theoretical frameworks in the final section of this chapter.

2.3 Integrated Framework for the Orientation of the Study

Originated from the sum of the main ideas presented here, this study’s orientation will fundamentally help me to explore how immigrants’ social practices and/or discourses can lead to a certain marginalization and/or conformance during their integration into mainstream Canadian society. Concomitantly, this integrated framework will also support the analysis and interpretation of results in an articulated manner. First, in chapter 5, de Sousa Santos’ (2004, 2009, 2014) work will guide a significant part of the analysis. Actually, his concepts will be key for an explanation of how some mentees and their ways of knowing get devalued while others and their hegemonic ways of knowing get recognized by participants in this research project.

Then, in chapter 6, the critical nature of this project will be reinforced through an analysis of key ideas originally raised from important theorists such as Henri Lefebvre (2013) and Doreen Massey (2005, 2007), among others. In conjunction, they have already influenced studies on space and time. In particular, their work will then provide important elements for the advancement of a new conceptualization of mentoring in this study. Besides, due to the contributions of writers like Cornelius Castoriadis (1987) and Gerard Delanty (2009), participants’ experiences on the ground will also connect with mythic or symbolic representations for both mentoring and integration. Finally, in this same chapter, Himani Bannerji’s (1997, 2000) contributions will be helpful for the presentation of mentoring as a practice highly implicated on experiences of oppression, resistance and conformance in the context of immigrants’ integration into Canadian society.
In addition, Sara Ahmed’s (2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012) writings will be of great value to support the discussion in chapter 7. Her ideas around the cultural politics of emotions should help to explain how immigrant mentors and mentees can interpret, reproduce and project certain images to others in the new country. Eventually, Homi Bhabha’s (2004) work will then enlighten the discussion right after with the help of his ideas around the position of the colonized as a mimic of the colonizer. As a whole, the development of all these theories presented here will be fundamental for the analysis by integrating a framework that has allowed an intriguing understanding of how some participants can act and/or then be perceived in Canada.

As a final note here, it is also opportune to stress that chapter 7 has included ideas from several authors who are originally from the conceptual framework presented here. Actually, this group of thinkers has encompassed important theorists like Erving Goffman (1990, 1963), Zygmunt Bauman (2004, 2007) and Arlie Hochschild (2012), for example. Among these authors, Zygmunt Bauman is the only one who has already explored the intersections of citizenship and consumption. However, the work of authors primarily writing about the overlap between citizenship and consumption, like Steven Miles (2010) and Trevor Norris (2011), will also have their own space in the analysis. In the end, all these ideas combined will be extremely helpful to shape the discussion as a whole. So now that the theoretical basis of this project has been appropriately explained, it is already time to move to a detailed explanation of the literature review in the next chapter.
Chapter 3

Literature Review:

What Lies behind the Mentored Integration?

Some of the titles of the most critical papers on mentoring and/or immigrant integration can give the reader an impression that there is something purposely hidden or deeply wrong about these issues. In fact, they include: *Smoke and Mirrors: How an Allegedly Inclusionary Strategy Perpetuates an Exclusionary Discourse* (Bejan, 2011), “*In the Image and Likeness...*”: *How Mentoring Functions in the Hidden Curriculum* (Margolis & Romero, 2001), and “*It’s Not What I Expected*”: *A Qualitative Study of Youth Mentoring Relationship Failures* (Spencer, 2007). However, these titles reflect isolated reactions to what has been largely produced in the literature on mentoring and immigrant integration since most authors have provided largely descriptive and/or uncritical accounts. In this chapter, I will provide a broad range of perspectives that will include a critical examination of the literature in order to counterbalance the dominant functionalist approaches that have been used to study mentoring and immigrant integration in general.

Now I will present additional reasons to explain why I believe that this review is important for this doctoral project as a whole. Currently in Canada, mass education and social services seem to be incapable of addressing all the fast-paced and changing needs of society. Besides, guardians of neoliberal approaches are constantly searching for solutions in order to reduce costs in smart ways. In particular, the Canadian state also seems to be under continuous pressure not only to reduce costs but also to properly integrate the high number of immigrants
who are annually accepted into this country. Based on this situation, institutional mentoring programs seem to be the natural choices for managers and policymakers to address these pressing issues in a satisfactory way. In conjunction, the arguments presented here signal at the importance of connecting mentoring and immigrant integration as the main concepts for this analysis in addition to the initial ideas that have been already linked and explained in the introduction of this doctoral dissertation.

According to Berg (2007), concepts are “symbolic or abstract elements representing objects, properties, or features of objects, processes, or phenomenon” (p. 20). In order to map the processes of most relevance for this study, an extensive literature review was conducted from 2007 to 2015. Not surprisingly, this literature review eventually identified the two key concepts to be studied here, first as mentoring, and then as integration. Under the revision of important aspects concerning mentoring and integration, the study of volunteerism also surfaced as a bridge or subtheme of relevance for this project. In general, this chapter contains valuable descriptions, comparisons, contrasting elements and summaries of all the main ideas that will frame the discussion later in the analysis. So, now this literature review will start with the conceptualization of mentoring first.

3.1 Mentoring as an Elusive Object of Study

Authors have written entire articles in order to shed some light on the conceptualization of mentoring (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Crip & Cruz, 2009; Mertz, 2004; Roberts, 2000). In reality, there has also been a widespread perception that the concept is too imprecise (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Brondyk & Searby, 2013; Colley, 2002; Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Dawson, 2014; Merriam, 1983; Mertz, 2004; Roberts, 2000; Semeniuk & Worrall, 2000). Among all the
attempts to define mentoring, I have selected Mertz’s (2004) ideas grounded in human development. In this paper, the author highlights two elements present in the mentoring practice that she has identified as “involvement” (p. 547) and “intent” (p. 547). While the intentionality of mentoring focuses on its “future orientation” (p. 553), the involvement of participants concentrates on the nature of the practice. In the end, her preposition has come to represent a valid effort to better conceptualize mentoring in spite of the generalized uncertainty around the concept in its own field.

Despite the uneasiness of some authors in regard to the conceptualization of mentoring, others still automatically assume that mentoring only involves two people. One of them (usually the older or most experienced) basically guides or supports the other (usually the youngest or the least experienced) (e.g., Chao, 2009; Ehrich, Hansford, & Tennent, 2004; Haynes & Ghosh, 2012; Kram, 1985). At this point, however, a thorough explanation of this traditional concept of mentoring will be postponed to the introduction of chapter 5 when this clarification will be more opportune and useful. So, for now, I will proceed with a comprehensive examination of other pertinent issues around mentoring that will be helpful to firmly ground this research project at this stage.

3.1.1 Instrumental and communitarian aspects of mentoring.

Here I will first distinguish two approaches on mentoring through explanations of the idea of mentoring with a purpose and also of the notion of the same practice as a process. First, I will additionally provide the historical contexts for both cases. Besides, the duality initially presented here is also key for the way in which this project has been framed. Actually, a suggestion in this sense has been already offered in the introduction of this dissertation. In any
case, I will now move to a more in-depth description of mentoring’s instrumentality and power imbalance, characteristics apparently inherent to the practice. Indeed, this approach follows will suit with the way in which mentoring has been broadly portrayed in its own literature.

The individualistic or corporate view on mentoring has been firmly grounded on the business literature after the publication of a successful book (Colley, 2002) - *The Season of a Man’s Life* - by Levinson (1978). In fact, the authors of this book identified mentoring as one of the elements expected in men’s normal development in early adulthood (Levinson, 1978). Afterwards, this idea got transformed into a powerful belief through other studies in order to encourage young adults to foster mentoring relationships, and then be able to advance in their own careers (Feldman, 1999). In addition, this individualistic notion of mentoring has been also connected to the construction of these experiences as “private relationships” (Philip, 2003, p. 106), which can help youth to get ahead in life through the abandonment of disadvantaged social settings. In general, the contributions of these authors tend to explicitly or implicitly signal at the importance of mentoring experiences as purposeful strategies for people’s optimum development in life.

Still in regard to the instrumental aspect of mentoring, this revision of literature has detected the influence of one of its most prestigious proponents. Kathy Kram’s (1985) work, also grounded on human developmental ideas, has hugely contributed to a certain homogenization of mentoring practices. She has postulated that the links between mentor and mentee, established at work, tend to implicitly develop around professional interests and needs (Kram, 1985). According to Kram, mentoring is also a fragmented activity with two main types of interrelated functions: (1) The career and (2) the psychosocial functions. For her, career-related functions basically encompass sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protection and challenging assignments while psychosocial functions consist of role modelling, acceptance and
confirmation, counselling and friendship. In light of Kram’s definition of the mentoring functions, references to the functionality of mentoring have mushroomed in the mentoring literature, particularly in business and psychology (e.g., Bokeno & Gantt, 2000; Bozionelos & Wang, 2006; Burgess & Dyer, 2009; Dominguez & Hager, 2013; Gentry, Weber, & Sadri, 2008; Ghosh, 2012; Koberg, Boss, & Goodman, 1998; Manwa & Manwa, 2007). In fact, these two fields alone tend to account for a very significant share of all the publications on mentoring.

In spite of this dominance mentioned here, some authors have been indeed critical of the instrumental aspect of mentoring. For example, Darwin’s (2000) Australian study proposes that mentoring relationships can serve to recycle power through work-related interactions whenever mentees are connected with prominent individuals in their organizations. In line with this idea, Margolis and Romero (2001) refer to mentoring in American academia as an important strategy to replicate existing hierarchies. By also elaborating on this issue, Colley (2001) has exposed the power dynamics in British transitional programs focused on youth. In one of her articles, she explains that mentoring can be mainly understood as a process that positions mentors as powerful and mentees as powerless. It also contains a reference to mentoring as “reinforcing established practice and invalidating the new” (p. 180). Similarly, Manathunga (2007) positions mentoring as a place of control and power in her research on graduate supervisors in an Australian university. Finally, based on an examination of a mentoring program involving university students as both mentors and mentees in the United Kingdom, Christie (2014) more specifically adds that “power and control are invested in the dynamics of the working relationships between the project officer and the mentors and mentees” (p. 959). In general, these five studies on mentoring experiences developed in a number of Anglophone settings conjointly corroborate to demonstrate that mentoring and power have got intrinsically interconnected through the institutionalization of the practice.
As it has been also suggested in the introduction of this dissertation, the focus on the institutionalization of mentoring has not been purely instrumental either. After many American organizations became the target of affirmative action lawsuits for having traditional white male-dominated workplaces in the mid-1970’s, mentoring started to be seen as one of the strategies to ensure more equitable workplaces for women and other minorities (DeMarco, 1993). At that point, mentoring initiatives then began to reflect a complex combination of multicultural concerns for social justice that has become closely aligned with a convergence to capitalist interests. This is probably one of the reasons why there are two dominant views on mentoring in North America: Mentoring as an individualistic and/or as a communitarian practice. Sometimes in opposing ways yet often complementarily, these two perspectives have certainly shaped the mentoring literature in the past decades.

In conjunction with an instrumental understanding of mentoring, the communitarian view of the practice also seemed to have gained considerable traction not only in the literature on mentoring but also in schools, community agencies and universities in Canada. In fact, one of the greatest precursors of this trend was a mentor working with adult learners in Vermont (USA) (Daloz, 1986). Also influenced by human developmental ideas (Daloz, 1986), Laurent A. Daloz (1986) has grounded the concept of mentoring in adult education by acknowledging the possibility of symmetry for mentoring relationships as in a complementary way. In the best tradition of adult education, Zachary (2000) has also referred to mentoring as a “learning partnership” (p. 3) from a “learner-centered approach” (p. 1). Congruently with these two authors mentioned here but also a step further in this regard, others like Darwin (2000), Bokeno and Gantt (2000) have suggested that mentoring can be based on dialogue in order to foster more collaborative workplaces in learning organizations.
However, a specific group of authors have particularly understood mentoring through a more strictly community-based perspective. Bennetts (2001), for example, sees mentoring broadly practiced within a lifelong learning framework towards the achievement of “development as a person, and growth as a citizen within the community, as well as from the perspective of achieving educational goals” (p. 273). Similarly, Roland (2008) has envisioned the application of mentoring in education “impacting not only on the academic engagement of the learner, but also on society as a whole in creating cohesion through a process of support and valuation” (p. 56). On their turn, Brady and Dolan (2009) advocate for the employment of mentoring as a way to promote active citizenship among youth. Finally, the work of authors like Asada (2012), Bieler (2013) and Lopez (2013) tend to jointly call attention to the importance of dialogue in mentoring for the inclusion of beginning and/or experienced teachers into more supportive communities. As a whole, all these authors seem to share an understanding of mentoring as a genuinely community-based practice, even within institutionalized settings.

3.1.2 Mentoring as a cross-cultural form of intervention or as a spontaneous process of social reproduction.

As it has been already suggested in this review, the institutionalization of mentoring has not restricted itself only to the North American context. In fact, it has gained traction in other parts of the world. In light of this idea, it is also important to clarify here that mentoring has been probably conducted on an informal basis for centuries. In reality, the opposition of these two perspectives has been central for the revision of mentoring as a key concept for this research project. So, in order to discuss this second theoretical contrast in further detail, I will then reengage with a historical introduction of the topic in light of its remarkable trend leading to its
far-reaching institutionalization. Apparently, mentoring’s more recent formal emergence has prompted the practice to assume a great stature not only in North America but also in several other parts of the world.

In fact, the origin of the widespread institutionalization of mentoring practices had its roots on their initial interpretation as an “informal phenomenon” (Colley, 2002, p. 258). According to Merriam (1983), references to mentoring as a mania in North America began in the late 1970’s. In reality, Colley (2002) also referred to the choice of the word “mania” (p. 259) in her work as well. In the same article, however, she eventually settled with the word “slogan” (p. 269) in order to ground her view on mentoring in the United Kingdom already on the turn of the century (Colley, 2002). Roughly around the same time, in Canada, Semeniuk and Worrall (2000) alluded to it as an “umbrella” (p. 405) term because of its different meanings in teacher education. Some years later, in Norway, Sundli (2007) then insightfully considered mentoring close to a “mantra” (p. 201) in educational settings there. Finally, more recently, Rosén (2011) has even considered mentoring as an “expression of neoliberal governmentality” (p. 155), which was imposed by American forces and the United Nations during their war operations in Afghanistan. Based on all these accounts on the applicability of institutional mentoring, this practice seems to be highly adaptable, strongly commodifying, and easily negotiable across spaces. Overall, the choices of words here also tend to signal at an almost irrational and/or unstoppable march towards the massive institutionalization of mentoring. By simultaneously condoning and questioning this idea, however, this subsection will additionally contain well-documented examples specifically focused on how the institutionalization of mentoring has been specifically accepted in other parts of the world.

Manwa and Manwa (2007), for example, have challenged the applicability of Western mentoring practices to Zimbabwean organizations. In their study with managers in the banking
and hospitality sectors there, they have recognized cultural problems when formal mentoring connections crossed racial and gender boundaries. In addition, based on a recognition of their participants’ informal networks as well, these authors have then timidly considered a harmonization of African social relations and “knowledges” alongside corporate career developmental strategies for Africa.

By also suggesting an adaptation of the “Western” concept of mentoring to another cultural context, Bozionelos and Wang (2006) explain that mentoring means interpersonal relationships or Guanxi in Chinese. In fact, these networks are also important elements of the Chinese cultural tradition as a whole. In regard to these practices, these authors mention that the weak network of Guanxi consists of instrumental ties which are more commonly carried through broad social interactions like the ones developed at work, for example. This definition of the instrumental aspect of mentoring is similar to the “career functions” (p. 22) of Kram’s (1985) mentoring model. Likewise, the term “psychosocial functions” (p. 22) of Kram’s model also gets replaced here by the term “expressive”, i.e., the strong network ties of Guanxi which are more private or family-based (Bozionelos & Wang, 2006). In this sense, Chinese and Western views on mentoring seem to be apparently similar in this regard.

However, the main contribution originally proposed by Bozionelos and Wang (2006) for a new interpretation of mentoring is, in fact, a different balance between expressive and instrumental mentoring ties in China. According to these authors, Guanxi distinctively values expressive connections more than the instrumental ones, unlike in the North American mainstream mentoring model (Bozionelos & Wang, 2006). So, in this case, only after informal and expressive connections are ensured is that these mentoring interactions can move towards the instrumental aspect of the equation, which is not guaranteed in the Chinese model either (Bozionelos & Wang, 2006). Bozionelos and Wang have also indirectly credited this difference
to the historical influence of Confucianism in China. In conclusion, although these authors have made references to some specificities in terms of language and religion, they still tend to curiously present the Chinese way of mentoring as inherently fragmented, similarly to the way in which mentoring functions are commonly conceptualized in the West.

In another example of how challenging it can be to impose a definitive understanding of mentoring across the globe, Molpeceres, Pinazo, and Aliena’s (2012) study focuses on a Spanish pilot project for youth who were perceived as more susceptible to drop out of school. In fact, examples provided by the authors of this study describe mentors and mentees struggling to establish trust throughout their newly established connections. One of the highlights of their fieldwork features an Argentinian mentor who, on one hand, did not seem to have much knowledge about the Spanish school system. On the other hand, however, she could possibly share an immigrant connection with the Bolivian teenager whom she was mentoring at that point. Since this mentor was also unable to find a public space for their meetings, the father of the boy eventually intervened, and then their mentoring connection had to be discontinued. In this study, the researched parents seemed generally suspicious of having strangers getting too close to their children in order to help them in any way beyond an ordinary form of academic support in formal settings. Also because of a generalized absence of other similar youth mentoring programs in Spain, the program described here seemed to have been poorly understood and/or supported as a form of social intervention. This disconnect seemed to have happened because the design of this institutional mentoring program clearly ignored the cultural peculiarities of the Spanish context.

In one of her articles, Kochan (2013) has actually stated that “[t]he cultural framework can be applied to mentoring programs, practices, and relationships in formal or informal ways” (p. 420). Also in congruence with what was suggested here early on, Chao (2009) explains that
informal mentoring is a historical process that has been more recently recognized and reproduced by organizations. Although this latter author makes some good points in his article, he also appeals to some rough generalizations. He mentions, for example, that the sense of protection is exclusive to informal mentoring. In addition to Chao’s misinterpretation, Bennetts (2001) also comments that she avoids using the term “informal” in relation to mentoring because the use of this word can connote less importance to this form of the practice. So, for this reason, she has then started to utilize the term “traditional” instead of “informal” (p. 276). As these examples can generally illustrate here, there has been some theoretical and terminological confusion apparently generated by the need (or not) to draw a thick line clearly separating formal mentoring from the same practice carried on an informal basis.

In reality, what differentiates formal from informal mentoring is the interference of an organization supposedly facilitating the matches or not. Differently from authors who have somehow differentiated informal from formal mentoring in the business and education literature (e.g., Chao, 2009; Ehrich et al., 2004; Ghosh, 2012; Lopes Henriques & Curado, 2009; MacKinnon & Shepley, 2014; Roberts, 2000), the ones mainly writing about youth mentoring and/or mentoring in community services have adopted terms like “programmatic” and/or “natural” (or their variations) in order to distinguish mentoring connections mediated by community agencies from others which are not (Greeson & Bowen, 2008; Hamilton et al., 2006; Hurd & Zimmerman, 2010; Sánchez, Esparza, Berardi & Pryce, 2011). In fact, this trend seems to be more recent because Stanton-Salazar and Urso Spina’s (2003) article, one of the best articles on natural mentoring focused on youth, still applies the term “informal” (p. 231) instead of using the word “natural”. However, in a more recent article from Stanton-Salazar (2011) about the role of institutional actors on the support of unprivileged youth, he already alternates the use of the two terms.
In specific contexts, mentoring can occur in such an informal way that even the use of the word “mentoring” does not seem to carry much weight. In fact, this particular acknowledgment comes from a Canadian study when the Western concept of mentoring was not recognized by its indigenous participants. As a result of this finding, Klinck (2005) and colleagues have defended that, among Canadian indigenous groups, informal mentoring seems to be an integral part of their daily practices, which are holistic, group-centred, and apparently more power-balanced activities (Klinck et al., 2005). In addition, these authors have proposed that any mentoring program focused on indigenous youth needs to be particularly sensitive in this sense by respecting the specificities of their participants’ cultural practices (Klinck et al., 2005).

In a similar discussion not only about mentoring but primarily about volunteerism, Warburton and McLaughlin (2007) have described important issues for the cultural preservation of indigenous (and immigrant) communities in Australia. Throughout their investigation, these researchers have discovered that elders advised and cared for the younger members in their communities. Because of specific community building aspects carried by these groups, Warburton and McLaughlin have also implied that the adoption of a Western understanding not only of volunteering but also implicitly of mentoring would have been culturally inappropriate for the studied groups. Consequently, since the older participants of this study greatly contributed to their communities and were also recognized by these same communities in ways that are not easily measurable, this research mainly suggests that their community practices were indeed important forms of social and cultural reproduction in their own right.
3.1.3 An overview of gender and race issues for the study of mentoring.

In order to conclude the revision of mentoring as the first conceptual key studied here, it is important to call attention to the fact that certain groups of authors have fiercely challenged how mentoring has been more commonly understood in its scholarship. These challenges have more often come from scholars who seem to have been strongly influenced by critical studies particularly focused on gender and race issues. Since my own work is also a critical account on mentoring, I cannot ignore the valuable contributions of these researchers for the mentoring scholarship as a whole. For this reason, here I will first focus on the research addressing gender issues in mentoring, and then I will move to the racial questions raised in the same field of study.

By following suit with earlier feminist critiques of mentoring (e.g., Benishek, Bieschke, Park, & Slattery, 2004; DeMarco, 1993; Devos, 2004; Enomoto, Gardiner, & Grogan, 2000), Helen Colley (2001, 2002, 2003) is, with no doubt, the person who has had the greatest impact on the mentoring scholarship as a whole for deeply troubling the gender imbalances present in this kind of experience. In one of her articles, for example, she fiercely criticizes the contemporary interpretation of the origin of the term as gender-biased (Colley, 2001). By explaining that the true mentor of Homer’s (2003) *Odyssey* was indeed Athene and not the male character named as such, she compares the deceptive way in which Mentor - the character - has been wrongly credited for personifying the experience in current readings to the way in which this same character indeed acted in the original story. Over the course of her paper, Colley (2001) also links this criticism to the form in which mentoring was understood and practiced in the UK around the turn of the century.

Among the more recent publications from authors clearly influenced by gender studies, there are interesting papers which tend to considerably stretch our understanding of mentoring as
a whole. For example, Esposito (2014), in a touching testimonio, compares mentoring in academia to mothering. Similarly, in a great letter/article, Calafell (2007) makes a compelling statement about the transformative power of love by describing her mentoring activities with a former student. Finally, Santamaría and Jaramillo (2014) call Gloria Anzaldúa, Octavia Butler and Frida Kahlo - all of them who are already dead - their “comadres” (p. 332) or informal mentors. In addition, the authors of this last paper then convincingly explain why they have addressed these famous figures in such a way by also making interesting personal and theoretical connections. In general, these are only a few examples of how mentoring is starting to be understood in more unorthodox ways, mainly because of feminist or gender-focused contributions to the literature.

By conducting a less conceptual research work focused on mentoring in comparison to analyses carried by feminists or writers generally interested in gender issues, scholars focused on race have also made remarkable inroads in this field of study. Their works have mainly encompassed pragmatic examinations of how mentoring experiences have been influenced by racial commonalities or differences. In fact, almost all these accounts are specifically placed in the American context (e.g., Barker, 2007; Davidson & Foster-Johnson, 2001; González-Figueroa & Young, 2005; Harris, 1999; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2002; Katzew, 2009; Kea, Penny, & Bowman, 2003; Merriweather & Morgan, 2013; Sánchez et al., 2011; Schlosser, Talleyrand, Lyons, Kim, & Johnson, 2011; Spafford et al., 2006; Tillman, 2001).

Among all the examined contributions on race from the mentoring literature, two important examples will be emphasized here. First, in Johnson-Bailey and Cervero’s (2002) account of what they call “cross-cultural mentoring” (p. 15), these authors basically narrate their own sides of their story as a white university professor mentoring a black student in a white educational setting. According to them, their racial and gender differences could have amplified
their power differential because their particular positions in the mentoring dyad tended to reinforce the situation of one as the powerful and the other as the powerless (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2002). Nevertheless, still based on their account, this gap never got wider, only narrower.

Likewise, Merriweather and Morgan (2013) describe their “cross-cultural mentorship” (p. 2) held in academia by following a similar narrative structure. However, in this case, the power dynamics has gained more nuances because this article features a younger black university professor mentoring an older white student. Another salient characteristic of this study was the authors’ attention to certain aspects of their own mentoring routine, which are often overlooked in the mentoring literature as a whole. In fact, they noticed significant differences in their communication styles, levels of technological proficiency and approaches to time management, for example. These issues also enabled reflections on how their different hierarchical positions, ages, races and family responsibilities affected their mentoring connections after all. Just based on this article’s key points, it gets clear that there are several elements that can intersect and affect mentoring connections by challenging any unidimensional analyses focused on features of the participants involved in these interactions. In fact, this final insight has concluded here the revision of mentoring as the first key concept of relevance for this study. So now I am moving the discussion to the second conceptual key – integration.

3.2 Immigrant Integration as a Multifaceted Notion

In this introduction on the topic of immigrant integration, I can now situate how non-profit services serving immigrants are normally positioned. In Canada as well as in other countries, larger (multicultural) organizations usually have priority for governmental funding at
the expense of smaller ethnic centres (Shields, 2014). This situation, in itself, offers an important indication of how settlement services for immigrants have been delivered as well as who are the main clients of these programs. Based on own my experience as a settlement worker in Toronto, I know that the primary beneficiaries of many settlement programs for immigrants, or only the ones heavily dependent on federal funding, are permanent residents. “Permanence is predicated on an exclusionary definition of the nation in which only citizens have full rights” (Latham, Vosko, Preston, & Bretón, 2014, p. 4). In fact, permanence primarily guides a preferential or graduating form of citizenship (Ong, 2006). According to this system, permanent residents have also more rights than others who are on precarious conditions in Canada like non-status workers, for example (Goldring, Berinstein & Bernhard, 2009).

In Canada, government-sponsored integration tends to specifically materialize itself through volunteer mentoring programs mainly focused on permanent residents who have already proved somehow to be worthy to stay in the country, and who should be able to keep proving themselves capable of becoming legal citizens in the end. So, in face of the importance of the connection of mentoring and volunteering for the ones involved, it is time to examine first how this affinity occurs, and then how volunteerism tends to operate in general. Here I also suggest that volunteerism serves as an important element linking mentoring and integration. For this reason, I will initially explore volunteerism in this section before I delve into the main issues arising from immigrant integration.

3.2.1 The interconnection between mentoring and volunteerism.

Biebricher (2011) has studied American faith-based organizations by applying a Foucauldian framework on his analysis. In this insightful article, he writes about the subtle role
of volunteers as mentors in smoothing the impact of common patriarchal imbalances between the churches’ staff and their congregations. According to this author, the presence of volunteers as mentors contributes for power to be exerted in a more fluid way. He also implicitly shows that volunteerism, associated with mentoring, can serve as a disguised form of community intervention. For him, these activities are pastoral in their core because they all disseminate a specific truth. In general, this article clearly shows critical connections between mentoring and volunteerism, however, discussions, like this one, rarely appear in the literature focused on mentoring.

In reality, in children and youth mentoring studies for example, volunteerism tends to be more visible than in other studies on mentoring (Barrow-McKeagney et al., 2000; Brady & Dolan, 2009; Klinck et al., 2005; Molpeceres et al., 2012; Schlimbach, 2010). In their study of mentoring for Canadian indigenous youth, for example, Klinck (2005) and colleagues have explained that “[v]olunteerism is also a central component of the contemporary understanding of a social mentor” (p. 111). Similarly, Schlimbach (2010) stresses the importance of volunteer mentors in a German study focused on youth’s transitions from school to work. She then adds that this kind of program is specifically important to engage retirees into volunteer activities. In general, what the articles mentioned here all have in common is a shared understanding of volunteering as a bridge to mentoring via community engagement.

**3.2.1.1 Generally accepted topics on the study of volunteerism.**

Volunteerism is a topic that seems harmless and uncomplicated at first sight. In fact, it is normally understood “as work that is freely chosen, unremunerated, and of some benefit to community or society” (Schugurensky & Miindel, 2005, p. 1000). More broadly related to civic
engagement, volunteerism has been also referred as positively affecting “education, urban poverty, unemployment, the control of crime and drug use, and even health” (Putnam, 1995, p. 66). On the individual level, it can stimulate “interpersonal trust, toleration and empathy for others, and respect for the common good” (Wilson & Musick, 1999, p. 148). In addition, similarly to the way in which mentoring has been conventionally labelled in its scholarship, volunteerism can be also defined as informal and formal (Cnaan, Handy, & Wardsworth, 1996; Schugurensky & Mündel, 2005). Here I have compiled all these main ideas from important proponents of the scholarship on volunteerism in order to illustrate how this concept has been commonly portrayed and understood in its own literature.

In regard to the volunteer practices specifically developed in the Canadian context, Statistics Canada (2015a) releases the results of its survey called *Giving, Volunteering and Participating* every five years. Based on the available data from the survey released in 2010, Thomas (2012) has written an article focused on the volunteering practices of immigrants in Canada. In order to write this report, he has found that immigrants tended to volunteer less than the Canadian-born. This author has also discovered that, while immigrants volunteered for the similar reasons as the ones attributed to Canadian-born individuals, they were prone to present more instrumental (and less altruistic) reasons to volunteer than their Canadian-born counterparts usually did (Thomas, 2012). Alternatively, these findings could have led to an interpretation that, as a whole, immigrants have more selfish reasons to volunteer, and that they generally volunteer less as well. Nevertheless, it is also important to mention here that immigrants usually tend to considerably struggle at the beginning of their integration into Canada society (as this consideration was also included in his article). In fact, this particular detail can help to explain the differences mentioned here between immigrants and Canadian-born individuals in regard to their overall involvement with volunteerism.
In Thomas’ (2012) report, the volunteer tasks performed by immigrants and Canadian-born individuals were very similar. It is also of key relevance to mention here that teaching and/or mentoring appeared as one of the top three formal volunteer tasks formally performed by the two groups featured in his article. Besides formal volunteerism, the analysis surprisingly has a reference to informal volunteer work, which was more broadly referred as informal help in there. In fact, in this article, informal help was basically defined as the activities performed by immigrants for their neighbours, friends and family. In this regard, immigrants, once again, informally helped less than the Canadian-born people researched. However, this difference could have been attributed, in many cases, to the lack of a well-established support network in Canada, and not to a generalized unwillingness to help the closest ones. An alternatively raw and non-mediated interpretation of the most important statistic information from Thomas’ report could have given the impression that immigrants do not generally care about civic engagement and social integration to the same extent that the Canadian-born individuals normally do. Therefore, these findings, if analysed in isolation and without an attention to immigrants’ contextual and circumstantial issues, would have unjustifiably put more pressure on them to perform even more in the Canadian context.

Other studies on volunteer work which have specifically targeted immigrants and/or international students tend to offer a more in-depth examination of the opportunities and barriers faced by these populations in order to be able to volunteer and/or keep volunteering in Canada. Among the array of aspects discussed in this specific portion of the literature (e.g., Dudley, 2007; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Guo, 2014; Schugurensky & Slade, 2008; Vrasti & Montsion, 2014), scholar contributions have often touched or focused on individuals’ language skills and/or on issues around labour market integration. In general, these topics are recurrent on the literature
covering transnational volunteer experiences in Canada. In fact, this is also the case of the example that will be detailedly described as follows.

In a study about the Canadian volunteer practices of immigrants who originally came from seventeen different countries, Schugurensky and Slade (2008) have found that English proficiency, particularly the work-related one, was the second most cited reason appointed by their participants to volunteer. In fact, this answer was only second in importance to their willingness to gain work experience in Canadian work settings. These two most frequent reasons mentioned by participants seemed to be intrinsically interconnected because the most important learning outcome valued by them were the opportunities gained with the practice of their English skills (at work). Basically, this study has revealed that many participants particularly saw language as their main employment barrier in Canada, not only in a very functional way but also in subtler ways as well. Actually, the authors of this study have also highlighted the value of the soft skills developed by the interviewed participants as well as the informal learning experiences fostered throughout their volunteer activities (Schugurensky & Slade, 2008). Overall, this study has shed light on the efforts made by participants towards an ideal of integration apparently very dependent on their mastery of English language skills. So, at this point, this description of the main findings generated from their research should then conclude here this introduction to studies on volunteerism. While most of the discussion provided in this subsection has revolved around commonly accepted ideas, the following subsection will touch upon issues around volunteerism which are more controversial in essence.
3.2.1.2 The coercive and consumerist aspects of volunteerism.

While some earlier works on volunteerism have mainly concentrated on its individual and collective orientations (e.g., Anheier & Salamon, 1999; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Cusick, 2007; Hwang, Grabb, & Curtis, 2005; Price, 2002; Putnam, 1995), others have generally touched upon its coercive nature in different ways (Ksinski, 2004; Lewis, 2013; Neysmith & Reitsma-Street, 2000; Schugurensky & Mündel, 2005; Voicu & Voicu, 2003). In particular, formal volunteer activities performed in certain contexts have not always been synonymous of democratic practices at all (Scott et al., 2006). In some ex-communist regimes, for example, governments indeed enforced volunteer practices (Ksinski, 2004; Voicu & Voicu, 2003). With the fall of most communist regimes in Eastern Europe, new times transformed volunteerism, as in the Romanian case for example, where it seemed to have significantly surfaced because of a strong international influence (Voicu & Voicu, 2003). As the research mentioned here has demonstrated, volunteer practices are socially and culturally constructed, however, people’s perceptions about them can also change overtime. Overall, changes tend to certainly make objective evaluations of these practices even more challenging.

Other authors have delved into important ethical issues raised in light of the impact of contemporary volunteer practices on fair training and employment. In fact, Neysmith & Reitsma-Street (2000) are probably among the first writers interested in the fairness of volunteerism. They have insightfully referred to volunteer work as “a cheap form of job training or an arena for enforcing people to “work for the dole’’” (p. 341). Besides, Lewis (2013) has hinted that the perceived coerciveness of volunteer work can also appear throughout new forms of volunteerism that tend to be encouraged in the corporate world. Then Handy, Mook, and Quarter (2008) have additionally explored some implications that the use of volunteer work can have for the organizational strategies of non-profit organizations by focusing on the potential
interchangeability of volunteer work with remunerated staff. In more general terms, Hustinx (2007) has concluded that unpaid work can be a valid avenue towards paid work. This suggestion also appears in Schugurensky and Slade’s (2008) study on the volunteer practices of immigrants in Canada. Even more poignantly, in a study with Mündel (2008), Schugurensky has then alerted that “[w]here to draw the line between ‘genuine’ and ‘coerced’ volunteer work is not easy, and the decision probably varies from context to context” (p. 1002). This last observation, in particular, tends to reinforce the role of volunteerism as a very fluid or even deceiving social practice.

In fact, the characterization of volunteering can certainly go beyond its simple portrayal as a public activity by becoming defined as a civilized act. Acting as volunteers, people can automatically display a good character that is morally acceptable (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Not surprisingly, volunteerism has also served as a civilizing tool when people from different cultures convene. Historically, cross-cultural volunteerism has become more famous when the Peace Corps program started in the 1960’s (Fischer, 1998). During that time, the American government began to send volunteers around the world. In fact, this program was also an image management strategy to “convince the locals to act like Americans” (Fischer, 1998, p. 138). Overall, the ideas provided here can certainly reinforce all the troubling potential that volunteerism has as a topic of study. This realization should possibly help to explain why not many authors focused on volunteerism have been effectively willing to explore it through more critical lenses. In fact, the link between volunteerism and consumerism, which will be presented as follows, is also among one of these potentially complicated issues.

Wilson and Musick (1997) are probably among the first scholars who have made an explicit connection between volunteerism and consumption. “While we recognize volunteering as a form of work, we also recognize it as a form of consumption. This is not a contradiction”
In fact, this idea can serve as a suitable introduction to two interesting articles on transnational volunteerism. First, in regard to the importance of volunteer practices for Chinese students working in Canada and also for Western students doing the same in Ghana, Vrasti and Montsion (2014) have broadly positioned transnational volunteerism as the result of a widespread neoliberal reality. In this sense, they also tend to place the transnational voluntary practice as a form of “citizenship by merit” (p. 353) that dwells on global market values, and that holds an additional component of “aesthetic self-presentation” (p. 352).

Besides, Vrasti and Montsion (2014) have argued that issues around race and class were implied in their study because certain bodies had a set of privileges which were denied to others. For example, specifically in the section focused on the volunteers in Ghana, they, in addition, mentioned that participants abandoned their volunteer commitments when they felt overwhelmed by the conditions of their placements or realized their lack of skills for those particular situations. Instead, these participants eventually concentrated on travelling only. In reality, they had choices enabled by the neoliberal arrangement that framed these volunteer experiences. However, the population around them generally did not have the luxury of choosing between staying and going in the same way that they did.

Then, in a transnational volunteer study focused on an Australian university program promoting “voluntourism” (p. 861) in Vietnam, Palacios (2010) has more specifically targeted the tensions arising from students’ willingness to help distant communities which they did not know much about. Besides, they also lacked the skills in order to support the villagers. In fact, these “voluntourists” were all university students with some technical knowledge, and they consequently had very little experience in the real world. In their “voluntourist” program, however, they were supposed to be the experts or, at least, know enough in order to make a difference in the communities where they were placed in. Indirectly, it was assumed that they
knew what to do because of their differentiated spatial, economic and social origins as educated outsiders. Nevertheless, as a result of the discrepancies between their intentions, skills and tasks, the students’ time serving these communities seemed to be alternatively stressful and fun. These characteristics ironically reflected their own conflicting roles both as global citizens and tourists. Not by coincidence, Palacios’ study can fundamentally offer us with a clear reference to some of the issues that will be later discussed in this research project, which instead covers transnational volunteerism in Canada - yet with a similar spin.

Specifically, in Canada, the state has been unable to guarantee “citizen entitlements but rather has become a mediator, facilitating negotiations between the third, or not-for-profit, sector; the market; families and community” (Neysmith & Reitsma-Street, 2000, p. 332). Concomitantly here as well as in other countries, volunteers have also become more important for their societies overtime (Muehlebach, 2011; Neysmith & Reitsma-Street, 2000). By relating people’s sense of citizenship to their capacity to be economically active (Muehlebach, 2011; Neysmith & Reitsma-Street, 2000), the non-profit sector, which is also heavily dependent on the work of volunteers, has been pushed to fill the social gap in-between governments and corporations (Kim, 2008). In general, non-profit organizations have been able to attract funding from the government and/or from for profit organizations by supposedly juggling two distinctive approaches - a consumerist and another one more focused on citizenship. In fact, these tensions have been referred somehow in the descriptions of the two main studies on transnational volunteerism which have been presented here. Probably because of the emergence of the interconnection between these two variants, volunteer activities, not only in Canada but also in other countries, have certainly assumed an important status overtime. So now after having revised these potentially controversial yet important issues involved in the practice of volunteerism, it is time to move to a more in-depth discussion on integration per se.
3.2.2 The contextualization of immigrant integration.

Despite projections showing that the immigration factor should be mainly responsible for the populational growth in Canada in the next fifty years (Statistics Canada., 2014), Toronto has become less and less attractive as a destination place for immigrants overtime (Bonikowska, Hou, & Picot, 2015). In fact, less than one third of all newcomers decided to settle in Toronto in 2012 after the city had attracted almost one in every two new immigrants coming to Canada at the beginning of the last decade (Statistics Canada., 2015b). This situation could be attributed to changes in the immigration categories, to shifts in the numbers of immigrants from certain destination countries, and, finally, to differences in the economic development of particular provinces overtime (Statistics Canada., 2015b). Nevertheless, in spite of this drop, Toronto still stands as the top destination city for immigrants arriving in Canada (Statistics Canada., 2015b).

Alongside the demographic changes of immigrants’ preferences for their reallocation within Canada, there has been also a considerable overhaul in the immigration system happening over the past decade. As a proof of this statement, Ali and Ali (2014, October) have compiled all the main immigration changes made by the Conservative party of Canada from 2012 to 2014 while also acknowledging that the first modifications started to take place a few years after this same party assumed the federal office in 2006. After having initially taken into consideration that the Canadian immigration reformation was pushing the country towards “short-term economic gains rather than long-term nation building” (Ali & Ali, 2014, October, p. 3), these scholars have confirmed this first assessment through a suggestion that a neoliberal inspiration was continuously guiding the country’s immigration policies. In reality, an economic model for immigration seems to taken hold in Canada for more than fifteen years at least (Bauder, 2008).
In addition to these important developments explained here, Latham (2014) and colleagues have criticized the existence of distinct immigration categories which have led to the consolidation of a “temporary/permanent divide” (p. 7) in Canada. Actually, the existence of these categories can indeed certain restrict rights and/or opportunities of immigrants or others on temporary situations here (Latham et al., 2014). As a result, the path of someone coming into Canada may be so full of intermediary or temporary stages that these barriers can certainly make more difficult for them to eventually reach Canadian citizenship. Overall, this presentation of more recent and salient immigration policies and patterns here are certainly important for a more comprehensive understanding of the broader scenario in which multicultural integration has progressed in Canada, even in spite of its mainstream (or more positive) portrayal in general.

3.2.2.1 Supportive and critical views on multicultural integration.

Since Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau first introduced his multicultural policies in the early 1970’s (Collet, 2007; Salaff & Chan, 2007), multiculturalism has become “a defining characteristic of Canadian identity, a concept of difference and cultural heterogeneity constitutionally embedded in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 and in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act instituted in 1988” (Basu, 2011, p. 1308). In the context of the Canadian multiculturalism, integration has been officially defined as “a two-way street” (Jedwab, 2014, p. 15; Li, 2003b, p. 52) model that should require adjustments both from immigrants and from the host society alike. According to this model, the Canadian born-population has an important supporting role on the integration of newcomers in Canada (Tolley, Biles, Vineberg, Burstein, & Frideres, 2011). This is probably one of the reasons why there is a generalized perception that Canada is a place where people are tolerant with immigrants (Tolley
et al., 2011; Wilton, 2010). Consequently, the whole notion of Canadian welcoming communities has not only a spatial but also a discursive dimension attached to it (Guo & Guo, 2015, March). In fact, the combination of all these ideas presented here tend to generally portray the Canadian multicultural integration through positive lenses.

In spite of being seen as a slightly more divisive topic in recent years, the integration of immigrants in Canada has been historically perceived as unanimously successful. This matter probably concerns Canadians considerably less than other issues like the historical divide between Anglophone and Francophone citizens or the tensions with the indigenous peoples for example (Soroka, Johnston, & Banting, 2007). In fact, with the “benefits and ambiguities inherent in multiple forms of belonging, multiple views of history, [and] multiple identities” (Banting, Courchene, & Seidle, 2007, p. 650), Canadian multiculturalism seems to have been prevailing because of efforts to dilute an emphasis on the Canadian Britishness, the symbolic institutional consideration for cultural minority groups, and, finally, the governmental support for some ethno-specific initiatives (Banting et al., 2007). Based on these three reasons presented here, it is clear the relevance that the governmental machine has had in the construction of the multicultural citizenship in Canada because it certainly helps to convince the population that this particular institutionalized form of government works well.

On a broader level, Soroka (2007) and colleagues have presented two distinctive views: The first one privileging diversity and the second one valuing social cohesion. By also abiding to the Durkheimian tradition in sociology, they clarify that social cohesion is “a common body of norms and shared values” (Soroka et al., 2007, p. 567). In fact, one of the major contributions of these authors for the scholarship on integration has been the notion that diversity and social cohesion tend to regularly alternate in different historical moments. They have also stated that social cohesion was generally a priority on integration policies in many nations until the 1960’s.
However, its preponderance lost strength in the 1970’s when more attention began to be paid to diversity in several countries. Then, apparently generated by a lack of safety in certain communities, a renewed collective anxiety over the social changes caused by immigration started to again erode the emphasis on diversity in several industrialized societies at the beginning of this century (Soroka et al., 2007). These currents and counter-currents can also show that multiculturalism is part of a broader dynamics, not an end in itself. Consequently, any discussions around its destiny seem certainly far from over in Canada and elsewhere.

Despite the prevailing positive view on multiculturalism in Canada, there have been a few dissonant voices, particularly in the literature. For example, Sharma argues that “the organization of differences is a strategy of ruling” (p. 28), which seems to be inherent or common in multiculturalism. Along the same line, Ahmed (2000) suggests that the idea behind welcoming someone already implies the establishment of difference throughout the definition of the other as a stranger. In fact, she has grounded part of her analysis on Derridean insights. For him, an interesting aspect in this regard is the conditional nature of the acceptance of strangers (Derrida, 2000). By offering a private example, he has suggested that the idea of conditionality is attached to an obedience to certain rules for the good stand of someone as a guest in someone else’s house (Derrida, 2000). Therefore, it is also implied here that there is no real equality in this kind of relationship because it is very clear, from the start, who the master is (Derrida, 2000).

In the multicultural context, the acceptance of immigrants does not necessarily mean that the guests are on the same foot with the hosts either. Then the privilege of acceptance (or inclusion) manifests itself as “a belonging and conforming to regulatory norms and forms […] restricted through criteria that are both constructed through and anchored in the social relations of the civil society” (Bannerji, 1997, p. 26). In this regard, Ahmed (2008) could have pertinently argued that immigrants may feel pressured to get integrated into the host society in order to
conform to a “feel good” model of social happiness and success. Indeed, “public debates still posit the nation as benevolent in its relations to the burdensome migrant” (Folson, 2004, p. 25). Consequently, any displays of unhappiness coming from either the native born national hosts or the immigrants as guests could certainly unsettle the unspoken conditions of multicultural hospitality and conviviality.

In line with the last arguments, Li (2003b), for example, has insightfully exposed the elusiveness of Canadian multicultural integration by suggesting that the ones who are supposed to change in reality are the immigrants themselves, rarely the host society as a whole. In addition to this idea, by referring to a different context (Slovenia), Pajnik (2007) also concludes that multiculturalism “realises the perception of migrants as cultural beings who are expected to conform to integration plans and to keep silent on their provisions” (p. 860). Consequently, uncritical multicultural ethnic tolerance can be certainly alienating or disempowering for minorities in Canada (Bloemraad, 2006; Wilton, 2010). Finally, for Bannerji (1997), multiculturalism is simply a form of containment that gets on the way of real social equity and justice. In summary, through the combination of all these latter insights presented here, anyone could easily conclude that multiculturalism is supposedly a form of integration that simultaneously reduces possibilities for widespread social dissent.

3.2.2.2 Immigrant integration as a complex, incomplete and divisive topic.

There are emerging voices who have proposed alternate understandings for immigrant integration. For example, by interpreting integration from a new perspective that goes beyond notions around assimilation and/or mutuality (Basu, 2011, p. 1313; Li, 2003b), Basu (2011) has presented a framework that additionally positions integration as “multifarious (without any
language taking precedence over another)” (p. 1313). Throughout her analysis, she indeed implies that minorities should preserve their own languages as a valid strategy on behalf of their struggles towards inclusion. However, while this proposition is certainly honourable in theory, it lacks conceptual grounding because immigrants’ linguistic acquisition and competence in the new official language(s) are clearly markers of integration (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Haque, 2014). For example, the usefulness of having linguistic competence in English specifically focused on the Canadian labour market has indeed become a narrow yet effective parameter to define which immigrants are deemed “unintegrated and unintegrate-able” (Haque, 2014, p. 214) in Canada. The clarity of Haque’s (2014) position in this regard seems to be convincing enough for the refutation of Basu’s preposition.

In addition to Basu’s (2011) attempt at providing a better definition for integration, Murdie and Ghosh (2010) are the researchers who seem to have broken into real conceptual grounding on this field. They seem to have accidentally defined integration as “a process and an outcome, as an individual and a group phenomenon, as a dichotomous category or a ‘range of adaptations’ and as a ‘one-way’ process or a series of negotiated interactions between new immigrants and the receiving society” (p. 296). Among all the proposed understandings for integration that have been revised so far, their concept seems to be the one that is best aligned with this study overall. In fact, future discussions in the data analysis stage should be able to illustrate specific aspects of Murdie and Ghosh’s concept initially presented here.

In their study of the spatial concentration of ethnic enclaves in Toronto, Murdie and Ghosh (2010) have also concluded that “integration is a potentially complex process incorporating a wide range of variables, not all of which have been fully included in empirical studies” (Murdie & Ghosh, 2010, p 296). In fact, their framework also bears a temporal connection attached to it because of the example that they have offered in their article. In
contrast to previous waves of immigrants who had settled in the central areas of the city of Toronto, the more recent tides have concentrated on peripheral areas because of the limited availability of affordable housing close to downtown (Murdie & Ghosh, 2010). Consequently, large ethnic enclaves have proliferated on the suburbs (Murdie & Ghosh, 2010). In reality, these enclaves also tend to be viewed “as undesirable and marginal developments outside mainstream society” (Li, 2003a, p. 321). In any case, by weaving different elements together, Murdie and Ghosh’s article has basically enlightened the discussion on the influence of different aspects affecting the spatial integration of immigrants overtime.

The multiple dimensions of immigrant integration can also include economic, social, political, and cultural aspects, for example (Frideres, 2008). However, on one hand, most people tend to believe that immigrants are well-integrated only when their economic integration gets enabled somehow. Otherwise, they could be still portrayed as “social burdens” (Li, 2003a, p. 324). On the other hand, social integration is also considered important because it includes, for example, the fluency of immigrants in the two Canadian official languages or the convenience of luckily having their lifestyles from the countries of origin recognized as closer to the norm here (Li, 2003a). Overall, the polarization of these two perspectives presented at this point can be also summarized as follows: The “tension between migrant contributions to the development of the nation-state, particularly national and global economies on one hand and allocation of citizenship rights on the other hand, is in a steady volcanic growth” (Folson, 2004, p. 25). In other words, economic and citizenship needs have apparently pulled immigration into two seemingly opposite and incompatible directions. In face of this scenario, please keep in mind the centrality of this opposition for this research project as a whole.

Alternatively, by pushing the complex notion of integration to a different conceptual ground, Lithman (2010) argues that discussions around integration, citizenship and social
cohesion in Europe tend to suffer from what he calls a “holistic ambition” (p. 491). This author basically suggests that unreasonably high expectations have roots on homogenizing ideals in many European countries. Curiously, this author also provides subsidies for readers to believe that multiculturalism (in the way it has been institutionalized in Canada and Sweden) is still the best solution for European leaders’ unrealistic ambitions towards integration. In any case, although the political scenarios in Europe are certainly different from the political environment for immigrants in Canada, this article somehow implies that the most realistic approach to the integration of immigrants would be an acceptance that integration is fundamentally incomplete. In fact, this insight seems to offer an important theoretical counterpoint to everything else that has been written about integration up to now.

As a final note here in regard to the complexities engulfing the notion of integration, I wish to add passages of a pamphlet that was given to me at the entrance of a building where the 17th National Metropolis Conference was about to take place in Vancouver in 2015. Although this conference’s workshops usually tend to reflect a variety of political and scholar positions in regard to immigration and integration issues, its plenary sessions usually have speakers who have more often expressed political positions which are in line with official governmental orientations towards immigration and integration in Canada. Probably because of the political alignment of this conference, there were people who were discontent with the event. This seemed to be the specific case of members of an organization called Immigration Watch Canada, which is apparently based in Vancouver. Actually, this organization seemed to be the one behind the distribution of the flyer given to me that day.

Among the several attacks contained in this organization’s flyer, it denounces that Canadian integration and its transnational tendency have produced “divided communities, not integration. Moreover, transnationalism does not make a country stronger, but rather produces
divided loyalty, and is the seed for future conflicts” (personal communication, March 26, 2015). Besides, it invokes that “[a]n ethnic enclave is another phrase for divided communities, and is something to be afraid of, not celebrated” (personal communication, March 26, 2015). In fact, the flyer then displays a polemic reference to the integration of immigrants in Vancouver literally as a laboratory with guinea pigs. Finally, it also condemns the temporary foreign worker program as harmful to the employment prospects of Canadian-born citizens.

As a rare display of anti-immigration or anti-integration sentiments in Canada, this flyer is the proof that the issues presented here can be still as divisive in Canada as anywhere else in the world. This realization comes in spite of the prevalence of the Canadian multicultural discourse, which gives an impression that this kind of tension does not any space here. In any case, it is generally unlikely to count on stable scenarios or consensual views on migration and integration studies overall. In these areas, priorities seem to be constantly changing by also challenging people’s positions on different issues all the time. In fact, this scenario painted here can also relate to some of the emerging topics that will be discussed as follows.

3.2.2.3 Promising academic trends on the study of immigrant integration.

After my participation in the 2014 International Metropolis Conference in Italy, it was easier for me to understand the European trend towards the notion of “transnational citizenship” (Pajnik, 2007, p. 850). In this sense, citizenship can transcend national borders (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Pajnik, 2007). This same idea is also behind the concepts of postnational or cosmopolitan citizenships (Bloemraad et al., 2008). In fact, virtual connections tend to additionally facilitate the development of transnational identities in immigrants’ lives by changing their relation with time and space (Bielewska, 2011). Since transnational and
integration issues do not necessarily seem to be highly incompatible, they indeed impact on more opportunities as well as more challenges for immigrants (Bivand Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). In reality, according to this view, transnationalism and integration can simultaneously happen as two processes that can be summative, synergic and/or conflictual.

In association with the impact of transnationalism on integration, there is also the emergence of “superdiversities” (Fleras, 2015, p. 361) as well. As the meaning of this new term implies, the dynamics of superdiverse populational spots may challenge the politics of multiculturalism (Fleras, 2015). However, the apparent contradiction here, in this regard, is that another author had already appointed Toronto as one of the cities with “some degree of ‘super’ or ‘hyper’ diversity” (p. 5) because a considerable percentage of its current population speaks several other languages, not only English (Cantle, 2012). In fact, this particular characteristic of the city has indeed prompted scholars like Lithman (2010), for example, to make compliments to Toronto as a whole as well as to its diversity in particular.

In addition to the notions of transnational citizenship and “superdiversity”, there is a final concept that is essential for this literature review on integration: Ong’s (1999) concept of “flexible citizenship” (p. 112). In relation to this concept, this author has originally referred to it as “the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investment, work, and family relocation” (Ong, 1999, p. 112). Overall, Ong’s seminal work on flexible citizenship calls attention to people’s utilitarian intentions to organize their lives as well as their families’ in more unconventional ways. This orientation tends to require extraordinary spatial arrangements and/or constant cross-border movements for the feasibility of these processes. Besides, on a legal sense, this idea could be also extended under the assumption that national citizenship is consequently acquirable or accumulative (Waters, 2003, 2009). As a
whole, the interconnection of these ideas presented here tends to underlie the way in which this study has been indeed conceptualized, right on the edge of the tensions of forms of citizenship practiced in conventional and/or more flexible ways. For this reason, an extension of this discussion tends to be opportune with two additional examples that will follow now.

In two of her articles, Waters (2003, 2009) examines constructions of identity and forms of participation developed by the “astronaut wives” and “satellite kids” of Asian professionals in Vancouver. While testing the concept of “flexible citizenship” (Ong, 1999, p. 112) as a utilitarian transnational move used by these wealthy Asian families, Waters (2003) predominantly interviewed wives who had specifically relocated to Canada from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In her first study, the studied women were often taking care of their children while their husbands remained working in Eastern Asia the whole time or for extended periods of time. By the time of the interviews, some of these women had already got Canadian citizenship. In addition, others were indeed willing to live in Canada for a while in order to acquire the country’s citizenship status for themselves and/or for other members of their families.

In an interesting assessment of her first study, Waters (2003) indicates that Ong’s (1999) first diagnosis of the instrumental citizenship strategies of Asian businessmen and their families was “too simplistic” (Waters, 2003, p. 225). However, she also acknowledges that the original intention of these families was indeed very instrumental since their reallocation primarily aimed at the mastery of the English language and better educational opportunities for their children. Nevertheless, many of the young members of these families, studied in Waters’ first analysis, started to display an appreciation for the Canadian lifestyle, and then foster a new sense of citizenship along the way. In contrast to the overwhelmingly positive experiences of their children, the experiences of the mothers studied did not seem so homogeneous. While many of these women found their new realities very alienating at first, some were also able to thrive in the
new environment in a similar manner as their children did. As illustrations of these women’s adaptation into their new lives, they engaged in processes of active learning of the English language as well as in other activities that could include “sports, crafts and volunteering” (Waters, 2003, p. 232), for example. Overall, their involvement in these activities tends to suggest a process of integration that was somehow “accidental” in reality.

Through interviews with two of these women eight years later, Waters (2009) discovered that the one of them was still an astronaut wife because her husband continued to be living abroad. In the meantime, however, this woman also gained a greater sense of independence, and seemed to be well-integrated into her new life in Canada. In contrast, the other interviewee, who had independently lived in Vancouver by herself at first, became more isolated overtime. She mainly restricted herself to activities at home by then, even though her husband had been eventually able to be reunited with the family in Canada. As these two examples from Waters’ (2009) studies show, having a family living in the same space may not necessarily mean that all the members of the family are fully integrated into the host society. In addition, the physical distance of close relatives does not signify “disintegration” either. Consequently, based on these two cases, what has been generally considered as proper immigrant integration needs to be rethought and understood in a broader way.

In an interpretation of the outcomes originated only from the first article, at least one of Waters’ (2009) participants could have been misjudged for originally coming to Canada as a consumer of the Canadian citizenship and other public services provided by the Canadian government. However, in the second article, she seemed able to have challenged any assumptions in this sense by displaying strong signs of a civic engagement in Canada while her husband continued to be working in Eastern Asia. Apparently, there was a huge transformation
on the way in which her integration turned out to be when her original intention is also considered into the analysis.

Ironically, some of Waters’ (2009) interpretations seem to be too simplistic on their own as well. For example, she tends to consider certain civic, religious and economic activities as definite signs of her participants’ integration into Canadian society. In this sense, her understanding of integration seems to be also very conventional in a way. However, integration seems to be a very complex process that often challenges Western preconceptions. Consequently, because of its relevance, this last reflection will be further investigated in the data analysis’ stage in more detail.

At this point, I have finally concluded this overview of the main points around mentoring and immigrant integration. So now that the theoretical basis for this project has been sufficiently explained, it is time to move to the last step before the analysis takes place. For this reason, methodological issues will then occupy the central stage in the chapter that will come next.
Chapter 4

Methodology:

Key Choices and Critical Elements

In regard to the methodological approach applied to this project, I have learned two important lessons that I was not able to fully grasp at first. However, based on an examination of my own experiences, I have first come to understand that a good blueprint will never guarantee that everything will happen according to the plan even with a doctoral proposal supposedly offering protection for the unpredictability of the process. According to Padgett (2009), “[q]ualitative designs can be seen as road maps, with allowances made for detours and nonlinear progress” (p. 103). Second, this idea has also led me to reflect on a piece of advice that an acquaintance once gave me while saying that the world does not stop when you start your doctoral studies. At that time, she was specifically referring to things that had happened in her personal life. Nonetheless, in the particular case of this project, it has been also true that situations have not always happened exactly in the way that they were originally planned. In fact, I realize now that this is the way in which research happens in practice. For this reason, I have included here not only the mandatory elements that a chapter like this is one supposed to have, but also some of the important lessons that I have learned from doing this doctoral research project.

This doctoral project has been framed within a qualitative format. In reality, only a deep examination of the quality of the mentoring connections could have provided me with all the nuances that I needed in order to comprehensively answer the research questions proposed in
chapter 1. Also, in accordance with an interdisciplinary approach, I have faced this project as a qualitative “bricoleur” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013, p. 6; Leavy, 2014, p. 5) by putting different theoretical perspectives and methodological orientations together. In any case, I have always aimed to conceptualize this study by taking into consideration a congruence between its content, its frameworks and its methodology. Consequently, by having these three elements in a “constant conversation” along the whole process, I have intended to ensure dynamic yet harmonic connections for this research project.

Originally, this project has been conceived as based on an art-based methodology. During the interviewing stage, however, I started to realize that the arts-based method was not going to be able to answer all the research questions that I had originally proposed for the project. For this reason, I deemphasized the weight of the arts-based method in relation to the other ones. In other words, I have basically turned this project into an exploratory qualitative study that dwells on a “holistic approach” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 5) because of the interconnection of theoretical and methodological components that will be fully discussed in this chapter. So, after having summarized how this project has been conceptualized, I will now describe the critical methodological elements of this project.

4.1 Contextualization of the Project

This doctoral research proposal has focused on two institutional mentoring programs which have targeted on the integration of immigrants in Toronto. In reality, the leading program studied here is the outcome of a partnership between two well-reputed organizations: The Settling House and the Artistry Festival (the names used here are both fictional). The first organization is an immigrant serving agency promoting the inclusiveness of immigrants’
settlement experiences in Canada. The second agency organizes an arts festival in the city, and it has aimed to strengthen its ties with Toronto’s ethnic communities through the fostering of artistic endeavours (personal communication, February 25, 2013). Their joint effort has established mentoring groups to promote active citizenship, and also help newcomers to gain Canadian experiences while allowing them to develop skills through volunteer commitments. Because of this partnership, I was able to accompany mentors and mentees regularly meeting not only in training sessions and workshops in closed spaces, but also in squares or other public spaces in 2013. In the second part of their program, mentors and mentees also volunteered independently and/or in groups for at least three shifts of four hours over the course of the ten-day festival that occurred in the middle of the same year. In fact, from now on, I will only refer to this program as the Artistry (mentoring) program even though it has been articulated as a joint effort.

The subsequent mentoring program studied in this research project is the WALKspaces program (also referred here under a fictional name), which has been exclusively organized by the Settling House. Similar to the Artistry program, this program was based on the development of the participants’ public speaking and other skills (personal communication, December 15, 2014), also focusing on community building through volunteerism. Basically, this program has consisted of the organization and delivery of guided walks to diverse audiences in periods of time that could officially last from four to six months (personal communication, December 15, 2014). In practice, however, I was able to interview participants who were involved in the program much longer than just six months.

Finally, there are three primary reasons that can explain why I have chosen the Artistry and the WALKspaces programs for this research project. Firstly, these mentoring programs seemed to relate quite nicely to the issues that I was willing to explore throughout my research
because of their mix of communitarian and instrumental goals, formally or informally set by/for their participants. Secondly, these two programs could be replicated by other organizations across the country since their organizing agencies are both well-known in the city of Toronto. Thirdly, as these two programs combined seemed to be large enough, I expected them to consequently provide me with the sufficient number of participants that I needed for a qualitative study. In fact, more details of the actual fieldwork will be provided as follows.

4.2 Access to the Field and Recruitment of Participants

During the fieldwork, one of the Artistry’s volunteer coordinators became my contact person in regard to their mentoring program. For the WALKspaces program, the Settling House coordinator of the program also helped me with everything that I needed in the process. In fact, they delved into their own database of mentors and mentees in order to support the recruitment of participants for this study. In both programs, the strategy was basically the same. First, the coordinators sent e-mails to the mentors. In these e-mails, there were all the essential details about this research project. By acting in this way, they basically invited participants to contact me directly in case of interest (please see e-mail on appendix A for more details in this regard).

After having mainly informed their mentees first, the interested mentors contacted me. In this way, I got invited me to accompany their group activities which I am calling here the “phase 1” of this study. In my first contact with the members of these groups, I then provided them with an overview of the main details about the participant observations, and also asked them for their oral consent. In general, this was basically the way in which the participant observations started. However, this consent process was often disordered because of the dynamic nature of the groups’ activities. For example, the mentoring meetings often took place in open spaces with a
lot of movement and noise usually surrounding us. Besides, participants were not always on time for their mentoring meetings either. Thus I had to often repeat the explanation of the main points regarding this project, and then ask for their authorization more than once when some of them were too late in my first observations of their groups.

Still in regard to the phase 1 of the project, I did not face any problems to access the places where the mentoring activities were taking place. For the Artistry festival, for example, I had to wear the festival’s green shirt and also a tag with a short description of who I was. In this way, people from the broader audience could be promptly informed of my role in those places. In addition, whenever opportune, I identified myself as a researcher from the University of Toronto.

After having observed the mentoring groups in action, I asked the representatives from the Artistry and WALKspaces programs to send detailed e-mails (appendix B) to the participants in order to invite them to the interviews, which comprised the second stage of this project (phase 2). By then, however, I could have already talked to the participants about the phase 2 during the participant observations. Since some of them showed interest in participating in the project’s second phase, we just kept in touch. In reality, I was also often included in the online communication of the mentoring groups that I was observing in phase 1, so I could also exchange e-mails with participants on a regular basis whenever necessary or appropriate. However, when phase 1 was over, I deleted all the e-mail of those who were not willing to participate in the second phase of the project. Nevertheless, since there were individuals who had not been able to take part in phase 1 of this project, some of the participants contacted me only in regard to the phase 2 of the study solely because of the e-mails sent by the coordinators of their programs. In general, there were not significant challenges in terms of the communication overall, partially due to the support that I was able to get from the two partner agencies.
4.3 My Position as the Researcher

Overall, I did not face any major difficulties in my interactions with participants. In fact, I was well prepared for both phases 1 and 2 of this research project after having volunteered and/or worked for educational institutions and non-profit organizations serving immigrants or international students for over one decade in Toronto. Besides, during the fieldwork, I always tried to clarify my role as researcher not only in my introductions to participants but also throughout my constant interactions with them. Since I am also mindful of the oppressive role that any researcher can still have in certain situations, I generally respected participants’ boundaries as much as possible.

Despite all my efforts in order to assert a certain neutrality as the main researcher of this project, my position as a gay and white immigrant with a Latin American background, a pronounced accent in the English language, and a hearing disability obviously had an unintended impact on my interactions with participants overall. First of all, probably because of my perceptible foreign accent, a couple of participants showed a certain difficulty to understand some of my questions during the interviews. Nevertheless, language differences could also work towards my advantage sometimes. My understanding of other languages positively affected the rapport with some participants. In the interviewing stage, for example, whenever a particular participant was unable to express an idea in English, I asked her to express her insights in her first language. This strategy was certainly very helpful during her interviews.

Similarly, another participant seemed so warm and comfortable with me to the point that this proximity became slightly problematic a few times. In a particular occasion, she asked me to take a picture, and then criticized the outcome. According to her, the picture that I had taken was not focused enough. In situations like this one, I found myself in a vulnerable position by having
to handle issues generally accepted in her country of origin but not necessarily in Canada. For this reason, I had to often display an extra degree of diplomacy through my interactions with her. In reality, this kind of imbalance potentially attributed to immigrants’ state of in-betweenness in Canada was indeed a productive experience that led me into the analytical insights later on in the process.

In addition to my position as a foreign-born Canadian and as a non-native speaker of the English language, my hearing disability was seldom a problem in my interactions with participants. However, due to my use of hearing aids, I have to confess that I became particularly annoyed in a certain walk when the noise level coming from the street was very high. Still because of this special need, it took me a considerable amount of time to transcribe, and then revise all the interviews of this project that together summed approximately forty-one hours of audio recording. Nevertheless, I was fortunate enough to have an excellent sound quality in all my interviews. In addition, I was also able to count on great research devices like a peddler, audio recorders, laptops and a data management software. In conjunction, they always allowed me a good comfort level as a transcriber. In conclusion, all the observations presented here were the main highlights of my own positionality as the principal investigator of this project. So, after this explanation focused on my role as researcher, it is already time to offer an overview of the characteristics of participants who took part in this project.

4.4 An Overview of the Participants

This research project became a reality because of the adherence of mentors and mentees from the Artistry and WALKspaces programs. Influenced by the outreach requirements of these programs and after having accompanied the participants’ activities as well, I can confirm here
that they were nineteen years old or older. Ideally, participants generally had to demonstrate a minimum level of commitment to their programs. In regard to the mentors in particular, based on my observations, some of them had been born in Canada. For those who were not, they seemed to be living in Canada for a considerable amount of time, i.e., more than five years at least. They also seemed to have very high levels of proficiency in the English language, and generally demonstrated strong facilitation, interpersonal and cross-cultural skills. Finally, they were ordinarily knowledgeable about the city as well.

In regard to the mentees, they were all immigrants with, at least, an intermediate level of proficiency in English. They also possessed some interpersonal and cross-cultural skills. The mentees were all supposed to demonstrate some openness to learn and easily move between different locations. In fact, what has been presented here so far is an overview of the attributes that this population was supposed to have. This account is just a subjective or rough evaluation of the participants’ characteristics overall.

However, on a more concrete level, I was also able to accompany an Artistry event that counted with the participation of several mentors and mentees in 2013. Based on just that event, I can assume here that the whole population used as the basis for this study had probably a very high participation of women, and not a significant number of people coming from Africa, for example. Also, based on conversations with the staff who were organizing these two programs, I can estimate that the number of Artistry mentors and mentees was probably three times the number of WALKspaces mentors and mentees in total (personal communication, February 25, 2013; personal communication, August 6, 2013). Consequently, this specific proportion has certainly impacted on the number of participants eventually recruited for this study because the number of participants from Artistry was overall much higher than the number of participants
recruited from the WALKspaces program. This explanation about the population of this project should help to explain how the sample of this project was generated.

In fact, at the beginning of the fieldwork, not many Artistry mentors seemed interested in this research project. For this reason, I started to accept any groups that contacted me at that point. This strategy for sampling is called “accidental sampling” (Hoyle, Harris, & Judd, 2002, p. 186) or “convenience sampling” (Russell Bernard, 2000, p. 178; Singleton & Strait, 2010, p. 173). In any case, despite the slow start of the recruitment of participants, I was able to observe five mentoring groups with twenty-one participants in total. Three of these groups (with twelve participants in total) belonged to the Artistry program while the other two groups (with nine participants) were from the WALKspaces program. Among these participants, there were also six mentors. Also, at the first phase of the study, fifteen participants were female while only six were male.

Then, in the phase 2 of this study, four mentors and ten mentees completed their sociodemographic questionnaires at the beginning of their first interviews. Eleven of these participants were from the Artistry program while the remaining three were from the WALKspaces program. The majority of the interviewed mentors were well-established immigrants, also Canadian citizens already. Besides, they perceivably had very high proficiency levels in English. In fact, they were mostly living in the country for over ten years. However, because of confidentiality issues, I am not offering here additional information on the sociodemographic characteristics of these specific participants in light of the small size of this particular sample.

In regard to the mentees who are the focus of this research project, there were three male and seven female participants who were almost all permanent residents in Canada. In addition,
they were living in the country for less than five years. Some were relative new to the city but not to the country. Others had already lived in other countries besides their countries of origin and Canada. Mostly with ages ranging between thirty and fifty years old, they were all internationally trained professionals. Among these participants, only one participant said that she spoke English as her first language. Also, most of them belonged to visible minority groups. In fact, there was just one mentee from Europe. Two were from Latin America and the Caribbean. Three were from the Middle East and South Asia while four were from Eastern Asia. So, after this sociodemographic overview here, I will then provide more details of the methodological approach employed on this study.

4.5 Application of an Approach with Multiple Methods

Fundamentally, there is a difference between combination and integration of methods in research design. In general, “integration denotes a relationship among objects that are essentially different to each other when separate but which comprise a coherent whole when they are brought together” (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006, p. 50). Through assertions that integration can go beyond simple combinations of methods, Moran-Ellis (2006) and colleagues further propose that integration eventually has the advantage of being incremental by allowing the final outcome to possess additional benefits allowed by an integrated nature of research designs. In fact, in the particular case of this project that utilized both integration and combination of methods, participant observations and interviews have respectively framed the methodological approach that will be respectively described in the first and in the second stages of this project.
4.5.1 Phase 1 - participant observations.

In the first phase of this study, I was an active participant observer (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Singleton & Straits, 2010) of the activities developed by the studied mentoring groups. Since I was not only an insider but also a participant, I was able to gain a valuable perspective on their mentoring interactions, particularly when I volunteered alongside some participants. Throughout all my experiences observing participants, I was able to carry ordinary conversations with them (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Singleton & Straits, 2010), and then better understand or clarify any issues raised over the course of the activities (Singleton & Straits, 2010). In reality, some casual conversations carried with participants greatly helped me to investigate initial observations of certain events in the field. Right after the observations took place (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011; Singleton & Straits, 2010), I wrote detailed field notes describing not only the interactions with the participants but also their broader environment (please consult appendix C for a sample of one of my notes). In fact, we were able to explore our shared experiences from phase 1 more detailedly in the phase 2 of the study because some of these experiences also emerged during the participants’ interviews later on.

For the Artistry mentoring groups, the participant observations were conducted between May and July in 2013 after I allowed them to meet among themselves without my presence at least in a couple of occasions. In the case of the two WALKspaces groups, the participant observations occurred in September and October of that same year. During that particular time, they would be normally gearing up towards their second final walks together. In reality, each WALKspaces group was supposed to meet several times in order to get ready for their two final walks which were focused on the attendance of guests. In comparison, the mentoring meetings of the Artistry groups were usually in preparation for the volunteer shifts of the festival in the middle of the year. Because of the dynamics of the various activities performed by the members
of these mentoring groups, I was able to accompany them both individually as well as inside their groups. Since each group also possessed their own distinctive features, I had to adapt myself accordingly. For example, in one group, the participants did not talk a lot, and I was respectful of their own way of interacting. In fact, throughout my engagement in the groups, I believe that I found a good balance overall between my roles simultaneously as an observer and a participant.

Since some of my observations sometimes covered the interactions of members of more than one group at the same time, I was able to observe the members of all the five mentoring groups twenty-eight times in total. Because there were great variations about the nature and frequency of the activities that each mentoring group performed together, my participant observations of the members of each group ranged from only twice to twelve times. These observations also went from just forty minutes to a maximum of approximately five hours by totalizing about seventy-four hours of participant observations of mentors and mentees. As a result, these observations generated approximately three-hundred fifty pages of field notes in a double space format. In fact, they were primarily face-to-face interactions although participants also communicated with each other through the internet and/or cell phones.

Because of the constant walking involved in most of the observed meetings, I was also able to collect and incorporate a variety of support materials like guides, flyers and other written pieces of information into the research. Besides, my observations were never monotonous, and this particular characteristic has eventually influenced the analysis in chapter 6. In fact, this aspect did not pose as a significant challenge for my observations at all. On the contrary, I believe that it probably made my interactions with participants considerably more natural and also enriching because they were all concretely based on their real-life situations. Nevertheless, whenever possible, I occasionally used a small notepad for “jot notes” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011,
p. 161) in order to remind myself of an important word or idea that I would need to write on my field notes later on.

4.5.2 Phase 2 - interviews.

Because of their importance, the overuse of verbal exchanges in most qualitative research projects as well as more broadly in our societies is undeniable (Brinkmann, 2014). Since we already inhabit a world with so much oral communication, the centrality of this kind of interaction can work as “a burden and a blessing” (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 278) in qualitative research. In fact, for Mason (2002), qualitative interviewing more specifically refers “to in-depth, semi-structured or loosely structured forms of interviewing” (p. 62). Not surprisingly, this was exactly the research format that predominated in this project. Here I have organized the interviewing process in three moments: (1) A sociodemographic questionnaire (appendix D); (2) An introductory interview section, mostly organized on a semi-structured way, with key questions about the participants’ mentoring experiences (appendix E); and, finally, (3) a semi-structured interview guide associated with the collage – the visual method that will be discussed next (appendix F). Since I have mainly combined and integrated different elements into the interviewing stage of this project, I will simply call them “interviews” whenever I refer to them from now on.

The first interview always started with the reading, clarification and signing of the participants’ consent form. Then this first step was followed by the sociodemographic questionnaire, the introductory interview section, and, finally, the first set of questions from the “interview guide” (Russell Bernard, 2000, p. 191). In reality, this particular set of questions here was focused on the participants’ perceptions about their mentoring experiences in general. After
that, the second interview often happened a week later or so. At the beginning of the second interview, I often explored any unclear issues raised in the first interview. Then I would immediately follow with the second set of questions from the interview guide. These questions concentrated on issues related to the participants’ overall integration into Canadian society, which could have been facilitated by their mentoring experiences or not. By the end of this second interview with the participants, I usually encouraged them to create their final visual exercises (more details in this regard will follow in the next subsection). On average, each interview took one and half hour with the shortest one lasting only fifty-two minutes, and the longest unusually taking two hours and nineteen minutes. The transcriptions of all these interviews were very valuable for the project by greatly supporting the analysis as a whole. Overall, this work eventually generated approximately nine-hundred sixty-three pages in a single space format.

The interviewing process included different features in order to ensure the collection of all the important pieces of information for the data analysis. First, the answers for the sociodemographic questions were usually useful in order to support the description of the participants. Second, the introductory semi-structured interview helped me to clarify key aspects further explored in the analysis like the length of time spent by each participant with their respective programs, for example. Important details like this one could have been easily overlooked later in the interviewing process. In fact, this portion of the interview also contained one key question that eventually became crucial in the analysis: The question about the participants’ recognition or not of mentors (or mentees) from their countries of origin. Finally, the interview guide not only supported the inquiry of several topics of relevance for the study as a whole but also allowed the participants with enough room for the exploration of any issues that demanded additional questions for their full clarification.
In particular, the interviews with the Artistry participants happened after the 2013 festival was over, and they all occurred in the middle of the year. Then they were followed by the interviews with the WALKspaces participants which happened by the end of the same year. Except for two interviews, all the others took place at the OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) building of the University of Toronto. In fact, since the two programs studied here also encompassed outdoor activities in different times of the year except in the wintertime, I tried to organize my participant observations and interviews in accordance with the specific calendar of these two programs. In addition, I attempted to interview most participants just after their participant observations had taken place. On one hand, I assumed that they would be more available for the interviews of this project right after the activities of their mentoring groups were over. On the other hand, I also imagined that these interviews could be particularly rich in details.

Finally, I used accidental sampling for the recruitment of participants from two programs that had an unequal number of participants. As some elements have been already shared in this chapter, I eventually interviewed eleven participants from the Artistry mentoring program and only three from the WALKspaces mentoring program. Immediately after each interview, I made manual notes about important aspects that had surfaced on them. These aspects mainly included: (1) Emerging key themes and/or general comments; (2) The description of any particular connections established with the participant; (3) Issues left unclear from the first interview and/or requiring further probing; (4) Any peculiarity of the interviewer-interviewee dynamics like emotional difficulties or situations of power imbalance, for example; (5) Any interview variations originated from physical mismatches like late starts or problems with the tape recorders, for example; (6) Perceived barriers for the engagement of the participant with the collage process as a whole; and, finally, (7) any positive highlights generated through the
engagement of the participant with the collage exercise. In fact, in-between the first and the second interviews, I also used notes in order to remember important aspects that surfaced in the first interview. In this way, I was generally able to connect points between the two interviews that could eventually become important for the data analysis as a whole. In reality, all these details provided here so far are not sufficient for me to fully explain the whole interviewing process. In order to complete this explanation now, I will now proceed with a special subsection focused on the visual aspect proposed for this research project.

4.5.3 An explanation about the use of collages in association with the interview guide.

Traditionally, people have made collages by using paper as primary resources for their creations (Hutton, 1968). Already applied to research projects in a variety of ways, collages have also appeared in education (Colakoglu & Littlefield, 2011; Williams, 2002), in marketing and consumer studies (Cody, 2012; Kubacki & Siemieniako, 2011; Nguyen Chaplin & Roedder John, 2005), in healthcare (Margolin, 2014; Takata, 2002), as multimedia outcomes (Anderson, 2008), and in very innovative arts-based approaches applied to research (Holbrook & Pourchier, 2014; Vaughan, 2005). In fact, these articles feature examples and/or explanations of collages that do not only include but also go beyond the simple act of the pasting of images with glue, generally from magazines and or journals, one beside the other in cascade over a piece of paper. Overall, the review mentioned here has been particularly enlightening about the variety of ways in which collages can be generally understood and practiced by researchers. For this research project in particular, I also encouraged participants to create their own collages during the interviewing process. These exercises seemed very beneficial for the study as a whole because
they allowed participants to express themselves in unorthodox ways, which were also in line with the framework applied to this research project.

By using images as triggers of the research inquiry (Huss, 2012; Pauwels, 2010), participants selected images in order to individually answer my questions which were part of the interview guide. In order to come up with their answers, they extracted images from about twenty magazines that they had in front of them each time. However, they could also use a wide range of other resources like strings, feathers, buttons, and rubber materials, for example. In addition, at their disposal, there were also glue sticks, scissors, pieces of cardboard, wrapping papers, and colour pencils. In fact, by the end of their second interview, they made use of some of these materials in order to put together representations of what mentoring and/or integration meant to them. Eventually, some participants came out with final outcomes that could get more widely recognized as collages while others freely adapted the exercise on their own.

On their final work, participants were basically free to carry their work beyond cutting and pasting by also drawing, using colourful backgrounds, centralizing pictures, organizing them in cascades, choosing only small pictures, selecting just the big ones, or even mixing them up. Once their final pieces were ready, I eventually asked them to explain the meaning of their works in a narrative form. In general, I allowed participants to express their work in the way that they felt the most comfortable with or that it was the most meaningful to them. By the end of these exercises, most participants indeed seemed to have enjoyed searching images and assembled them together. However, a few participants showed a certain impatience with the process, and seemed to have preferred to answer their questions right away and with no involvement of images at all. In these cases, I have not been able to pinpoint single characteristics shared among them that could have helped me to explain any particular patterns. For example, I wrongly assumed that that participants who had professional backgrounds associated with the arts and/or
media would have been able to enjoy their exercises more than others. In fact, this was not the case of two participants in particular. So, in summary, I was unable to make any connections in terms of the participants’ race, gender, class, positions as mentors or mentees, or any other identifiable attributes that could have provided me with clues in this sense.

By additionally shedding light on the way in which images can be utilized in research, Huss (2012) distinguishes the use of images in four main categories: (1) Additional information; (2) Methodological tool; (3) Object of inquiry; and/or (4) Outcome of the research. As it has been already explained here, I have not only used images as method but also, more limitedly, as products of the project as well. In the end, the interview process associated with the collage exercises generated two kinds of outcomes: (1) Disposable images used by the participants in order to answer the questions from the interview guide. These images were not utilized on the participants’ final works but they were often instrumental throughout the interviewing process; (2) Images chosen by the participants in order to answer the questions from the interview guide, and that were eventually incorporated into their final works. In fact, I coded and analysed images generated through both ways, and I also incorporated some of them into the discussion of the upcoming data analysis chapters.

Overall, the use of images in this research has been congruent with Gauntlett and Holzwarth’s (2006) view through the advancement of the notion that “people think about things differently when making something, using their hands” (p. 89). Besides, the use of images also tended to create what Poststructural theorists Jackson and Mazzei (2012) call “thresholds” (p. 6). Basically, my understanding of this concept refers to places where meaning is particularly unstable. Generally, in the thresholds, theory and data can also interconnect in multiple ways (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Alongside this idea, the use of images has also highlighted the incompleteness or partiality of the data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). As a result, what was
concealed by the participants could “be as revealing as what is said. Silences are profoundly meaningful” (Poland & Pederson, 1998, p. 294). Consequently, certain breaks have become as important for the research analysis as any assumption of coherence behind the repetitions of certain words and ideas. Therefore, participants’ refusals and hesitations to select pictures and answer certain questions also seemed particularly meaningful and enlightening for the research as a whole. In fact, in the next section, there will be more details about the ways in which the information gathered from participants was analysed.

4.6 Data Analysis

The main reference for the discourse analysis developed here was Rose’s (2012) framework on the use of visual methodologies. Actually, in her book, she presents two approaches for a Poststructuralist discourse analysis. In fact, what Rose calls “discourse analysis I” (p. 189) tends to work bottom-up in order to portray how power is implied into certain representations. By applying this approach, I will be concentrating on the textual and/or visual connections made by the participants or found during my interactions with them overall. For this particular kind of analysis, discourses could encompass language but they were not certainly restricted to it (Garrity, 2010). For example, I could call attention of the reader to a specific word or groups of words at a certain point but, in other occasions, I could concentrate more on the overall meaning or association of ideas expressed in several passages through particular connections among words and/or images.

In order to better explain this first approach, Rose (2012) compiled some guiding principles that I have applied to the analysis. These principles consist of: (1) The use of detailed visual and/or textual information in order to back up the arguments; (2) An attention to a
coherence of the discourses studied, of their analyses, and also in relation to other research projects; and, finally, (3) an exploration of complexities and contradictions present in the analysis. In general, these three principles all tend to permeate the analysis in the three chapters that will come next.

In contrast to her first approach, Rose’s (2012) “discourse analysis II” (p. 195) presents the interconnection between power and knowledge in a way that I have interpreted as a top-down approach. In this sense, institutions invested with power tend to influence the production of texts and visuals that can have an impact on people’s social relations. In other words, Rose basically explains that institutional apparatuses and technologies can produce knowledge in this kind of analysis. In fact, during the data description and interpretation, this second way of analysing discourses will mainly emerge from my take on the participant observations when I investigate the impact of space and time through the participants’ mentoring interactions, and more broadly on their integration into Canadian society.

In order to answer this study’s research questions, both ways of discursively analysing the data have been helpful because of their various possibilities for complementarity and contrast in the analysis. In fact, the specific alternation between these two approaches will become particularly apparent in chapter 6. By combining them, I have actually made this analysis richer while preventing it from becoming unidimensional. Throughout this analysis, it is generally implied not only how power imbalances can influence discourses but also how discourses can also create and perpetuate power imbalances. In the end, I have firmly grounded the upcoming analysis on the search of a “countergenealogy” (Kaomea, 2009, p. 82) by also offering a counterpoint to “great truths and grand theories and narratives” (Kaomea, 2009, p. 84) that have permeated the mentoring experiences and discourses of/on immigrants in regard to their integration into Canadian society.
After this more theoretical overview here, now it is time for me to offer more details on how I have indeed conducted this analysis in practice. With the help of Bazeley and Jackson’s (2013) guide on NVivo, I first entered all the data (field notes, images and tapes of all the interviews) into this data management software. Then, during the transcription of the interviews on the software, I already started to create memos with comments specifically “within-case” (Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003, p. 875), which were mainly about each participant’s experiences. In addition, I made some comparative “across-case” (Ayres et al., 2003, p. 874) comments linking participants’ insights as well. In these annotations, I highlighted important aspects in relation to each one of the 28 interviews, and also made important connections with the interview questions.

Then I linked all the images with the denaturalized transcriptions. Actually, denaturalization is a process used for the transcription of audio materials that does not rework speeches in their written presentations (Bucholtz, 2000). Besides, in order to prevent any inaccuracies on the transcription of interviews from a majority of participants who spoke English as their second languages, I avoided the use of a “voice-recognition software” (Silver & Lewins, 2014, p. 607). Thus I manually transcribed all their interviews by myself, and as close as possible to their oral format. Additionally, for a better understanding of how I have employed transcription conventions which were adapted from Ochs’ (1979) book, please feel free to go to appendix H.

After having initiated the first stage of the analysis in the previously described way, I also got feedback from one of the members of my doctoral committee about this approach. Then I started to create the first draft of a “codebook” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 184; Russell Bernard, 2000, p. 446) through the definition of themes and subthemes (Ayres et al., 2003), and also with the help of “post-its” and flip chart papers. Actually, I presented a draft of the
analytical work at that stage on a meeting with my doctoral committee in 2014. After that meeting, I entered the codes into the NVivo software, and then revised all the information by listening to all the interviews once again. By also getting several corrections done on the transcripts, I made all the appropriate electronic connections through the coding of transcripts and images. In reality, I later followed this same approach for the field notes in the end. In the meantime, I expanded and corrected the electronic codebook with the final definition of the main themes, categories and subcategories employed into this analysis (appendix I). By the end of all these tasks, I additionally created memos with brief analyses for each one of the NVivo codes (subcategories) that I had originally created by that point in time.

The second stage of the analysis took place when I was already writing each one of the data analysis chapters. During that time, I was able to make more links with the theory, and the participants’ different data sources as well. These additional comparisons allowed me to better ground my argumentation in an inductive way (Saldaña, 2014; Thorne, 2014). In fact, it was only in this stage that I was able to clearly see which method had been more effective for the construction of the overall argumentation in each one of the three data analysis chapters. It was at that point that I discovered that the answers to one particular question from the introductory semi-structured interview about the existence of participants’ mentors in their country of origin, had become important for the argumentation in chapter 5. In reality, this realization has provided me with the answer to the first research question of this project. In addition, field notes have also become key for the analysis in chapter 6 by greatly helping me to answer the second research question posed for this research project. Finally, in regard to the answer for the third research question, the analysis in chapter 7 has been only enabled because it dynamically involved interactions between verbal and visual clues which constituted the bulk of the interview process.
Insights originated from the interactions with one or two participants have predominated in the data analysis chapters. This pattern has become clear in chapter 5 with the prominence of the information from Mike’s (WMe) and Jurema’s (AFMr) cases. In addition, this trend has been also present in chapter 6 with Rosa’s (WMe) experiences, and, finally, in chapter 7 with the inclusion of Florence’s (WMe) contributions to this project. Specifically, in regard to the codes used here, their utilization after the participants’ names will be only explained by the end of this chapter. In any case, for now, it is also opportune for me to mention that I have paid attention to the presentation of the data in order to generate a certain balance for some characteristics of the participants like their gender and geographical regions of origin, for example. This is clearly an important procedural detail, better understood and/or valued in association with other key issues that will be fully explained next.

4.7 Ethics, Rigour and Impact of the Project

A number of strategies has ensured the high standard of ethics and rigour of this study. First of all, there are no mentions to the real names of participants or even recognizable names of people and specific places which were cited by them. As a rule, I have replaced all the participants’ identifying names with fictional names in this dissertation. Besides, there have been no bleaches of confidentiality or any incidents in this sense either. In order to specifically preserve the information generated throughout this project, all the information has been also encrypted and/or safely protected as well. In addition, in regard to the written and visual outcomes of this doctoral dissertation, all the information presented here has been double checked. In particular, rigour has specifically permeated the revision of the transcriptions in a careful way (Poland, 1995). Also, the members of the doctoral committee have also had chances
to revise and make comments on all the chapters produced for this dissertation. Finally, through my own reflections on the participants’ comments as well as on the positions of the authors quoted here, all the originated information from this project has been organized and presented in such a way in order to ensure and facilitate “audit trails” (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 2004, p. 126). After having said this, it is also fair for me to state that what has been written in this dissertation has been also filtered through my own positionality. In fact, this approach is also congruent with the framework applied to this project.

Because of an overall concern with transparency here, participant involvement in this project was absolutely voluntary with no expectations of any financial reimbursement. As a whole, participants were also able to withdraw from the project at any stage, and this happened in just one case. For this particular case, none of the materials collected from the withdrawing participants were used on the analysis or presentation of the data. Additionally, any individual participant could have directly contacted me, my doctoral supervisor or even the Research Ethics Board (REB) of the University of Toronto at any time in order to make inquiries about the project. However, to the best of my knowledge, there have been no formal consultations made in this sense.

In order to reinforce the “trustworthiness” (Padgett, 2009, p. 102) of this study, I am also listing here all the authorizing documents used during the project. So, since I explained the project’s key information to the participants before their oral and/or written consents were given and whenever necessary and/or convenient, I have specifically attached the model used for the participants’ consent forms applied to phase 2 of the project in appendix G. In appendices J and K, I have additionally attached the two administrative letters used in this project in order to ensure the collaboration with the two partner agencies involved here. In fact, I was also able to get the approval for the project from the university’s Research Ethics Board in 2013 as this
permission can be evidenced through the inclusion of this document in appendix L. Since then, extensions were granted twice as appendices M and N can also show. Finally, I submitted the form for the completion of the fieldwork of this project, and the positive outcome of this application is displayed in appendix O. Not only based on this documentation but also grounded on all the information given here throughout this chapter, the approach followed here should corroborate for the credibility of this research project as a whole (Saldaña, 2014).

Now, in regard to my own reflexivity throughout this process, I have been able to make comments on details of this project all the way from the doctoral proposal up to now. In the particular case of the participant observations, I added comments during and/or by end of the field notes whenever they were opportune and/or necessary. As it was already mentioned earlier in this chapter, in regard to the interviews, I recorded all the highlights of each one of the interviews in forms based on the model attached in appendix P. In addition, I employed great reflexivity during the data analysis stage as well. Then, in a final comment in regard to the reflexivity employed into this project as a whole, it has demanded so much from me in so many ways that I, in return, feel that I have become a stronger person in light of whatever challenges life has reserved for me in the future.

Additionally, in relation to the associated risks here, they were minimal for the participants because of the nature of this project. In contrast, the benefits could have been multiple. By taking part in this project, participants were given chances to reflect upon the nature, dynamics and impact of their mentoring relationships, and, more broadly, of their integration into Canadian society as a whole.

Finally, the findings originated from this study cannot be generalized due to the study’s qualitative structure. However, they can be still helpful for an assessment from the own partner
organizations, and also for the development and/or evaluation of other mentoring programs in this country or overseas. In addition, this study may even help to inspire other researchers in order to conduct similar projects in the future. Since 2014, I have been disseminating a few findings from this research project throughout my participation in academic conferences. Afterwards, I intend to publish more, and additionally make presentations not only for scholar audiences but also in immigrant communities. Fortunately, the language used in the analysis can be still accessible to many in spite of the complexity of some concepts that will be explored in the chapters to come.

4.8 Connections with the Following Chapters

In order to facilitate the identification of the participants during the data description and analysis, I have created a simple system of codes for this doctoral dissertation. For example, the foreign-born mentors from Artistry are referred to as “AFMr” with these letters representing their specific characteristics. In this case, the letter “A” means Artistry, the letter “F” signifies foreign-born, and “Mr” is the chosen fragment for mentor. Then I have also coded the Canadian-born mentors from Artistry as “ACMr” by simply replacing the letter of “F” from the word “foreign-born” by the letter “C” of Canadian-born. Since all the Artistry mentees were foreign-born, I have simply identified them as “AMe” with the letter “A” for Artistry again, yet with the termination “Me” representing their positions as mentees. In the case of the participants from the WALKspaces program, the logics has been basically the same with the obvious replacement of the letter “A” of Artistry by the initial “W” of the WALKspaces program. Consequently, “WCMr” has come to mean WALKspaces Canadian-born mentors, and “WMe” basically refers to the WALKspaces mentees. With an understanding of these simple codes, it should be easier to
identify the participants’ basic characteristics in the data analysis chapters since these
c characteristics are not always explicitly stated there.

The first data analysis chapter will focus on “who” were considered mentors by the
participants. Actually, I have named chapter 5 as *Who Counts as Mentor? The Implications of
Naming Mentors for Volunteer Positions in Canada*. Then, through a broader examination of the
participants’ experiences on the ground, chapter 6 comes next with my contribution to “what”
mentoring means. In reality, I have referred to this chapter as *Mentoring in Motion: Imagining
and Experiencing Integration across Spaces and Times*. Afterwards, in the chapter 7 called
*Trained Performances or Mimicries? Getting the Setting and the Social Actors Ready for
Immigrant Integration*, I will then explain “how” mentoring mainly operates in Canada. Finally,
a conclusive chapter will crown all the discussion raised by these three data analysis chapters
mentioned here. However, at this point, let us begin with the analysis in chapter 5.
Chapter 5

Who Counts as a Mentor?

The Implications of Naming Mentors for Volunteer Positions in Canada

Although mentoring experiences have assumed a wide range of setups over the past decades in Canada, several scholars have studied them by still referring to the conventional definition in which an older or more experienced person generally provides some kind of guidance or support to a younger or less experienced person (e.g., Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Chao, 2009; Kram, 1985). In the Western world, this definition has actually come from the origin of the name “mentor”, which is rooted on Homer’s (2003) book The Odyssey. In this book, “Mentor” is, in fact, the name of a character, and, in the story, he supposedly “mentors” the younger Telemachus during the absence of his father. Overtime, the same fictional character has lent his name to the practice as well. Because of the origin of the term “mentor” associated with the longevity and popularity of Homer’s book, many authors still tend to significantly associate its etymology with the practice originally described in the book. In a representative portion of the literature, references to the origin of this name have become recurrent in order to introduce mentoring or mentorship (as some may prefer to call) to readers (e.g., Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Crisp & Cruz, 2009; DeMarco, 1993; Fritzberg & Alemayehu, 2004; Fyn, 2013; Merriam, 1983; Merriweather & Morgan, 2013; Roberts, 1998; Wilson, Pereira & Valentine, 2002).

While mentoring interactions have probably existed long before The Odyssey was even written (Crisp & Cruz, 2009), three basic elements have stubbornly remained as conventional
references in the mentoring literature: (1) The dyadic nature of mentoring; (2) The age difference of those involved in the partnership; and, finally, (3) the passing of something valuable through a certain form of guidance. Based on the popularity of these three aspects, I now intend to describe them in order to lay the ground for the subsequent analysis about the most salient characteristics uniquely uncovered by this study.

Firstly, many people, even in the literature, generally assume that mentoring is a one-on-one connection. In particular, Kram (1985) and Colley (2001, 2002), who are among the most influential authors in this field, have directly or indirectly referred to the dyadic characteristic of mentoring. In this regard, Bozeman and Feeney (2008) have even argued that it is almost natural to consider mentoring as a relationship between two people. In fact, most authors who write about mentoring implicitly assume this characteristic without acknowledging or extending much on it. In spite of this discreetly predominant understanding of mentoring as a dyad, an increasing number of scholars have started to pay more attention to mentoring as a group and/or community-based practice (e.g., Darwin & Palmer, 2009; Farruggia, Bullen, Solomon, Collins, & Dunphy, 2011; Pidgeon et al., 2014; Roland, 2008).

Secondly, the age difference between mentors and mentees has also dominated the mentoring literature, particularly in the portion focused on children and youth (e.g., Brady & Dolan, 2009; DeJong, 2004; Linnehan, 2003; Newburn & Shiner, 2006; Sánchez et al., 2007). However, the emphasis on age difference as an absolute reference in the mentoring field is gradually waning with the later emergence of peer and reverse mentoring practices. Through peer interactions, for example, mentoring has encompassed mentors and mentees with similar ages or amounts of experience. In reality, mentors can even be much younger or generally less experienced than their mentees as in the case of reverse mentoring projects. Overall, these new mentoring “models” have awaken a growing interest not only in business but also in education
and community services (Chaudhuri & Ghosh, 2012; Christie, 2014; Harvey, McIntyre, Thompson Heames, & Moeller, 2009; Merriweather & Morgan, 2013; Roland, 2008).

Finally, the last component of the conventional mentoring concept often appears as some sort of guidance, advice, help or support that the mentor is supposed to provide the mentee with (e.g., Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Crip & Cruz, 2009; Ehrich et al., 2004; Kochan, 2013). Even though there have been attempts in order to clarify aspects of the knowledge transmission process implied in mentoring, several authors have consistently perceived its poor conceptualization as one of the main problems for its implementation as a formal practice (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Merriam, 1983; Mertz, 2004). Since mentoring still tends to be portrayed as “a slippery concept” (Daloz, 1986, p. ix), these authors’ works seem to reflect a certain anxiety in the field, grounded on a general assumption that mentoring should be always reproduced with a certain level of success. In response to this expectation, I indeed see this preoccupation as part of a generalized capitalist obsession to commodify and replicate things and practices in its constant search for more profits and/or results. By standing up to this widespread concern that tends to always make mentoring fit into a certain mold, I will first explore the ways in which participants of this research project named and recognized (or not) their mentors by also making sense of their mentoring experiences along the process.

Based on what I see as valuable contributions coming out of this research project, I will now present some information that should mainly contradict the salience of at least two of the three elements from the conventional understanding of mentoring present in the literature. Partially because many participants took part in more than one formal mentoring program in Canada, they tended to recognize mentoring in a broader way. Besides, with the exception of a reference to just one dyad, all the participants that I studied had at least two other participants in
their Artistry and WALKspaces mentoring groups. Then, in terms of age difference, there were also great variations mentioned by the participants. For instance, some mentors were much younger or had about the same age of their mentees in several of the researched groups. Finally, many participants were satisfied to be able to meet new people and get to know the city better. However, they did not generally seem very clear on the specific benefits they were able to get from their mentoring interactions. This lack of clarity seemed consequently to have put a shadow on what they were exactly learning from these contacts. In other words, most of them found hard to evaluate the precise contributions of their mentoring collaborations in comparison to the knowledge and/or skills that they already possessed before joining the Artistry or the WALKspaces mentoring programs. Thus, because of this realization, now I am not considering the mentors’ ability to guide and/or provide valuable advice to their mentees as a particularly strong defining factor for an overall recognition of mentoring as such in this specific chapter. Nevertheless, my own attempts to more thoroughly conceptualize mentoring will be more substantially developed in the following chapters to come.

So, after this overview, I will proceed now with the analysis of the main elements of mentoring that were recognized as its defining aspects by the participants in this study. They were mainly identified as naming, function or role, and affiliation to an organization. These aspects presented here have been, consequently, crucial for me to firmly ground this research project as a whole by also offering the participants’ interpretations of what mentoring (or their mentors) indeed meant to them. In fact, they have inadvertently provided me with a framework in regard to the steps that will be followed next. For this reason, I have divided this chapter into three main sections. In fact, I have also called them: (1) An Explicit Title for Mentors, (2) Functions/Roles of Mentors (and Mentees) as Friends?, and (3) Volunteer Organizations as Central for Immigrants’ Formal Mentoring Practices in Canada.
5.1 An Explicit Title for Mentors

Naming is not as neutral as many people would uncritically assume it is. In reality, naming can play an important part on the process of inclusion and exclusion of people (Bhatia, 2005). In this regard, Bhatia (2005) states that the subject “becomes known in a manner which may permit certain forms of inquiry and engagement, while forbidding or excluding others” (p. 8). In this sense, an ontological perspective is important in order to name those who possess an essentializing truth. In fact, truths can also displace other kinds of knowledge by making them migrate to peripheral areas (Bhatia, 2005). In light of these ideas, I am consequently implying here that those who do not have the privilege of being named in a certain way may have their knowledge devalued or excluded because of this perceived deficiency or absence in the linguistic recognition process. So, in order to define which knowledge can be considered central or not, it is important to first locate which mentors were referred by the participants of this project as such, and which mentors were not considered in the same way exactly for not being able to be named as such. In other words, the logical assumption in this sense is that participants would have to name their “mentors” in order to identify them as such. In reality, I am particularly interested to examine if location or spatiality can set any kind of parameter in the participants’ determination to name their mentors or not. For this reason, I am will be now developing this analysis in order to specifically track the use of the word “mentor” or its absence throughout the participants’ discourses.

5.1.1 The word “mentor” as a bolder global title.

Being able to name their mentors as such can facilitate people’s recognition of equivalent practices of knowledge transmission through a prompt cognitive correspondence of the
ontological representations. In these cases, acculturation processes have probably occurred already because “a site, territory or people are first colonised by words and names before being physically occupied by soldiers, trading companies and statesmen” (Bhatia, 2005, pp. 13-14). In the specific case of immigrants coming to Canada, the common use of certain names can work as a form of “reacculturation” when acculturation first totally or partially happened through other ways in the past with the assimilation of originally foreign languages like English, for example.

In a slightly different interpretation, in one of his articles, de Sousa Santos (2009) has also referred to the idea of “interculturality” (p. 105) in order to explain how some foreign forms of knowledge were already absorbed by people in the West who, in return, could even present these forms of knowledge as their own. Whatever the case has come to be, I suggest that when immigrants realize similarities between their own ways of knowing and the way in which processes tend to more generally operate in Canada, a certain renegotiation of knowledge can certainly accelerate after their arrival. In fact, the following case is illustrative of this idea introduced here.

From all the fourteen participants who took part in the interviews for this research project, only one participant answered the question “Did you have any mentors and/or mentees before you came [or coming] to Canada?” in a very positive and convincing way since the beginning. Here I will introduce him as Mike, actually a mentee from the WALKspaces program. In his answer to this question about past mentors, he said that he had had mentors in his country of origin, which is a nation located in the Middle East. So, in contrast to other participants who flatly answered the question in a negative way or had more difficulty to fully understand it initially, Mike (WMe) promptly confirmed contacts with mentors and mentees in his country of origin. Consequently, his mentors were not only the ones whom he had encountered in formal mentoring programs in Canada. In fact, his recognition was much broader
than the ones provided by the other participants, and his answer instantaneously set him apart from them in this research project.

Overall, Mike’s (WMe) mentoring experiences in his country of origin involved people mainly in instrumental functions. These characteristics can actually relate to the way that most people tend to see mentoring in Canada. In any case, Mike (WMe), at a certain stage of his interview, clearly mentioned that he used to interact with these mentors and mentees through the specific use of the word “mentor”, which has a correspondent word in his first language as well. Also, he was able to recognize mentors and mentees not only from his workplace but also from his time in university. In fact, he had been able to conciliate an academic and a professional career during the time he was still living in his country of origin. Specifically, in terms of his professional path, Mike (WMe) worked for a company that had international partners. Finally, he also held brief professional assignments in two European countries before immigrating to Canada.

Actually, Mike’s (WMe) understanding of mentoring was also compatible with the way in which mentoring is often constructed as “universal” by multinational or transnational corporations. In regard to these settings, the article of Harvey (2009) and colleagues on the importance of mentoring for female managers offers an interesting example of how mentoring has been used as a tool for leadership and training around the world. In any case, because of his professional familiarity with mentoring, Mike (WMe) was already using English on his job during the time he was living in his country of origin, and also in at least one of his previous international job stints as well. As a result, his experiences described here were consistent with a globalized notion of knowledge transmission, “and the determination of 'what counts' as legitimate knowledge in global corporations, rests heavily on people using language to communicate across space and time to solve problems and to innovate” (Farrell, 2006, p. 244).
As it is implied here, a certain compatibility between different systems of knowledge has probably influenced Mike’s (WMe) level of comfort with some terms, ideas and practices deemed “global” like mentoring, for example. Consequently, the specific correspondence between the term “mentor” and its contextual use at work probably made easier for Mike (WMe) to continue to use the same word in similar situations once he arrived in Canada.

One of Mike’s (WMe) first mentoring connections in Canada happened while he was volunteering in a workplace where someone was simultaneously mentoring and supervising him. After that experience, Mike (WMe) took part not only in mentoring programs like the WALKspaces mentoring program, for example, but also in other ones focused on career-related connections. In addition, he was also having a chance to work as a mentor in his own workplace as a certified professional in Canada since he was able to get a good job in his field of expertise less than five years after having arrived in Toronto.

When I asked Mike (WMe) how many hours in total he dedicated to mentoring activities, he surprised me once again by saying that, “beside of eh my profession, I think maybe I would say average ten hours a month”. In fact, the number of hours that he was devoting to mentoring could still significantly increase if we would consider the hours he was mentoring others in his own workplace as well. Overall, these details from Mike’s (WMe) experiences have demonstrated here how mentoring can maximize people’s chances to achieve professional success in Canada based on an instrumental understanding of the practice. Besides, in light of this discussion of Mike’s (WMe) case, I suggest that the prompt recognition of the ontological value of mentoring can generally place some immigrants like Mike (WMe) in favourable positions by helping them to eventually overcome the many challenges that are part of their settlement and integration processes in Canada. In particular, his prompt willingness and apparent ability to foster connections and maximize the number of people as stepping stones for
the achievement of his objectives certainly made a considerable impact on his relatively fast and professionally successful integration into the new country. As a whole, his example differs from the case that will be described as follows.

5.1.2 The word “mentor” as a faded and private title.

Based on an understanding of “epistemological monopolization” (de Sousa Santos, 2009), I further argue here that the “professionalization and institutionalization” (de Sousa Santos, 2009, p. 110) of mentoring can often cause “breakdowns” in the processes of knowledge transmission involving immigrants. Particularly in regard to the way in which the words “mentor” and “mentoring” are used in English, for example, many immigrants may consider that the mentoring experiences fostered in Canada do not have a clear correspondence with similar words and experiences performed in their country of origin, whether the words naming these experiences are being translated into English or not. In some situations, a clear correspondence may not even exist in the mother tongue to start with. In all these cases, the representation of informal mentors from the country of origin, probably associated with any other titles, and all the knowledge associated with them may not get completely erased from immigrants’ minds. However, their ontological and epistemological value tend to migrate from a mainstream understanding towards the solely private sphere of the immigrants’ lives after arrival. In other words, they tend to fade away and lose a certain importance. Consequently, their own ways of knowing may get “deactivated” (de Sousa Santos, 2009, p. 118) through certain comparisons between here and there by also going into a dormant mode because of their lack of relevance at a certain point in time. This process of knowledge migration (de Sousa Santos, 2004) will be
discussed now in further detail through the analysis of Jurema’s (AFMr) case, an Artistry mentor from Latin America.

First, it is important to emphasize that the word “mentor” actually exists in Jurema’s (AFMr) mother tongue since this specific piece of information was confirmed by her in our first interview. However, people in her country of origin do not tend to use this word in the same way that the word is often used in Canadian English. Also based on my contextual knowledge of Jurema’s (AFMr) background, it is opportune to add here that there were no formal mentoring programs in Jurema’s (LMFr) country of origin when she was still living there. Since the word “mentor” was rarely used to denote a formal learning experience in Jurema’s (AFMr) place of birth, this term could still identify informal mentoring connections developed in some specific religious or artistic settings there. Outside these contexts, however, the use of the word “mentor” was rare or stylistic.

Despite having worked in at least an international company in her country of origin, Jurema (AFMr) did not seem to have had any chances to use the word “mentor” in English either. During one of our interviews, Jurema (AFMr) even confided to me that her English skills were only functional during that time. So it would have been hard for Jurema (AFMr) to have a comprehensive or globalized understanding of the use of the word “mentor” in the same way that Mike (WMe), for example, did before his arrival in Canada. Therefore, in comparison to Mike’s, Jurema’s (AFMr) proficiency in English was limited at that time when she lived in her country of origin. Consequently, she was unable to understand the use of the word “mentor” in English exactly in the same way that it is normally used in Canada.

Up to the day we had our first interview, Jurema (AFMr) had probably never used the word “mentor” in order to refer to her informal mentors from her country of origin or even to
relate to any private informal mentoring contacts here. So, when I asked her the question about
the existence of past mentors in her country of origin, her answer was simple and flat: “No, I
have not”. However, over the course of our interview, Jurema (AFMr) was accidentally able to
see that there was perhaps a partial connection between the Canadian mentors from the Artistry
program and the ones she had had in her country of origin. In fact, the passage below shows the
moment when she clearly started to realize this link:

Hewton: “You never had a reference of what, what was being a mentor, even like in
[country of origin]?”
Jurema: “No, man.”
Hewton: “No?”
Jurema: “Never! Never paid attention!”
Hewton: “But because there is a word, the word "mentor" in [mother tongue], right?”
Jurema: “Yes, there is but I think there we would use different words. We, for example,
when I was [name of the profession], I had a mentor! But he was called my instructor.
Hewton: “Mmm! (this was a very long "mmm" as I was pleased and surprised with the
answer here).”
Jurema: “(smiling) So it was that that's [sic] the things I like. I never thought of [him as] a
mentor, to be honest, because we don't currently use this word very often. I had a mentor.
When I was mmm working in a B- in a British company, and I was a mentor myself! But
we used different words. Where, because when I, I went to this mmm to this company,
there was [name of the person who worked with her in there] that was three months older
or six months older in the company than I was. So she, she knew more than I did. So she
was the one teaching me.”
Hewton: “Mmm, but mainly]”
Jurema: “[because they say] ((said the words in the middle of the sentence))”
Hewton: “[like the references that you have is [sic] from workplace, right?”
Jurema: “Yes!”
Hewton: “Yeah.”
Jurema: “Exactly! Two related. Two workplaces]”
Hewton: “[two workplaces ((I was basically repeating what she said here)).”
Jurema: “Yes! But my, my aunt was my mentor.”
Hewton: “Was she?”
Jurema: “Yes! Because when I was fourteen, I went to live at her house. And then but I
never thought of it as a mentorship itself ((this sentence was overlapping with the
following one))]
Hewton: “[that you had your mentor for, as your aunt, right?]”
Jurema: “Exactly!”
Hewton: “So-“
Jurema: “She was my aunt so”
Hewton: “So-“
Jurema: “I never thought of her being my mentor.”

Despite these initial recognitions, Jurema (AFMr) started to refer to mentoring in her country of origin and in Canada differently. By volunteering as an official mentor in the Artistry program, she was then able to see that the word “mentor” in Canada was somehow more valuable in comparison to the use of the same term in her first language. In reality, over the course of our first interview, Jurema (AFMr) partially recognized other mentoring interactions without fully naming them as such. These were contacts that she had with fellow nationals who had come to Canada after she did. In these situations, she provided them with some information and support. She generally positioned these acts as natural. In other words, she tended to see these activities more as ordinary help than as mentoring per se. Besides the example described here, at least another participant was also unable to identify someone else performing the same mentoring role during her own settlement in Canada. Nevertheless, in Jurema’s (AFMr) case, she somehow dismissed the full benefits of her informal mentoring interactions as the following statement shows: “I think I would have done even better here if I had found organizations to help me with the process instead of just meeting people from [a state from her country of origin]”. In general, these insights basically show that the lack of a specific name to qualify the practices of helping fellow nationals can be also accompanied by a cognitive devaluation of these experiences in Canada.

As demonstrated in this analysis of Jurema’s (AFMr) case, the recognition process of both private mentoring experiences in Canada as well as informal mentoring experiences from the country of origin could be non-linear and partial. In fact, they could even consist of impulses “for copresence and for incompleteness” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 201) as preconditions for “epistemological dialogues and debates among different knowledges” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.
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189). In a way, de Sousa Santos (2014) does not problematize the instability of different ways of knowing. Instead, he condemns a tendency towards stability through the hegemonic nature of certain ways of knowing, as this was previously described in Mike’s (WMe) case. Actually, in Jurema’s (AFMr) case, she was also able to use the word “mentor” in order to refer to people from her country of origin. However, she had difficulty to precisely confer the same word with the same meaning both in her first language and in English. Although these two languages belong “to the same modern epistemic territory” (Vázquez, 2011, p. 39), the meaning of the word “mentor” still tended to suffer significant variations from one context to another. In a way, this examination of Jurema’s (AFMr) start to shed light on the important role played by the subtleties of language on the integration of immigrants through mentoring.

5.1.3 Informal mentoring as an emergent practice?

In his framework based on the examination of mechanisms around language and knowledge transmission, de Sousa Santos (2004) has proposed two types of sociology: The “sociology of absences” (p. 164) and the “sociology of emergences” (p. 172). While the first one encompasses “the sociology of absent ways of knowing, that is to say, the act of identifying the ways of knowing which the hegemonic epistemology produces as nonexistent” (de Sousa Santos, 2009, p. 115), the second one consists of replacing the hegemony of certain ways of knowing “with a future of plural and concrete possibilities, utopian and realist at one time, and constructed in the present by means of activities of care” (de Sousa Santos, 2004, p. 172). In regard to these concepts, I have interpreted the author’s position here as a proposal for the recognition and valuation of different ways of knowing, mainly the ones produced as nonexistent. However, for this transition to happen, there has to be ideally a change in the way that different world systems
of knowledge can relate to each other (de Sousa Santos, 2004). In order to further investigate the applicability of de Sousa Santos’ ideas into the context of mentoring experiences for the integration of immigrants in Canada, I am now offering more details of Jurema’s (AFMr) case as follows.

Through a better idea of how the production of modes of nonexistence can operate (as this was more thoroughly explained in chapter 2), it should be easier to understand why Jurema (AFMr) was still struggling to fully accept her aunt as a mentor after having recognized her as such. Although it could be argued that Jurema’s (AFMr) conflictual relationship with her aunt could have also stained their mentoring connection in her eyes, Jurema’s (AFMr) formal mentoring interactions for the Artistry festival were not perfect either. In fact, she had covert relationship problems with at least one of her mentees during the preparation for the festival. In addition, most of her mentees eventually left the mentoring program earlier due to allegedly personal reasons. In reality, I was able to accompany these situations by following her mentoring group, and by later confronting my observations, in this sense, with Jurema’s (AFMr) own impressions in the interviewing stage of the research. In any case, despite all the difficulties that she had to face in preparation for the Artistry festival, Jurema (AFMr) generally tended to portray herself as a differentiated and friendly type of mentor in comparison to the authoritarian position personified by her aunt. Overall, Jurema (AFMr) still seemed to resent the extent to which her aunt had controlled her life in comparison to the freedom and independence that she later achieved in Canada.

In contrast to her more satisfying experiences in Canada, Jurema (AFMr) generally associated her life in the country of origin with times of great difficulties. When Jurema (AFMr) was in her mid-teens, for example, she had to leave her close family behind in a small town in order to live with her aunt in the country’s largest city. While they were already living together,
her aunt started to be afraid that Jurema (AFMr) would become pregnant in such an early age. For this reason, her aunt restricted her social interactions to the minimum by making her miss many opportunities for socialization with the new people whom she was already meeting up in the big city. In spite of the imposing restrictions on Jurema (AFMr) at that time, her aunt also guided her by offering valuable pieces of advice. For this reason, Jurema (AFMr) was able to find a job, and then continue her studies in the big city. Nevertheless, Jurema (AFMr) still painted her aunt as an old school or narrow minded person. Overall, this portrayal is very similar to the way in which signs of nonexistence can be produced. In reality, in this regard, please feel free to refer back to chapter 2 for a better understanding of de Sousa Santos’ (2004, 2009, 2014) concept of nonexistence. So, in a way, Jurema’s (AFMr) perception of her aunt seemed to have threatened the position of the aunt as a valid mentor, even after being tentatively named as such. This particular interpretation is also consistent with de Sousa Santos’ (2004) framework when he states that “the disqualification of practices goes hand in hand with the disqualification of agents” (p. 169).

In addition, Jurema (AFMr) should not be blamed for feeling hurt in her relationship with her aunt. As most relationships we have in life, mentoring can be indeed a “mixed bag” of positive and negative experiences. In any case, there is no question that Jurema’s (AFMr) perspective on this private mentoring relationship from the country of origin was significantly more contentious if compared to the way that she generally described her Artistry mentees. In this regard, it is also important to mention here that her mentoring connections for the festival were formally carried in Canadian public spaces in 2013 while the relationship with her aunt was mainly private and informal in a Latin American country around the 1980’s. These differences could also help to explain why Jurema (AFMr) was having difficulties to legitimize the mentoring relationship with her aunt during the time of our first interview. However, here I am
mainly suggesting that this variation, in itself, could also relate to a sense of inferiority that many immigrants have in light of the way in which social relations are supposed to occur in Canada, particularly the ones carried in public spaces. Overall, Jurema’s (AFMr) case indicates the positioning of private and/or informal mentoring connections as too domestic, emotional and flexible while Mike’s (WMe) example demonstrates that mentoring, for him, was universal, rational and structural. In fact, this apparent inconsistency is also understandable because mentoring, in this research project, tends to be more generally recognized as civilized and balanced in Canada, not as too emotional or messy as a whole.

In comparative terms, this differentiation has helped me to qualify how other participants from this research project also saw mentoring. For example, in one of our interviews, Anabelle (AMe) talked about her relationship with her younger cousin who had just arrived from her country of origin in order to live in Toronto. At that moment, she was also contrasting it to the nature of her future interactions as a mentor of a younger girl in a formal mentoring program in Toronto. While making this comparison, Anabelle’s (AMe) mentioned that she tended to get mad at her cousin, who she seemed to considerably love, when he did not want to do certain activities with her or when he did not always show the proper appreciation for the efforts that she was making in order to spend time with him. In comparison, she clearly mentioned that she was not going to lose her temper with the young girl in the way she did with her younger cousin. In the end, Anabelle (AMe) also said that she was determined not to push the young girl at all, in the way that she usually did with her cousin. In fact, this was a clear distinction here that I generally saw when participants talked about their informal and formal mentees or mentors. Informal mentoring connections could get considerably closer and emotionally more rewarding. However, they could also more often “backfire” because of emotionally negative connections potentially associated with them. In reality, Anabelle (AMe) never described her interactions
with her younger cousin as a mentoring connection but the nature of their relationship was certainly clear in this sense. This understanding was possible mainly through descriptions that she provided me with, and also through connections that she made during our conversations. In summary, Anabelle’s (AMe) case presented here has helped me to generally confirm participants’ views on informal mentoring as more unpredictable and emotional while formal mentoring was portrayed as more restrained and rational.

Based on this contrast, it is not surprising that the participants from Artistry and Settling House generally favoured opportunities to interact with members of the broader society. In reality, mentors from institutional programs in Canada generally tended to have a greater importance attributed to them, also because these mentors had been always recognized and named as such. Therefore, the use of language basically appears as key for this preference due to the subtle role that the word “mentor” implicitly played for the categorization of immigrants’ social relations. In fact, this finding tends to complicate the value of immigrants’ proficiency in one of the official languages since it also sheds light on the impact of the hierarchical nature of language as a strategy for their socialization and/or integration. In other words, the use of the English language did not only need to be purely functional, as this idea will be better illustrated in the next chapter, but it also had to be mainly strategic. In any case, an additional discussion around the performative role of language for the exercise of a more inclusive notion of citizenship will be further explored in chapter 7 as well.

Then now back to our original point, still in regard to the different roles of mentoring, informal mentors who were not named as such could still retain some of their importance for participants in private roles as distant mothers, fathers, relatives and friends, for example. In other words, the use of these terms tended to restrict their relevance mostly to private matters. In reality, these more family-oriented denominations could also help to cover up people’s roles as
private mentors since most participants from this research project avoided to position relatives and friends on mentoring roles overall. In any case, Jurema’s (AFMr) late and partial recognition of her aunt and other informal mentors can still offer a strong evidence that she indeed had mentors in her country of origin. If she had not had mentors in the country of origin, she would not have named them as mentors during the interviewing process. In summary, although the tentative process of naming generally described here also shows the weakened effect of private and/or past mentors on the participants’ lives, some mentors did not seem to have had the influence on their mentees entirely erased either.

Indeed, the unstable emergence of Jurema’s (AFMr) aunt as well as of her other informal mentors could been seen somehow as a positive sign for Jurema’s (AFMr) process of renegotiation of knowledge. This development, in itself, could certainly lead to the “sociology of emergences” (p. 172), a concept already proposed and explained here in light of de Sousa Santos’ (2004) work. In any case, Jurema’s (AFMr) late recognitions have also reminded me of Vázquez’s (2011) suggested reference to epistemic struggles. In the end, the big question, in this sense, remains: Was this late nominal recognition of informal mentors, which happened over the course of our first interview, sufficiently strong to make these people count as mentors? In light of this inquiry, Jurema (AFMr) even referred to her aunt as a “kind of” mentor by making this sense of incompleteness even more latent in the characterization. In a way, not only Jurema’s (AFMr) aunt but also all her other private and/or past mentors and mentees started to occupy a peripheral position in her life, in comparison to the more prominent position of the mentor (and mentees) that she later met throughout her Artistry experiences. However, in spite of her own perception in this sense as well as others, I tend to consider here all her informal and formal mentors (and mentees), named or not, as such. Nevertheless, now the discussion needs to move to the second aspect of relevance for the recognition of mentors by the participants of this
project, which will mainly consist of a discussion around mentors and mentees’ functions or roles.

5.2 Functions/Roles of Mentors (and Mentees) as Friends?

In his book *On the Division of Labor in Society*, French sociologist Émile Durkheim alternated references to “role” and “function” when sociology was still an emerging field of study (Durkheim, 1933). Since the end of the nineteenth century, social sciences have then grown to the point of fostering the development of several disciplines and/or areas of study, including the scholarship on mentoring as well. Among these contributions, there is, in fact, one of the best books on mentoring that can alternatively function as a textbook to help beginners get ready for their mentoring interactions. Zachary’s (2000) *The Mentor’s Guide: Facilitating Effective Learning Relationships* also offers an example of the same interchange between the terms “role” and “function”. In this book, the author states that “[r]ole refers to anticipated or expected functions a mentor might play – for example, team builder, coach, confidant, teacher, guide, or advocate. At different times in a mentoring relationship, different roles are required, often blurring rather than clarifying the mentor’s role” (Zachary, 2000, p. 81). So, in light of the relevance of this same pair of terms for this study, I will now explore the function/role that mentoring can play for their integration of immigrants in Canada by first looking at the insights fostered in their countries of origin through their experiences in higher education.
5.2.1 Mentoring as a function in higher education.

In higher education, a considerable number of authors have already discussed the importance of mentoring for faculty and/or students from minority groups (e.g., Barker, 2007; Calafell, 2007; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2002; Kea, Penny, & Bowman, 2003; Schlosser et al., 2011; Spafford et al., 2006). Among these writers, Esposito (2014), who is a Latina university professor in the US, describes her own struggles to conciliate her roles as mother, scholar and mentor while still considering mentoring a motherly function of her job. In regard to her role or function as a motherly mentor in university, she has described the relationship with her students as follows:

Similar to the “hidden” work I did as a mother, so much of my mentoring time went unnoticed. There was no place in annual reports for accounting for time on the phone, tutoring, or shared laughter and tears. While some faculty saw their advisees once in awhile [sic], I stayed in constant touch with mine. Our lives were intertwined in familial ways. Celebrations with my own children were not complete unless some of my mentees participated. I helped them celebrate milestones as well: marriages, divorces, births. We created mother-daughter and mother-son relationships that centered on guidance, respect, and love. (Esposito, 2014, p. 282)

In face of Esposito’s (2014) experiences described here, her example does not necessarily mean that every single professor with a minority background more intensely mentors his or her students in comparison to the way that other professors would normally do. In North America, some may even fear that performing the mentoring component of their jobs could be interpreted as unethical by others. For example, in her testimonio, Esposito also reports a situation in which a colleague even told her not to treat her students as friends. In another article, Calafell (2007) echoes similar experiences and feelings by mainly describing her mentoring relationship with one of her students in Mentoring and Love: An Open Letter. Once again, in contrast to the
mentoring relationships described in these two articles, many university professors from minority groups in Canada may not consider mentoring as an important function of their jobs since many North American universities primarily evaluate their professors based on the outcomes of their research, and secondarily on their ability and availability to teach or generally deal with students. In fact, this is certainly an important issue that may still require comparisons specifically focused on the Canadian context.

In a broader and unexpected way, I came to more fully comprehend the function that mentoring generally plays in higher education during the fieldwork. In fact, a commonality called my attention when I started to analyse the interviews from the participants of this project. This happened just after I realized that three participants all disclosed that they had been university professors before coming to Canada. Actually, in contrast to the remaining participants of this project, two out of three participants who had been university professors recognized mentoring experiences in their countries of origin. As it was mentioned before, Mike (WMe) showed no hesitation in his recognition. However, Adele (AMe) initially showed a certain caution in recognizing mentoring in her country of origin but then became more confident in this regard after her tentative yet positive answer to the question about the presence of mentors in the country of origin. Although the third former university professor of this project was not able to acknowledge any mentoring experiences from her country of origin, she then conceded that, when she was already living in Canada, she had offered some online guidance to her former students. Nevertheless, she did not seem ready to consider these activities mentoring at all. So, in spite of the perception of this third university professor mentioned here, recognitions of previous mentoring experiences in higher education from the country of origin can still work as a good indicator that these experiences will be still recognized as such after immigration.
In the case of the participants who had been university professors, they seemed to have come from environments where the role of the university professors were still attached to research in a much lesser degree than to teaching. Since most of their interactions tended to have been intensified through classroom contacts, these former professors reported to have been significantly mentored in their countries of origin. In fact, among the three participants mentioned here, Mike (WMe) seemed to be the one who had the most intense mentoring experience while describing, in his interviews, how one of his past university professors was a mentor particularly significant in his life. This assessment also became clear when he said: “In my imagination, [it] was that he was my, ah [the] person that I wanted to be him!” Actually, Mike (WMe) clearly admired this person because this professor had helped him during university, and also published in their field of study as well.

Through their work and research, Mike (WMe) got so close to this professor that they eventually became friends. In fact, Mike (WMe) seemed to have seen this particularly successful connection setting a standard for mentoring to become synonymous of a relationship for life. Their interactions can be also illustrative of how the mentoring function can also defy professional boundaries in higher education. In other words, it can eventually grow to the point that it gets beyond a mere supportive and temporary connection. By blurring the line between the public and private spheres for both professors and students, mentoring can indeed assume a crucial and permanent role as a friendly bond. In reality, the implications of the interface between mentoring and friendship will be further explored in the following subsection to be presented here.

Then, although in a lesser degree, Adele (AMe) also experienced close positive connections with the faculty from the university where she worked in her country of origin. For her, mentoring was more than teaching. She tended to particularly see mentoring as part of the
academic life in a broader way. Adele’s (AMe) perception has also a connection with the literature on mentoring in regard to the role of institutions, particularly in education, as “mentor-rich environments” (Freedman, 1993, p. 116). In reality, when she started as a new university professor in her country of origin, she would sometimes invite more experienced teachers to her classes. After each class, she could then get their feedback about her performances. In fact, these mentoring connections did not have to be “official”. In a way, the working environment of her former faculty seemed to have generally encouraged informal mentoring interactions between more experienced and younger professors. Overall, through understandings of mentoring as a function attached to the role of university professors, both Adele’s (AMe) and Mike’s (WMe) insights suggest the nature of mentoring as changing or dynamic, particularly in Mike’s (WMe) case. Actually, this specific idea will be further explored as follows.

5.2.2 The investment on the mentoring role for the establishment of friendships.

Feminist authors have already addressed mentoring as a patriarchal or power-imbanced practice by urging it to become more relational, reciprocal, or collective (Benishek et al., 2004; Colley, 2001; Enomoto et al., 2000). Both in her individual doctoral work (Semeniuk, 1999) and in collaboration with Alyson M. Worrall (Semeniuk & Worrall, 2000), author Alexandra Semeniuk has moved one step forward in this sense by suggesting that mentoring and friendship could eventually overlap. There have been also suggestions for mentoring to potentially become “more symmetrical” (p. 97) as friendships in Daloz’s (1986) work, for example. In his well-known book, he has proposed that mentoring can transpose a transitory space from more formal towards more informal connections. In light of these ideas, many participants of this research
project, at least rhetorically, expected their own mentoring relationships to eventually become more power balanced or even transform themselves into friendships.

By investing on mentoring as a strategy to foster friendships in Canada, some mentees from the Artistry and WALKspaces programs showed a certain anxiety in order to achieve this intent. Their expectation often hid some frustration in putting so much time and effort on the establishment of connections apparently rooted on a very unstable ground in comparison to the treasured long-term connections already fostered in their country of origin. Actually, in one of her interviews, Anabelle (AMe) described some of her “old friends” from her country of origin as her “true friends”. She then added the following remark: “Cause the thing [that] I believe is when you grow up, it's away more difficult for you to make some true friends”. Also according to her, more recent friends could be more focused on the material things that she had already possessed or achieved here. So she thought that, for this reason, it was hard to make “true friends” in Canada. Similarly, Monica (AMe) also expressed the same difficulty in making friends after a certain stage in life:

We are not born in here. Of course, you knew like- and you didn't study in a school. So people usually make friends it's through the school. And then, then, and you get older, [it’s] even harder and harder because of too many things down their own agenda, so making a true friend is even harder and harder as it, but [let’s] keep trying!

This passage shows how important was for Monica (AMe) to make “true friends” in Canada. In comparison, Anabelle (AMe) was rhetorically more skeptical about making “true friends” though. Although Pahl (2000) has conceptualized “‘true’ friendship” (p. 64) in association with the notion of “trust”, I have interpreted Monica’s (AMe) and Anabelle’s (AMe) use of the term more strictly as a very close friendship. In any case, it is also important to
mention here that both Monica (AMe) and Anabelle (AMe) tended to associate their difficulty in making “true friends” with their own ages or life stages, and also indirectly to a regularity of contacts as well. Therefore, their challenge, in this sense, was not necessarily dictated by their own original ethnic backgrounds or nationalities. Similarly to the findings described here, in her study about Romanians in London, Morosanu (2013) has found that the friendship ideals of many immigrants tended to mirror relationships in their host country. However, according to this author, their expectations in making “soul friends” (p. 364) were not bounded by ethnicity either. In reality, Morosanu even mentioned that this specific finding contrasted with what she had originally found in the literature on migration and diaspora studies.

In general, the immigrants who took part in this study tended to search for friends through several ways. Based on my own observations of Anabelle’s (AMe) mentoring group and also grounded on what she said in her interviews, I discovered that Anabelle (AMe) generally put significant effort to connect with people in Toronto through online networking, and also through an active participation in various informal or formal mentoring programs like the one offered by Artistry, for example. By giving another strong evidence of how important socialization was for her, Anabelle (AMe) hesitantly chose the picture of two women (figure 1) in order to answer a question about something potentially negative that she was able to see in mentoring. While metaphorically representing a fellow mentee from the Artistry program, Anabelle (AMe) referred to a woman on the shade (as seen in figure 1) in order to represent the isolation that this person was probably feeling as a new immigrant in Canada. According to Anabelle (AMe), this person felt if she had no friends because of her busy schedule filled by night shifts at work, and also by other activities as well. Due to their shared Artistry mentoring experiences, Anabelle (AMe) somehow sympathized with the tough situation that her fellow mentee was going through. The figure below has clearly come to represent her concern in this sense:
In their interviews, both Anabelle (AMe) and Monica (AMe) mentioned that they felt lonely in Canada despite some valuable connections that they had already fostered after their arrival here. Monica (AMe), for example, met her husband in Canada, and Anabelle (AMe) was supporting a cousin who had recently arrived from overseas in order to study in Toronto. In fact, this latter situation was already mentioned before. Anyway, in spite of these important connections already made, both participants felt that there was still space in their network for many more meaningful connections in Canada. Actually, particularly in regard to her own expectations to make friends in Canada, Monica (AMe) chose the picture of a table with some
empty chairs when asked about any disappointments with mentoring that she may have perhaps experienced by then:

![Figure 2: Table with Empty Chairs (Monica’s Image)](image)

By selecting this picture, Monica (AMe) first made clear to me that she was not disappointed with the Artistry mentoring program as a whole. Nonetheless, in a more figurative way, she also mentioned that thirty percent of the chairs reserved for friends in Toronto continued to be still empty by the end of the program. Back in Toronto after having lived in a small town in Ontario, she was not completely satisfied with her Artistry mentoring connections. In fact, because of circumstantial reasons, her two Artistry mentors had not been able to devote enough time to the program as she had originally expected them to. Nevertheless, she became slightly more and more satisfied over the course of the program after having experienced other forms of socialization. For example, the volunteer component attached to her mentor program
allowed her to strengthen her confidence, and also motivated her to get a survival job. Because of
this new job, she was particularly pleased for not being economically dependent on her husband
anymore. Besides, she was then able to talk to more people at her new job, and she did not feel
as lonely in Canada as she had originally felt at first. In the end, she was still able to interact with
a considerable number of people in comparison to the contacts that she had before the Artistry
mentoring program started, however, the quality of the friendships that she was able to foster
through the program was not exactly what she had hoped when joining it. In any case, she
realized that making any friends, the so called “true friends” or not, proved to be beneficial for
her, which was certainly better than being lonely at home.

By taking part in the Artistry or WALKspaces programs, some mentees were hoping that
their institutional mentors could somehow replace “lost” friends and family members from their
country of origin and/or other places where they had lived before immigrating to Canada.
Consequently, these participants did not seem to want their mentors to merely assume additional
role as such in their lives. Others, however, tended to consider old friends and family members
irreplaceable, at least rhetorically. Based on this difference, institutional mentors could either
assume the roles of temporary friends as mentors or eventually accept more permanent roles in
their mentees’ lives. Whatever the case was, as it has been already illustrated here through some
insights from Anabelle’s (AMe) and Monica’s (AMe) interviews, participants’ perceived degree
of anxiety to make friends in Canada at any costs was generally prevalent in this study as a
whole.

The participants’ tendency towards the establishment of friendships in Canada has led me
to a more complex interpretation of Bauman’s (2004) position, already exposed in the study’s
orientation (chapter 2) and also grounded on a generalized understanding of the disposability of
social relations in our contemporary world. In spite of the participants’ very particular
understandings of what having a friend in Canada actually meant to them, a few were able to eventually develop actual friendships throughout their Artistry or WALKspaces mentoring experiences. In other words, they indeed reported interactions with current or past mentors from the studied programs which resembled friendships in a more classic way. In these cases, a friendship here has usually meant a permanent, power-balanced and voluntary affective interaction with someone who is not necessarily related by blood or any other family connection.

In addition, some participants seemed to have been able to develop friendships because they had been in contact with their mentors beyond the standard timeline of their programs or were taking part in their programs much longer than they were officially expected at first. However, by also taking into consideration here that mentors and mentees often occupied different social locations, it gets very hard for me to effectively evaluate how their level of attachment could have completely neutralized (or not) the power imbalances potentially established between them. Nevertheless, by going beyond purely romantic ideas that many people have about friendships, some participants were probably welcoming a certain degree of imbalance for their “friendships” to be able to flourish through their mentoring interactions.

Regardless of any particular reasons, I can generally explain the willingness of the participants from this project to make friends based only on the peculiarities of their immigrant lives. So, in the specific case of mentoring for immigrants, mentors often had to articulate more than one single role for their mentees because most of them had either a limited or an inexistent support system in Canada. This argument, in particular, should be of important consideration for program planners and policymakers designing institutional mentoring programs focused on immigrants because of the long-lasting implications and expectations in relation to mentors who are often only supposed to provide short-term services to their mentees. In reality, these mentors
can eventually do much more in practice. In general, the strength of their interactions could either intensify or neutralize power imbalances established by them at first.

5.2.3 The negotiation of the power dynamics in mentoring.

In light of the growing number of peer and reverse mentoring projects catalogued in the mentoring scholarship (e.g., Fyn, 2013; Harvey et al., 2009; Merriweather & Morgan, 2013; Ward et al., 2014), this trend can be interpreted as a clear effort in order to make mentoring a more democratic practice. However, in her analysis of a British peer mentoring program in higher education, Christie (2014) insightfully argues that power and control are inherent aspects of mentoring even in programs that are supposedly more horizontal. Actually, her position resonates some of Manathunga’s (2007) ideas as well. This second author states that “the issue of power remains an integral part of any form of pedagogy and that portraying supervision as mentoring and therefore as an innocent, neutral practice serves only to mask the very real and inescapable role that power plays within supervision” (p. 208). Based on these arguments extracted from the research of both Christie and Manathunga, it would be naïve to expect neutral power relations in programs where mentors hold some kind of formal role directly or indirectly as service providers, voluntarily or not.

Because of the strong interconnection between mentoring and volunteering in this study, I will be always referring to these two activities interchangeably in this chapter from now. In reality, the roles of mentor and volunteer tended to overlap not only in the Artistry mentoring program but also for the WALKspaces initiative. However, there were some differences in terms of the connection between mentoring and volunteering for mentors and mentees. In regard to the mentors, in particular, they were always simultaneously mentors and volunteers in both
programs. Regarding the mentees, they were primarily mentees first, nonetheless, they could also
volunteer during and/or towards the end of their programs. In fact, specifically in the case of the
Artistry mentees, they volunteered mostly towards the end of their mentoring programs when the
festival was already taking place. Although some could still participate in more specialized
activities, their major responsibility was to usually provide information to the festival’s guests
during the events. For most WALKspaces mentees though, their volunteer activities tended to
permeate the whole program because their activities usually included the planning and
preparation for their final walks over the course of their group mentoring meetings.
Consequently, these activities would not only happen by the end of their program when they
were normally guiding their planned walks. Nevertheless, I am not so certain if all the
WALKspaces mentees would necessarily see themselves as volunteers either.

In addition, all the Artistry and WALKspaces mentors were always volunteers since they
were also holding volunteer assignments defined as such by the partner organizations studied
here. Because of the importance of this nominal imposition from the projects that they were
involved with, other former or concurrent informal mentoring experiences could have been then
disregarded or devalued as the previous discussion has hopefully helped to shed some light on.
However, what I am attempting to explain here at this point is that becoming official mentors did
not always grant participants with a perfect understanding of what they were supposed to be
doing for their volunteer assignments either. For inexperienced foreign-born mentors, in
particular, their new roles could create some confusion not only in terms of certain peculiarities
of their volunteer mentor positions but also in regard to the essence of these commitments. This
was again the case of Jurema (AFMr) that I am turning to now in order to describe it in more
detail.
During one of our interviews, Jurema (AFMr) confessed to me that she initially did not know exactly what to do when her Artistry mentoring meetings started. To be fair here, she was not even able to attend the one-day training and matching session at the beginning of her program. However, she was then able to meet the program coordinator from one of the partner agencies, her own mentees, and even a more experienced person who was acting as mentor for another group. Since Jurema (AFMr) was still feeling insecure about what she was supposed to be doing at that point in time, she decided to organize a mentoring activity for her group in conjunction with the group of the more experienced mentor. Here I will be calling this other mentor Lourdes (ACMr). She expressed herself in English as a native speaker of the language, and also seemed older than Jurema (AFMr).

According to Jurema (AFMr), Lourdes (ACMr) acted more like a mother to her own group. Curiously, in popular culture, some of the most famous mentors like Obi-Wan Kenobi and Yoda from the *Star Wars* original trilogy (Kazanjian, Lucas, & Marquand, 2004; Kurtz & Lucas, 2004; Kurtz, Lucas, & Kershner, 2004), and Mr. Miyagi from *Karate Kid* (Weintraub, Louis, & Avildsen, 2005) tended to occupy spaces left by absent and/or evil fathers. On a more concrete level, mentors studied here could, in fact, replace parents on a more temporary basis like in the case of Jurema’s (AFMr) aunt, for example. Specifically, in the case of the researched mentoring programs, a national analogy could be even made through the placement of Canadian mentors as stepparents for the orphan immigrants. In regard to all these examples mentioned here, mentors generally seemed to function somehow as temporary replacements for the rightful occupants of parental positions. Consequently, mentoring tends to have inherently assumed a certain inauthenticity, which seems already embedded into the practice in a variety of ways.

So, despite sincerely admiring the motherly way in which Lourdes (ACMr) treated the mentees, Jurema (AFMr) said that she did not want to act towards her own group in the same
way. Instead, Jurema (AFMr) preferred to behave more like a friend for her mentees even though
she also conceded that she could often display a more authoritarian side at work. In fact, as we
all know, parents-children relationships are generally more hierarchical than friendships overall.
Nevertheless, because of her joint activity with Lourdes’ (ACMr) group, Jurema (AFMr)
eventually started to understand the role she was supposed to be playing for her Artistry
mentoring group as the following exchange demonstrates:

Jurema: “In my head, to be honest, I was making a huge deal in my head.”
Hewton: “Ok!”
Jurema: “Because I, I believe that when we don't know what we are doing, it's eh natural
for us to feel uncomfortable or not confident enough. But then when I saw how she was
interacting with the, her mentees, I said "Ok, it's alright! I can do that!"” (laughing)
Hewton: “(laughing) How was she interacting with her mentees that made you like say
that you could do that?”
Jurema: “Oh, she was just like get, getting them together, just keeping the group as a
group, make sure, making sure that everybody was understanding, that everybody was
comfortable with, eh-“

After understanding the dynamics of the group meetings, Jurema (AFMr) then started to
relax about the nature of her volunteer commitment with the Artistry program. However, her
mentoring position was indeed much more than just “going out with a group of friends”.
Actually, this was the way in which Jurema (AFMr) originally referred to her group. Although
she may have felt in that way, Jurema’s (AFMr) position was more complex in this reality. Since
I accompanied most of Jurema’s (AFMr) mentoring meetings, I noticed that some of her
activities displayed a clear administrative and supervisory nature. As in Merriweather and
Morgan’s (2013) study on mentoring, these activities also involved sensitive issues around
communication, technology and time management, for example. In my observation of Jurema’s
(AFMr) mentoring tasks that day, for example, she first made sure that all her mentees were
aware of the volunteer activities that were about to take place in preparation for the festival. However, she spent most of their time together getting a group agreement on their shared volunteer shifts for the festival. That evening, she also noticed that a couple of her mentees were facing a few technological challenges with their electronic registrations. After mediating solutions for these issues, she was then able to contact the program coordinator in order to officially confirm the commitment of her group for their chosen shifts.

Since that particular meeting was also marked by rain, it eventually became more a bureaucratic encounter inside a coffee shop. In fact, it got too cold and wet for us to walk around in the place they intended to visit that evening. In spite of these unforeseen weather conditions, Jurema (AFMr) certainly took the lead on that occasion in order to make sure that all the tasks expected for the program were under control. Basically, at that point, she managed that they would all continue to meet as a group by being able to volunteer the minimum number of hours requested for the festival. In fact, her level of responsibility was not an exception in relation to the volunteer activities mainly performed by other mentors from the Artistry and WALKspaces programs alike. Indeed, administrative and supervisory activities were certainly important components of their volunteer workload overall.

Although I will be able to develop an additional analysis on the power dynamics present in mentoring interactions that will be studied more in-depth in the next chapter, here I can already introduce that, in this research project, a certain power imbalance certainly existed between mentors and mentees in spite of (purposeful or not) attempts on neutralization through the use of the words “friends” and “volunteer”, for example. As Jurema’s (AFMr) example has shown, participants’ distance could have been then discursively minimized through perceptions of mentors as friends and/or volunteers. In fact, in his article about the influence of the Foucauldian pastoral power on faith-based initiatives, Biebricher (2011) also ponders that the
existence of volunteer mentors can make perceptions of power asymmetries more challenging. Consequently, although somehow disguised in a volunteer position, Jurema’s (AFMr) higher role as mentor consequently had an embedded hierarchical component that cannot be ignored.

Due to the distinctive nominal attributions given to mentors and mentees, the participants’ power differential was certainly a concrete element of their experiences because mentors were accountable towards the partner agencies in relation to how well their groups were doing throughout the whole process. Therefore, mentors generally had both individual and group responsibilities. In comparison, mentees generally possessed fewer responsibilities in this sense, and they naturally responded to their mentors as the immediate leaders of their groups. In practice, however, I also came to notice that the power dynamics of these interactions could greatly depend on how the mentors specifically conducted the activities inside their own groups.

5.3 Volunteer Organizations as Central for Immigrants’ Formal Mentoring Practices in Canada

Based on the analyses carried in the previous sections of this chapter, mentoring activities were more easily recognizable by participants when accompanied by a title and/or a job. In fact, these two elements more commonly enabled mentoring to exist when these experiences were also linked to some kind of organizational structure. Particularly in Canada, mentoring has become associated with volunteer organizations (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of British Columbia., 2006) as in the studied cases of Artistry and Settling House, for example. However, as findings from this study already suggest, the connection between the mentoring activities and some kind of structure in other countries did not seem to be as strong as it seems the case in Canada. In many other places, mentoring seems to be either only
part of a formal paid job under another name or is just basically carried informally. Nevertheless, it should be also straightforward to understand why title, job and organization can intrinsically interconnect in order to produce the recognition of mentoring activities organized by volunteer organizations in Canada. In association with volunteerism that stands as “a hallmark of Canadian civic society” (Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of British Columbia., 2006, p. 79), mentoring, holding an official name and also defined as a role, has particularly assumed a great stature for skilled immigrants in Canada. Its importance seems to have been enhanced after recently released independent research findings have shown that formal mentoring can effectively improve their employment outcomes (ALLIES, 2013). In reality, an investigation of the structural interconnections between mentoring and volunteerism for immigrants is primarily what this section is about.

5.3.1 The institutional intersection of mentoring and volunteerism in Canada.

Spaces condition the way in which social relations are practiced and reproduced. Canadian mentoring practices are certainly not an exception to this rule since “mentoring relationships do not occur in a vacuum” (Ragins, 1997, p. 487). In particular, according to Lopes Henriques and Curado (2009), “[f]ormal mentoring refers to organizationally initiated efforts to match mentors and protégés” (p. 86). In contrast, informal mentoring involves those belonging to “a network of socialization agents” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1069) with “no mandatory internal rule that establishes the beginning of the mentorship and no structured orientations regarding its evolution, objectives or timeframes” (Lopes Henriques & Curado, 2009, p. 87). Based on these two concepts, it is clear that their main difference here lies on the active role of organizations mediating the mentoring connections. In the case of the formal mentoring practices,
organizations are, therefore, essential for the creation and maintenance of these interactions. As it was showed in chapter 3, volunteerism also tends to follow the same structural categorization.

In general, organizations can foster formal volunteer mentoring practices without the obligation of having these relationships necessarily taking place in their own physical spaces. In fact, I have specifically made this observation here because this characteristic tends to reflect the nature of the volunteer mentoring programs organized by Artistry and the Settling House. These organizations’ volunteer mentoring groups can frequently meet in parks, squares, libraries, and streets, for example. This aspect tends to make these institutional programs particularly unique in a formal context because of the variety of settings where mentoring and volunteer connections tended to occur in general.

Regardless of where her mentoring and volunteer activities took place, Jurema (AFMr) emphasized the relevance of the overall structure provided by the partner organizations studied here. Besides, in one of her interviews, she specifically mentioned how important the volunteer component of her mentoring program was for the festival by explaining that Artistry was highly dependent on volunteer work for the delivery of its services:

They are funding, of course, that some people could do more but time, everything costs. Everything has a price. So and I do believe that Artistry would not do be as successful, for example, if they didn't have the 500 volunteers! If you get this much [sic] people, and then you are gonna pay them, that will cost you a lot… A lot! ((a great emphasis here)) So they would have to do some of the things differently if they didn't have the volunteers.

In this passage, Jurema (AFMr) was particularly referring to the total number of volunteers of the festival, and not just to the volunteers who were also part of her mentoring program.
Although mentoring and volunteerism tended to generally overlap in the two mentoring programs studied here, they could have been two very distinct activities in the country of origin of the participants in this study. For Mike (WMe), for example, the need to enhance his network through volunteerism has increased in Canada since he referred to his involvement with either mentoring or volunteerism as some “kind of investment”. In reality, mentoring and volunteerism have even become synonymous for him because he started to attribute the instrumental value to one throughout the other. In contrast, he had been unable to attribute the same instrumental value to volunteerism back in his country of origin. This was the main reason why he had entirely dismissed it while he was still living in there. Back home, in addition, he was also already part of an informal mentoring network fostered through business and academic contacts. So he did not have to invest time or effort on these activities there. In one of our interviews, Mike (WMe) even emphasized interesting points in this regard:

Hewton: “Mmm because do you think that back in your country like these networks were like could happen naturally? You didn't need to do much to invest on that?”
Mike: “Not really because, for example, [at] school you have a lot of is [sic] classmates. And you are gonna do university, you have a lot of classmates. And then you go to the workplace, you have a lot of mmm network. That's the major part of your network. And you are in workplace, you have that enough! I had enough!”
Hewton: “Ah Ok! So you didn't need to look for more.”
Mike: “No, I didn't because eventually I was a manager in a company whenever I wanted to, for example, hire somebody, I called [a] couple of mentors [if] I needed something. For what we did, you know, it was straightforward for me, for us, if, because I was working in a private company. So if I needed to get it like a project or invest [on] some project, I had [the] opportunity to drive, to know the right direction or how to manage things.”

In the absence of a spontaneous network in Canada like the one that he had in his country of origin, Mike (WMe) then started to partially switch his network orientation in Canada towards an engagement with mentoring and volunteer activities facilitated by non-profit organizations.
Through mentoring, volunteerism then became one of his most important networking strategies. In fact, Mike’s (WMe) case illustrates how volunteering and mentoring can intersect in Canada to the point that it gets hard to disassociate one from the other because of the overlapping nature of these institutional interventions. In addition, as explained here, the ways in which mentoring/volunteer programs operate basically depend on their context. In reality, this is an important insight also related to the literature revision in chapter 3.

As it was clear in regard to Mike’s (WMe) position towards mentoring and volunteerism in Canada, immigrants can assume new attitudes in Canada not only to better fit here but also for career-related purposes. Indeed, based on one of the most recent studies on giving and volunteer practices of immigrants in Canada (also mentioned in chapter 3), immigrants seemed to demonstrate the same motivations, and also tended do the same volunteer work as their Canadian-born counterparts did (Thomas, 2012). Based on the analysis of key governmental quantitative data, Thomas’ (2012) report partially confirms the willingness of immigrants to adapt to the ways in which people behave in Canada. This tendency was clear not only in my interviews with Mike (WMe) but also with other participants from this study. In particular, some of them tended to demonstrate a very strong interest in formal mentoring and volunteering activities, specifically because of instrumental reasons. In fact, their new orientation has probably come to reflect changes from previous patterns fostered in other countries.

While mentoring experiences in other countries were rarely acknowledged by participants from this project, some of them reported having already volunteered before immigrating to Canada. However, their previous experiences with volunteerism were usually for altruistic, learning or socialization purposes. In contrast, those who did not volunteer before coming to Canada actually blamed the lack of opportunities or safety issues for not being able to previously volunteer. According to these participants, there were not many organizations offering the same
kind of structure for volunteers in comparison to the support provided by volunteer organizations in Canada. In regard to the widespread dissemination of volunteer organizations here, one of the mentors even said the following: “[T]here is an amazing number of organizations and institutions even, right? That, that operate with a huge amount of volunteer help”. Similarly, an Artistry mentee originally from the Middle East, who had also lived in two European countries, went one step further in this sense by saying that volunteering is so big that “is part of, of the Canadian culture”. Up to his arrival in Canada, he had not witnessed a widespread and popular involvement in volunteerism to such a degree that he was able to find here. In reality, volunteerism in Canada seemed to have implicitly assumed the status of a national practice for several participants in this research project.

Despite its popularity in Canada, it is clear that not everyone saw volunteerism in a positive way. In this regard, mentor Cristina (AFMr), for example, revealed that she was already mocked by friends from her country of origin when they learned she was working for free in Canada. Besides, two other participants also alleged that they had been further questioned in Canada when they mentioned that they were volunteering here. In fact, resistance could have come from people who may not have understood why someone would volunteer with/as a mentor while also thinking that advice and support could have spontaneously come from the person’s own network without any extra effort. Indeed, this specific difficulty seems to be much stronger in other contexts. For example, researchers have reported a significant resistance to participation in volunteer dependent youth mentoring programs in Spain (Molpeceres et al., 2012), for example. The authors of this study initially wanted to know why youth mentoring initiatives were so popular in some parts of Europe while almost inexistent in Spain. Throughout their research, they were, in reality, able to offer two main reasons in order to explain this difference
The first reason identified by them was the strength of families in Spain, and this peculiarity tended to inhibit the close contacts of youth with people who were not originally related to them. The second reason was a social preference for informal agents, i.e., a support system including family and friends at the expense of “semiformal agents” (Molpeceres et al., 2012, p. 264). In this case, the authors’ use of the term “semiformal agents” has indeed included volunteers from non-profit organizations supporting formal mentoring activities. In general, the main reasons appointed at this Spanish study can help us to understand why formal mentoring (and perhaps volunteerism) have been significantly less popular in Spain than in Canada, for example. In fact, while mentoring and volunteering have been organized in a way that these activities naturally interconnected or overlapped in the studied Canadian mentoring programs, social peculiarities did not seem to have guided mentoring and volunteerism to be similarly connected in the Spanish study. Depending on the point of view, this differentiation can be either harmful or beneficial. For this reason, opportunities and challenges potentially generated by the institutionalization of volunteer/mentoring programs in Canada will be further explored in the following subsection.

5.3.2 Volunteerism as a form of social coercion or as a much needed formal activity for immigrants?

In Canada, formal volunteerism among immigrants has apparently served as an important strategy to integrate them. In particular, a very widespread discourse around volunteerism in Canada has popularized its adoption by immigrants as a way to gain skills or get employment (Handy & Greenspan, 2009). Regardless of their age, more and more immigrants have been unable to escape volunteerism in Canada because it seems a very simple way of trying to
integrate or reintegrate people into the Canadian labour market. For example, more particularly in Ontario, volunteerism has been also mandatory for both high school students (Rotolo & Wilson, 2006) and people on welfare (Neysmith & Reitma Street, 2000). Despite the widespread importance of volunteerism for the Canadian society as a whole, most participants in this study did not refer to the volunteerism of immigrants necessarily as a coercive mechanism (as this idea was explained in chapter 3). Instead, they more generally saw it as a viable solution for some of the barriers faced by them as new immigrants in Canada.

From this entire research project, the only participant who criticized the fairness of volunteerism in Canada was Jurema (AFMr). By reflecting upon the nature of the volunteer activities that she developed for the Artistry festival, she instead saw more value in volunteering for organizations that were focused on helping those who are extremely marginalized or in need. Actually, the following passage describes her position in some detail:

In the bottom of my heart, that we have to help [the one] who needs. We should ah give ourselves and our time if we want to give to people that truly need. I am doing Artistry. It was fun. It was a great experience, and I believe that I would do it again. But if I am going to do out of my precious time, not that I do not believe in arts and everything, but [if] you really think Artistry is a wealthy corporation. It's not a corporation that needs, for example, the cancer research, for example… So, eh saying that I like my time, I believe that it would be more useful if I was volunteering in a hospital with terminal ill people, helping in a shelter, to help people that really need.

In this passage, Jurema (AFMr) criticizes her own volunteer engagement with the Artistry festival by showing a preoccupation that goes back to the core of volunteerism - its altruistic nature. In this regard, her position seemed to diametrically oppose Mike’s (WMe) more openly self-interested view on mentoring/volunteerism, which was also presented in this chapter. In any case, Jurema (AFMr) also wanted to volunteer as a mentor for the festival because she
was willing to gain skills for a new career. However, her altruistic ideas also presented here can indeed represent a break from a strictly instrumental view on volunteerism. Overall, her apparent contradiction expressed here was indeed common in this research project. Besides, it is also important to take into consideration that the volunteer activities of most participants from this research were happening during a time when many of them were often the ones needing the most help, which was within less than five years after their arrival in Canada. During this specific time of their lives, immigrants are generally desperate to find ways of getting Canadian experience, garnering contacts or even only yearning a general exposure to the Canadian culture as a whole. Nevertheless, whatever their reasons for volunteering were, the structure provided by the studied programs certainly facilitated their integration into Canadian society.

Since some participants praised the structure provided by the partner organizations, the “episodic” (Lewis, 2013, p. 8) nature of their volunteer commitments was specifically problematic for some Artistry mentees. In contrast to the effective engagement of the Artistry participants with their program for about two months, WALKspaces mentees were able to have longer placements of, at least, six months, and they seemed generally more satisfied with their program as a whole. In particular, WALKspaces participant Florence (WMe) actually emphasized the importance of the frequent meetings with her mentor. In reality, the intensity of her involvement with certain programs became a key element for her settlement in Canada. However, she was only able to realize this issue during the time of our interviews. Particularly, in our last interview, she mentioned a commonality that seemed to have permeated almost all her volunteer engagements up to that point in time. As she had been volunteering either for festivals, events or in capacities in which she had had only restricted communication with staff or other volunteers, she then noticed that she often got just limited opportunities for socialization throughout her Canadian volunteer commitments. At that stage of our interview, she basically
called my attention to immigrants’ needs to have consistent commitments with organizations that can generally push people to interact with one another on a more frequent basis like schools or workplaces, for example.

In addition, Florence (WMe) referred to the need of having certain structures in place as a problem of immigrants who were “a bit older” like herself. In reality, she was only in her late thirties at the time of our interviews. In any case, she even considered that the socialization experiences through the WALKspaces program were significantly more important for her than for the other participants in her own mentoring group. Since they were all going to school during the time of their engagement with the WALKspaces mentoring program, their poor attendance in the program was, according to her, a clear indication of this argument. Consequently, volunteer mentoring organizations and programs were certainly able to offer an element of stability that could somehow serve to specifically structure the lives of some new immigrants like hers, for example. In this sense, her insights here tend to confirm what has been already identified through the literature review of volunteerism (chapter 3) about the importance of the structural and instrumental value of volunteer activities for the integration of immigrants in Canada.

Overall, volunteerism seems to have positioned itself as an important structural element of the Canadian society regardless the episodic nature of some commitments. In fact, in the specific case of this research project, the need to do volunteer work has mainly fallen on the back of the immigrants themselves. Because of the partial or total sum of work, family and community responsibilities, a few participants in this research project already seemed to be on the edge of exhaustion. This statement is particularly valid for a few immigrant women who were being forced to be dependent on welfare or take survival jobs. These immigrants had to juggle a very tough balance in their new lives in Canada also due to the social pressure to participate in mentoring/volunteering programs as the ones studied here. As supposedly magical
solutions for many immigrants, mentoring/volunteerism discourses were eventually able to attract them through the dream of their speedy and successful integration. Therefore, many immigrants tended to believe that they would become better citizens and/or more prepared for the Canadian labour market by assuming mentoring/volunteer commitments like the ones offered by the partner organizations studied here. In this sense, organized mentoring/volunteerism can be certainly understood as a form of social coercion guided by instrumental and/or community-based assumptions. However, as this was also mentioned in the literature review (chapter 3), it can be extremely challenging to clearly separate the volunteer work that is indeed “volunteer” from its implicit coercive nature.

5.4 Concluding Remarks for Chapter 5

Who are the ones counting as mentors in Canada? Now I can answer this question by saying that mainly the ones who were able to meet certain structural expectations from the participants. However, in light of all the efforts undertaken by participants to find some grounding for their new experiences, they all seemed to have flirted with a certain uncertainty in a very complex renegotiation of their new realities in Canada. Nevertheless, their final intentions clearly focused overall on the search for a certain permanence or stability for their new connections fostered here. With this intention in mind, they simply tried to create or reformulate brand new mentoring experiences in their immigrant lives. Through a recognition of mentoring mainly attached to titles, roles, and some sort of formal affiliation, they often forgot or devalued any previous and/or private mentors who did not easily fit into the structure of their newly formed experiences.
In the end, it gets hard to resist a metaphor linking the layers for a representation of mentoring, as they were previously described here, with the gradually bigger or smaller traditional Russian dolls. By removing one doll after the other from the inside out, I can suggest that most participants from this research seemed to have eventually experienced a certain incompleteness or even emptiness through their mentoring experiences in Canada. Besides a title, a position and an organization, what was exactly mentoring in the end for them? In multiple ways, I confronted participants about what they had learned through their mentoring experiences, and I consistently stopped myself at the realization that their learning first tended to be mostly contextual, experiential or social (as this idea will get even clearer in the next chapter). However, mentoring connections in Canada could have been also established in more unstable and complex ways through new friendships once all the essential structural elements were already in place.
Chapter 6

Mentoring in Motion:

Imagining and Experiencing Integration across Spaces and Times

The term “journey” appears as a metaphor for mentoring in some key contributions to the scholarship in education (Awaya et al., 2003; Daloz, 1986; Zachary, 2003). By focusing on adult learners, Daloz (1986) extensively uses the notion of journey in order to discuss his students’ mentoring experiences in higher education. While also presenting himself as the students’ mentor throughout his book, he uses other metaphors to convey a suggested power to mentoring as “a talisman to protect us from evil spells, a gem of wise advice, a map, and sometimes simply courage” (p. 17). In the same vein, he even adds that “[m]entors are guides. They lead us along the journey of our lives” (p. 17). Although Zachary (2000) does not explore the idea of mentoring as a journey to the same extent as Daloz does in his book, she indeed employs the same metaphor in order to illustrate “the meandering quality of the movement that follows us throughout life as we face new challenges” (p. 7). Finally, Awaya (2003) and colleagues use Homer’s (2003) Odyssey as the primer reference for an understanding of mentoring as journey, also in a metaphorical way. However, I suggest that these last authors have gone beyond a mere symbolic approach by extrapolating the sole discursive interpretation of the process.

In a broader way, as I have already anticipated somehow in the previous chapter, this chapter will mainly consist of an attempt towards the reconceptualization of mentoring. Here I intend to advance the notion of mentoring as a journey by incorporating some elements which have been addressed by other authors. However, in the way explored here, mentoring as a
journey will significantly rely on participants’ physical interactions in the real world by going beyond the well-established and creative use of language for descriptions of mentoring in the literature. In order to differentiate the mentoring journeys used as a recourse of language in the mentoring literature from the actual social experiences, I mainly observed the activities of several mentoring groups from Artistry and Settling House over the course of my fieldwork.

However, my intention to generate a new definition for the studied mentoring experience seemed slippery at times because of the metaphorical representations used by the participants in the interviewing stage, which have also supported the examination of some of the experiences discussed in this chapter. Somehow, the metaphorical elements articulated in the interviews tended to sometimes overlap with the real practices that I was attempting to describe. In this regard, I also wish to highlight here that there was only one participant in this whole research project who used the word "journey" in order to refer to her mentoring and migration experiences alike. For this specific participant, her journey(s) encompassed not only external and physical movements but also deep and internal ones. During the interviewing stage of the project, other participants also used visual cues in order to embed mentoring with the idea of movement through the utilization of living beings in motion, forms of orientation and ways of transportation. In general, I allowed participants with sufficient space in order to express their own understandings of mentoring through both literal and metaphorical connotations for their selected images. Alongside the participants’ given meanings to their visual representations, I have also incorporated historical facts, myths and fictional stories into this analysis as starting points for the exploration of the mentoring experiences of immigrants in Canada as real processes happening on the ground.

How did the interface between space and time impact on the mentoring experiences of participants by also influencing their integration into Canadian society? This is the main question
that will guide the analysis in this chapter. In this regard, I specifically intend to make explicit a notion that has been under the radar for centuries by advancing an understanding of the mentoring practice as a spatiotemporal epistemology. By also taking advantage of a more recent resurgence of the importance of space and time in social sciences, I wish to specifically emphasize the impact of these aspects on the way knowledge is transmitted in practice. In this way, I also aim to pay particular attention to immigrants’ internal movements as mentors and mentees in Canada without totally disregarding the importance of their cross-border movements have first defined them as immigrants. Additionally, in the analysis here, I will be also able to offer an overview of how notions of conformance, oppression and resistance have permeated the participants’ experiences. So, in order to discuss all these important issues, I have divided this chapter into just two main sections: (1) *The Movement of Mentoring from a Metaphor towards a Spatiotemporal Epistemology*; and (2) *The Prevalence of Conformance in Mentoring over Experiences of Oppression and/or Resistance.*

6.1 The Movement of Mentoring from a Metaphor towards a Spatiotemporal Epistemology

Up to the eighteenth century, long-distance maritime journeys were not completely safe enterprises yet (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014). For example, “[b]etween 1550 and 1650, one in five ships was lost between Portugal and India, and crews had a one in ten chance of dying during the voyages” (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014, pp. 17-18). In order to avoid accidents, “a mariner needed to know which way their ship was heading and how fast, where it had come from, where they were intending to go, how the sea and weather might affect them, and whether any hazards lay ahead” (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014, p. 22). While the measurement of latitude in the open sea did not seem to pose a major problem during these journeys (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014), finding the right longitude
was indeed a major concern. For this reason, the British government decided to offer generous financial rewards to tradespeople/scientists who were interested in submitting proposals for what came to be known as the “Longitude Act of 1714” (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014, p. 9).

In spite of its heavy investment, the act would have probably paid itself in the long run. The global trade was at full speed at the time, and it was not supposed to be stopped due to costs attributed to shipwrecks and/or losses (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014). In order to address these threats, there were two proposals that eventually surfaced as the most successful: The lunar-distance and the timekeeper (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014). The inventions generated from these two proposals did not considerably reduce the global number of ships sinking. However, they still significantly affected the way in which people were trained and supported during their maritime journeys (Dunn & Higgitt, 2014). While probably feeling more confident about getting safely to their destination points, mariners were then able to better measure their positions in relation to celestial bodies, and also keep their paces alongside their chosen routes. In light of this illustrative introduction, this story can hopefully serve us to more concretely start to understand mentoring as an actual journey across space and time.

6.1.1 A focus on direction, pacing and references in mentoring.

In his famous book, Daloz’s (1986) asks an interesting question: “Where are our students going, and who are we for them in their journey?” (p. 3). In this context, I have interpreted Daloz’s metaphorical use of mentoring as a journey with an intent to assist students to (re)set and pursue new direction(s) in life. In a way, Daloz focuses on meaning making to help students to get where they wanted to be because, for him, “journeys have destinations” (p. 14). This idea is also firmly grounded in developmental theory, which is the field serving as the basis for his
work. For Daloz, development is not only about making change per se but primarily about moving towards a certain direction overtime. In this regard, it is also important to note that this notion of direction can be inherent to mentoring as a guiding process. Actually, this is an idea quite common in the mentoring literature as a whole (e.g., Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Buell, 2004; Chao, 2009; Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Ehrich et al., 2004; Kochan, 2013; Kram, 1985). For Awaya (2003) and colleagues, mentoring more specifically offers some “[p]ractical knowledge” (p. 49) or a “guiding action” (p. 49). In fact, these authors have recognized that Athena/Mentor also had a great sense of time and space by knowing in which situations to intervene, and also where and when to only observe. In the book, Athena/Mentor indeed guided Telemachus in meeting unfamiliar people and reaching new places along his way (Homer, 2003). In conclusion, based on all these insights presented here, the notion of guided direction through space and time seems to be indeed a valid point for us to begin this analysis with.

In one of our interviews, Mike (WMe) referred to the value of mentoring for people’s future by saying that “sometimes you need some guidance or somebody guides you or walk [sic] you through the process”. In fact, other participants also recognized the importance of mentoring as instrumentally important for their future. However, in this regard, Mike (WMe) particularly alluded to a geographical understanding of mentoring, which was very salient in his interviews. For example, when I asked what mentoring meant to him, one of the pictures selected by him was the following:
Although he could have chosen any other picture at that stage of the interview, this map seemed to have been particularly appealing to Mike (WMe). Based on what I have already discussed about his views in the previous chapter, it should not be surprising that he chose a map in order to represent mentoring. According to Massey (2005), the map is the “presentation of an essential structure. The ordering representation” (p. 106). So this author’s insights seem to be consistent with Mike’s (WMe) understanding of mentoring as mainly instrumental. Actually, below it is his explanation with the help of the map illustrated here:

First of all, I will explain about the map. [The] map, for me, [the] mentor is somebody who’ll give you a map. What, what is in, in the way that you are going, give you directions. For example, in this map, I saw the, the there is a, there is an arrow for the direction. There is a North sign for this one. So [the] mentor is a person that for [the] mentee give [sic] you [the] direction. There is [the] North sign, and these are routes that you should walk this way. This is your right hand side. This is your left hand side. This is the, basically, this is [a] road. Where you should go. What you should go, and how fast you should go. Basically, give you [a] couple of things: What's the general view of the area. What is the direction. How you should go from one eh, one place to the [sic] another place. How? [A]nd which, which one you should speed [up] or how fast or how, how to slow [down].
Mike (WMe) referred to the words “direction” or “directions” four times only in this excerpt in order to explain how mentoring works. For him, mentors also needed to be wise, and have a good vision of the situations ahead. In this way, it would be easier for mentees to know what to expect in the future by setting their directions accordingly. This explanation summarizes the importance of the first aspect that I intend to highlight here - the perspective or vision in mentoring. In a broader way, this idea also prominently appeared in one of the interviews with another participant. Actually, this other participant suggested that some immigrants tended to struggle in Canada because they come here with no plans. Overall, for these two participants, having a clear direction in mind or a good sense of perspective seemed to be essential for immigrants/mentees in their new journeys in Canada.

By continuing to refer to this idea of trajectory, Mike (WMe) explicitly used another geometrical idea in his first interview while implying that mentoring consists of a movement from “point A” to “point B”. In fact, I later noticed the same notion of linearity resurfacing in another moment of his interview in association with another picture. At that specific point of the interview, he was talking about the difference between a “sniper type” and a “scanner type”. In reality, he learned about these concepts from a remarkable mentor in a professional development program. In line with her ideas, he explained to me that the “sniper type” is the person who sets a target, and then shoots right away. In contrast, the “scanner type” keeps scanning the territory all the time without clear targets. Based on this differentiation, Mike (WMe) also mentioned that the “sniper type” is the approach that people should consistently apply for their life by establishing and reaching goals in a very straightforward way.

Alongside this focus on the direction of mentoring activities, Mike (WMe) highlighted the importance of the pace as well. For him, mentors should be able to help mentees in order to regulate their own pace throughout their journeys. In particular, he also mentioned that
immigrants should go slowly in Canadian workplaces by being patient and expecting feedback in a polite way. In order to ground this idea, he gave me the example of a mentee at work. Apparently, this person was acting aggressively by rushing into things. However, for Mike (WMe), this person was supposed to first understand the rules of the workplace instead of being too direct and asking too many questions at first. Based on what Mike (WMe) said, I have interpreted that this particular mentee was behaving inappropriately by putting his work relations at risk. In addition, he even mentioned that this mentee could even get lost by acting in this way. In face of this person’s attitude, Mike (WMe) seemed to be specifically suggesting more balance for this co-worker’s mentoring journey with an attention not only to the direction but also to his pace at work.

In summary, what called my attention in regard to Mike’s (WMe) description of mentoring as a journey was the assumption that this experience does not need to be only well-paced but also well-directed. Through the establishment of mentoring as a journey in such a well-defined way, his idea tends to mimic other contemporary ways of journeying that are based on people’s need to be in certain places at certain times through constant dislocations. Also, based on an interpretation of Mike’s (WMe) insights here, it is very clear the instrumental orientation that the mentoring experiences were having for him. By guiding the movements of the mentee to happen in an adequate way, the mentor has such an essential role to play in this sense. In fact, the mentor is the one facilitating the process by making sure that direction and pace of the journey are being respected. In general, his perspective here tends to fit quite well into a deeply rooted understanding of how people should move, and, more broadly, conduct their lives in the Western world.

Finally, in addition to the pace and the direction, a third component seems important for the concept of mentoring as a journey to be fully understood from an instrumental perspective. In
fact, the importance of having references can be illustrated by one of Jurema’s (AFMr) stories.

When she was only six years old, she was with her mom and younger sister in a huge bus station in their country of origin. In fact, they were all waiting to board a bus that would take them back to their small town. Then the very young Jurema (AFMr) started to walk around the bus station while her mother seemed fixed in a certain point. In the passage below, Jurema (AFMr) recounted this episode that could be indeed considered one of her first mentoring experiences:

So I started walking. So what I used to do is: I would walk, have a reference for me to return, so I did not get lost. So I would walk, and look, and see: "Oh, yeah! Now I know how to get back". So I would go, who, back just to make [sure that] I was right. The next time, I would go, I would turn one block. So I would go one block plus two. And I would come back to make sure I was still in the same track, and then I would go farther and farther and farther. My little sister, she followed me. And then I there was [in] a time that I got to the, the bus tracks where there was a long close concrete, and the bus, only the bus was crossing, and I had found it amazing. “Now I need to come, keep going, keep going” cause I, I remembered how to go back that I would know this other and other. My sister was afraid! But I didn't want to go back. I wanted to continue. I turned to her, and I said: "Ok, go back where mummy is, our mum is. See, there is this store, this store, you go this way, turn in that way when you see that store in that way". When I go back, when I went back, my mother was: "Where is your sister?", "but how come? Where is my sister exactly? Where is my sister? I told her to come back!" (laughing)

In fact, they eventually found Jurema’s (AFMr) sister. In regard to that situation, Jurema (AFMr) even remembered getting mad at her sister because she had dared to get lost in there!

Although the spatiotemporal orientation of mentoring does not need to be as straightforward as it was described in this story, Jurema’s (AFMr) recollection perfectly illustrates how people and places can work as reference points in our journeys. Similarly, Scott (AMe), one of the Artistry mentees that I also interviewed for this project, mentioned how helpful was for him to know that his mentor was present at the venue where he was doing his volunteer shifts for the festival. In addition to Scott’s (AMe) disclosure, not surprisingly, Jurema
(AFMr) also told me that, for her, a mentor was like “a reference in a crowd” or “a point of reference” while indeed using the word “reference” as a metaphor in this case. Nevertheless, her acknowledgement here highlights one of the many circumstances when metaphors and realities almost got to overlap or indeed overlapped throughout the fieldwork.

In fact, a couple of participants mentioned that they had eventually become job references for former mentees throughout their involvement with mentoring programs. In addition, others mentioned that their mentors, or other people whom they had met throughout their mentoring programs, also acted as references for them. In these cases, the use of the word “reference” relates to someone who is in a position of providing feedback to third parties in regard to someone else’s performance in a certain capacity in order to help this person to secure a paid or unpaid job opportunity. In this way, mentors were certainly able to become very concrete important references in the much larger migratory journeys of their mentees. Then they would not only assume physical positions as references for their mentees in walks, festival shifts or throughout mentoring programs from other organizations. In any case, whether physically or abstractly, referencing in mentoring, besides pace and direction, seems to be an element of great relevance for those with a more instrumental understanding of mentoring as a journey. However, none of these three elements mentioned here seemed to carry much value in light of the example that will be described next.

6.1.2 Mentoring for or against immobility?

Across different fields of study, some theorists have discussed the importance of better understanding the impact of pace and/or stillness on our social relations. In geography, for example, Cresswell (2012) points at a more recent and surprising suggestion towards a new
understanding around stillness as inherently associated with movement. In other words, periods of movement generally seem to always alternate with waiting or stopping times. Despite this advancement in his field, the same author also implies that stillness can still assume negative connotations in the literature as a whole. In line with this idea yet in Postcolonial studies, Mohanram (1999) explains rootness as negatively positioned through the environmental stillness of indigenous people. In contrast, the settler is “mobile, free, taking his environment with him in ships, planes, and on the soles of his shoes” (Mohanram, 1999, p. 15). These ideas presented here should illustrate how stillness has been portrayed in representative portions of the literature dedicated to the study of movement.

In addition to studies on lack of movement, by writing from migration studies, Cwerner (2001) mentions that human life happens in accordance with a variety of rhythms. This is also an idea particularly strong in Lefebvre’s (2013) seminal book called *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. In this book, this famous philosopher and sociologist states that personal rhythms are not only inherent but also relational. So people first tend to keep paces in order to carry on with their daily practices. In addition, rhythms also represent normality against “fatal disorder” (Lefebvre, 2013, p. 25). In face of the possibility of chaos, movements can also assume a pathological configuration for individuals and their social relations when not happening in a constant rhythm. In fact, this negative characterization of chaotic movements specifically shows that this kind of reference is certainly not only a privilege of the mentions to stillness.

In order to illustrate how stillness and chaos can permeate mentoring experiences, I will now include Rosa (WMe) in the description here. She originally came to Canada as a refugee from Europe. Actually, based on my conversations with Rosa (WMe) and Mike (WMe), they both seemed to significantly value their mentoring experiences in Canada. However, there were also some major differences between their positions. While Mike (WMe) was strict about
following a direction and regulating his pace through mentoring, Rosa (WMe) shied away from characterizing mentoring (and migration) as journeys. In fact, the processes described by her seemed to be full of ups and downs in comparison to the smooth way in which Mike (WMe) described his own mentoring experiences and his integration into Canadian society. In comparison to him, Rosa (WMe) generally seemed to be experiencing considerably more difficulties in this sense.

Based on my interviews with Rosa (WMe), her main problem was an inability to speak English with confidence. At first, she indeed hoped that the WALKspaces program could help her to overcome this difficulty. In connection with this issue, she also talked about the pressure to find a job in Canada. In fact, she dreaded situations in which she would have to express herself well enough in English by delivering quick results as in job interviews, for example. However, Rosa (WMe) still wanted to hold a good job in Canada while juggling a series of responsibilities. In general, she seemed to carry a very busy life that included a variety of activities like, for example, her schoolwork, the care for her daughter as well as other commitments. In reality, these additional tasks involved her participation in the WALKspaces program, in a club focused on the practice of public speaking skills, and also in another mentoring program that she occasionally attended. Overall, her situation seemed to be chaotic in terms of the wide range of distinctive activities that she had to perform in her life at that point in time. In addition, she often oscillated between investing on getting more education in the pursuit of a completely new career and focusing on still getting a job in her field of expertise in Canada. In light of the description of her case here, it was clear that Rosa (WMe) did not ultimately have a well-defined direction for her life during the time of our interviews.

In spite of being unable to secure a satisfying paid position in Canada, Rosa (WMe) still seemed very satisfied with her WALKspaces mentoring group. For her, the most important
aspect of her participation in the program eventually transformed itself into a willingness of
enjoying it as a “process”. In this case, I am indeed highlighting the term “process” here, which
was specifically employed by her. In fact, the weight of this word became particularly clear after
the description of a certain situation. Before our last interview, a former participant of her
WALKspaces mentoring group had just messaged Rosa (WMe). He then asked her why she was
still taking part in the program after being involved with it for such a long time. In the end, her
employment status was still the same, and she had got “no results” from the program. For him,
the main point in participating in this kind of program was to be able to get a concrete benefit
from it. However, for Rosa (WMe), the quality of relationships that she was able to foster
throughout the program seemed to have become far more important than be able to achieve any
concrete goals through it.

As another sign of the community building aspect of her interactions, Rosa’s (WMe)
mentor even accepted her teenage daughter as an informal member in their WALKspaces group.
As this detail was mentioned in one of her interviews, this was certainly a motivating factor for
Rosa (WMe) to remain in the group. Overall, Rosa (WMe) indeed seemed to rely on her fellow
mentee Mike (WMe) and on her mentor Sylvia (WCMr) for issues that went beyond their walks.
For example, Rosa (WMe) also mentioned with me that she had already told her daughter that if
“something bad” happened to her, her daughter would have to immediately contact Mike (WMe)
and Sylvia (WCMr) for help. In fact, this preoccupation seemed to me simultaneously like a
great sign of both trust and caution on Rosa’s (WMe) side.

In face of Rosa’s (WMe) understanding of the importance of her mentoring network for
her life, it was clear that there was a huge difference between Mike’s (WMe) and her own main
orientation towards their program in this sense. Actually, I would have never been able to guess
that they both had the same mentor just based on their very distinct views on mentoring.
Somehow, Sylvia (WCMr) got to uniquely personify a great mentor for both of them by meeting their mixed community-based and instrumental needs with various degrees of success. Consequently, I tend to attribute the overall success of their partnerships not only to the way that the mentor behaved but also to the way that the mentees saw their mentor’s interventions after all. Rosa (WMe), in particular, was flexible enough to be satisfied with the program even after it had not sufficiently helped her with the socialization issues that she was constantly struggling with.

In regard to Rosa’s (WMe) communication difficulties, Sylvia (WCMr) tried to help her mentee by providing very honest feedbacks after their mentored walks. For example, Sylvia (WCMr) openly said that she was not able to hear what Rosa had said in a rehearsal walk because Rosa’s (WMe) voice was too soft or basically not loud enough at the time. This kind of feedback was something that I was able to witness during my observation of their group. In fact, despite Sylvia’s (WCMr) efforts to try to make Rosa (WMe) express herself with more confidence, she continued to struggle afterwards. Although Rosa (WMe) truly valued Sylvia’s (WCMr) contributions as a whole, she revealed to be always oscillating between frustration and hope in regard to her own progress in Canada while also mainly blaming herself for her perceived failures here. In reality, the following picture chosen by Rosa (WMe) during one of our interviews came to express her own sense of immobility for spending too much time thinking, and then feeling stuck as a result:
Since this owl is also a clock, it perfectly reflected Rosa’s (WMe) concern that she was wasting time or that she was getting too old to do something meaningful about her work life in Canada. In fact, she selected this owl while talking about a mentor from another group. In this other arrangement, the mentor seemed to be an accomplished man who talked about spirituality in his meetings. However, their discussions were usually around spiritual matters in a broader sense. Their topics could include issues like “making choices” and “interconnecting reflection with action”, for example. Although this mentor was also Muslim, he did not seem to have used these meetings in order to openly promote his religion in Rosa’s (WMe) group either. In fact, she truly admired this mentor because he respected her own sense of timing. By not imposing any urgent pressure upon her, he then garnered her appreciation. According to her, he was also willing to help her out. Nonetheless, he needed to know what she wanted from him first, which was a key point that she was not sure about yet. Overall, he encouraged her not to worry so much
about what others could think of her by simultaneously allowing herself with opportunities to find her own answers within.

In light of Rosa’s (WMe) dilemma, other participants from this project also talked about the same sense of being left behind. Mentor Cristina (AFMr), for example, mentioned that while immigrants may have money before coming, they need to start from zero here. In fact, she implied that they may have to spend their money in order to come, and then get established in Canada. In addition, mentee Florence (WMe) specifically talked about all the anxiety that she felt when she had to move to a new country in the middle of the school year, for example. As a kid, she had to quickly make friends to borrow their notes from, and then be able to catch up with the other children in class. Finally, mentor Sandra (AFMr) more generally touched on the situation of having to begin new things in life, as immigrants or not. According to her, the person starting in whatever situation did not usually know anything in regard to that reality. So he or she would have to learn fast while others would already know how to do certain things. Throughout these examples, it was clear to me the impression that immigrants had to proceed with their journeys in Canada in a clearly perceived disadvantage in comparison to Canadian-born individuals. In addition, participants often felt that they had to speed up but they could also get very frustrated while stopping in face of the obstacles along the way. For this reason, their individual journeys often seemed to demand a huge exercise of self-control in the pursuit of their objectives overall.

In general, Rosa (WMe) faced a certain dissatisfaction with herself for knowing that there was still considerable ground to be covered in Canada. However, her social network built upon the mentoring activities of the WALKspaces program seemed to have filled a very important gap in her life. In fact, at this point of the analysis, the connection between mentoring and movement should also start to get even more apparent here. So, in a way, Rosa’s (WMe) mentoring
activities provided her with the sense of movement that she felt that was lacking in her life as a whole. In a way, these activities became such an important avenue that she found in order to fight the feeling of being stuck for not having a clear idea of where all her efforts were going to eventually take her.

By echoing the same ideas also voiced from most participants in this research project, Rosa (WMe) was able to enjoy her mentoring activities while getting to know certain places in the city, and then meeting new people. She started to focus more on her walks as opportunities for socialization as this particular predisposition is evident in her interviews. In addition, the act of moving somehow through her mentored walks was key for her to get more satisfied with her new life in Canada as a whole. In summary, by taking part in the WALKspaces walks, Rosa (WMe) seemed to have become more and more comfortable in Toronto by learning more about its people, and somehow feeling part of the place where she had chosen to live in.

Based on insights mostly extracted from Rosa’s (WMe) situation, I have been able to move the notion of mentoring from a more common Western understanding, traditionally connected to the acquisition of knowledge as object, towards a new reconceptualization as knowing in practice. In reality, the comparison around knowledge in practice and as an object has originally come from a great article wrote by Ibert (2007). In this article, he addresses knowledge from a “performative approach” (p. 105). For him, “the performative concept of knowing entails a procedural understanding of one’s ability to act… The mode of knowing changes impalpably during its repeated practical application in an experimental, sometimes improvisational and almost always in an incremental way” (p. 106). Since this approach to knowledge is embedded into experiences that are essentially social (Ibert, 2007), this notion has certainly helped me to explain why so many participants from this research project seemed to be having difficulties in order to pinpoint what they had exactly learned throughout their mentoring
interactions. In fact, the next subsection should be able to shed more light on the nature of this learning process first introduced at this point.

6.1.3 The transformation of the “journey” metaphor into real mentored walks.

As it has been already implied, immigrants do not simply stop to move when they arrive in their destination country. Actually, in their cities of choice, they still need to keep moving in certain ways. Certainly, I am not referring here to their continuous transnational movements per se but to the domestic movements that they have to perform while (permanently or temporarily) settling and integrating into their new country. In general, immigrants’ movements also have to be repetitive and paced enough in order to allow them to be in synch with the main movements of the capitalist system (Lefebvre, 2013). For Lefebvre (2013), the same logic similarly applies to people’s movements while they are supposedly in their recreational time. Overall, this idea makes great sense in light of a perceived push from different stakeholders like mentors, mentees as well as representatives of the partner agencies for an overall regulation of mentoring meetings. However, in spite of the different levels of control noticed through my observations and conversations with participants, the resulting mentoring interactions could eventually display similar orientations and paces as well as slightly different identities along the way.

Here, in fact, I should first provide a hands-on overview on how mentoring can distinctively happen in practice through a description of the details from Rosa’s walks that I was able to accompany. According to my observations of her mentoring group on the rehearsal day for their final walk, they seemed to primarily focus on specific aspects of their training, more precisely in regard to the delivery of their speeches. Basically, the rehearsal day was mainly based on the members’ practices while the final walk was slightly more complex. Although
mentors and mentees obviously tried to repeat what they had initially done correctly also on their final walk, they needed to engage with all the guests who had come to their last walk as well. Particularly on that day, most members of Rosa’s (WMe) mentoring group came specially dressed up for the occasion in a fun way, and some of them even brought family members as well. For example, Rosa (WMe) brought her daughter who, in return, also brought one of her friends. In general, people were casually meeting and talking to each other in small groups or pairs in-between the pre-defined stops of their walk that day.

A few participants arrived and/or left the group in the middle of their walk that day as well. Mike (WMe), for example, came only for his own speech, and then left us right away. Others also departed before the walk’s official ending as this was the case of Rosa’s (WMe) daughter and her friend, for example. In addition, there were a few noticeable events happening that day, and we often had to slow down in order to take a better look at what was going on. For example, a groom and a bride stopped the traffic in the middle of a street in order to have pictures taken for their wedding. Besides, there was another walk also happening at that same day in some of the places where we were passing by. In fact, in this other walk, participants were dressed up in a very unusual way, and their appearance also called our attention for sure. Finally, the own members of the group in focus here also stopped or changed their paces in order to check their cell phones or eat pieces of fruits, for example.

Then, in comparison to the rehearsal walk, the same places also seemed somehow distinct on the final walk because of certain attitudes displayed the additional participants of the group, i.e., the so called guests that day. One of the guests was pushing a bicycle while another one decided to smoke a very smelly cigar in the middle of the walk. These small peculiarities certainly affected not only our paces but also the relationships formed or fostered with one another and in relation to the places we visited. In fact, all these little changes should not be
surprising after all. For Massey (2005), places are first and foremost always multiple and
dynamic as the products of our own interactions. Actually, both permanent and circumstantial
elements attached to those places helped to shape the exchanges carried, not only in the final
walk but also in the rehearsal, by creating specific identities for each one of them.

Specifically, on the final walk, several casual interactions were happening in association
with what was supposed to be the main reason for people to be there that day. In reality, most
people supposedly came to hear what the members of the mentoring group had prepared to say
on their pre-defined stops of the walk. Consequently, those who were supposed to speak up had
to be able to carry on with their speeches in a satisfactory way while the audience was
supposedly trying to understand what they were all saying. However, that day, parallel
conversations were also carried in response to specific sensorial clues along the walk, and could
have ended up playing an important part in these interactions as well. This particular observation
made me reflect upon what were eventually the most valuable contributions for the participants
that day: The guidance from the so called mentors and/or the interactions with the mentees? The
information about the specific spots which was provided by the members of the mentoring group
over the course of their walk? Or even what each one of the participants gathered through their
own connections casually fostered with one another, and also with the visited places that day? As
a whole, were the outcomes, the processes or both elements that eventually became the most
important contributions for the participants after all?

As this idea was exemplified in earlier explanations of Mike’s (WMe) and Rosa’s (WMe)
cases, participants could have had very different positions while confronted with similar
questions. In reality, mentoring also occurred even when many people probably seemed to be
least expecting it, and not necessarily because of the performances of the people who were
leading the walk that day. In a broader way, I suggest here that mentoring was happening as a
function of an epistemological process developed as a result of the socialization practices carried by all the participants that day, which were also regulated by certain spaces and times. In summary, mentoring was certainly manifesting itself as a spatiotemporal epistemology in those situations.

In order to further explain how time and space affected the knowledge transmission processes that took place on the final walk of Rosa’s (WMe) group, it is opportune to discuss her own impressions here in further detail. Afterwards, in one of our interviews, Rosa (WMe) told me that she had found hard to concentrate on what she was supposed to say that day. In general, Rosa (WMe) tended to find particularly challenging to keep up with the pace of her walks because she also needed time in order to get used to the dynamic surroundings around her. In comparison, she preferred calmer situations as the ones that she usually encountered in the club where she practiced her public speaking skills, for example. For her, it was easier to speak up in a closed space like a classroom because the pace of everything around her seemed to be slower or still. Therefore, she also tended to fear the chaos potentially generated in the open spaces of her mentored walks. In this regard, I wish to suggest here that what seemed to be the main source of Rosa’s (WMe) fears was not the open spaces in themselves. Instead, her extreme discomfort came from an inconsistency of having to perform deeply structured activities through the delivery of memorized scripts in a foreign language to a foreign audience in spaces perceived as chaotic or inappropriate by her. In these specific situations, her perceived dissonances did not seem to have been conducive to good performances at all. So, based on this interpretation, it is not surprising that Rosa (WMe) did not seem pleased after her final walk was over that day or when she discussed the same situation with me afterwards. In fact, both the ontological and the pedagogical pressure that she felt in order to perform well in front of her audience that day
seemed to have undermined the epistemological pleasure with the casual interactions carried with others in those same places.

On the day of her final walk, Rosa (WMe) also confided to me that she was struggling to catch up with her school activities at that point in time. This specific comment made me reflect upon all the journeys that immigrants often have to conciliate. Also based on everything else that Rosa (WMe) told me before, during and after her walks as well as over the course of my interviews with her, I could have interpreted that particular walk simply as a single journey or only as a segment of a much bigger migratory journey. Even though Rosa (WMe) had never referred to these activities as journeys, some of them could be indeed occurring consecutively and/or simultaneously after her arrival in Canada. However, the interconnection of people’s journeys is not a novelty at all. In fact, Knowles (2011) has already explained the interconnectivity of “[j]ourneys within journeys within journeys” (p. 141) in one of her articles about the specificities of certain journeys in different parts of the world.

In one of our interviews, Rosa (WMe) also explained to me that their physical walks got interconnected through virtual spaces. Actually, some people who had taken part in specific walks still remained connected on their website for the next ones. Consequently, physical walks could continue virtually, and even transform themselves into other physical walks later on. Based on Rosa’s (WMe) explanation here, the interconnectivity between physical and virtual walks seemed to have also reinforced a sense of community among the participants. In fact, this situation described here tends to exemplify a blended form of networking which seems to have been first predicted by Mitchell (1999) many years ago. In one of his books, he had already suggested the appearance of mixed networks combining physical and virtual spaces, also working interdependently and dependably with the help of an electronic coordination. This is exactly what seemed to be happening through the walks of Rosa’s (WMe) WALKspaces
mentoring group. So after this explanation about the basic aspects affecting this notion of mentoring in motion, the second part of the analysis will then continue to focus on how space and time can interconnect through mentoring by also generating situations that can potentially lead to experiences of conformance, oppression and/or resistance.

6.2 The Dominance of Mentoring as Conformance over Experiences of Oppression and/or Resistance

Sooner or later, immigrants start to understand, share and/or contest their new nation’s social imaginary as in a “common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy” (Taylor, 2004, p. 23). In these situations, “[s]ocial myths are embedded in the creation of the collective imagination” (Albański, 2014, p. 91). Since national narratives also tend to be always selective or incomplete (Delanty, 2009; Furniss, 1999), a generalized alienation can become automatic with the replication of symbolic representations through institutionalizing processes (Castoriadis, 1987). Potentially figuring as one of the processes described here, WALKspaces and Artistry mentoring programs could then facilitate a certain alienation of immigrants in this sense. However, successfully or not, they could also provide participants with sites of struggle by helping these same immigrants to challenge the whole process as well. In fact, both outcomes proposed here will be properly investigated through examples that will follow now.
6.2.1 Traces of the frontier myth enabled through mentoring.

The first inhabitants of Toronto (still under the name of York) probably witnessed this emergence of the frontier myth when the city was still starting to bloom as a “frontier settlement” (Levine, 2014, p. 31) on the turn of the 18th to the 19th century. In fact, the strengthening of the myth came with mass human movements to the West (Albański, 2014), mainly after Canada became independent. These experiences have certainly left an indelible mark in the city, considered one of the main economic engines of the new country. This idea exposed here can be also recognized in the adage: “As goes Toronto, so goes Canada” (Levine, 2014, p. 4). Through discursive and institutional stimulations, it was, in a way, if the inhabitants of the city could somehow inherent the entrepreneurial spirit of the first pioneers.

As Toronto has to move forward, the WALKspaces and Artistry programs have become obvious ways of not letting immigrants stall by motivating them to continue their own journeys after arrival. This modus operandi is clearly in line with the main reason that made Florence (WMe) join the WALKspaces program since she wanted to explore the city better. In fact, she knew that the program was important for her after having lived by herself in another country, and then feeling very isolated there after a while. Therefore, she decided to do things differently after coming to Canada as an immigrant. So, as a result of her involvement with the WALKspaces program in Toronto, she seemed particularly satisfied with her mentor who was originally from another major Canadian city. In our first interview, she even mentioned with me a few times that he was fantastic. Actually, he was extremely athletic and interested in doing walks in places surrounded by nature. Since Florence (WMe) also saw her mentor as very adventurous and committed, it was impossible for me to ignore the resemblance of her description of him with the pioneers of the frontier myth (also mentioned in some detail in chapter 2). Differently from her mentor, Florence (WMe) was not as athletic as he was. Besides, she was not very interested in
nature walks either. She additionally mentioned that she could not stand the heat, and even felt like a rat running in circles when she had to walk in a park, for example. In reality, she was far more interested in doing urban walks, which were mainly the kind of activity that she felt more comfortable with.

Because of their distinct interests, Florence (WMe) and her WALKspaces mentor tended to easily reach deadlocks in the decision-making process for their final walks. Actually, the situation reached the point in which they were going to have only one walk instead of two. This outcome clearly shows how much Florence (WMe) firmly resisted the approach initially set for her by the program. She even mockingly referred to their final walk as the “graduation ceremony”. In fact, when I interviewed Florence (WMe) towards the end of her six-month commitment with WALKspaces, she and her mentor seemed to have not been able to get in agreement about the place of their single final walk either. While they looked stalled in this regard, she said that the other mentees from her group would go wherever her mentor wanted them to go for their final walk. Particularly during the time of their first walks or meetings, this whole situation had already become a source of stress for Florence (WMe). Like Rosa (WMe) who also blamed herself for a perceived lack of progress in Canada, Florence (WMe) was hesitant to blame her mentor for the difficulties that they were both facing in this regard. She wished that she could just comply with his ideas in a peaceful way, and then leave things to evolve more loosely in this sense. She even said: My “enemy is myself!” In addition to this emotional struggle, she was even used to be in a leadership role while she was living in her country of origin, so it was indeed challenging for her to simply follow someone else here. In reality, Florence (WMe) was still in one of the early stages of her adaptation process into the country since she had been in Canada for less than one year by the time that I first met her.
While explaining to me how her mentor wanted to facilitate her integration through their joint exploration of the city, Florence (WMe) also made the additional remark: “So, so because my mentor is very keen that we would have to do a walk on a place that hasn't been done before… So we are trying to stretch the limits of what Toronto is”. Based on this excerpt, it was clear that her mentor needed to go beyond the boundaries of the city, which was an intention that she was reluctant to comply with. By also echoing Mohanram’s (1999) idea here, I suggest that Florence (WMe) seemed more attached to the already familiar places while the male body (her mentor) tended to be highly mobile in this sense. Ironically, immigrants are often stereotyped as excessively mobile by going where jobs are supposedly available (Anderson, 2014, January). In any case, their cross-border movements do not seem a strongest indicator to determine how mobile they can be after arrival. However, other participants in this research project indeed referred to their certain freedom of movement in Canada as a factor attracting them to this country.

While still explaining her conflicts in terms of space and time, Florence (WMe) also said: “So, yeah, on the one hand, I do want [to] explore new places. On the other hand, can you please keep it TTC accessible?” In this excerpt, she was referring to the TTC which stands for Toronto Transit Commission. This organization manages the public transportation system of the city of Toronto, which includes buses, streetcars and the subway system. In regard to her reference to the TTC, she basically meant that an easy access to public transportation was an absolute priority for her. In reality, although Florence (WMe) wanted to get to know new places in the city, she originally came from a country in South Asia where she used to feel very unsafe. By also adding comments like: “Well, has a car been following me? There was a white car behind me ten minutes ago or so””, she clearly exemplified to me here how insecure she felt in there. So, for her, it was hard to completely free herself from these old feelings of insecurity even in a much
safer place like Toronto. In summary, Florence’s (WMe) insights shared here seem to well illustrate how immigrants’ internal mobilities could indeed transform apparently safe places into sites of constant struggle.

During our conversations, Florence (WMe) also mentioned an occasion when she was inside the subway in Toronto at one o’clock in the morning. At that time, she said that she got very alert because of the fear of being outside her house in an inappropriate time, even inside a relatively safe spot like the subway. Other than just being an important physical reference for Florence (WMe), the subway also worked for her as a safe place because of its temporal symbolism. In fact, she used to take the subway everyday in order to go to school in another country where she lived as a child. By being exposed to such an early sense of independence, she freely exercised her routine in this other place. Those daily experiences significantly differed from her fearful movements in her country of origin. Consequently, Florence’s (WMe) great sense of insecurity did not seem to derive only from space but also from time. Her visceral sensations carried strong emotional elements that were indeed attached to situations that had happened in other places, in different times. Nevertheless, they occasionally seemed to present themselves to Florence (WMe) as an absolute “here and now”. As a whole, this description of Florence’s (WMe) comments here tends to portray an extreme case of someone who was severely affected by her past spatiotemporal experiences to the point of allowing these same experiences “to haunt” her in a completely new place at the time of our interviews.

In spite of all her fears, Florence (WMe) did not mind to explore the city on her own as long as she could plan her walks with the help of a map, and also use a TTC subway station as a clear reference point. In fact, she was gradually able to feel more and more comfortable in Toronto by slowly expanding her comfort zones in the city. For Florence (WMe), this process of “feeling safer” in certain places not only involved the places and times in themselves but also
included her capacity to relate to others who could better understand and then explain how things mainly operated here. In particular, her WALKspaces mentor certainly helped her with this familiarization process in Toronto. Overall, Florence’s (WMe) examples discussed here illustrate how mentoring can work as a spatiotemporal epistemology that help newcomers to overcome (or at least challenge) their spatiotemporal fears, and then feel more comfortable in the city.

While Florence (WMe) seemed to be enjoying her mentoring experiences, she also felt oppressed by some of her memories which were often triggered by specific situations in Canada. These memories sometimes made challenging for her to just conform, in a very practical way, to a new way of life in Canada. In a sense, the dynamic interplay between past and present spaces tended to intersect to such an extent that some of them still oppressed her here even when she was already supposedly free from these previous experiences. In fact, her effort to slowly familiarize herself with certain places in Toronto also represented another way for her to stoically resist the interference of some disturbing memories into her new life in Canada. On one hand, this resistance, in particular, was also leading to a certain conformance to a new life. On the other hand, from a distinctive perspective, her resistance to the final walks was significantly more creative and liberating because it challenged the way in which immigrants are generally led to be socialized through this kind of program here. Then, as a whole, all these tensions faced by Florence (WMe) during her integration into Canadian society can also start to signal here at how conformance, oppression and resistance can play very complex parts on immigrants’ lives.

Directed not only towards her mentor but also towards her walks and more generally in regard to Canada as a whole, Florence’s (WMe) apparent ambivalences did not seem to completely differ from all the other mentoring experiences that I was able to accompany during the fieldwork. In fact, based on my observations, a certain flexibility often seemed to be inherent to certain situations involving mentoring. For example, while mentors often had to
allow their mentees with a certain amount of freedom by working collaboratively with them, they also had to somehow make all the group members abide to some strict rules of the same programs. This “push and pull” predisposition could also relate to the disguised power generated by mentors’ very particular positions as “volunteer mentors”, which was indeed an important aspect of their interaction but that has been already discussed in the previous chapter. In any case, the mentors from this study tended to be highly ambiguous figures overall.

In reality, a certain ambiguity could be also helping to “humanize” the studied mentoring interactions as well. As Florence’s (WMe) struggles with her mentor can illustrate, conflictual mentor-mentee interactions did not only surface in this research project but they also, more generally, have been surfacing through representations of mentoring in popular culture. For example, Haymitch Abernathy and Katniss Everdeen from *The Hunger Games* series (Collins, 2008, 2009, 2010) seem to represent some of these tensions quite well. In these stories, he is a reluctant mentor who fights with alcoholism while in a very turbulent relationship with his indomitable and unscripted mentee Katniss. Sometimes, she listens to him by accepting his help. However, throughout the whole series, she can also act very defiantly of his interferences in face of the dangers coming from people in higher hierarchical positions. As a matter of fact, the popularity of their relationship portrayed in books and movies can work as a clear evidence that the rose-coloured used by many people in order to see mentoring have also suffered some cracks overtime, particularly after the September 11th Attacks and the American Great Recession. Nowadays, mainstream patriarchal systems, or other consolidated hierarchical ways of seeing the world, seem to have been generally engulfed into a great crisis. Also, the current scenario painted here tends to greatly differ from old romantic portrayals that have involved some mythological figures like the Canadian Mounties, for example.
6.2.2 Mentors as contemporary Mounties.

As a powerful symbol of the Canadian state in the West, Mounties soon became part of the national imaginary through the dissemination of several stories about them (Nettelbeck & Foster, 2012). In this sense, they certainly “figured as the more gentle [sic] hand of civilization, allowing for the exaltation, glorification, and indeed romanticization of Canada’s approach to westward colonial expansion” (Adese, 2012, p. 491). In movies that came later, Mounties were usually facing caricatured foreigners and indigenous characters (Rifkind, 2011). Overall, Mounties indeed seemed to have transformed themselves into one of the most remarkable long-lasting representations of Eurocentric domination in Canada.

In the fieldwork, I got to witness some situations that seemed to have closely revived this specific Canadian myth when I accompanied a couple of mentoring groups - Sarah’s (WCMr) and Gloria’s (ACMr) teams. Both mentors were born inside Canada, and their mentoring approaches also seemed to be closely related to the stories of this land. As a matter of fact, I will not dwell on the examination of both groups in the same way. In reality, I will only make occasional comments in regard to the situations observed in Gloria’s (ACMr) mentoring group. In any case, I will more heavily focus on the description and analysis of the activities of Sarah’s (WCMr) mentoring team because they seemed much richer from a qualitative standpoint.

Actually, Sarah (WCMr) originally came to Toronto from Western Canada. Nonetheless, she was already living in Toronto for some time when I first met her during the fieldwork. Since then, she came to represent, in my view, a Mountie from the Canadian myth in an obviously updated version. As the Mounties who were always sticking to the law as an essential part of their jobs, she also demonstrated a strong attachment to the rules of the WALKspaces program. In fact, Sarah (WCMr) was also able to plan, set up the tasks and take care of all the details for
her group’s final walk with such a commitment and resourcefulness that reminded me of the same mythological figure. As the old Mounties who could also serve as guides and interpreters (Walden, 1982), Sarah (WCMr) even defined all the stopping points for their final walk, which included the beginning and final points. Finally, she established how much time their final walk was going to be in total since she had already timed the route on their first rehearsal in the chosen site for their final walk. By also showing care with some details, Gloria (ACMr) tracked one of her mentees down with the help of her cell phone when he seemed to have got lost for one of their group meetings that took place in a park. In addition, both mentors mentioned here even acted as informal interpreters for their mentees by constantly clarifying words in English whenever they seemed unfamiliar with certain names over the course of their interactions together. Nevertheless, since I was able to observe Sarah’s (WCMr) group in more occasions, I can suggest here that she, in particular, was perfectly able to mentor her group by having in mind the direction and pace towards their final walk in a way that strongly resembled Mike’s (WMe) interpretations and experiences around mentoring.

After a meeting in the library, Sarah’s (WCMr) mentoring meetings mainly consisted of following the same route in the park week after week until the day of their final walk eventually arrived. Her predisposition in this sense has also reminded me of what I wrote in chapter 3 about the Mounties’ ability to control people’s movements in West Canada. In fact, her particular strategy seemed to be essentially of a very pragmatic nature because it obviously forced the members of her group to get to know their route better, have opportunities to change or incorporate new ideas into their final walk, and then hopefully get more and more comfortable with their chosen path in the end.

A focus on repetition did not seem to be exclusive of the mentors from the WALKspaces program. Artistry mentor Jurema (AFMr) originally wanted her mentees to get more familiar
with certain places where they were going to eventually volunteer during the festival. However, she also took her mentees to a place where she felt a special connection with. Similarly, Artistry mentor Lourdes (ACMr) used to tell family stories about the places that she visited with her group. In Sarah’s (WCMr) case, nonetheless, she seemed to be minimally familiar with the park where she was walking with her group in spite of showing some pleasure for the close contact with nature there. Nevertheless, her overall instrumental approach once again tended to approximate her to the figure of the Mountie. Apparently, she seemed to be primarily committed to visit the place of her WALKspaces walks because she had a job to be done there first. Her high level of commitment to meet her objectives in a satisfactory way seemed to be a characteristic that Gloria (ACMr) seemed to share somehow.

Besides, in the first meeting that I observed from her group, Gloria (ACMr) confronted a stranger after he seemed to have made a sexist joke in front of one of her mentees. Similarly, in one of the rehearsal walks, Sarah (WCMr) promptly dismissed a couple of girls who had originally approached us only to request signatures for a petition to a special facility of the park where we were routinely doing our walks. Based on these examples, it is easy to see how protective these mentors were in general, which was also another trait potentially shared with the mythical figure in focus here.

As a contemporary Mountie somehow not totally misplaced in Toronto, Sarah (WCMr), in particular, unfortunately missed a few opportunities that could have allowed members of her group to engage with others and their surroundings in a more holistic way. In contrast, her mentee Tenzim (WMe) seemed to be a lot more attentive to community building overall. In one occasion, she even brought apples and distributed them among us. In fact, she had just picked those fruits up in an apple farm that she had visited with another group. Since those apples had very irregular shapes, that simple act instantaneously turned our attention to the importance of
eating food with no chemicals on. Although other members of Sarah’s (WCMr) group also paid attention to the sensorial cues of their surroundings, they often tended to develop creative activities that could also have an impact on their final walk. Daniel (WMe), for example, constantly took pictures of the park. However, he was performing that particular activity in order to select a picture that could illustrate the group’s poster for their final walk. Consequently, there was an important instrumental reason for him to engage with his environment in the way he did, which was certainly not merely accidental or purely creative. In comparison, Tenzim (WMe) tried to face her mentoring commitments in a less strict way overall.

When I accompanied the first walk of Sarah’s (WCMr) group in the park, Tenzim (WMe) initially didn’t want to follow the route proposed by Sarah (WCMr). However, she eventually consented to follow it. Towards the end of that same walk, she did not want to quickly agree to have their final walk in the park either. Only after being reassured by her fellow mentee Karim (WMe) that the route which they had originally chosen was their best option, Tenzim (WMe) reluctantly complied with it. Intentionally or not, in these two occasions, Tenzim (WMe) put Sarah’s (WCMr) leadership in check. In situations like these ones, Tenzim (WMe) was then able to confront Sarah’s (WCMr) eagerness to make strategic decisions for her group. In comparison, by facing a similar deadlock, Gloria’s (ACMr) also had to put her own leadership skills into play when one of her mentees started to complain about a letter of reference from the Artistry program. In fact, he wanted a letter specifying the skills that he was developing over the course of the program. He then started to show a certain dissatisfaction after he learned that he would not get the letter in the way that he wanted. In face of this situation, Gloria (ACMr) seemed to be uncomfortably trying to pacify him, similarly to the way in which old Mounties would have probably acted in regard to “troublemakers” in the West.
By moving the discussion now back to Sarah’s (WCMr) group again, Tenzim (WMe) tended to be the only participant of her group who seemed to apparently resent the excessive focus on their final walk as well as their walking pattern based on the repetition of the same route over and over again. In a parallel between this pattern and the history of the place, it is important to mention here that York (Toronto’s first name) was a space where vagrancy was punishable (Levine, 2014). Defined as the lack of a productive occupation associated with chaotic movements in time and space, vagrancy was also used to persecute the English poor earlier on (Anderson, 2013). However, in the English case, “vagabonds” could be specifically punished with exile to the colonies (Anderson, 2013). By having probably already received people who needed to supposedly learn how to properly move, Toronto has its historical roots grounded on the control of its first inhabitants’ movement as an earlier symbol of the good reputation of the city (Levine, 2014). Consequently, a preoccupation in making people’s movements more orderly existed long before the walks performed by Sarah’s (WCMr) mentoring group were taking place in that specific park of the city.

In spite of her mentor’s focus on the routine of their movements and also on the accuracy of the information to be given, Tenzim (WMe) surprised once again by including some of her own personal experiences as part of what she was supposed to say on the day of their final walk. Basically, her speeches did not only consist of the official information about the park, which had been extracted from webpages. In fact, Tenzim (WMe) had combined both sets of information: The official one alongside her own personal information. In order to explain the colour changing process of the maple leaves of the trees in the park, for example, Tenzim (WMe) struggled to pronounce words like “chlorophyll” and "photosynthesis", which were originally on her script. However, on that day, she also mentioned that the maple trees were her favourite trees in the park. In addition, she said that she was planning to take maple syrup for her friends whenever
she would be able to visit them again in her country of origin. Finally, she added that the colours of the maple leaves were particularly bright in the Canadian fall by making a comparison to the supposedly less colourful falling leaves from her country of origin.

Then, on the spot where she had to deliver her second speech, Tenzim (WMe) not only talked about the main body of water of the park, which was one of the tasks that she was supposed to be performing that day anyway. In fact, she also disclosed details of her own background as an experienced professional in her country of origin. Based on the reactions from the audience, this revelation seemed to have not only impressed but also engaged them with her presentation. In the meantime, a swan came swimming close to us, and she reacted to its presence in a spontaneous way by giving the impression that it was part of her presentation after all. That day, she also talked about the importance of fishing for the economy of her own country of origin, explained why salmons go upwards through rivers, and, finally, clarified why fish from small lakes do not all die when their habitats freeze over in the wintertime. Once again, she simply linked pieces of information of what she was supposed to originally say that day with new and interesting pieces based on her own expertise and her previous experiences.

By combining a more conventional approach on the delivery of information with her own ways of knowing, Tenzim (WMe) seemed to have smoothed the dissonance of being unfamiliar with that particular park or more broadly with Canadian nature in general. All of a sudden, the space to which she was referring did not seem so unfamiliar after all because she somehow connected it with her own experiences, which had not been totally forgotten by her either. In a way, she was able to escape a certain artificiality of having to speak about a place that she could not initially relate to. Because of these interventions, the places that she was speaking about seemed to have all converged into some kind of complex interchange (Massey, 2007). By making all her information fit well enough into an intriguing sum of spaces and
times, Tenzim (WMe) also seemed to have accidentally fought a certain devaluation of her own ways of knowing by adapting what she already knew to what she was learning then. In this sense, she was somehow negotiating and inserting herself into time and space instead of being a mere disseminator of well-established pieces of information in regard to the places in focus that day.

As in Florence’s (WMe) situation previously described here, the shadows of Tenzim’s (WMe) own past also seemed to have haunted her presentation that day. In an obvious sign that she did not originally belong to the places that she was referring to, her relatively limited knowledge of the English language certainly posed challenges for her in this sense. In comparison to her level in English, the proficiency of the other members of her group seemed to be higher, and they generally seemed to be better prepared to follow their own scripts with less difficulty. However, they clearly did not seem to be very familiar with the places that they were talking about either. In any case, it is also opportune for me to mention here that this specific issue that I am referring to – the devaluation of immigrant knowledge - was a sensitive and important topic that also emerged in a variety of ways through my interviews with other participants of this research project.

In spite of the previous discussion, I also understand Sarah’s (WCMr) clear emphasis on the dissemination of localized knowledge because mentoring fundamentally functions as a spatiotemporal epistemology after all. In particular, mentors were expected to guide their mentees in knowledge transmission processes through space and time, which were also supposed to be very relevant for their development as new Canadians. In essence, mentors seemed to be responsible to call the attention of their mentees to Canadian specificities involving certain places, practices and things in general. So, in a way, Sarah (WCMr) was not doing anything wrong per se. In the end, I am not sure if she even considered that Tenzim’s
portion of their walk was a failure since Tenzim (WMe) made her presentations sound so personal that they certainly disrupted essentializing narratives about the places that she was referring to.

Since journeys are firmly grounded on certain times and spaces, mentors are often important for their mentees because they may already know places, people and practices that could appear on the paths of their mentees. Consequently, mentors’ ways of knowing are essentially experiential and contextualized. For this reason, mentors who belong to other places and times also tend to lose a certain relevance for their mentees’ present journeys (as this idea was already discussed in the previous chapter). However, as this has been explained here as well, people’s past experiences cannot be completely disregarded either because their current journeys can also suffer important transnational (or translocal) influences. In other words, journeys from the country of origin, for example, can somehow intersect with the present ones in unexpected ways. Overall, this suggestion basically means that some previous mentors and/or their experiences could still have an important impact on someone’s life despite the “here and now” nature of mentoring. As a result, not only the places of Tenzim’s (WMe) past journeys were important in this analysis but also the history of the places in themselves where all the members of her group were walking in. Besides, the past journeys of her mentor as well as the other mentees’ journeys were also probably valuable in order to create the notion of mentoring as an encounter. In this case, mentoring generally seemed to be joining different elements, all of them interacting in a very dynamic way.

Whatever the dynamics of certain mentoring processes eventually creates in the end, mentoring has the potential to foster a “liminal space” (Starr-Glass, 2013, p. 116). In this sense, this idea could also relate to Soja’s (2009) understanding of Thirdspace with a Lefebvrian inspiration, which is also similar to a concept from Bhabha. So, as in a Thirdspace, mentoring
should more ideally mark a dubious space combining restrictive and emancipatory tendencies (Soja, 2009), although Soja’s clearly emphasizes the progressive aspect of this concept in his work. Anyway, in light of these ideas, this analysis has explored the unpredictability of mentoring as an epistemological process in which participants generally took different stands. In regard to the cases described in this section, Florence’s (WMe) mentor, Sarah (WCMr), and Gloria (ACMr) seemed to be all somehow oppressive yet overall protective towards their mentees. Besides, Florence (WMe), Tenzim (WMe) and Gloria’s (ACMr) mentee all resisted certain situations in a variety of degrees while Florence (WMe), in particular, was leaning more towards a certain conformance in the end. In addition to the study of the mentoring connections mentioned here, the remaining mentees of these groups all seemed to be significantly more obedient in general.

These outcomes mentioned here tend to translate the importance of Bannerji’s (1997, 2000) work for this dissertation, which has been already reflected here as a dual contribution both on the framework section (chapter 2) and also in the literature review (chapter 3). So, as evidences of her ideas again, the exposed findings mainly highlight the power of Canadian multicultural to undermine or disguise expressions of oppression and resistance, in spite of their covert presence in multicultural Canada. The outcomes presented here have indeed led immigrants towards a predominant state of social conformance. As an integral part of this phenomenon, the institutionalization of mentoring tends to limit the potential liminality of mentoring experiences as well as an understanding of them as journeys or epistemologies. Although conformance, oppression and resistance were all involved in the situations that I have described in this section, it has to be emphasized once again that most studied participants tended to side with a certain conformance in light of the clear assimilationist (or market-oriented) nature of the two programs studied here. In fact, the participation in these programs
significantly focused on an obedience to their own rules, and, more generally, to Canadian workplaces’ and the country’s social rules and practices as a whole. Consequently, there was not so much left in this sense that could be connected to resistance, activism or advocacy in the end.

However, examples featured in this section have shown that resistance could still surface during mentoring practices as well. In fact, acts of resistance or defiance mostly came from the own mentees even though there were a couple of situations in which mentors also challenged staff/ team leaders. Nevertheless, these situations seemed to be more exceptions to the norm than rules in themselves. As a characteristic particularly salient for the mentors described here as Mounties, a certain attention to structural issues was a trait also shared by other mentors who were observed, interviewed or described in this project. In reality, more examples of conforming experiences undertaken by the participants will also follow now through the consolidation of mentoring as a form of acculturation (Bejan, 2011; Knouse & Moody, 2013) or reacculturation for their immigrant integration, which is a dimension often conveniently hidden behind multicultural practices and discourses.

6.2.3 The conforming tolerance of mentoring and multiculturalism.

Tolerance is certainly a core value of the Canadian multicultural society that can also operate as a powerful myth (Wilton, 2010). Nonetheless, blind tolerance is indeed problematic for social advances in general (Wilton, 2010). In any case, there are social mechanisms like institutional mentoring programs, for example, which are often created in order to ensure that multicultural tolerance in Canada remains as part of reality. Even though mentoring has been also used in teacher training for the conformance of teachers into the educational system in
Canada (Cho, Barrett, Solomon, Portelli, & Mujawamariya, 2009), this form of intervention is not a privilege of the Canadian society. Throughout investigations of how mentoring was incorporated into career services focused on marginalized youth in Great Britain in the 1990’s, Colley’s (2001, 2003) groundbreaking works have indirectly shed light into the role of mentoring as a form of governmental intervention, also possessing a neoliberal inspiration that was supposed to inhibit social inequities. Consequently, instead of empowering youth to fight structural issues inside their own communities, these programs primarily aimed at “transforming” them into ideal candidates for the labour market. In similar studies, the investigations conducted by Philip (2003), Piper and Piper (2000) have also strengthened the support for Colley’s thesis. In essence, this kind of program, both in Canada and in England, can basically lead their participants to a generalized conformance. This covert intention behind institutional mentoring programs seem to be appropriate not only when the mentees’ values significantly deviate from the norm but also when they only need to be slightly reshaped or reinforced. In fact, this last suggestion fits well into the first case that will be discussed as follows.

Overall, Anabelle (AMe) seemed to nurture a certain admiration for her mentor Lourdes (ACMr). In fact, my initial impression in this sense became very clear after I was able to observe them together in a number of opportunities. In one of these occasions, we were just getting into a subway station. As she often did towards the end of our walks or shifts, Lourdes (ACMr) called a member of her family who was supposed to pick her up in a certain subway station, which was supposedly to be the closest one to her house. After that call, Anabelle (AMe) casually mentioned how nicely Lourdes (ACMr) treated her daughters over the phone. This comment seemed to have caught Lourdes (ACMr) off guard. Probably, she had not realized that she was being observed to such an extent. Apparently, not knowing exactly what to
answer in response, Lourdes (ACMr) replied back to Anabelle (AMe) by saying that she was always nice to her daughters because they treated her nicely as well. In the end, they were willing to pick her up on the subway station anyway. In one way or another, as this detail was also mentioned before, Lourdes’ (ACMr) immediate family was never completely forgotten in our conversations. In fact, the interactions with her were often filled by her family memories and related stories. After these conversations, I often got me the impression that we all had somehow become part of her family as well.

Not surprisingly, Anabelle (AMe) often mentioned the nurturing aspect of her interactions with Lourdes (ACMr) during the interviewing stage. Then when she was asked to represent this particular mentoring connection, Anabelle (AMe) picked the picture below:

![Figure 5: Princess Diana (Anabelle’s Image)](image-url)
Based on Anabelle’s (AMe) answer, this picture summarized all the affection and tenderness that she felt from/for her mentor. Because of their age difference, she also referred to her mentor as a grandmother. In fact, Anabelle (AMe) was only in her mid-twenties when I first interviewed her. In any case, in light of her interactions with Lourdes or other mentors, Anabelle (AMe) said that mentoring connections could generally help her with life, career and relationship issues. Towards the end of that same interview, she also commented on a younger cousin who had just arrived in Canada (this situation was already mentioned before). According to her, he tended to see her as a “shero”, and I am using her own choice of word here. In return, Anabelle (AMe) seemed to appreciate the kind of attention that she got from him. Also motivated by other successful formal experiences with youth, she was already applying to volunteer as a mentor for a girl who belonged to a formal mentoring program focused on children/youth. Implicitly marked by the positive impact of age differences attached to these experiences, Anabelle’s (AMe) formal or informal mentoring connections generally seemed be all filled by a certain deference and admiration. Overall, most of these connections all tended to well represent mentoring from a mainstream perspective, similarly to the way in which the practice has been commonly understood in North American societies.

As a whole, Anabelle’s (AMe) perspective on mentoring seemed to be in line with the view on mentoring that became very popular in the United States (Merriam, 1983). From the late 1970’s until the mid-1980’s, there was also an emergence of remarkable mentors in popular culture. They included Obi-Wan Kenobi and Yoda from Star Wars (Kazanjian, Lucas, & Marquand, 2004; Kurtz & Lucas, 2004; Kurtz, Lucas, & Kershner, 2004) as well as Mr. Miyagi from Karate Kid (Weintraub, Louis, & Avildsen, 2005). In these popular movies, mentors were calm and wise, which were characteristics that Anabelle (AMe) tended to see in her Artistry
mentor as well. In contrast, Anabelle (AMe) described herself as someone impatient who was often rushing into things, similarly to the mentees from these same movies. In fact, she tended to attribute her own impatience to her young age, and she wished that, some day, she could show the same wisdom that her Artistry mentor usually displayed. By also stating that mentoring is “about acquiring a certain wisdom” (p. 279), Bennett’s (2001) insight seems to fit quite well into Anabelle’s (AMe) description here.

In regard to the movies previously mentioned here, another common characteristic shared among these famous mentors was their appreciation for discipline and self-control (Kazanjian, Lucas, & Marquand, 2004; Kurtz & Lucas, 2004; Kurtz, Lucas, & Kershner, 2004; Weintraub, Louis, & Avildsen, 2005). In reality, Anabelle (AMe) also emphasized how detail-oriented her mentor was. Her mentor’s perceived professionalism, demonstrated through their interactions, seemed to have attracted Anabelle’s (AMe) admiration as well. Based on my observations of their group, her mentor’s approach, in this regard, could be illustrated through the following examples: (1) Attempting to make their meetings start always on the right times; (2) making sure that her mentees knew about all the training sessions and/or workshops of the program; and (3) trying to help the mentees to reach the places of their meetings and shifts without much difficulty.

In addition to her appreciation for both the structural and nurturing dimensions of mentoring personalized by her Artistry mentor, Anabelle (AMe) seemed to fight interpretations of mentoring that did not fit into her idealized perceptions. This aspect can be particularly illustrated by her difficulty with some of my questions during our interviews. In fact, I asked her questions that also explored potentially negative elements like the worst in mentoring, for example, or any disappointments that she may have gone through mentoring interactions in the past. In return, she did not seem to be completely willing to answer them. Eventually, I came to
understand her reluctance throughout a comprehension of mentoring as a mainly positive experience.

During the interviews, Annabelle (AMe) tended to use terms like “positive inner energy” and other similar ones. She believed in the notion of karma, or that what we do for others, should eventually come back to us afterwards. In conjunction, all these ideas based on spiritual beliefs seemed to have grounded her overall positive attitude towards life, including her experiences in the Artistry program. Similarly, Scott (AMe) was another participant who tended to emphasize his positive attitude during our interviews. In reality, both participants mentioned to have had their “positive attitudes” appreciated and valued by others. In these cases, it is easy to be misled by the notion that they were only spiritually evolved when, in reality, they also seemed to have been flattered for having their performances recognized in this way. In general, they seemed to be enjoying any kind of appreciation for acts that could be essentially interpreted as ego-driven.

Overall, my observations and interpretations of Anabelle’s (AMe) perspective on mentoring seemed to have consolidated a notion of mentoring attached to wisdom, discipline and positivity. These characteristics can all lead to a certain conformance in the end. In fact, while Anabelle’s (AMe) Artistry mentor was indeed nice and patient, she was also particularly attentive to the rules of the program. Consequently, all her wisdom could be also interpreted as an effort to positively help her mentees in order to face certain limitations of their new lives in Canada without much confrontation. In a way, her style seemed to be a good fit for my comprehensive understanding of how Canadian multiculturalism operates in general since its institutionalized discourses and practices tend to combine overall positive and peaceful attitudes in social relations with a full abidance to the country’s rules.
Finally, I wish to highlight these aspects also in consonance with a more nuanced interpretation of Anabelle’s (AMe) connection with her mentor. With no doubt, their interactions were grounded on principles of respect and understanding, which are supposed to be common through the exercise of community building practices. However, they were also framed by certain rules involving an attention to organization and good communication, which are key in the corporate world. Nevertheless, Anabelle’s (AMe) spiritual beliefs also seemed to have acted to neutralize any structural problems or questions of power imbalance that could have surfaced throughout her interactions with her mentor. In general, Anabelle’s (AMe) view on both mentoring and integration seemed to have been completely in line with her mentor’s. So there was not much to be repaired or corrected in this sense because a generalized conformance seemed to be the natural outcome of their interactions. In fact, moves towards a certain conformance could indeed deem considerable more efforts from other mentors and mentees as an additional analysis of Rosa’s (WMe) case can be enlightening in this sense.

When I followed Rosa’s (WMe) mentoring group and also when I interviewed her, I first discovered how much she loved to be a resident of Toronto because she was already expressing a great attachment to the city. In addition, she also seemed to understand citizenship in a broader way. Her position, in this sense, was different from other participants’ since they generally seemed to comprehend it only in terms of a legal status. Even though she was still applying to be legally a Canadian citizen, she also suggested that the exercise of citizenship could include a connection with space, time as well as other people in the city, whether they were already formal citizens or not. Based on the way that she talked about these ideas, her insights reminded me of Relph’s (1976) insights when he referred to some places as “fields of care, settings in which we have had a multiplicity of experiences and which call forth an entire complex of affections and responses” (p. 38).
getting to foster throughout and beyond her participation in the WALKspaces program. For example, she revisited a neighbourhood that had hosted a specific walk of her WALKspaces group because she had found it interesting enough for other visits. She then invited friends to go with her there as well. In general, these newer walks seemed to constitute a “place-making practice sustaining a sense of self-discovery through ascribing order over a place by passing through, rather than simply inhabiting a pre-configured world” (Waitt, Gill, & Head, 2009, p. 44). Because of this willingness, Rosa (WMe) was perhaps the participant who seemed to display the most conventional understanding around the role of mentoring for community building and citizenship in comparison to all the other mentors and mentees who I interviewed for this research project.

However, as her struggles were already partially described before, Rosa’s (WMe) main difficulty was still the formal knowledge transmission process attached to the WALKspaces program. In our conversations, she told me that she dreaded all the activities for which she had to memorize historical facts and dates about places. For example, she had not specifically enjoyed her last WALKspaces activity around some important landmarks of the city because they all seemed to have little connection with her own immigrant story or the history of other immigrants. Instead, Rosa (WMe) seemed to have appreciated activities that tended to stimulate her own creative side. In particular, she wished to be able to organize a walk for which she would have to dress up in a Victorian style, for example. In fact, she dearly remembered a walk in which she had to recite a famous poem about a soldier for the Canadian Remembrance day’s celebrations. In regard to that event, she even said that her delivery of the poem during the walk was so fluid that she was even able to recognize the silences in it. As it has been clarified here, Rosa (WMe) was indeed able to enjoy walks with historical elements embedded in them. Nonetheless, she generally seemed to get more attached to events that allowed her to use her own
imagination throughout the process. As a result, the main problem for Rosa (WMe) was clearly not the Canadian history in itself but an inability to connect to the country’s history in a meaningful way. The following passage from one of her interviews can certainly illustrate this idea:

Because then you are telling some stories, and you are, you are [a] guide, and then you need to see what [is] the story around. Eh to feel people and also oh when you move to another [story] yet, you feel that eh you need them to want to connect people, to contact with people, to ask ah not only about [the] tour, “how did you like?” Cause it's also important, ah you need to know because maybe we have some minuses, and maybe my friends did some, something not enough [in] there.

In this passage, Rosa (WMe) mentioned that immigrants maybe have some “minuses”. Consequently, fostering a connection with the audience was seeing by her as a way to counterbalance or neutralize these perceived “deficiencies”. In this sense, the incorporation of creative elements into mentoring could have had a clear remedial or palliative purpose, similarly to the way in which Bejan (2011) has referred to it in the introduction of this work. Perhaps for this reason, Rosa (WMe) did seem to necessarily associate these perceived deficits with the demands that the destination society has covertly imposed on immigrants. However, she was able to recognize structural issues like language, for example, as a big barrier for her own integration into Canadian society. For this reason, she was often afraid to “melt” in front of audiences or simply go blank by forgetting the texts that she was supposed to deliver during her walks. While talking about these experiences, she then chose the following picture in order to represent the worst in mentoring:
Despite its bright colours depicting all the activities that she had to do in Canada, this picture is “framed” in squares here because this was exactly the way in which she was feeling, basically “framed” because of so much pressure from many structural issues in place. Her perception was felt not only more broadly in Canada but also throughout the specific activities that she had to perform for her WALKspaces mentoring group. In particular, she also felt “framed” because of the need to use a language that she saw as highly organized, differently from her own. In fact, she felt like an impostor by having to express herself in a language that was not her mother tongue, and then present a history that she did not necessarily feel very connected to. As in Tenzim’s (WMe) case also described in this chapter, language can appear as a key element that disturbs both mentoring and integration. However, differently from Tenzim (WMe) who indirectly fought the incoherence of the multicultural system personified through the
figure of her mentor, Rosa (WMe) did not challenge her own mentor or the system either. She simply blamed herself for her perceived failure in conforming or fitting into Canadian society.

In summary, for Rosa (WMe), it was already a great responsibility to stand in front of a group of people, some of them native born Canadians, in order to speak in their first language and talk about their own history. In moments like those, all her excitement about being part of Canada and all its diversity seemed to instantly evaporate. She basically felt intimidated and under pressure in those situations. Instead, she would rather tell more stories connected to her own country of origin and visit places that were representative of Toronto’s diverse communities. For example, she wished to take part in religious activities of a variety of cultural groups like the First Nations of Canada, for example, and also go to places where different cultural groups tend to gather, celebrate and worship. By not necessarily fixating herself on the Canadian mainstream culture, Rosa’s (WMe) approach to her own immigration experience seemed to be based on a wish to interact with places and peoples in a more comprehensive way. In this manner, she could also be able to value contributions which are often forgotten or conveniently ignored in Canada. In reality, her position apparently signals at an important recommendation coming out of this study for a more culturally sensitive integration of immigrants.

However, even if performed in a gentler or more creative way, mentoring can continue to be conforming since multiculturalism only gives the impression of providing a two-way integration (as this idea was already explained in chapter 3). In this sense, the creative emphasis on diversity seems to be only cosmetic, not central to integration. This is the main reason why Rosa’s (WMe) call for a more holistic or creative integration could be indeed frustrated after all. In any case, despite Rosa’s (WMe) comprehensive understanding of community building and citizenship, Anabelle (AMe) seemed to be comparatively much better suited for Canada since
she generally displayed a clear appreciation for multicultural conviviality, which is, in reality, strongly permeated by the presence of corporate ideas.

6.3 Concluding Remarks for Chapter 6

Mentoring does not only happen when immigrants’ direction and pace are set and constant. Not exclusively when there are clear starting and final points for their journeys. It can also happen with a very inconstant orientation and pace. In addition, it can be understood either as physical and felt journeys or as imaginary ones. Besides, mentoring is not specifically about the mentor(s) and mentee(s) either. However, it could be about them as well. In fact, mentoring is mainly about ways of knowing being transmitted to others and in connection with the moving spaces around them. This is what mentoring is primarily about: It is a spatiotemporal epistemology. Since it is knowledge getting passed through certain spaces and times, it could also have either a clear or an undetected influence of the past. Nevertheless, time in mentoring is as important as space is. They both tend to help define mentoring as an interchange, a junction or a meeting point when people, space and time all come together in unexpected ways sometimes. However, in the way in which it is institutionalized practiced in Canada, mentoring seems to more commonly lead more to a certain conformance in the end.

Since mentoring does not gravitate out of time and space, it leaves marks. These marks are people’s experiences. These experiences generally tend to inherently reflect their positions in certain times and spaces, and they can also reveal how knowledge is passed around. In the particular case of immigrants in Canada, their tendency to engage with certain ways of knowing can eventually dictate how their integration into the Canadian will eventually take shape, and also how their integration will be judged in the end. In this context, dominant social values tend
to condone individuals who are able to quickly set objectives by reaching their destinations in a timely fashion and with the help of influential people. Not by chance, these individuals can be more generally satisfied, not only with their overall approach to mentoring, but also with their new lives in Canada. However, others who may be apparently lost in their journeys are certainly not the ideal citizens for contemporary Canada in the end. In fact, it is not accidental either that they can be more troubled by their own overall progress here, even in spite of a certain satisfaction with their mentoring programs in certain ways.

Finally, this chapter has mainly focused on mentoring and migration journeys simultaneously happening as rewarding and/or frustrating processes for those involved. And for the immigrant mentors and/or mentees who tend to diverge more often than converge or conform all the time, they may be the ones doing a better service for society despite the higher social price that they often have to pay after all. In reality, they can contribute to a broader understanding of integration as a multifaceted process happening in different ways. As this chapter has showed, examples here have certainly offered possibilities for a more tentative or partial integration of immigrants that can be slightly more inclusive and respectful in the end. However, a significant move into this direction may not be even sufficient to placate people’s perceptions of alienation, which are partially fed by massive expectations behind an ideal of holistic integration that is fundamentally utopic. In fact, because of the importance of all these insights here, the role of mentoring for the construction of an elusive multicultural integration will gain a more nuanced analysis in the chapter that will come next.
Chapter 7

Trained Performances or Mimicries?

Getting the Setting and the Social Actors Ready for Immigrant Integration

Formal multicultural mentoring/volunteer programs focused on immigrants typically tend to create social connections regarded as valuable by simultaneously inhibiting social networks perceived as inappropriate. In fact, in multicultural Canada, ties developed within ethnic communities tend to be indeed considered problematic in general (Li, 2003a). In regard to the employment-related connections inside ethnic enclaves, for example, there is also a widespread belief that the work of immigrants is often underpaid. This situation is seen as considerably more troublesome than the free labour that volunteer immigrants dedicate to multicultural non-profit organizations in Canada. Generally perceived as beneficial for the society as a whole, mentoring programs carried by multicultural non-profit organizations tend to focus on the update of immigrants’ skills/networks and/or on the acquisition of citizenship practices. This is indeed the case of the mentoring/volunteer programs studied in this research project. Since these programs can also relate to larger public policies, an important connection can be made in this regard through a reference to Philip’s (2003) idea around “the social engineering element of mentoring programmes” (p. 106). In addition to this suggestion, a major assumption here is that mentoring programs supported by volunteers and organized by non-profit organizations have already gained such a great prominence and stature that at least a percentage of them have stopped to be purely community-based endeavours by also significantly accommodating the interests of the corporate
sector. In order to support this argument, I will first give an example here that is also based on my experiences from the fieldwork.

In preparation for the Artistry festival, I accompanied participants in their many events, training sessions and workshops. In these occasions, I was often privileged enough to witness the festival’s staff speak in front of audiences mainly composed by volunteers. In one of these opportunities, the speaker was someone with a high position at the Artistry festival. She highlighted three points that I have found of particular significance. First of all, she referred to “Toronto as a brand”. According to her, a festival like Artistry was certainly a positive way to enhance the status of the city after it had been severely affected by the outbreak of an infectious disease. Secondly, she also emphasized the Artistry festival as a unique opportunity because of its innovative appeal to the public. By bringing artists who had never debuted in the city, the festival tended to attract a great interest from audiences in general. Finally, the festival’s ability to draw a highly diversified audience was also appealing to advertising interests as this was the specific case of a sponsor from the beauty industry, for example. In reaction to these comments, the audience that day also engaged in a lively conversation with the presenter by making suggestions that could potentially enhance the reach and the brand of the festival as a whole.

During this same presentation, the speaker figuratively referred to her job as able to make guests believe that the festival’s fairies were coming to town. In a covert way, she also implied that the work of volunteers was supposed to be invisible yet efficient by invoking some kind of magic attached to it. In fact, the enchanting appeal of certain spaces seems to be one of the hallmarks of rebranding processes in general. In particular, the Artistry festival seemed to be part of a broader marketing strategy to rebrand Toronto. Its creation relates to what Malpas (2009) calls “city-branding” (p. 192), which is connected with a notion of cosmopolitanism as primarily consumerist. In addition, the appeal of city branding comes from what “gives individuals a sense
of belonging to, and identification with, a particular city – and yet, of course, such branding also presupposes a conception of the individual as having no primary attachment of that sort at all” (Malpas, 2009, p. 192). Specifically in regard to the rebranding of Canadian cities, multiculturalism has generally attempted to provide people with a similar feel through a generalized praise for the country’s diversity on the surface, and despite a less enchanting and more fixed set of social rules on its core. According to de Sousa Santos (2008) and colleagues, multiculturalism represents, in reality, “the cultural logic of multinational or global capitalism (a capitalism “without a homeland,” at last) and of a new form of racism” (p. xxiii). In the way that it is institutionalized in Canada, multiculturalism tends to legitimate and trivialize inequities in the same way that multinational or transnational organizations usually do.

Besides, Canadian multiculturalism tends to give the impression to consumers/citizens that Canada is completely organized in an inclusive and democratic way. In light of this idea, Bannerji (2000) suggests that capitalism has inspired multiculturalism on the realm of cultural and social identifications by also serving “as an ideological slogan within a liberal democratic framework” (p. 73). Similarly, Basu (2011) proposes that “[u]topian images of multiculturalism—commodified simultaneously through tourism and through the marketization and “management” of cosmopolitan landscapes—abound in both the public and private realms, suggesting the emergence of a renewed vision of plurality and cohesion” (p. 1308). In the scenario portrayed here, some proponents of Canadian multiculturalism may naturally feel tempted to apply traditionally capitalist philosophies into public spaces. This was certainly the case of some representatives from Artistry and Settling House who extensively employed a corporate approach with a communitarian undertone in order to train their mentors and mentees for the Artistry festival. By having in mind the multicultural tendency to train immigrants in order to make them better fit into the Canadian institution firmly grounded on ideas of cohesion
and development, I have basically conceived this chapter like an investigation on the impact of immigrants’ mentoring experiences as part of far-reaching social performances which seem necessary in this particular context.

In order to develop this chapter, I will start with an overview of the broader scenario of the mentoring experiences of immigrants in Canada by also looking at the implications of having the “right multicultural uniforms” for these performances. Then I will conclude the discussion here with a more detailed investigation of immigrants’ social practices in light of their own interactions inside their own mentoring groups and beyond. In other words, this chapter should transition from a more general description of the participants’ environments and some of their key elements towards a deeper examination of the human relations per se. However, here I am not following a chronological order for the description and analysis of the events. Nevertheless, by covering the two main steps previously outlined here, I have consequently organized this chapter into two main sections: (1) Towards a Better Understanding of the Canadian Mentoring Setting, and (2) Canadian Rehearsals, Performances or Mimicries of Mentors and Mentees.

7.1 Towards a Better Understanding of the Canadian Mentoring Setting

By laying the ground for the analysis, I am first referring to Goffman’s (1990) ideas that will be extensively applied here. In his book The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life, this author makes use of a “dramaturgical framework” (p. 105) as it has been defined afterwards (Denzin, 2002). While utilizing the concept of “performance” as a metaphor, Goffman (1990) constructs his book over the idea that people’s social interactions, in reality, tend to reflect scenic interchanges. In order to ground this argument, he alludes to the settings of people’s lives as “furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and
stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it” (pp. 32-33). Although social settings do not need to be fixed, they are essential for people’s performance anyway. In fact, these spaces are where social actors face their audiences (Goffman, 1990). In his framework, Goffman also refers to the performers’ clothing as “‘personal front’” (p. 34) because they could be considered part of their social settings. In the case of this research project, settings have consequently encompassed both the backgrounds and their elements, not only of immigrants’ mentoring meetings and activities but also others that may have an impact on their integration into Canadian society as a whole.

7.1.1 The Canadian setting as a transitory space in disguise.

Because of the increasing fragmentation of immigrant experiences in Canada, I have realized that the distinction between immigrants and tourists has become more and more blurred overtime. In this regard, Hieronymi (2005) suggests that we cannot fully differentiate immigrants from tourists by simply using a temporal marker in order to distinguish the ones who may have come long ago from those who have just arrived. In addition, the intentionality to stay in a new country does not seem to be a good indicator either. In reality, people’s initial expectations in regard to certain communities may or may not dramatically change overtime (Waters, 2009). In Canada, particularly, immigrants’ lives are generally affected by so many uncertainties that this situation may deeply influence the way in which they conduct their daily lives overall. Here I am also tempted to link this idea with an insight from the great Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2007) when he states that “it is now primarily the capacity of the consumer, not of the producer, which defines the status of citizen” (p. 81). In fact, Bauman’s idea here can indirectly enlighten the turn that immigration and integration have lately taken in Canada. Consequently, immigrants
cannot be solely blamed for displaying a superfluous attachment to a country where many are
treated as a disposable workforce after all. Unfortunately, this consciousness does not seem to be
shared by all.

Based on an impossibility of facing the real world or as a veiled response to all the changes
that have been made in the realm of immigration and integration in recent years, former
Canadian general governor Adrienne Clarkson (2014) has written in her latest book that

[n]ewcomers are not invited to this country to spend a few years working, only to depart
like migrants. Migrant is a very ugly word, and it should have no place in the Canadian
vocabulary. Immigrant is the Canadian word. And citizenship is central to our immigration
policy. (p. 181)

Regrettably, these statements seemed to have got farther and farther from reality until very
recently. In fact, some immigrants interviewed for this research project seemed insecure about
their prospects in Canada. In these cases, they were not sure if they would indeed continue to
gamble previous lives with good economic prospects in other countries for a constant uncertainty
of their new situations in Canada. In some ways, Canadian life could have proved itself to be
harsher than what they expected at first. Therefore, some participants who were taking part in
formal mentoring programs to meet new people, and then get familiar with places, did not know
for sure if they were here to stay or not. However, in spite all the difficulties faced on their
integration, others were more certain about staying in Canada and moving towards Canadian
citizenship. This predisposition could be mostly attributed for not having a better alternative
other than staying, for already feeling part of Canada somehow, and/or for the benefits or rights
associated with the Canadian citizenship or life in Canada. In a few cases, participants
particularly referred to the advantage of having their global mobility enhanced or facilitated through the acquisition of Canadian passports, for example.

During my interviews, I often explored the meaning of Canadian citizenship with the participants because I originally wanted to contextualize their mentoring activities for this research project. So, when I interviewed Florence (WMe), she mentioned that she was also volunteering for a community centre where she facilitated conversations for a group of senior ladies. In fact, most of them were immigrants. In one of their conversations, Florence (WMe) was first asked what she thought about Canada or Toronto. In response, she referred to people’s friendliness here. As a result, they all had a long discussion about the meaning of being Canadian, and the only things that the participants of her group were able to come up with were references to the maple syrup and the maple leaf. In the end, Florence (WMe) found the outcome of their conversation particularly disturbing. Below it was what she added in this regard:

Because, you know, in this, in this, in this time when everything is multicultural. I mean, can you say that democracy first came to Canada before you? No! You, we didn't do anything or the Canadians. I'm trying to become a Canadian, so I go "we" but eh the Canadians generally don't hav- have anything- have a claim to fame that [sic] ways. They are not the pioneers of anything like that. So enhance that what is eh to be Canadian, you know, the Italians will be. They have people, [the] other thing [is] that the Italians are loud and they're, you know, their gesture, and it's all about and, you know, food-]

In accordance with this passage, Florence (WMe) realized an absence of any outstanding social elements or historical events that could have made Canada particularly unique in the world. In reality, a perceived strength of certain elements or events could have also led to essentializing notions in regard to people’s practices, products and places in Canada. In this sense, my observation is obviously negative but I also comprehend why nationalistic elements
can be important to enhance people’s sense of attachment to their countries in general. Despite the broader national scenario that I am employing here, Goffman (1990) has mainly referred to places in more specific geographic terms, however, he has generally recognized that the settings of performances are important for social actors. In light of the relevance that places usually have for social relations, Florence (WMe) then added more interesting ideas in this sense by strengthening her initial argument in regard to the homogenization of spaces:

Also that but I also do feel that, that this is a problem with globalization or, or the internet or if nothing else. That.. if you, if you fell asleep and someone would picture you, have your picture on a plane and you awoke up in the morning, could you truly tell that you were in Canada or America or England? Could you tell that it was a different place? No! They all look the same. They all- they all have the same stores. Then everyone dresses in the same way now. And "what's your identity as a Canadian?" And they are the three countries where language is the same, so you won't have those differences. You pretty much get the same food! You know, the, umm the food is the same. You know, stores are the same. Visually, everything looks the same. We don't have completely different architectures. It's not like when you move to Japan, it seems like [that] people [are] really doing different things.

At that moment, Florence (WMe) also asked herself why people travelled if they would eventually arrive in a place exactly like home. For her, it would have been “the most depressing thing ever! If it's all the same, why am I gonna leave home!” In this regard, she was specifically referring to artificially homogeneous spaces as being able to provide people with a sense of safety. She indeed problematized safety or security when she talked about them at that point. She even suggested that when spaces are artificially homogeneous, an excessive consistency could also lead people to a certain sense of disconnect from them. In order to sustain this argument, she compared living in one of the three countries initially mentioned by her to the services provided by hotel chains. According to her, hotel chains provide customers with “a sense of the same”. She then acknowledged that people who constantly travelled would also need a routine in a new
place as well. In a great article on the loyalty to hotel chains, McKercher, Denizci-Guillet and Ng (2012) have stressed that repeated behaviours do not always represent loyalty or an emotional attachments of customers to certain hotels. Therefore, a habitual pattern could alternatively relate to other factors such as “convenience, location, safety, necessity or laziness” (p. 719).
Throughout the interconnection of all these ideas presented here, Florence’s (WMe) portrayal of Toronto or Canada became particularly clear while she also implied that Canadian multiculturalism had a very consumerist spin attached to it. This was certainly an aspect of Canada that she was not completely pleased with.

In reality, Canada could appeal to other immigrants in the exact same way: As a place lacking in substance yet still conveniently attractive at the same time. In fact, it could be portrayed as it was described by Scott (AMe) in his interview: Like an endless place of opportunities and sites to be discovered by people coming from all over the world, very much like a Disneyland. Based on these descriptions, Canada could be easily mistaken by a commercial paradise disguised as home, a place where people coming from everywhere would never be sure if reality and fantasy were completely separated after all. In a way, this kind of place seems to be essentially liminal, and it is where citizens’ rights can be highly questionable as well (Miles, 2010).

For many immigrants interviewed or observed in this research project, the main “products” for sale on “Canadian shelves” seemed to feature the country’s democracy and its welfare system. For example, some participants were after quality education or better opportunities for their children. Others were interested in more security and/or pensions. There were also those who tended to value the greener environment and/or their healthier lifestyle here. Indeed, several participants tended to directly or indirectly emphasize Canada’s democratic values or rights. Overall, these are all examples of what has been “up for sale” in Canada. In times of a faltering
economy, immigrants generally tended to reverse the objectification that the Canadian immigration system has placed on them by also expecting good governmental services and/or an overall good quality of life in Canada. In this scenario, one of the roles of institutional mentoring programs is to apparently make a sense of belonging and more genuine social connections grow beyond these perceived interests. In this sense, these programs fundamentally represent a great avenue that could make nationalism and consumerism either consolidate as a unit or simply stay separated. Based on my interviews and observations overall, however, a certain unification of views and practices seemed the likeliest outcome in these cases. In reality, the discussion in the next subsection will continuously pursue this argument initially presented here.

7.1.2 The importance of the “personal front” for multicultural integration.

Mentoring has already become an important tool for intervention in some areas. In teaching, for example, mentoring has even assumed the status of a general term covering a number of definitions that include a process, a skill or an approach employed on professional development (Semeniuk & Worrall, 2000), for example. What seems common among all these interpretations is the implicit assumption that people can get “trained” through mentoring. As a matter of fact, in its literature, mentoring practices often incorporate references to training, coaching, teaching and counselling, which are all functions often associated with professional activities. All these terms have been used in order to explain what mentors do or how to conduct mentoring activities (e. g., Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Bozeman & Feeney, 2008; Brondyk & Searby, 2013; Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Ehrich et al., 2004; Gibb, 2003; Kram, 1985; Roberts, 2000).

During a few interviews for this research project, participants were able to differentiate mentoring from a couple of functions such as coaching and teaching, for example. Adele (AME)
differentiated teaching from mentoring in terms of the different levels of formality associated with them. She then added that, “usually in terms of knowledge, I approach teachers. In term of life, I approach my mentors”. Similarly, Mike (WMe) saw mentoring more as holistic and individualized interactions while his understanding of coaching centred around the acquisition of skills for the correction of certain behaviours with a focus on team work. In general, participants tended to see teaching and coaching more concentrated on the acquisition of knowledge while mentoring experiences seemed to be more oriented towards the nurturing of certain connections, in a more holistic way. However, I was even surprised that participants were able to establish these differences because of the way in which formal mentoring programs are normally organized in Canada. Here it can occur a clear overlap between teaching, coaching, training and/or counselling with mentoring, all happening at once sometimes. In the Artistry mentoring program, for example, mentors could informally coach and/or provide their mentees with employment-related advice while informally training/teaching and/or being trained/taught to work together on a volunteer basis as well.

In one of the Artistry training sessions that I attended, the trainer told her volunteers to ask questions when they didn’t know something; read the events’ guide and sheets; tweet and post their outdoor photos and; finally, enjoy the events as a whole. In this specific session, the same trainer also encouraged volunteers to smile, feel comfortable, and be themselves basically. In addition, she said that they (the organizers) wanted their volunteers and guests alike to have good memories of the festival. At one point, she even told her audience of volunteers that, sometimes, they would be the own experiences for their guests! However, there were a few recommendations for the volunteers dealing with the public not to supposedly do while in indoor events. These activities included taking photos, making films, recording sounds, disturbing the experiences of the audience, or using their phones on the shifts. Finally, the same trainer also
encouraged volunteers to share their personal experiences with the Artistry staff whenever desirable or convenient. Therefore, this long list of do’s and don’ts shows a clear emphasis on the marketing or communications side of the festival as well as on the active role that volunteers supposedly had in order to affect their guests’ overall experiences.

Also, as mandatory items for volunteers to wear while dealing with the public, the green t-shirts of the festival were fixtures in the middle of the crowds. In fact, the volunteers’ t-shirts had the big name of the festival on the front and a very small on the back, the names of the sponsors variably visible both on the front and on the back, and, finally, the name “volunteer” very large on the back as well. In the case of the open spaces where the musical attractions of the festival were taking place, these green t-shirts certainly helped members from the audience to easily identify volunteers from afar. However, the identification process only seemed key when the guests wanted some help or needed any kind of information, so volunteers could eventually serve as referential points for them. In reality, I was also able to witness how mentors and mentees interacted with others during the festival since I was able to accompany some of them during their shifts. In these situations, guests could try to escape their approach, engage with them in pleasant conversations, ask an array of different questions to them, or even make unpleasant comments or requests.

When I talked to Cristina (AFMr) in one of our interviews, for example, she confessed to me that she had found challenging to interact with some guests during the festival. They would often get papers from her, and then walk or look away. In the end, Cristina (AFMr) realized that some guests were only there to talk to their friends and enjoy the shows. In a way, she even found some of her experiences strange because she was originally hoping that people would be more open to talk. However, she did not force guests to talk when she realized they were not willing to do so. Nevertheless, she was able to talk to some people whom she defined as nice.
Despite some positive interactions that she had over the course of the festival, people certainly did not always treat her and others nicely, and this can be certainly an important element for us to consider in the analysis of the social relations fostered throughout the festival as a whole. As it was mentioned here, another important point was the avoidance of some guests. Cristina (AFMr) was conveniently invisible to many guests due to her volunteer status, and despite the apparent visual efforts to make volunteers generally identifiable throughout their green t-shirts. In fact, the festival’s uniform tended to operate as stable elements for the volunteers’ personal fronts. Also in an echo of Goffman’s (1990) ideas here, the homogeneous clothing, in summary, supposedly represented the collective identification of the volunteers’ institutional roles during the festival.

In addition to Cristina (AFMr), Jack (AMe) was another participant who often did not feel very comfortable approaching guests during the festival. In one of our interviews, he even attributed this difficulty to his own personality. Besides, what seemed remarkable to me about his comments in this sense was his allusion to the fact that some of the Artistry events were ticketed. Consequently, he did not feel comfortable approaching attendees who would have to pay for some of the events that he was promoting. For some reason, Jack (AMe) felt that he had to talk to attendees about the ticketed events of the festival when he was primarily volunteering outdoors in order to answer basic questions about the events in general, and offer directions to the attendees as a whole. In the end, he summarized his feelings to me in the following way: “Yes, actually most people were welcoming, at least, not any of them reacted unfavourably but, as I told you, to start a conversation, and urge a stranger to mmm eh to be involved in the process is not easy”. In this particular case, the process that he was referring to was basically what he perceived as the “sales” component of his volunteer job for the festival.

In light of Linda’s (AMe) comments, however, her volunteer experiences at the festival were not challenging but they could be demeaning in a way. In one of our interviews, she first
suggested that many people who often volunteer in her country of origin in East Asia are still in college or university. In reality, other participants cited their involvement with volunteerism in connection with an age-related stage of their lives in their countries of origin as well. In any case, since Linda (AMe) was in her late thirties during the time of our interviews, she pointed out at her age as one of the reasons why she did not feel so comfortable performing the outreach activities for the festival. However, she also referred to volunteerism as an opportunity for her to restart a new life as a newcomer. So, in a sense, she continued to associate volunteerism with a certain stage in life while already in Canada.

Besides ageing and timing, other aspects like social class, for example, seemed to have generally affected some participants’ perceptions about their volunteering activities for the festival. In fact, Linda (AMe) said that she would have never delivered pamphlets on the streets of her country of origin. According to her, the delivery of advertising materials on the street was an occupation mainly reserved to people who had not had opportunities to get better educated there. Otherwise, they would have been working in better paying positions. Then she added that, in her country of origin, some people would even look at her disapprovingly on the streets because of this kind of job. As a result, she basically defined this kind of activity not in very enjoyable terms there. However, Linda’s (AMe) perceptions in Canada were somehow distinct in this sense. Since her activities for the festival were not part of a sales job, she said that her “feeling” (her own choice of word) was different here in this case because she was also helping others. Actually, during our interviews, she mentioned that she was only performing this activity in Canada because her job was on a volunteer basis. Besides, the tasks provided more chances for her to talk to strangers in English.

In reality, the two jobs mentioned here – the volunteer job in Canada and the paid job in her country of origin – were indeed similar in nature although they had different meanings for
By comparing her comments to Jack’s insights in this sense, it is important to notice how money played an important part in the legitimation of their experiences. Curiously, the absence of payment certainly influenced their satisfaction with their tasks. This assessment has also made me realize that if some of the mentees had been offered payment or had been more openly focused on the sales of the festival’s events, they would not have been probably doing these jobs because they might have felt diminished by their tasks.

However, during the volunteer activities for the festival, demoralization tended to occur anyway. An aspect making some participants feel primarily demoralized, or not particularly challenged during their volunteer shifts, was the most frequent question that they got during the festival. This issue was indeed revealed by Adele when she said that “[t]he question most asked is mmm mmm "where is the washroom?" Then she mockingly stated that she knew exactly where they were. In his interview, Jack also remembered it as the most common question that he got during his volunteer shifts. Finally, Lenger, in one of his interviews, evaluated his volunteer experience as neutral since he did not see much value in telling people where the washroom was. In spite of this comment, he also referred to the positive aspects of his participation as a volunteer mentor, which involved educating newcomers and making them feel more comfortable in the city. In any case, what I mainly wish to highlight here is that, for some volunteers of the Artistry festival, the emphasis on the question about the location of the washrooms tended to reinforce a certain marginalization in performing tasks which were also perceived like “shit” in a way. Please forgive me for the use of the word “shit” here. However, the constant repetition of the word “washroom” could have gotten stuck on them, like objects of disgust. In reality, this idea around how the sticky nature of certain words can also take shape as negative emotions is extensively explored in Ahmed’s (2004) writings on the cultural politics of emotions. So, basically, in face of these sticky negative feelings in conjunction with the
treatment given by some guests and/or a certain “invisibility” experienced by participants for standing and/or walking with their green t-shirts on, some volunteers revealed to have felt a certain disconnect in this sense, mainly because of their subservient positions in regard to the audience as a whole.

By combining some of the ideas discussed here up to this point, I then suggest that the green t-shirts of the festival were markers that were supposed to get participants better integrated into the multicultural mix of the festival, or perhaps make them feel part of the city in a fun way. In reality, participants were openly willing to actively engage with these events in general terms. However, some seemed to have been also objectified by their own t-shirts that worked as branded objects of consumption because of the free marketing displayed on their own bodies. In this way, their approach was often avoided or ignored by the attendees of the festival. In summary, the green t-shirts of the festival definitively contributed to the devaluation and/or objectification of some participants, which are also processes that seem to be inherent to branding. As in Norris’ (2011) citation of the work of Benjamin Barber, branding can indeed help to erase boundaries between those who consume and whatever gets consumed by them. Similarly, in the particular case of the festival studied here, the events’ branding somehow tended to objectify the volunteers as well as everything else branded by them.

As a result of another insight from Norris’ (2011) work that can be applied to the Artistry festival, the volunteers wearing their green t-shirts could have somehow become absent in presence or extras in the events where they were supposed to take active parts in. Ironically, they could have often become the main “experiences” for guests, however, perhaps in a much less meaningful way than it was (well-intentionally or not) promoted by the trainer featured here earlier on. Therefore, participants tended to become part of the festival in a commodifying way since they were not completely acknowledged by the festival’s guests unless their “presence”
would conveniently meet their guests’ needs somehow. Because some even felt that they were not exactly equal citizens but that they were acting more as disposable bodies, their participation in the festival seemed to reflect multiculturalism in its essence or, at least, in the way that I see it. In this sense, multiculturalism gives an impression of integration when its democrative inclusion is only illusory or apparent. In fact, this account presented here is similar to what has been already suggested in the reference to Titchkosky’s (2008) framework in the introduction of this dissertation. This author also discusses seemingly inclusive practices which can be indeed exclusionary in reality. Anyway, in light of the participants’ expectations for multicultural integration or simply inclusion, the following section will additionally present an extensive investigation of how their social performances got developed through mentoring while could also, more broadly, manifest themselves in the Canadian society as a whole.

7.2 Canadian Rehearsals, Performances or Mimicries of Mentors and Mentees

After the previous analysis on the impact of the setting for the integration of mentors and mentees in Canada, I will now directly apply Goffman’s (1990) concept of performance. According to Goffman, as this idea was previously introduced here as well, a performance can be defined as someone’s activity at a certain time that can influence other(s) in a certain way. In line with this first concept, a “part” then corresponds to a specific course of action that occurs during a performance (Goffman, 1990). “When an individual or performer plays the same part to the same audience on different occasions, a social relationship is likely to arise” (Goffman, 1990, p. 27). By interconnecting the act of performing with the notion of part, Goffman has also defined social role as encompassing “one or more parts and that each of these different parts may be presented by the performer on a series of occasions to the same kinds of audience or to an
audience of the same persons” (p. 27). While merging all these concepts into this analysis, I am primarily referring to immigrants as social performers here. Through mentoring and beyond, they also tend to practice their parts of hopeful “Canadians” in order to be recognized and legitimized as such. In order to achieve this intent, the social roles played by them are usually the ones as consumers/citizens of the new country in a process that is going to be further explained next.

7.2.1 More honest feedback and less “sugarcoating”?

In a recent article, Ullman (2015) presented performance as an important element for the lives of key participants in her study. Throughout her research of Mexican non-status immigrants, she was able to provide a few evidences in order to advance the notion that performances helped them to either be readmitted into the United States or continue to live in there. By enacting performances of the “supermexicana” or of the “cowboy”, for example, her participants were able to cross the Mexican-American border or remain in the United States in a supposedly safer way. Here this presentation of fragments from her study should serve to both introduce and interconnect immigrants’ needs to perform and belong in their host society at the same time. In general, immigrants tend to carry performances in order to feel safer (or better socially included) by pretending that they already belong to the mainstream society somehow. In addition, they may also need specific situations that they perceive as particularly private, or somehow removed from the public eye, in order to practice their social performances. Traditionally, these environments would have been generally considered part of a “safe space” in education or equity studies, however, this terminology has been under review in recent years (Redmond, 2010; The Roestone Collective., 2014). In any case, all these connections initially established here should be helpful for the analysis that will follow now.
In one of her interviews, Florence (WMe) mentioned to have felt a certain anxiety before meeting the members of her mentoring group at first. However, as her mentoring meetings progressed, she felt more and more comfortable in her group, particularly due to her interactions with the mentor. As an evidence of this evolution, she reported a particular situation in order to illustrate the friendly atmosphere of her mentoring group as a whole. In one of their meetings, one of her fellow mentees asked her mentor why Chinese women had so many white babies in Canada. This mentee was indeed referring to the Filipina nannies in Toronto. At that point, her mentor properly clarified the issue for the mentee in front of the other members of the group. In light of this question, she also said that they all shared a good laugh, and then moved on. In addition to this first situation described here, Florence (WMe) mentioned that she felt comfortable to talk to her mentor about her religion, a topic not generally easy to be addressed. Nonetheless, her mentor seemed genuinely interested in learning more about it. As a Muslim, Florence (WMe) mentioned that there were so many misconceptions about her religion that she was glad to provide him with her own take on it. In this regard, she even acknowledged that she was not the most knowledgeable person to approach religious issues either, however, she did her best in this sense.

In face of these two stories included here, Florence (WMe) emphasized that her mentoring group tended to offer a space where she felt that they were all comfortable to ask questions, and then make comments that, otherwise, could have been embarrassing in other spaces. For her, the group had an environment “kind [of] removed from reality”, and here I am using her own words in this regard. Still according to Florence (WMe), members of her WALKspaces mentoring group gave permission to one another in order to behave in such a way if they were in a “safe space”, a “comfort zone”, a “judgment-free zone” or a “bubble”, which
were also the four terms interchangeably used by her in order to refer to the atmosphere for her group. In order to better illustrate this idea originally presented here, she chose the picture below:

![Figure 7: Business Man Holding an Umbrella for Another One (Florence’s Image)](image)

Umbrellas and other protective devices or connections were all common visual representations to explain the role that mentoring played in the lives of participants. In general, the atmospheres from the mentoring groups could relate to what Goffman (1990) has called the “back regions” (p. 129) for people’s social performances. In his dramaturgical framework, these regions offered a certain leniency for their social actors in comparison to other places in which social practices would have to be more formally carried on. Based on my interpretation of his work, I don’t consider these areas as places where social rules were completely suspended but where they were just more flexible or private. Actually, certain social rules still needed to be followed even in the “back regions” of people’s lives. In a way, I tend to see these areas or
situations as particularly suitable for people’s practices in preparation for their more formal social interactions. As a result, social performers would be supposedly better prepared to carry their main social presentations without so many flaws in public spaces because of their practices in these “regions”. This specific description here seems to particularly apply to the cases that will be described next.

In one of our interviews, Florence (WMe) told me that her mentoring group tended to help her to better understand the local vernacular as well as the specific ways in which people tended to behave in Canada. In fact, in one of their meetings, her mentor even made her try poutine. Actually, she was afraid of trying it on her own because she considered this typically Canadian dish particularly unappetizing. In a way, she was only attempting to behave like others would usually do in Canada. Generally, she did not want to be seen as an outsider in most situations. She would not even open a map in public in order to pass as a local even in places where she would be visiting. Then, once in Canada, she did not want to be obviously perceived as an “identifiable tourist” either. In this sense, her disclosure is particularly puzzling in light of the previous metaphor that she used in order to compare Canada to a hotel chain. Overall, Florence (WMe) was one of the participants in this study who seemed to be particularly committed to master Canadian social rules throughout her mentoring interactions.

In fact, because of Florence’s (WMe) almost flawless English and her own life history as a transnational migrant, her speed to master Canadian social rules with the help of her mentor was supposed to go much faster in comparison to other participants with no international experience and/or a lower proficiency in English. In spite of these differences, other participants also seemed to similarly understand that one of the most important benefits of their formal mentoring experiences was mainly on the social realm. In general, their mentoring activities did not only provide them with space for constant practices but also with an environment for the
observation of social relations overall. Here in this analysis, I will not go into detail about all the occasions in which participants compared things, places and practices between Canada and their countries of origin. However, I still wish to stress that these comparisons were common, and that they were often used by participants in order make more sense of their new realities in Canada. Nevertheless, I will continue to focus now on the role of mentoring groups as able to offer “safe spaces” for the social experiences of immigrants. In some of the cases studied here, mentors’ feedback seemed have indeed played an important role on the appreciation of mentees for their shared interactions.

Instead of dwelling on the supposedly false idea that she already possessed the necessary skills and/or expertise for a quick integration into Canada, Rosa (WMe) told me, in one of our interviews, that she generally preferred mentors who could provide her with a better sense of reality in this sense. As it was already mentioned in the previous chapter, I got particularly impressed with the openness in which her WALKspaces mentor provided her with feedback on the first time that I was able to observe their group. Not surprisingly, Mike (WMe), in one of his interviews, similarly reported to have appreciated his WALKspaces mentor’s style in this regard since he generally valued getting feedback throughout his mentoring interactions. In fact, getting feedback on public speaking was what had originally attracted Mike (WMe) to join the WALKspaces mentoring program. In fact, he specifically appreciated situations in which his WALKspaces mentor helped him with the pronunciation of certain words or other subtler issues. For example, in a walk for which he needed to incorporate a certain degree of drama into his speech, his WALKspaces mentor helped him to reach the right emotional tone for it. For Mike (WMe), in general, getting feedback also related to getting more confidence on himself and on his communication skills. Then, in connection with these ideas, he also mentioned that, “[i]n [the] Canadian context, if you don't ask for feedback, they never give you feedback!” In reality,
this last comment basically shows that he had to actively search for feedback in order to work on his social performances in Canada.

Like Rosa (WMe) and Mike (WMe), Scott (AMe) believed that good mentors were supposed to provide mentees with constructive feedback by also avoiding “sugarcoating” at the same time. In his interviews, he particularly used this term in order to denote the excessive use of indirect communication that could be harmful for mentoring interactions in general. At that point, he also explained to me that what he called “sugarcoating” tended to permeate social relations in Canada as a whole. However, I was just fully able to understand his interpretation of this word when I asked him to identify important contributions gained from any mentor or mentee that he had had. So, in order to answer this question, he gave me the picture of the eagle as it is portrayed below here:

Figure 8: Scary/Scared Eagle (Scott’s Image)
As you can see from this picture, the animal seems to be either threatening or threatened. After selecting this image, Scott (AMe) meant it to be a warning sign, and this was exactly the message that he got from one of his mentors. In an employment-related program offered by a college, a Canadian-born mentor told him to be aware of some nuances from the exercise of Canadian politeness at work. According to him, this person also mentioned that, in workplaces, "Canadians sugarcoat a lot!" In other words, people do not openly display their dissatisfaction in plain language at work when they are not happy with someone else’s performance of a specific task, for example. Based on what he exposed, most people in Canada would commonly state: “Ah, I think you should consider revising that again!” instead of saying “I don’t like that! Do it again!” In another passage, he also commented that, in most situations here, people would write: “Good morning! How are you today? Ah can you provide [with] this? I hope you have a great week!” However, in light of special or urgent circumstances, the co-worker could simply type: “Can you provide me [with] this? Period!” In summary, these were specific examples that he gave me in order to illustrate what he meant with the use of the term “sugarcoating” in business communication at Canadian workplaces. For Scott (AMe), more specifically in business, what he called the use of “garments” in communication had to be used in moderation, i.e., not all the time.

Grounded on the way that business communication is generally employed in Canada, Scott (AMe) mentioned that his mentor basically wanted to advise his group not to be naïve by expecting others to always help them out at work. After having begun to work in his field of expertise in a prestigious organization in Canada, Scott (AMe) then realized what his mentor more specifically meant with that piece of advice. He noticed that people worked as “islands” there, and that there was a lot of gossip going on behind the curtains. In the end, he said that he
was disappointed with the low level of professionalism displayed by staff during the time that he worked for that particular company.

Overall, Scott (AMe) became critical of the way in which most people provide feedback in Canada. Still in relation to work, he also said: “It's not the moment to be like- ah this is not the theatre, you know, you are not playing the, a role! You should be trying to actually play the role or that you are being paid for!” Here Scott’s (AMe) comments were particularly enlightening because their obvious connections with Goffman’s (1990) dramaturgical theory. In reality, role playing is fundamental to legitimize people’s social interactions not only at work but also in the broader society. However, there are situations in which socially accepted practices can be disrupted, and this was exactly what Scott (AMe) was advocating for. Nevertheless, other social actors could probably come up with “protective strategies” (Goffman, 1990, p. 25) in order to neutralize circumstances in which commonly accepted presentations would be put into jeopardy. Consequently, Scott (AMe) would never be able to change his social relations at work, or anywhere else in Canada, without a certain complacency of the other social actors involved.

In addition, Scott (AMe) was particularly calling attention to manifestations of Canadian “localism” (Mirchandani, 2004, p. 66) by explicitly questioning some of the country’s social rules as well. In fact, one of the reasons why most people tend to follow social norms is to become part of society or basically feel included. This idea seems to be contradictory at first but this is one of the ways in which I generally see the abidance to social rules operating in practice. However, by questioning some of the Canadian social rules, Scott (AMe) did not seem to value national safety and belonging as much as some other participants did. Instead, he mainly wished that the social rules in Canadian workplaces could be different somehow by also reflecting a more global or professional attitude. During one of his interviews, he even praised the so called competitive and direct manner in which Americans do business or operate in general. As a
whole, Scott’s (AMe) observations seemed to be attempts here, at least on the discursive level, to disrupt the way in which the social game tends to be played in Canada. They also show that not all immigrants uncritically and blindly follow all the rules that are already in place for them in the destination country. In this particular case, his criticism of Canadian social rules does not appear as a call for the country to be a more inclusive place through the display of more lenient social rules. In this regard, he actually pointed at the country’s partial failure to correspond to an idealized standard of working society that is supposed to serve as a model for the rest of the world. Incidentally, Scott (AMe) was also basically urging for a less tightened management of emotions overall.

7.2.2 Mentoring as emotion management.

One of the most interesting passages of Goffman’s (1990) book on performances certainly focuses on the sincerity of social performers. For him, it does not matter if the performers are being sincere about what they say or how they act in general. What matters the most for the effectiveness of their performances is if their audiences get convinced, whether these performances are genuinely sincere or not. In reality, this idea is critical for people’s social interactions in general. Actually, grounded on Goffman’s work, Hochschild (2012) has additionally showcased the importance of the (in)consistency between feelings and social performances on her seminal book called *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. In this book, she develops the idea of “emotional labor” (p. 7), which was primarily based on the work of flight attendants in the United States. For Hochschild, this kind of labour involves the manipulation of feelings in order to induce proper responses from others on behalf
of the maintenance of safe and peaceful atmospheres. In fact, all the concepts presented here so far were also covered in chapter 2.

In her work, Hochschild (2012) also distinguishes “surface acting” (p. 33) from “deep acting” (p. 33). The first concept involves being supposedly aware of social performances by also preserving some kind of connection with the real feelings. In contrast, the second one implies such an intense involvement in daily acts that it may make people eventually deceive others as much as themselves about their own feelings. This differentiation should offer an adequate introduction for what this subsection is mainly about – an introduction to immigrants’ willingness to separate (or not) real from managed feelings in the Canadian context.

For the immigrants who were confident enough to try to play their new Canadian parts in a credible way, Canada seemed to offer a fertile ground for their performances. In this regard, some participants even mentioned that they needed to “sell” themselves in Canada. Scott (AMe), for example, was among these participants. However, he did not seem to be having any difficulties to “sell” himself in general. He (inadvertently or not) promoted himself so well during our interviews that many of his accomplishments in Canada seemed to have naturally surfaced several times over the course of our conversations. In fact, his posture during our interviews was so business-like that I finished our first interview with the clear impression that I had just taken part in a job interview, not in an interview for my own research project.

For example, Scott (AMe) revealed to me that just after the big matching day of the Artistry mentoring groups, all the mentors, who had interviewed him that day, eventually wanted him in their mentoring groups. In the end, he decided to volunteer in a mentoring team focused on the development of some marketing tasks for the festival. So one of his main attributions was to interview attendees in order to get their feedbacks on the events. Because of his extensive
professional experience and great expertise in dealing with people, Scott (AMe) confessed that he did not face any challenges in approaching the guests either. In reality, he even told me that he knew immediately when potential interviewees were approachable or not. According to him, some people also seemed to be distinctively friendly right away.

While interacting with people seemed naturally suitable for Scott (AMe), it demanded a different approach from Florence (WMe). Actually, she even considered herself reclusive. However, she could be described by others as talkative, fun, or even be the one planning activities to do in conjunction with friends. Nevertheless, according to her, social initiatives usually required considerable efforts on her side. In these situations, her emotions also tended to be publicly expressed in a more artificial way. For example, at a certain point of one of our interviews, she interestingly described circumstances in which she had to put on a specific social character in order to better interact with others in Canada:

Florence: “but it's full of effort! It's all, almost a role I think. So, for example, mmm if I have to meet someone, I've been on several times eh [on the] called information interviews since I've been in Canada. So when I'm going to them, so I'm [at] home. So, at home, at home, I am like this (showing an expressionless face with the shoulders to the front if she was feeling very tired).”
Hewton: “(smiling)”
Florence: “Then I get at the subway. I reach in the building where I'm supposed to meet this person, and I found myself: “Ok! Showtime!””
Hewton: “(laughing)”
Florence: “(laughing) and I go.”
Hewton: “(laughing)”
Florence: “As I walk in, and I feel like a whole other person. So it's, it gets, for me, it is definitively, you know, at being in actually wonder whether it's, it's something that it just evolved or this is actually a medical condition, I mean, that needs to be looked at through! (laughing)”
Hewton: “(laughing)”
Florence: “I found is more of like acting out (smiling)”
Hewton: “(smiling)”
Florence: “but I do feel that it's something that I have to, and that is exactly what happens because I go to all these information interviews and every single one I've been to. Every
single person that I met has told me: "Yeah, you have great energy!", and I'm thinking to myself "Oh, you better never come to my house!" (laughing)"
Hewton: "(laughing)"
Florence: ""You have no idea!" (laughing)"
Hewton: "(laughing)"
Florence: ""You still wanna come over?" (laughing)"
Hewton: "(laughing)"
Florence: "So, yes, it is, it is, for me, it is, it is [to] gain face, you know, and that goes to this but it's, it's, it's definitively something that I have to push myself. It's not my natural or who I am."

Even though Florence’s (WMe) dramaturgical stand will be further complicated later on, this passage initially offers a very good example of Goffman’s (1990) concept of performance. More specifically, it illustrates how people’s social performances can work in practice. According to him, “each participant is expected to suppress his [or her] immediate heartfelt feelings, conveying a view of the situation which he [or she] feels the others will be able to find at least temporarily acceptable” (p. 20). This is exactly what was happening here in Florence’s (WMe) case because she often pushed herself to display some emotions that she did not always feel deep inside. In addition, she also knew that the way she presented herself would affect the way in which others would perceive her. For this reason, she tended to suppress some emotions while emphasizing others in order to reach certain goals or meet some needs that became important for her life as a new immigrant in Canada. Consequently, because of her job search, she specifically caught herself doing emotion management in occasions that obviously demanded positive public displays from her.

In the same passage, Florence (WMe) also joked about potentially having a medical condition. However, her insights seemed to indeed show a great awareness for acting in an ambivalent way in Canada. Since surface acting has been already explained with the help of a previous reference to Hochschild’s (2012) work, I generally found positive that Florence (WMe)
was fully aware of how much acting she was putting into some of her social performances, instead of being misled by multicultural discourses in Canada. In this country, people’s beliefs in the multicultural politics of good feelings seem to have apparently made a large majority unable to separate their spontaneous emotions from others that are manufactured. In fact, most mentors questioned in this project did not seem to be able to clearly differentiate real from managed feelings either. They often tended to push themselves as well as other participants to uncritically think that Canada is such a great place to live. More specifically, a place where everyone always respects each other’s culture and has similar opportunities for success. These positive beliefs in regard to mentoring, in particular, and more generally towards multiculturalism seemed to have overlapped so significantly that I interpreted that there was not much space left for any critical assessments of their own emotions in the end.

In comparison to their mentors, mentees generally seemed to be more in touch with their emotional worlds. Florence’s (WMe), for example, was able to represent her disappointments by generally associating them with her life in Canada, instead of solely focusing on her WALKspaces mentoring experiences. In fact, the picture below is a good illustration of the way in which she sometimes felt in Canada:
As a whole, this figure represented Florence’s (WMe) internal fights in order to better integrate into Canadian society. Actually, she additionally explained her emotional struggles in another passage while describing an unpleasant episode with the dry cleaner. Basically, she took a sweater to the laundry, and the dry cleaner shrank it. In her country of origin, she would have easily argued with the man over it. She implied that this was her natural impulse. However, she was in Canada then, so she pushed herself to behave in a different way. Then when the dry cleaner told her that they had first got her sweater in that way, she then tried to explain to him that it was originally an adult size. In fact, it was her own sweater, and it then became reduced to a size only suitable for a child. In the end, she said that she had to “suck it in”. Still in regard to the episode, she mockingly said that "the customer is always right!" approach did not exist in that case either. So, instead of fighting for some kind of compensation for her damaged sweater
in that particular situation or in similar ones, she needed to constantly remind herself that events, like that one, were not supposed to have much importance after all.

Florence’s (WMe) case is also an illustration of how the repression of negative emotions can become so automatic that this mechanism can prevent the same feelings from getting out of control on the social level. Indeed, an alternative reaction would have been perfectly understandable in that specific case. In any case, although Florence (WMe) was never wearing a hijab during the two occasions when we met for the interviews, she was still a Muslim. While Florence (WMe) was aware of generally negative perceptions against Muslims in the Western world, she told me to have never received any differential treatment from others once in Canada. Also after having lived in the United States just after the September 11 attacks had happened, Florence’s (WMe) experience living in Canada seemed to have been relatively uneventful in comparison. She also tended to define Torontonians as friendly overall. Nevertheless, an angry outburst from her in regard to her problem with the dry cleaner could have probably awaken some buried fears in this sense, which are usually submerged into multicultural Canada as a whole.

In another case, Linda (AMe) similarly expressed a certain frustration in one of her interviews after having just bought a new car for her family. The vehicle then started to present a defect, and she was facing bureaucratic difficulties with the service provider in order to get her car’s problem fixed. In regard to this issue, she said that she would have been much more vocal with the service provider in order to get him more focused on the problem if it had happened in her country of origin. In Canada, however, she acted very similarly to the way in which Florence (WMe) also did. Overall, by making clear efforts to control their emotions in face of certain violations, immigrants often have to “suck it in” as Florence (WMe) originally put it. After all, politeness needs to always prevail in multicultural Canada even when people get deprived from
their rights either as consumers or citizens. According to Hochschild (2012), “[m]anaging feeling is an art fundamental to civilized living” (p. 21). This statement could not be more appropriate in the context of immigrant integration into Canadian society. This is a country where emotion management is fundamental in order to efficiently keep immigrants’ moods under control.

7.2.3 Mentoring, integration and happiness.

When people do not feel happy at all, they can display their negative emotions, or pretend to feel a certain happiness on behalf of the social good. According to Ahmed (2012), the pretense to be happy can be a cover “to protect those we love from being hurt, or even to protect ourselves from hurt, or at least might be meant as a form of protection” (p. 59). Actually, this approach can be certainly interpreted as one of the main recourses followed by immigrants in multicultural societies. In these contexts, happiness can even consist of “a technology of citizenship” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 133). Therefore, in this sense, the performative element of citizenship - as Walcott (2014) has suggested - needs to be mastered for the illusion of immigrants’ complete integration into multicultural Canada. In fact, these ideas seem to perfectly fit into examples that will be described as follows.

Even after having noticed that her Artistry mentor managed certain emotions, Monica (AMe) selected the following picture to represent this person as a significant mentor in her life:
By choosing this half-emptied bag in order to portray her Artistry mentor, Monica (AMe) talked about some of her perceptions in this regard. First, she described her mentor as an older lady who was also lonely. Nevertheless, her mentor seemed to be always trying to present herself as someone upbeat and active in order to encourage Monica (AMe) as well as the other mentees. Then when I tried to investigate more details about this perceived sadness that her mentor was supposedly hiding under this manageable happiness, Monica (AMe), in fact, did not know how to exactly explain it to me very well. However, she gave me some hints in this regard. While the bright colours of the bag showed her mentor’s effort to display an external happiness, the interior of the bag indeed showed that something was lacking in her mentor’s life. According to Monica (AMe), this was what has apparently caused her mentor this sadness. Actually, Monica (AMe) described this perception more specifically in terms of a certain “stubbornness” or “backbone” that she had been able to notice from her mentor over the course of their interactions together. In regard to the positions that her mentor took on the lead of their mentoring group, here I will more precisely describe it as a certain degree of rigidity.
In reality, I am not certain if Monica’s (AMe) impressions in regard to her mentor’s emotional state could have been also partially attributed to certain stereotypes about older people. Actually, some people tend to portray the elderly as sad or melancholic just because they are older. So when these people show a certain happiness or a “joie de vivre”, their attitude could be interpreted as a sign that something is wrong. However, regardless of the way in which her mentor was feeling anyway, Monica (AMe) tended to see her mentor’s effort to look active and happy from a very positive perspective. Overall, she was pleased that her mentor was acting in that way in order to support their group. In fact, in comparison to Monica’s (AMe) perception of her own Artistry mentor, the other mentors studied here may have been able to perhaps play their parts as happy, or at least friendly, citizens with some more competence than her mentor did.

During my interview with Monica (AMe), I suggested that her mentor’s sadness was perhaps linked with the way that some immigrants may feel. In reality, Monica (AMe) partially agreed with this suggestion. At that point of the interview, I was also trying to connect this insight with an idea around immigrant melancholy, originally from Ahmed’s (2008) work. According to this author, there is a view that melancholic immigrants are supposed to be/feel excluded, somehow apart from the white community that, in turn, tends to live happily together. In this sense, it is hard to make immigrants truly happy because they are often imagined dwelling over the sorrow of lives that can be never rebuilt entirely in new places. In line with this idea, I interviewed participants who revealed a certain preoccupation to form happy families in Canada or harmoniously keep the members of their existing family united here. In these cases, images of isolated and/or melancholic immigrants had to be constantly challenged, consciously or not, through an emphasis on the (re)construction and maintenance of smaller families in Canada. In a way, these immigrants’ lives did not seem to be truly complete without the presence of significant others whom they could share their lives with. In reality, even when happiness did not
always seem to come from within, harmony and happiness had to be faked through representations for the broader Canadian society and/or for relatives and friends overseas. Based on this realization, I noticed, in summary, that some participants needed to particularly present themselves as happy or successful even when they were not. In this sense, the notion of “emotion work” (Benozzo & Colley, 2012, p. 309; Mirchandani, 2003, p. 726) tended to assume a great importance for them in order to keep their immigrant dreams credible and alive.

By fundamentally grounding her work on the study of humanities, Whitney (2004) has metaphorically suggested that mentoring enables a mask for the mentor, which also serves as a disguise for the intrinsic power imbalances that permeate this kind of experience. Actually, I propose here that this “mentoring mask” can disguise people’s differences in a broader way. In the case of this study, for example, mentors and mentees could put on social masks for their performances in order to display any form of happiness for/in the nation as a specific kind of citizenship that Ho (2009) has generally termed as “emotional citizenship” (p. 789). Probably, traditionalists would have called it nationalism (alternatively refer to chapter 2 for a quick review on this concept). In any case, a disguised display of emotions is particularly valuable in multicultural societies because “[b]ad feelings are seen as orientated towards the past; as a kind of stubbornness that ‘stops’ the subject from embracing the future. Good feelings are associated here with moving up, and getting out” (Ahmed, 2008, p. 12).

While also noticing the perceived social benefit of positive emotions, Monica (AMe) was consequently valuing her mentor’s effort to overcome any negative feelings for the good of the collective (her mentoring group in this case). In fact, Ahmed (2010) has specifically referred to the importance of a social effort towards immigrant integration by stating that “integration is the key term for the promotion of multicultural happiness” (p. 138). Through its focus on integration, as Monica’s (AMe) example has suggested, mentoring seems fundamental in order
to keep multicultural happiness well and alive. In fact, her final work below is also an important evidence of this emphasis:

![Figure 11: Seagull Flying over the Sofa (Monica’s Image)](image)

After seeing her collage finally completed, Monica (AMe) mentioned that it was very happy. In regard to the individual elements displayed here, the sofa portrayed the comfort and the fun experienced throughout her mentoring interactions. Actually, its vibrant colours also symbolized people from different backgrounds coming together in harmony. Then the colourful leaves tended to depict the diversity of the country’s nature. Besides, the colourful circles and the stripes meant her hope, positivity and financial stability in Canada as well. Mainly, the seagull flying over the cliff signified the confidence that she was able to gain through her participation in the Artistry program. Overall, Monica’s (AMe) work basically indicates the achievement of
happiness through a more satisfying life in Canada. This happiness seemed to have been achieved with the addition of some pieces that had originally lacked in her life here.

Similar to Monica’s (AMe) insights, there was a similar search for happiness in Anabelle’s (AMe) work. This was the major idea expressed by her in the figure that follows:

![Figure 12: Man Flying over Yellow Flowers (Anabelle’s Image)](image)

For Anabelle (AMe), the couple in the carriage specifically evoked the notion of mentoring as a happy family on the bottom left of the collage. This picture was, in fact, her favourite image in the whole exercise. In reality, other images from figure 12 also connected to this idea in a variety of ways. Centrally on the bottom, the yellow flowers related to the beautiful things that her Artistry mentoring group allowed her to appreciate throughout their joint
exploration of the city. On the top right corner, the blue sky indeed depicted the idea of peacefulness inherent to their interactions. She then explained that, on the top left of the collage, the man flying towards the blue sky was enjoying a sense of freedom gained through his mentoring connections. He was actually representing herself as a participant of the Artistry program. Finally, on the bottom right, the lady with the apples reflected how welcomed she generally felt in Canada. In fact, this image also served to particularly reflect the warm attitude of her mentor as well. As a whole, all these interconnected images seemed to converge to the idea of mentoring helping Anabelle (AMe) to feel more comfortable and happier in Toronto. Despite the accuracy on the description of this representation and additionally to the previous one as well, I have eventually noticed that these collages have only accounted for a very partial portrayal of these participants’ realities.

Specifically, these two representations have excluded everything that could have been perceived negatively as barriers for the participants’ integration into Canadian society. Through a link between these portrayals and Ahmed’s (2010) ideas, it is important to make a reference here to her explanation of what “happiness duty” (p. 130) means. For her, immigrants now have the duty to display happiness in the same way that natives had in past British civilizing missions. Also according to her, immigrants cannot be passively expressing unhappiness, so they can have a shot as legitimate citizens of the new country. At this point, I then feel compelled to use the same analogy to ground my understanding of similar situations experienced by immigrant mentors and mentees in Canada.

As assumed by now, mentoring is one of the ways in which “image management” (Ahmed, 2007, p. 605) can operate for the construction of immigrants’ expressions of happiness. However, this mechanism is not only restricted to the active efforts to hide unhappy emotions through social interactions. As this idea has been already mentioned here as well, image
management can be extended to more abstract representations of these happy emotions. Actually, this argument takes me back to Monica’s (AMe) and Anabelle’s (AMe) collages. In a way, their work came to represent how they wanted others to see their integration into Canadian society through the inclusion of their involvement into formal mentored activities as well. Eventually, these portrayals have also appealed to me as very powerful metaphors for Canadian multiculturalism as a whole. They have become important references of where I see mentoring and multiculturalism perfectly interconnecting in order to ensure that a display of happiness can be achieved in a broader way.

However, as we have already learned in chapter 5, both Monica (AMe) and Anabelle (AMe) also seemed deeply engaged in making friends in Canada because they both complained about feeling isolated here sometimes. Despite their difficulties in this sense, these participants, as well as others, tended to emphasize the fun and happy atmosphere of their mentoring meetings, shifts and walks. This tendency got manifested in light of what has been already suggested here: That any expressions of unhappiness needed to be fought at all costs. Interestingly enough, most participants who referred to their mentors as happy or fun, or that emphasized the fun aspect of their experiences throughout the interviews, were also the ones who either had Canadian born mentors or were volunteering to get closer to “authentic” Canadians. Particularly in Rosa’s (WMe) and Anabelle’s (AMe) cases, for example, their mentors were indeed white individuals since I also accompanied some of their mentoring interactions. In this regard, an extra connection can be also established again with the help of Ahmed’s (2008) work. She argues that the pursuit of happiness can lead to representations of immigrants physically and socially closer to white people and their mainstream ideal of happiness. In this case, I am stretching the notion of race by also encompassing ethnicity, so I can then amplify the validity of Ahmed’s hypothesis in this sense. In reality, I am also
positioning matters in this way in spite of a discursive lack of preference of many participants for Canadian born mentors. Therefore, a massive preference of immigrant mentees for Canadian born (and white) mentors would have been able to disturb even more the apparent sense of inclusion implied into Canadian multiculturalism.

In light of the participants’ overwhelmingly positive positions in regard to multiculturalism, I did not consider particularly surprising their genuine or forced efforts to visually and/or discursively portray their mentoring experiences and their lives in Canada. In reality, the most surprising element from a few interviews was the occasional criticism verbalized against immigrants who did not seem to fit into this ideal of multicultural happiness. These remarks came through interviews with participants who were already professionally well-settled in Canada and/or that tended to privilege an understanding of success based on an individual basis. Artistry mentor Cristina (AFMr), for example, tended to criticize participants who seemed to have been bored during the festival. Actually, she also understood that some participants could be going through tough times. Yet, according to her, nothing seemed to justify negative attitudes in this sense. Implicitly, her general position, in this sense, was that they would already have to be positively predisposed in order to get engaged in their mentoring and/or volunteer commitments beforehand. In comparison to Cristina (AFMr), Scott (AMe) was even more outspoken in his criticism of melancholic or unhappy immigrants in Canada:

Because I'm being in many bridge programs with a lot of them, and I heard a lot of their struggles. I heard of their complaints. I heard a lot of the issues, and I read a lot about it on Canadian Immigrant magazine, and then mmm sometimes you have to step down, you know. If you- you have to take a few steps back to go back to where, to, to the level, let's say, that you came from your country, and then mmm, and I believe that, for example, if you come from a country that has, you know, like difficult situations like, I don't know, difficult from Pakistan, whatever there, or Bangladesh. I don't know. Countries that you want to get out of there because of the nature of that country. I mean, if you are here, you
are gotta give your best! Don't start complaining! You know. Complaining is not gonna take you anywhere.

In addition to this comment, Scott (AMe) also mentioned that Canadians were not going to put everything on a “golden tray” for immigrants. In general, he defended that it was up to immigrants to take initiative, go after information, and then better position themselves in the Canadian society. These were basically his recommendations by implying that they were much better than keep complaining about fate. Overall, both Scott (AMe) and Cristina (AFMr), inadvertently or not, tended to lean towards the image of the professional immigrants. In this regard, I suggest here that these immigrants would have had to obligatorily display positive attitudes as well. Consequently, their happiness also seemed to be an essential ingredient for their discursive self-constructions as ideal immigrants. In this scenario, programs like Artistry and WALKspaces have (accidentally or not) become key elements in order to facilitate this process, and then somehow help immigrants to get better integrated in Canada, at least on the discursive level. This point will lead to the following discussion of how convincing immigrants can still be in the end.

7.2.4 Mentored performances or mimicries?

In general, immigrants may not be fully aware of how well they do in order to convince their audiences about their performances. According to Bhabha (2004), it does not matter how much the colonized (the immigrants in this case) try, they will always be mimics because of the ambivalence implied into their mimicries, also alternatively interpreted as their social performances in Canada. In any case, for him, these mimicries will always involve repetitions,
not representations. However, colonizers, or the members of the mainstream society in this case, and their standards for civilized living will always remain as the ultimate references to be imitated and/or replicated (Bhabha, 2004). In reality, Bhabha’s notion of mimicry represents a much somber take on the reality of immigrants’ integration into Canadian society. Before the introduction of this latter point, comparisons here had been established only in light of Goffman’s (1990) notion of performance, which had mainly guided this analysis by then.

At this stage, it is also opportune to reintroduce an idea from Butler (2006) here. She states that what is the supposed to be the original eventually becomes similarly “performative” as a copy in itself. So what appears to be original is also “a copy to copy” (Butler, 2006, p. 43). As a matter of fact, this argument seems to make perfect sense in light of the Anglo/French colonization in Canada. However, I also assume that copies can only displace the ones who are perceived as the originals as long as they both appear and behave as such to others. So, for any process of social reproduction, it is essential to pay attention not only to how people appear to others but also to how they present themselves. By having these ideas in mind or not, to appear original was exactly what the mentees studied here was generally trying to do by working on their social practices, and then conducting some of them with the help of their mentors. So, after this explanation, let us have the examples.

In contrast to their last rehearsal walk in the park, an atmosphere of excitement seemed to have involved Sarah’s (WCMr) WALKspaces mentoring group on the day of their final walk. Before the time set for their walk to start, the members of her group started to arrive, and then practice their speeches with her. Overall, they all seemed somehow concerned about the pronunciation of certain words. Then I noticed a few mentees reading their scripts in a quiet way, apparently trying to concentrate on what they still had to memorize and/or focus on their presentations. Karim (WMe) was also standing up and looking at the ground if he was trying to
remember a few details. Similarly, Tenzim (WMe) started to walk slowly by also holding up her script at the same time. At that point, Daniel (WMe), who had also taken pictures during the practice of others, was already engaged in some casual conversations. In comparison to the others, he seemed to be the best prepared and most relaxed after all. In reality, that day, his attitude radically differed from the one at their last rehearsal when he seemed unsure about how his final performance was going to be. In any case, Karim’s (WMe) and Tenzim’s (WMe) postures on the day of their final walk also reminded me of performers who try to isolate themselves just before going into the stage. At first, these observations seemed to perfectly fit into Goffman’s (1990) dramaturgical framework. However, most participants of that group also seemed to have struggled so much in order to finally deliver their performances to their audience that day that I then started to see a remarkable parallel with Bhabha’s (2004) and Butler’s (2006) ideas afterwards.

After having observed those mentees that day, I came to realize how hard it must have been for them to give the impression that they were fully capable and ready to deliver their speeches in a way that could have been perceived as competent by others. Additionally, during my first observation of Jurema’s (AFMr) group, she also mentioned a certain insecurity for perhaps appearing too “abrupt” in dealing with her mentees. Based on my conversation with her that day, I sensed her fear for “not being Canadian enough” since she had to conduct her mentoring group meeting in a way that she could be implicitly perceived as authentic by her mentees. However, in one of her interviews, she later minimized what she had first told me that day by perhaps trying to ensure her own sense of competence for what she had just done on the lead of her group. In any case, Jurema’s (AFMr) initial confession at the first day of my observations of her mentoring group was also the closest cue that I was able to catch from foreign-born mentors in terms of any negative emotions possibly connected to a lack of
confidence on their own social performances in Canada. So, as a general rule, projected images of competence could have been also closely associated with generalized assumptions that mentors were experts on multicultural integration.

Anyhow, a preoccupation with the authenticity of certain social performances then resurfaced in this research project when I interviewed Florence (WMe). Since she was a mentee particularly concerned in blending into Canadian society, she also confessed to me not to be always totally aware if she was conducting herself in accordance with Canadian social rules. In this regard, she even said that she would probably realize any missteps later. To convey this idea with more accuracy, she then gave me the example of an experience in a restaurant:

You know, there are some things you don't do mmm, for example, ah, Ok! So in, in, in, a, when we eat, we have what, I don't know, communion food. So we have food in the middle, and everyone helps themselves to their individual [plates]. You don't get food just on your plate. So it's, it's because you are usually, used to doing that back home, so when you do go to a restaurant and you are ordering individually, you know. If I see, if I like that, "that looks good!", you know, I have, have myself just fooling [around] someone's plate, and it's completely normal and, you know, and and my parents would do: "Get in here! Get some more!" You know, and here if I do something like that, probably they would be like: "Ok, that was just weird. Why did this person mmm is helping herself to my food?" And so I have to really [watch out] when I'm with them. I don't know if I'm being me because I'm kind of controlling at all in because I, I, my, my natural impulses may involve things that I'm not… considered the norm here.

In light of Florence’s (WMe) disclosure here, no other participant explicitly verbalized this kind of internal conflict in such a clear way, perhaps not to put a shadow on their own integration into Canadian society. In spite of an absence of comments from other mentees in this regard, I am independently suggesting here that immigrants’ preoccupation with their social performances in Canada may all seem like a genuine guessing game: Have I just pronounced that word correctly? Was I convincing enough? Have I offended anyone? Did I break any rules?
Inside some people’s minds, there may be a continuous review going on, and this can deeply affect the way in which they generally relate to their new social worlds. In reality, some may be in a constant fight in order to project themselves as competent social actors through their daily interactions.

This apparent inability to perfectly fit into Canadian society seems particularly troubling for multiculturalism as a whole because this institutionalizing discourse is based on the ideal that everyone, sooner or later, will be able to completely feel that they belong to the new country. In a sense, this realization comes as a break from Goffman’s (1990) dramaturgical framework because my interpretation of his book implies a certain expectation that most people should supposedly become competent performers at some point and/or after a certain amount of practice. In relation to this point, Goffman (1963) also acknowledges that the ultimate recipe for inclusion in the early 1960’s United States was equivalent to be: “a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports” (p. 128). In multicultural Canada in the mid 2010’s, however, parameters for inclusion do not seem as strict as they were described in here by him. Nevertheless, they still do exist, and, because of multiculturalism, they seem more elusive (or perhaps more performative) than ever before. Therefore, multicultural performances tend to push race, religion or any other sociological features towards a cosmetic realm. In other words, these characteristics tend to operate more disguisedly in multicultural societies like Canada. So, by giving the impression that everyone can be included in Canada, multicultural discourses and practices seem to reinforce meritocratic expectations around immigrants’ competence about their own performances as a necessary step towards their own integration into Canadian society.
7.2.5 The impact of the place of birth on the choice of mentors.

Formally or not, mentoring experiences constitute one of the most crucial elements for the construction of the social fabric of the nation because of their direct implications into people’s social inclusion. In a sense, immigrants’ integration into Canada could be particularly understood in light of one of Bhabha’s (2004) most well-known ideas: It “is almost the same, but not quite” (p. 122). Based on this already famous expression, it is implied for immigrants in Canada that they would be hardly included into the society exactly in the same way that most Canadian-born individuals are. Overall, immigrants’ social conducts could inevitably push them into experiences of slippages, perceptions of excesses and processes of differentiation. In essence, all these outcomes prominently feature into Bhabha’s (2004) book *The Location of Culture*. So, in line with his framework, immigrant mentors would then have a challenging task to convince mentees that they were ideal models for imitation. Consequently, foreign-born mentees would naturally prefer Canadian-born mentors instead. In light of this assumption also mentioned in chapter 2, here I wish to fully investigate the preferences of immigrant mentees in regard to the nationality of their mentors.

In my interviews with the mentees, I frequently asked them if it mattered where their mentors had been born. In light of these inquiries, some participants mentioned that they had no preferences in this regard. In other words, they would not prefer a mentor born here over someone else from another country. Generally speaking, their interests seemed to lie more on how much their mentors potentially knew about what they wanted to learn. More explicitly, these participants were often interested in knowing if their mentors were competent in what they were doing overall. Apparently based on an assumption that inclusion or exclusion could be just a question of competent performances, as this idea is also implied into Goffman’s (1990) work, these mentees’ preferences also seemed to indicate an understanding that anyone could
eventually become a competent social performer in Canada. Consequently, the degree of success of someone’s integration process would basically depend on how much effort and skill this person would be able to put into his or her social performances in order to make them believable. For these participants, as a result, the places of birth of their mentors did not weight more in comparison to other factors. Overall, for them, good mentoring connections normally depended on a combination of a series of elements that included other social features, personality traits, certain interests, and some professional aspects, for example.

Among this group of mentees, I would like to set a participant apart here – Linda (AMe). Based on her mentoring experiences with Artistry, Linda (AMe) did not seem to have had any particular preferences for Canadian-born mentors. In reality, she felt a certain disconnect from her own Artistry mentor, who was indeed Canadian-born. Their distance seemed to have been also associated with a series of elements which included an age difference, a language barrier, their limited time together, distinct priorities as well as similarly introvert personalities. As a matter of fact, she openly refers to their perceived lack of connection as follows: “I don't know [if] she can know my feeling about eh to live in here as a permanent residency, yeah!” Here Linda (AMe) was specifically mentioning their emotional disconnect by partially blaming the fact that her mentor was not an immigrant like herself. This issue seemed to have been also aggravated by a sum of other factors that I have mentioned early on here.

Probably because of this particular experience, Linda (AMe) was then willing to accept a mentor who was not born in Canada, preferentially someone with considerable exposure to life experiences. Once again, this idea highlights the tensions between time and space for the establishment of mentoring connections involving immigrants. Nonetheless, the implications of these issues were already properly discussed in the previous chapter. In any case, Linda (AMe) clearly identified immigrants’ shareable experiences as an important factor for the construction
of potentially good mentoring connections. However, this was an aspect clearly disregarded or devalued by other participants from the first pool of mentees to which I am referring.

In contrast to this first group, there were other participants who more clearly favoured Canadian-born mentors for their mentoring matches. In general, Canadian-born mentors would be then fully able to provide them with satisfying mentoring experiences. From this group of mentees, they all seemed to be focused on mentoring for the exercise of their social practices in Canada. Among these participants, Florence (WMe), for example, mentioned that it would have been a slight disappointment if her WALKspaces mentor had not been Canadian-born. Even despite some lack of clarity in regard to who would qualify as Canadian at first, she somehow leaned towards Canadian-born mentors because of their perceived familiarity with the systems here, and also with the city in itself. In addition, for Rosa (WMe), it was also of ultimate importance that her WALKspaces mentor Sylvia (WCMr) had been born here. In line with this preference, she generally praised how knowledgeable her mentor was, not only about the city but also about the country’s history and its people. Alongside these characteristics, she then emphasized her mentor’s helpfulness and good heart as typically Canadian traits. Finally, Rosa (WMe) mentioned that it was valuable not only that her mentor was born and raised in Canada but also that she had an immigrant background herself. In fact, her mentor’s ancestors originally came to Canada from other parts of the world. This shared immigrant background had supposedly provided her mentor Sylvia (WCMr) with a dual perspective or understanding of how things operated in Canada as well as how to deal with foreigners in general.

In terms of preferences for their mentor’s places of birth, Valeria (AMe) and Mike (WMe) seemed to be the two participants specifically transiting between the two groups previously mentioned here. First, in Valeria’s (AMe) case, her Artistry mentor was not born in Canada but Valeria (AMe) was happy with her anyway. Actually, her mentor seemed to be very
knowledgeable about some professional and employment-related issues in Canada, which were topics of great significance for Valeria (AME). In addition, they both shared a common native language. This characteristic was also helpful for Valeria (AME) because her level of proficiency in the English language did not seem very high at the time of our interviews. Then, when her languages skills improved more, Valeria (AME) would ultimately prefer a Canadian-born mentor for the reasons similarly expressed by Florence (WMe) here. For Valeria (AME), someone born here would have a good understanding of the Canadian culture by also knowing the city well enough, which were aspects that she tended to value as well. In summary, Valeria (AME) tended to synchronize her preferences for mentors based on their places of birth in accordance with the different stages of her own integration into Canadian society.

As the second mentee who was not able to completely fit into the two frameworks discussed here, Mike (WMe) also saw the value of having an immigrant mentor, similarly to the way in which Linda (AME) did in this sense. In reality, he had already had experiences with mentors who had been born outside Canada. So he generally understood the importance of having a second perspective on issues when the mentors were not originally from this country. In line with this idea, Bhabha (2004) more precisely infers in his book that the “double vision” (p. 126) of the mimics is both a blessing and a curse because they tend to repeat colonial discourses by also disrupting them. Not surprisingly, Mike (WMe) referred to this second perspective as able to additionally bring some liabilities as well. For example, since he was also a mentor in his own workplace, he then admitted to possess what he called a “bad ear”. Because of his own perception about his language skills in English, he stated that he could not instruct his mentees in the same way that his WALKspaces mentor usually did. Indeed, his mentor was already very knowledgeable about the Canadian culture, and also a fully competent speaker of the English language. Based on these perceived differences, culture and language appeared to have somehow
affected Mike’s (WMe) own performances as a legitimate mentor by providing himself, and potentially others, with perceptions of a certain “deficiency” in these areas. However, as this idea was already explained in chapter 6, Mike (WMe) also firmly believed in the importance of well-oriented and well-paced mentoring practices for immigrant mentees as well as in their constant self-improvement to the point that these beliefs can better fit into a Goffmanian framework.

By conjointly adding important nuances to this comparison, both Mike (WMe) and Valeria (AMe) seemed to have presented certain characteristics that have positioned them in-between the Bhabian or the Goffmanian frameworks presented here. The two models discussed here appear to be interrelated and fluid as in a continuum. However, more research needs to be done in this regard because this gradation of people’s experiences has been proposed based only on one question - the participants’ preferences for the place of birth of their mentors. In any case, this categorization may be potentially a step forward for us to better understand similar experiences in the future. It should hopefully work more as a starting point for more comprehensive studies that can fully take into account the roles played by key elements such as nationality, language and emotions on the integration of immigrants in Canada.

Particularly in face of this analysis of the in-betweenness present in Valeria’s (AMe) and Mike’s (WMe) cases, language certainly seemed to be an important issue stopping them from fully engaging with the Goffmanian framework. In other words, their language skills in English seemed to be constantly reminding them about the imperfection of their performances in multicultural Canada. Not surprisingly, this concern was also shared among the mentees who were solely placed on the Bhabhian realm. In contrast, the mentees more firmly positioned on the Goffmanian framework did not seem to be overly concerned about their language barriers, except in Linda’s (AMe) case. In reality, the participants’ overall stand in regard to language did not seem be caused by any precise cognitive assessment of their skills either. These perceptions
seemed to relate more to their own evaluations of their English skills based on their own daily
interactions. In the end, their mentoring experiences seemed instrumental in this sense by
providing them with enough space in order to make and consolidate these assessments. Also,
these perspectives seemed to have indirectly affected their expectations around their full
integration into Canadian society as well.

Based on the findings presented here, the use of language as a performative recourse
within and beyond mentoring practices has positioned itself as essential for a better
understanding of the integration of immigrants in Canada. However, in light of a structural
attribution of the title “mentor” only reserved to some people, the initial discussion in chapter 5
has first shown that the role of language for integration is “top-down”. Nevertheless, in this
chapter, participants’ use of language also seems to be “bottom-up” in a much subtler yet equally
powerful way. In this regard, Walcott (2014) could have simply confirmed that this scenario
“signals a commitment to a form of citizenship, and language becomes performative of an ideal
citizenship form” (p. 129). In summary, as this entire discussion has evidenced here, language
can be certainly multifaceted yet key for an assessment of the performances/mimicries of
immigrants as consumers/citizens in Canada as a whole.

7.3 Concluding Remarks for Chapter 7

Based on their mentoring interactions as well as on their other experiences as immigrants,
the participants basically presented distinctive approaches on how well to get integrated into
Canadian society. Also, their perceptions were certainly permeated by the strength of certain
discourses and practices. In particular, multicultural discourses and their practices seemed to
have a lot of weight in Canada. However, in light of everything that was discussed on this
chapter, I remain unsure of how beneficial they can be after all. In general, multiculturalism seems to nurture a society guided by consumerist ideals. This tendency tends to result in social replication processes based on clear-cut objectives. In this scenario, it does not considerably matter what immigrants think and how they feel as long as they are able to adequately portray their ideas and feelings in order to happily fit into their new society. In the end, their social performances could be even perceived merely as mimicries. In any case, immigrants’ mimicries or performances seemed to be part of comprehensive exercises of self-reproduction, backed either by Bhabian needs for assimilatory safety or by Goffmanian multicultural hopes for economic development. Regardless of this tension presented here, ideal immigrants seemed to be the ones already coming here with happy demeanours and subservient predispositions in order to quickly change themselves, and then strictly follow the rules which are already in place in Canada.

In this scenario, institutional mentoring programs has basically promoted an emerging mercantile citizenship in Canada that aims to help immigrants to get better integrated into its society. In this country, mentoring unfortunately gets commoditized and reproduced, mainly because many people tend to understand it more as a tool and less as a process. Therefore, mentoring will be never understood solely as a journey or an epistemology since there are so many interests at play in this case. As part of this “game”, mentoring experiences have then become important components of a capitalist citizenship machine that assimilates and manufactures immigrants into ideal citizens and consumers.
Chapter 8

Conclusion:

Theoretical Highlights, Empirical Results, Implications and Recommendations

Even among recent immigrants, people in Canada are likely to see mentoring as a strategy with a certain utility attached to it. This view is in line with the work of authors like Kathy E. Kram (1985) and Daniel J. Levinson (1978) who are among the most prestigious scholars studying mentoring. In reality, this congruence may be an evidence of the excessive influence of developmental psychology on the way in which mentoring is generally understood in the Western world. In face of this situation, however, this dissertation is part of a growing effort to inspire, not only researchers who wish to study mentoring but also those who write from integration studies, to bring new theoretical and conceptual orientations into these areas of study. Hopefully, a joint effort should be able to stop these topics from definitively succumbing into a widespread instrumentality, which is already deeply rooted into these fields. Mainly as a critique of this present scenario, this research project now moves towards its conclusion.

This dissertation ends here with the presentation of theoretical highlights, empirical results as well as implications and recommendations. More specifically, the initial section will shed light on the theoretical contributions of this project for research in general. Then the empirical results section will summarize the main points discussed here, which are consistent with the study’s research questions. Finally, the implications and recommendations from this study will provide a panorama of the current and future impact of institutional mentoring
experiences on participants, programs and Canadian society as a whole. Now let us begin with the theoretical highlights of this research project.

8.1 Explaining the Theoretical Highlights

There are two major theoretical highlights which have resulted from this research project. I have defined them as: (1) The development of mentoring in a “who/what/how” framework; and, (2) The establishment of an analytical orientation linking emotions, citizenship and consumption. In fact, these two theoretical frames are original approaches developed for this project. So, based on their application, this research project has enabled a reinterpretation of both mentoring and integration which should be certainly beneficial for the fields of study mentioned here as well as for other related (or not) research endeavours.

8.1.1 The development of mentoring in a “who/what/how” framework.

Participants’ general interpretations, observations of their mentoring processes as well as the meanings of these processes worked as the core issues for the discussion in this study. However, the analysis of these elements obeyed a clear orientation for the presentation of the findings in the three previous chapters. By following the framework referred here as “who/what/how”, the theoretical highlights will present the data analysis chapters in an orderly way since each one of them have respectively addressed these interrogative words. In regard to these inquiries, there was an effort to review and criticize those who are defined as mentors (or not), what is considered mentoring from a mainstream Western view and also from alternative
perspectives, and, finally, how mentoring gets socially constructed or reconstructed by/for immigrants in Canada.

The first data analysis chapter focused on “who” the own participants identified as their mentors or not. In other words, this chapter clarified which mentors were excluded or included by participants. In addition, there were also mentors whom the participants were reluctant or resistant to consider as such. In fact, this process of total inclusion, partial inclusion, and exclusion indirectly shed light on the categorization of mentors by the participants. Based on this categorization, I was also able to look at the parameters leading to the identification of certain mentors and not to others, both in Canada and in their countries of origin. However, why were the ontological definitions in mentoring important from a critical point of view?

The initial chapter has shed light on who were empowered as legitimate producers and reproducers of certain ways of knowing, particularly through mentoring, while others were simply ignored or devalued. Primarily, this differentiation is key for keeping and strengthening a system that differentiates and compares countries and their people. Besides, it also reinforces social positions as well as inequities that are already well-defined in Canada. Overall, the positions of immigrants at the bottom of the social pyramid in Canada tends to get entrenched because the knowledge that they bring with them is not considered as important as the knowledge that they need to absorb from more legitimate members of the Canadian society. The examination of this process has shown that there is a clear ontological emphasis on the way in which the Canadian mentoring experiences are constructed by/for immigrants.

The subsequent chapter addressed the second question of the framework applied here: “What” was considered as mentoring by the participants in this research project? Based on findings from the fieldwork, this project has prompted the reconceptualization of mentoring as a
spatiotemporal epistemology or a way of knowing primarily attached to time and space. In this sense, there was a clear advancement of the notion of mentoring as knowledge in practice. This emphasis on a new conceptualization of mentoring has generated an understanding of these experiences in a broader way, which is perhaps one of the main contributions coming out of this study.

In contrast, the way in which mentoring has been predominantly conceptualized in most of the literature tends to reflect a Western understanding of these experiences. However, a certain strictness, in this sense, can also exclude or marginalized other forms of knowledge transmission. As a result, alternative ways of knowing can become ostracized for not attending the instrumental expectations that tend to conveniently push immigrants (and others) in Canada (as well as in other parts of the world) into a certain mentoring “mold”. In the particular cases studied here, even the so called community-based aspect of mentoring, developed inside Canadian formal mentoring programs for immigrants, tended to assume an assimilatory nature at the expense of more creative, spontaneous or solidary community-based ways of knowing. Indeed, one of the greatest challenges for some participants was to connect with certain Canadian places and practices in more meaningful ways. In fact, when substantial attempts were made in this regard, they were not always well-understood, supported or appreciated by the remaining members of the mentoring groups. Nevertheless, this realization here basically shows how unilateral these experiences can eventually become.

As the third element of the framework initially presented here, the last data analysis chapter examined “how” the participants’ formal mentoring experiences effectively worked for their integration. Their activities, inside and outside the groups, took shape in a variety of ways. Particularly in connection with these experiences, participants generally used the mentoring opportunities in order to focus on their own key interests. While some participants seemed to
focus more on the subtleties of Canadian cultural practices or on certain aspects related to language, others had more instrumental goals like the career-related aspects of their practices, for example, that could include the attendance to training sessions and informal interactions for the expansion of their professional network and practice of their skills in Canada.

Because of the emphasis of these activities on ontological and pedagogical issues around mentoring, the participants’ experiences seemed usually undermined in a way. In other words, their mentoring practices often got inflated with elements which were not necessarily epistemological. For example, there was often an excessive focus of the partner agencies (mainly Artistry) on goals established for their programs which usually involved a considerable amount of time dedicated to formal and informal training activities as well as to volunteer work. These efforts impacted on an excessive instrumentalization of the mentoring practices to the point that these experiences became mainly intentional acts with high degrees of effort or mastery attached to them.

Even despite the instrumental nature inherent to their mentoring experiences, participants often felt satisfied and valued in the studied programs. Due to the nature of the activities they had to perform in contact with others and their surroundings, they also expressed mixed emotions such as pleasure, happiness, stress or frustration, for example. Consequently, in these situations, participants generally needed to deal with their emotions in the best possible way. In fact, more details will follow now in this regard.
8.1.2 The establishment of an analytical orientation linking emotions, citizenship and consumption.

Through this examination of the participants’ experiences and their interpretations, it was interesting to discover how significantly emotions influenced their mentoring practices. For example, some participants wished to foster emotionally fulfilling interactions in Canada. This effort clearly appeared in chapter 5 throughout the analysis of the fluidity of the mentoring process moving towards an ideal of friendship. However, because of the potential “messiness” of some mentoring experiences, the same chapter also revealed that an open flow of positive and negative emotions did not seem to have been entirely suitable for the way in which mentoring is formally practiced in the Canadian context. This idea surfaced again in chapter 6 when the negativity of some emotional expressions became equally problematic for a few participants. Indeed, some of their negative emotions seemed to have interfered on their proper integration into Canadian society as a whole. Nevertheless, in the same chapter, the participants’ emotional attachments also suggested positive outcomes for their mentoring and integration processes. Therefore, these variations mentioned here could help to explain why emotions were so important for their mentoring activities by also affecting their broader integration at the same time. In a very complex way, the participants’ emotions “stole the spotlights” of this project since the inductive approach employed on the data analysis basically revealed the centrality of this theme for the study.

Based on the summary of the main ideas around emotions exposed here so far, it is possible to get to the following conclusion: If channeled correctly, emotions could have indeed enhanced participants’ chances for good mentoring connections. Therefore, they could have also facilitated participants’ proper integration processes into the new country. Conversely, negative emotions could have significantly complicated these same processes. However, as it was
illustrated in chapter 6, an emphasis on the participants’ positive attachments to Canada, or even on their satisfying WALKspaces mentoring connections, did not seem to be always sufficient in order to guarantee their social roles as ideal citizens of the country. Actually, it was exactly at that point of the analysis that the consolidation of certain portrayal of the ideal citizen, simultaneously as a consumer, started to surface more prominently in this study. In fact, participants’ most adequate positions, in this sense, seemed to strongly relate to both consistent and positive expressions of their own emotional worlds, not only in relation to mentoring but also, more generally, towards Canada as a whole.

Almost as a solution for situations in which participants were unable to adequately express their emotions in Canadian social situations, the notion of emotional management (Hochschild, 2012) appeared in chapter 7 as a very interesting yet complex concept. However, for an investigation of this concept in-depth, I clearly needed theoretical help. By building on Goffman’s (1990) and Bhabha’s (2004) work, I was then able to contrast their important ideas with the additional help of Ahmed’s (2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012) contributions.

First, it is important to clarify here that Erving Goffman is not a widely cited author in analyses of critical sociology or education in general. Nevertheless, Goffman’s (1990) theory of social performances was very important to translate the way in which a particular group of participants saw mentoring and integration. These participants tended to believe that anyone could integrate well into Canada by establishing good mentoring connections. In general, they represented confident performers who seemed definitively convinced about their instrumental practices and consumerist ideas. Nonetheless, there were some limitations for a full application of Goffman’s framework as this issue was acknowledged by the end of chapter 7, particularly in contrast to the second theoretical reference represented by the work of Homi Bhabha.
Second, Bhabha’s (2004) work was key for a better understanding of mentoring and integration for a second group of participants who more clearly wished to mimic their mentors in a more assimilatory way. As a whole, this group of participants also showed more insecurity about their own possibilities for full integration into Canadian society. Basically, throughout the contrast of Bhabha’s notion of mimicry versus Goffman’s (1990) understanding of performance, ideas that are rarely combined were used in this dissertation to show how immigrants apply different strategies, either as performers or mimics, into their integration processes. Consequently, I suggest here that the comparison of these concepts can be applied and further developed in other studies, not only on mentoring and integration but also more generally in migration studies, among other fields. This proposed approach was another important contribution originated from this research project because it can potentially allow immigrants and their experiences to be understood through new lenses with the incorporation of their emotional investments into the analysis as well.

Third, the inclusion of Ahmed’s (2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012) ideas added a very unique perspective to the participants’ experiences by helping to explain them as happy representations through both their mentoring and integration strategies. More broadly, her contributions also highlighted the importance of the social role that emotions usually play in order to discursively enable and substantiate immigrants’ experiences as a whole. So, after this clarification in regard to the emotional interface originated from the integration of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks employed into this study, I will now proceed with an overview of the main findings structured under each research question.
8.2 Responding the Research Questions

The following discussion of the empirical results will revisit the research questions initially proposed for the project. (1) How do participants interpret their experiences as mentors and/or mentees? (2) How do participants experience the impact of their mentoring connections for their integration into Canadian society? (3) How do instrumental/consumerist and/or communitarian/citizenship discourses and practices permeate mentoring and integration through immigrants’ social performances? The answers to these questions will be respectively addressed in the three following subsections.

8.2.1 Immigrants’ interpretations for mentoring.

As the idea mainly guiding chapter 5, in order to define “who” the participants primarily considered their mentors to be, it is also important to understand how they defined their mentoring experiences as a whole. In other words, participants’ ontological recognitions were intrinsically tied with what they generally related to mentoring first. In fact, for most participants, mentoring was a relatively new concept. In general, there was not a correspondence between their formal mentoring practices carried throughout the Artistry/WALKspaces mentoring programs and their informal and private mentoring experiences. However, while most participants did not clearly refer to their informal mentoring experiences as mentoring, a few were able to tentatively or partially recognize their informal mentoring experiences as such. Nevertheless, these interactions were considered less important than the mentoring experiences formally carried out in Canadian settings. So, as a result of the overall importance usually granted by participants to their formal mentoring experiences, a majority of participants identified as their mentors only people who formally acted as such in the new context.
As a whole, whether participants evaluated their formal Canadian mentoring experiences as mostly positively or not, these were their actual mentoring experiences because they were directly identified as “mentoring” through the proper placement of mentors in roles formally identified with the practice, and they were also carried by multicultural non-profit organization(s) specialized in setting up this kind of volunteer program. In summary, these programs tended to provide participants with a certain sense of structure due to three major elements: (1) The name of the practice; (2) the role for the mentor; and (3) the formal support of certain organization(s). Participants’ overwhelming attachment to these criteria also seemed congruent with a mainstream understanding of mentoring in Canada. In general, the mentoring experiences examined as part of the Artistry and WALKspaces programs tended to provide mentees with an important form of structure in a key moment of their lives when they were trying to integrate into the new country, usually less than five years after their arrival.

By nominally associating their mentoring experiences with themselves or others through the use of terms such as “mentors” or “mentees”, participants overwhelming identified their mentoring experiences fostered in the Artistry and Settling House programs generally as polite, rational, formal, structured, central to their lives, focused on their current needs, based on public interactions, and often leading towards external interests. Because of these characteristics, these interactions were supposed to be somehow more controlled or controllable. Although not all the institutional mentoring experiences happened exactly as described here, they were supposed to be in this manner, at least officially, because they were all oriented towards certain goals (the festival or the final walks) that needed to be done publicly, and then formally achieved within a short period of time.

In light of the structural demands behind their formal mentoring activities, participants did not always express to have established meaningful emotional and/or symbolic connections
growing out of these interactions. When these latter aspects did not exist or were not detected, mentoring commitments could still be completed by the end of the programs. In other words, the structural components of these programs had to be honoured in order to validate these experiences, regardless if more “holistic” mentoring connections eventually surfaced over the course of these activities or not. In summary, the structural elements mentioned here were what effectively made mentoring identifiable to the participants in general.

In contrast, as this idea has been previously presented here, participants generally tended to disregard their informal and/or private mentoring interactions by overwhelmingly failing to recognize their private or past mentors as such. In addition, participants often referred to these connections as unstable, intense, informal and unstructured. In general, these interactions were of peripheral value in light of their instrumental needs in Canada. For this reason, participants were not often focused on their past connections, or the ones carried privately. Since these connections were somehow more complex in comparison to their formal mentoring interactions, they also seemed to be much harder to control. Nevertheless, a few participants tended to avoid and/or treasure their unnamed mentoring connections exactly because of their more intimate nature.

The most surprising finding here was that many mentees, including those who completely or partially disqualified their informal and/or private mentoring connections, seemed to want that their formal mentoring connections fostered in Canada could eventually become closer, more emotionally fulfilling, or more power-balanced as in conventional friendships. In fact, a few participants appeared to have been able to achieve this objective. In any case, participants could still benefit from the “friendly” potential of their formal mentoring connections, not only for bringing additional instrumental advantages in terms of networking but also for providing a structural support represented by the constant volunteer involvement in the group activities. In the analysis, it was also clear that formal mentoring connections were based on certain power
imbalances since the mentors often recognized as such had formalized volunteer connections with at least with one of the partner agencies studied here. In the next subsection, there will be more details on some key aspects of the participants’ mentoring experiences during their integration into Canadian society.

8.2.2 Different mentoring approaches for the integration of immigrants in Canada.

As this idea was present in chapter 6, “what” participants primarily considered their mentoring experiences were usually described by them as very experiential. In general, they referred to these formal mentoring interactions as acts of getting familiar with people and places throughout specific dislocations across time. In fact, this focus on contextual learning also seemed to be different from the way in which formal education is often delivered. Thus, instead of concentrating on “what” they were learning in reality, most of participants seemed to be more concerned about how they could learn differently in Canada. The epistemological value of the experiences basically defined what formal mentoring came to signify for them. Overall, participants justified their motivation to get involved with the mentoring programs studied here in terms of an investment on social practices developed in new spaces for socialization. In reality, this understanding was what eventually led me to a new conceptualization of mentoring as a spatiotemporal epistemology.

Based on the fieldwork, there are two main approaches for an epistemological understanding of mentoring with a clear impact on the integration of immigrants. The first approach seems to be closely related to the way in which the practice is commonly understood in the Western world, which includes the mainstream Canadian society. In this sense, mentoring activities centre around direction and pace by also counting on the identification of important
references along the way. According to this approach, mentoring consequently involves movements that need to be constantly kept under control. In this case, the role of the mentor is essential because he or she is the one showing the mentee(s) the right direction(s) of where to go by regulating the pace and also potentially alerting reference points along the way. Their connection seems to be primarily instrumental as well. In addition, the influence of space and time tends to stay more on the background in this scenario. However, these elements also need to be monitored for the mentee to be able to get to his or her final destination in a timely fashion. Similarly, there are other people whom the mentee(s) may meet on the way that can also be stepping stones towards the desired objective(s). Indirectly, mentoring also contributes to an understanding of integration based on the reach of certain goals through a clear orientation for the future. In summary, as long as mentees do everything “right” along their journey, then they should be able to guarantee a proper Canadian integration.

The second approach to mentoring and integration is distinctively focused on the process, not on the outcomes. Consequently, direction, pace or references do not count as much in this case. However, this second perspective allows for more freedom of movement. The focus here is not only on how mentoring happens across time and space but also on how it is developed in light of interactions with others. More specifically, mentoring, in this sense, tends to encompass connections with people who may appear along the way, and that may even become more important than the original or official mentor-mentee connections in a way. Consequently, according to this approach, it may not be always clear who the mentor is. Besides, the way in which mentoring is understood and fostered can also deeply affect integration as a whole. Integration, in this sense, certainly does not dwell on a conquest of time and space but on gradual and natural interactions with the surroundings. As a result, the emphasis here is mainly on the past because mentoring can offer the basis for personal connections to consistently grow
stronger, and then potentially serve as valuable memories for the ones involved. In spite of its significance, however, this approach to mentoring and integration was certainly not favoured by most participants researched for this project. In any case, it is important to additionally signal that the two approaches presented here could also blend in real life situations due to the influence of a series of factors.

In addition to these two approaches presented here, this dissertation has also advanced the notion that mentoring should ideally provide a liminal space which is supposedly compatible with experiences of conformance, oppression and/or resistance. However, based on findings from this research project, the most common outcomes have mainly led to a certain conformance among the participants by providing significantly less space for situations involving oppression and/or resistance. Consequently, in this sense, mentoring tends to be essentially understood as a strategy used to ensure that people can (more or less successfully) conform to the ways in which society usually operates. Nonetheless, the emergence of too much oppression and/or resistance could have probably meant in practice that the outcomes set for these programs had not been adequately or fully met, and these specific outcomes could have eventually caused the discontinuation of these mentoring programs.

Certain perceptions around mentoring activities and immigrant integration as partially successful experiences could have been also attributed to individual failures. In any case, I have already argued in chapter 6 that the partial integration of immigrants is still the most realistic outcome for their mentoring experiences in spite of overall expectations for full integration into Canadian society. In summary, expectations for holistic integration seemed to be indeed illusory since both mentoring and integration were fundamentally interpreted as dynamic and incomplete processes. This conclusion mainly takes into consideration the spatiotemporal analysis carried in the same chapter. However, the myths around mentoring and Canadian integration have also left
an impression that these processes can be permanently and fully completed. In fact, this is an idea that will further extended in the next subsection with the additional explanation of the impact of multicultural social constructions in Canada.

8.2.3 The overlapping dynamics of discourses and practices around mentoring and integration.

In chapter 7, I paid particular attention to “how” instrumental/consumerist and communitarian/citizenship discourses and practices of participants worked in regard not only to mentoring but also throughout their integration into Canadian society. In reality, I have found that was an overlap between the instrumental and communitarian discourses permeating the participants’ descriptions of their mentoring activities. This pattern also repeated itself throughout the participants’ interpretations of consumerist and citizenship ideas around their Canadian integration. Overall, this examination seemed to be especially relevant because it revealed the interconnection of these discourses which were highly mixed, blurred and variable from one participant to another. In fact, this particular outcome tended to reify and strengthen all the ground work initially done for this project in terms of its framework in chapter 2, and also on the literature review in chapter 3.

As a starting point, Bauman’s (2007) work around consumption certainly helped me to understand that immigrants may have felt compelled to assume and/or perform instrumental and consumerist practices in order to be considered suitable citizens in contemporary Canada. In addition, Canadian multiculturalism seemed to have uniquely placed itself in this particular context. In fact, in the analysis, I have presented multiculturalism essentially as an institutionalized capitalist mode used for the integration of immigrants through my analysis of
some of the cases studied here. Then I have additionally introduced Toronto as a brand or as a commodified space where immigrants seemed to be key actors for the consolidation of this specific spatial representation proposed here. In this hybrid space, immigrants generally converged to a certain repetition of practices and understandings.

As one of the strategies used to ensure a proper integration of immigrants into Canadian society, mentoring appeared deeply implicated into the multicultural framework by apparently reinforcing participants’ sense of a happy conviviality in Toronto. As part of a broader training initiative that was in particular evidence on the preparation and also during the Artistry festival, mentoring practices, as control mechanisms, particularly surfaced apparently in support of mentors and mentees to better relate to each other and their surroundings in a commodifying way. Since these same mentoring activities also carried a volunteer component with a certain utility or productivity attached to them, these activities, in conjunction, led some participants to feel devalued and objectified throughout their involvement in the festival. Overall, the institutionalization of mentoring/volunteerism seemed to have enabled the participants’ experiences to be more generally packaged or disguised in a simulacrum capable of allowing immigrants to be able to better sell themselves as Canada’s ideal citizens.

In the case of the programs researched here, institutional mentoring seems to have definitively accelerated the commodification of the Canadian integration process. As it has been previously shown, this kind of program, specifically focused on immigrants, tends to strongly influence how citizens should behave and feel in this country. While most immigrants may not even mind this approach, a few could still object to it. In light of this situation, Canadian society seems destined to be constituted by happy multicultural clones, essentially deprived from freely controlling their emotions in ways that could have been more beneficial for them or for the society as a whole.
However, by facing their negative emotions, immigrants could be, instead, more engaged in alternative exercises around active citizenship. Then they would be better equipped to fight multicultural norms that can be indeed oppressive or marginalizing, even when only their economic integration is taken into account. Whenever convinced that this kind of integration can be elusive in terms of their effective inclusion into the society, it is uncertain if immigrants would want so much control on their lives. Alternatively, their partial integration would be a highly preferable choice. In a way, it could allow them with some space to more freely express themselves, and then pursue truly inclusive paths throughout other forms of socialization.

In any case, real inclusion does not seem to be exactly the direction in which multiculturalism is taking Canada as well as its new immigrants. Multicultural discourses are already pushing the nation towards an increasing commodification of social relations, through mentoring practices or not, by also excluding immigrants who are unable to keep up with the considerable amount of training that is demanded for their Canadian integration. In fact, with these ideas around the commodification of mentoring and integration in mind, I have been able to answer the third and last research question proposed for this research project. Now it is time to move to the last section of this chapter when final considerations will be provided in light of the outcomes of this study.

8.3 Suggesting Implications and Recommendations

In light of the issues compiled here so far, most participants from this study clearly wished to perform their mentoring activities in the same way that they are employed by others in the host society. Consequently, they were indeed willing to be acculturated as a matter of choice, survival or for any other reason. It is also important to be realistic in this regard by not ignoring
the pressure on immigrants in order to adapt and succeed in the new country by any means. Based on this reflection, mentoring seemed to be hardly an emancipatory choice for the integration of immigrants as a whole. Nevertheless, in order to transform the way in which most mentoring programs generally operate in Canada, there are a few aspects that need to be recognized first. In case of enough willingness and interest in order to enhance these programs, certain changes can be implemented as a result of this recognition. For this reason, key implications and recommendations will be offered as follows.

### 8.3.1 The influence of nationality and language on the institutional mentoring experiences of immigrants.

Issues around race, gender, age, social class and religion were all important elements considered in this dissertation. Even though these features were acknowledged and discussed over the course of the analysis, they did not seem to gain much prominence to the point of considerably influencing the findings in the specific context studied here. However, a couple of other characteristics eventually surfaced as relevant aspects: Nationality and language. In fact, the emergence of nationality as a key feature was not surprising at all because this study centred around the integration of immigrants through an examination of their mentoring experiences in Canada. Since the participants’ mentors included both established Canadian immigrants as well as others born in Canada, it was clear, in this sense, that perceived differences and similarities could be, as they were, a fertile ground for an extensive exploration of the influence of nationality on the issues faced by participants. Nevertheless, I was pleasantly surprised to find that language also emerged as an important element throughout the study because of its significant impact on both mentoring and integration.
However, before extending myself on the important role of language here, I will first explain the participants’ preferences for their mentors’ nationalities. In fact, I confronted Goffman’s (1990) and Bhabha’s (2004) ideas in order to investigate if the foreign-born mentees would lean towards foreign-born mentors or not. If mentees had mostly seen themselves as performers, their mentors’ nationality might not have been important to them, at least discursively. In contrast, if they had envisioned themselves more as mimics, then their mentors’ nationality would have been significantly more relevant. As this study eventually revealed, there were some participants who preferred Canadian-born mentors while others did not seem to care about their mentors’ nationalities. In addition, there were a couple of mentees who seemed to have reflected upon their mentors’ places of birth in subtler ways. In response to these particular positions, I placed these two participants in-between the Goffmanian and the Bhabhian frameworks presented here. Once again, the overall approach framing these differences is certainly tentative and incomplete, and it requires further investigation in order to ground what has been initially proposed here.

After having explained the main impact of national preferences on this study, I can now provide a full explanation of the influence of language here. In fact, language also surfaced in the analysis of the two participants who were in-between positions in terms of a preference for their mentors’ nationalities. In these two cases as well as in others, language seemed to be key for the immigrants’ assessment of their own social performances or mimicries. In reality, for some participants, an (in)ability to convince others that they were authentic members of the Canadian society could be directly associated with their own perceptions as (in)competent speakers of English. Regardless of their actual ability to speak English well enough, a perceived discomfort or preoccupation in this sense could not only have manifested itself inside their own mentoring
groups. Nevertheless, with a clear focus on language or not, the studied mentoring groups often provided participants with valuable opportunities for them to master their social practices.

It is also important to add here that participants’ English language skills were more than just a central element of their social practices. As this idea was previously mentioned here as well, language was also strategically used by participants in order to identify those who could potentially help them the most during their integration. Therefore, mentors formally named as such generally tended to assume a great relevance for their mentees. Although this form of categorization was rarely acknowledged by the participants, it showed how language can pervasively operate in the apparently democratic spaces in the Canadian multicultural society. They are usually where different cultures and languages are supposed to be all celebrated. In this context, what seemed to have mattered the most for the participants were processes of social reproductions based on assimilatory concerns and/or economic rationalities, which were certainly facilitated through their strategic identification of formal mentors.

Finally, the use of language also influenced participants’ experiences in a more pragmatic way. Their struggle to speak English well enough, or with sufficient confidence, seemed to work as a significant barrier for their integration. In fact, in different moments of the analysis, language generally functioned to “slow participants down” by creating communication breakdowns. After the identification of this third aspect, now all the three main forms in which language prominently appeared in this research project can be summarized as follows: (1) As a performative element for the social practices of participants; (2) As an instrumental label to categorize or hierarchize people and their ways of knowing; and, finally, (3) as an important mechanism defining the social inclusion or exclusion of participants based on their linguistic ability in the mainstream language. In a more explicit way or not, language is certainly key for immigrants’ social connections throughout their processes of integration.
As it has been concluded in this study, language and nationality were the participants’
main features with the greatest impact on their mentoring experiences by also affecting their
integration into Canadian society as a whole. Since nationality was already an essential element
in this project, here I recommend further investigations, not only in terms of mentors and
mentees’ national differences but also mainly about the impact of language on their mentoring
experiences in order to corroborate (or not) the initial findings gathered here. In addition to a
particular attention to language issues, policymakers should indeed have in mind the importance
of the flexibilization of mentoring programs serving immigrants in order to accommodate
different levels of linguistic proficiency in English, among other issues. Fortunately, this
perceived need for flexibilization will be central for the discussion that will follow next.

8.3.2 The flexibilization of Canadian mentoring programs as a feasible solution?

Although the institutionalization of mentoring seems widespread in Canada, the
applicability of the practice does not seem to be entirely consensual or firm enough, partially
because of the lack of a reliable theoretical basis in order to ground it on (chapter 3). In this
sense, a better conceptualization of mentoring is precisely one of the potential benefits of the
present study as this suggestion has been already provided here. Therefore, since there are
different understandings in regard to what mentoring means, the first recommendation, in this
sense, is to allow Canadian institutional mentoring practices with enough flexibility in order to
adequate them to participants’ different views, which are certainly not always completely in line
with a hegemonic understanding of these experiences in Canada. Nevertheless, this suggestion
will also face certain practical challenges that will be addressed as follows.
First of all, a clear effort to make formal mentoring practices more flexible in Canada would probably demand a higher level of cooperation from different stakeholders like mentors, staff from non-profit agencies and funders, for example. In any case, it is also questionable if it would be in their best interest to allow certain flexibilizations to happen. In reality, a widespread resistance to the flexibilization of mentoring practices could indeed include the own participants’ distinct needs and expectations, current mainstream ideas privileging an instrumental notion of education, and, more importantly, the prevalence of a neoliberal mindset behind the institutionalization of certain practices in social services. Particularly in regard to this last point, parameters measuring the success of these programs in Canada would also need to be sufficiently versatile in order to allow extensive changes to occur. However, in the end, a more malleable approach suggested here could possibly help institutional mentoring programs to become slightly more inclusive because they would not entirely rely on somehow deceptive impressions of inclusion often given by multicultural practices and policies.

By possibly making multicultural mentoring experiences less assimilatory or market-oriented, more flexible institutional mentoring programs could also stress a certain “humanity” behind these connections. For example, since many mentees studied here wanted their mentors to become friends, future volunteers would need to be alerted about mentees’ expectations in this sense because these orientations could potentially stretch their interactions beyond the official commitments set for their programs. In particular, volunteer mentors would ideally have to fully understand the specificities of their mentees’ situations, who would usually lack a well-established support system in the destination country, for example. In addition, immigrants’ mentoring ethnic connections would not need to be completely disconnected from the multicultural ones either. In other words, initiatives could be stimulated in order to connect the participants’ private and/or past mentoring networks with their official or formal mentoring
network. Finally, policymakers could also invest on programs with different lengths of time, and/or variations in this sense would appropriately depend on the participants’ needs. In reality, based on some interviews, WALKspaces program already seems informally flexible in terms of its length. Anyway, in the end, all these ideas suggested here could potentially stop on the comprehensive professionalization of education and social services, which tends to support views on mentoring primarily as assimilatory and marketable.

Both the WALKspaces and the Artistry programs were already very flexible in a sense since they usually allowed participants to meet their instrumental needs, their community-based needs, or more often a mix of both. So most mentors of these programs often took their mentees’ needs into consideration by not always giving the impression that they were on automatic modes either. In any case, participants’ overall expectations for these programs should ideally be always well-negotiated inside each group with the optional involvement of staff in the process, and also with the full acknowledgment and allowance of the decision-makers involved. In summary, this is certainly an important aspect of this kind of program that needs special attention on the part of mentees, mentors and organizers alike.

Still in regard to an ideal balance between the instrumental and community-based aspects of mentoring programs, a certain flexibilization was not sufficient to make neither the Artistry nor the WALKspaces program truly inclusive since a certain acculturation seemed to be the most likely outcome for the participants studied here. By getting their mentoring needs fully met, participants could possibly get farther and farther from their roots, and this move could be potentially more harmful than beneficial for them in the long run. They could possibly find themselves in dangerous in-between spaces; no longer fitting into their countries of origin, and not perfectly adjusting into their destination country either. In this sense, a strong push towards conformance could cause more alienation, and then intensify acts of resistance that could
threaten other than unify. In this particular scenario portrayed here, inclusion and exclusion could consequently become highly interchangeable and abstract notions in spite of the apparently good intentions behind this kind of program. Therefore, mentoring programs like the ones studied here have the potential to create as many problems as well as the capacity to solve them.

In face of all the dangers associated with mentoring, even in more flexible formats as in the initiatives researched here, the only solution may be more investment on creative elements without any guarantee that they can indeed significantly transform these institutional programs into more inclusive endeavours. An effort in this direction could potentially move programs towards real community development by truly fulfilling their communitarian promises. Unfortunately, the mentoring programs studied here did not seem to have allowed participants with many chances to creatively connect with one another or with their different spaces. Alternatively, the Artistry mentoring program could have allowed, for example, mentors and mentees to be also on the stage instead of reserving them only off stage opportunities as volunteer contributors in supporting roles during the festival. However, while on the stage, they can be still commodified by audiences anyway. So the danger here is, once again, the cooptation of communitarianism through mentoring in the same way that multiculturalism has been doing with so many of its initiatives. In the end, any proposals to make the mentoring practices in Canada more inclusive tend to fatally stop on the cosmetic and superficial approach of multicultural policies and practices, which are deeply rooted on a capitalist framework.

By disturbing this tendency towards commodification, new mentoring programs focused on immigrants could attempt to reverse the power relations that tend to mark these connections in general. Members of First Nations or newcomers could then mentor established immigrants or native-born Canadians, for example. These programs could also focus on the transmission of indigenous and foreign ways of knowing in spaces and times that are meaningful to the mentors.
As a result, certain ways of knowing that are often devalued or ignored might have more chances to be reproduced here somehow. In this way, the cultures of reference for mentoring interactions would be the minority ones, instead of having the centrality of these experiences only focused on mainstream cultures. In the end, new mentoring programs could be then undertaken more creatively with a real emphasis on cultural sensitivity. In general, this seems to be the most sensible strategy in order to go forward with this kind of formal program without trying to change the basic nature of mentoring as a mode of social reproduction. Of course, dominant ideas would still affect these processes as well. Besides, more conventional mentoring programs would probably continue to exist. However, even limitedly, the dissemination of mentoring programs, as the ones suggested in this last paragraph, could offer a break, or even some hope to societies marked by endearing discourses like multicultural Canada.
References


Appendices

Appendix A – Invitation E-mail to Mentoring Groups

Dear participant in our mentoring program,

I would like to invite you to take part in Hewton Tavares’ doctoral study called “Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada”. Hewton is currently a doctoral student in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice in Education department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education – University of Toronto, and he is doing his research here with us on the practices of immigrants based on the relationships between mentors and mentees. In other words, his project will investigate the importance, dynamics and composition of mentoring relationships for the integration of immigrants in Canada.

For the first part of his research project, he would like to meet with you, and observe your meetings, activities and volunteer shifts until the end of the activities set for your group. In order to take part in his study, please feel free to send a message to hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca. At your discretion, please also feel free to forward this message to your mentoring group and/or talk to all the participants of your group when you meet with them next time. In the case that the number of groups interested in taking part in his research is greater than expected, Hewton should be following the activities of mentoring groups that first send him a message showing interest in his research project, and then eventually invite him to their meetings. While Hewton will certainly appreciate the interest of your group in freely taking part in his study, there is no obligation from your group in taking part in it, and your group can ask him to stop the observations at any time if you don’t feel comfortable with his participation. Once he meets with your group for the first time, he will be able to ask your group for their oral consent in order to make sure that everyone will be OK with his participation. During his observations, he will also be taking notes. However, please be aware these notes are confidential, and he will be referring to you through fake names in his notes. In the same way, he will be also replacing any names of people or places that can potentially identify the participants of your group.

Based on his observations, Hewton will be collecting information about your interactions inside the mentoring groups. For example, which kind of information people share with each other, and which kind of activities people do together as well. Once his observations are over, he will be making notes in order to add to other sources of information for his research project. In the end, the accumulated and generalized information based on his observations will serve as the basis of his main doctoral work and other related academic pieces of work that he will be preparing in the future. In any case, all the printed and electronic tools that he will be using to collect information will be kept in safe places during his research project, and they will be destroyed up to five years from the date that his main doctoral project is published.

Once Hewton’s observations conclude, he may start to individually invite you and/or participants of your group for the second part of his research project - the two individual collage interviews. Each interview will combine questions made by him in association with a collage exercise.
in collaboration with you. In other words, you and the researcher should both cut images and/or texts from magazines, newspapers and other materials, and the selected material should be glued into a big piece of paper by the end of the second interview in order to represent some of your answers provided to the researcher during the exercise. These two-hour sessions will take place in a private room at Artistry, Settling House or the University of Toronto, and they should be audio recorded. However, he will go into more detail about this second part of his research when the time comes. Please note that having him observing your group does not necessarily mean that you and/or the participants of your group need to take part in his collage interviews either. Once again, the participation in any stage of Hewton’s research project is totally voluntary.

In regard to this doctoral project, Hewton has had the full supervision of Dr. Rinaldo Walcott who is a professor at the University of Toronto. In addition, please do not hesitate to contact Hewton at hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca in case you have any questions or concerns regarding his study. Alternatively, you can also contact his supervisor Dr. Walcott at rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca. If you have any questions that Hewton or Dr. Walcott are not able to fully explain, you can certainly contact the University of Toronto’s Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or at (416) 946-3273 for more information about your rights as research participants.

Finally, Hewton is a very open and easy going guy. He will certainly appreciate your participation in his doctoral research!

Regards,

Artistry’s or Settling House’s Staff person’s name
Appendix B – Invitation E-mail to Participants for the Interviews

Dear X,

I am currently a doctoral student in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice in Education department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education – University of Toronto. At this opportunity, I would like to invite you to take part in my doctoral study called “Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada”. By participating in 2 two-hour collage interviews to be conducted by me, you will be able to better understand your mentoring experiences and then express how these experiences may be affecting your integration into the Canadian society. In other words, we will both cut images and/or texts from magazines, newspapers and other materials, and the selected material should be glued into a big piece of paper by the end of the second interview in order to represent some of your answers to my questions during the exercise.

Each interview will combine questions in association with a collage exercise. At the beginning of the first interview, I will ask you to complete a short questionnaire about your age, gender, nationality, spoken languages, race, marital status, and immigration status in Canada. Then I will ask you general questions on your immigration experience, your integration into the Canadian society, and your past and current mentoring relationships as a mentor and/or as a mentee. Each interview session will be take place in a private room at Artistry, Settling House and/or the University of Toronto. If you volunteer to participate in collage interviews, please take into consideration that you will be able to freely leave this study at any time up to six months after my first meeting with you, and you can always inform me of your decision in person or by e-mail. In addition, if you decide to leave the project in the future, your action will not have any negative consequences for you. In fact, this decision can be made without any further explanation to me, and it will not affect your position as a Artistry and/or Settling House participant either. However, if you decided to take part in the collage interviews, we should be able to conclude your collage by the end of the second interview, and I will truly appreciate your participation in this research project.

Unfortunately, I am not able to pay for your participation in this study. In addition, any information that can potentially identify you will remain confidential, and it will only available to the research team. In order to protect your identity, I will use a fake name through my interactions with you during the collage interviews. If you accidentally give me any information that can identify you, people or places that you know during the interviews, I will change it, and your participation in my research project will continue to be anonymous.

Finally, all the printed and electronic information generated as instruments for analysis through your collaboration in this project will be securely kept in safe places, and all the materials, except for the published outcomes and the collages, will be destroyed up to five years from the main publication of the doctoral project. If you wish to receive an electronic copy of your collage, a summary of my interviews or even get information about the future directions of this research project, you should contact me directly. After the study, I will not have the ability to contact you.
Please also have in mind that your collage will be viewed by others in the end, so these other people can also learn more about mentoring practices, and immigrants’ integration in Canada through this study. With your permission, your collage interviews will be audio recorded. Both your collage and the written format of your interviews (transcriptions) can be used for this doctoral study in a variety of ways in publications, websites and exhibits, for example.

In regard to this doctoral project, I have the full supervision of Dr. Rinaldo Walcott who is a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this invitation, you can contact me at hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca or alternatively my supervisor Dr. Walcott at rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca. I will also review all these details about the interview process again if you agree to meet with me for the first collage interview. Then you will be asked to sign a consent form which will be a bit more detailed but it will still be very similar to this invitation message. Finally, if you have any questions that my supervisor or I are not able to fully explain, you can certainly contact the University of Toronto’s Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or at (416) 946-3273 for more information about your rights as a research participant.

Please let me know when a first meeting would be convenient for you that I will book the room. I can then confirm the place, date and time of your first individual collage interview. In advance, I would like thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
Appendix C – Field Note (sample)

When Tenzim was back from the washroom, we kept walking towards one of the exits of the park. Then we actually passed an area where people can leave their dogs off their leashes inside a fenced space. My comments about the dogs there probably prompted someone from the group to ask me if I had a dog. When I answered that I had one, Tenzim asked me what was the name, the size, and finally the breed. Then I told her that my dog was called (the name) like the flower, and that she had big long furry ears. I actually told her that my dog was a black and white American cocker spaniel. Finally, I told her that it was also a shy dog. She only likes my partner and me, and I believe that Tenzim even chuckled at this comment. Then Tenzim also said that she had two dogs back in (her country). When I asked their names, Tenzim did not know how to properly say their names in English because they obviously had names in her own language. In the end, Sarah even told Tenzim that she had heard that not many people in (her country) had dogs, and then Tenzim confirmed this piece of information as being correct as well.

At that stage of the walk, we were already reaching an area of the park with some tennis courts, and then Tenzim asked me if I knew how to play tennis. When I said that I did not know, Tenzim also said that she did not know either. However, she told me that she knew how to play ping pong, and I said that I also liked to play ping pong as well. Then, during that part of the conversation, she told me more about her son by mentioning that he was doing his Masters at U of T. In fact, it seems that he goes to his school walking. Then I joked with her that he did the same thing that we were doing at the park that day. She also asked me when I was going to finish my doctoral studies, and I said that I was going probably to finish them in 2015. Then she repeated the question probably thinking that I had misunderstood her question. Then I
repeated the same answer by also adding that I had started my studies back in 2010. In the end, she even seemed surprised that my studies would take so long, and she also seemed glad that her son’s studies were not going to be as long as mine.

Coming from the (last stop), we had walked at one of the big roads of the park for at least fifteen minutes. When we were already almost on the edge of the park, we stopped again. We were actually heading towards the subway station but Sarah had to go back in order to get her bicycle. Then she said that she had to leave us there. Before going, she first wanted to make sure that her mentees wanted to eventually make their final walk at High Park if. Secondly, she also wanted to know if we were going to meet in the park in the following week.

At that point, the group seemed stuck in regard to which decisions to make. Once again, the source of the indecision was centred around Tenzim. First of all, Tenzim seemed reluctant to have their walk there, and this was noticed by Sarah who mentioned the situation in a polite way. Actually, Sarah seemed to want to have this issue clarified first in order to move to the second point - the decision around the place of the next meeting. In any case, Tenzim did not openly express why she was reluctant to have the walk at that park, and she asked Karim what he thought about it. Karim then said that having the walk at that park seemed like a good idea, and Sarah was clearly leaning towards it as well. After Karim said that he preferred to have the walk there, Tenzim apparently agreed to have the walk at that park.
Appendix D – Sociodemographic Questionnaire

Sociodemographic questions

1. How old are you?
   ________________________________________________________________ years old

2. Where were you born?
   ________________________________________________________________

3. What is your gender?
   (   ) Female       (   ) Male

4. What is your first language?
   ________________________________________________________________

5. What is your race?
   ________________________________________________________________

6. What is your marital status?
   (   ) Single       (   ) Married/Common-law       (   ) Divorced/Separated (   ) Widow(er)

7. What is your immigration status in Canada?
   (   ) Citizen              (   ) Permanent Resident (   ) Convention Refugee (   ) Other

8. When did you come to live in Canada?
   ________________________________________________________________

9. Why have you come to Canada?
   ________________________________________________________________

10. Have you lived in any other countries before you came to live here in Canada?
    ________________________________________________________________

11. If you answered “yes” to the previous question, please specify the periods of time that you lived in the country(ies) other than your home country and Canada?
12. In case you are not a Canadian citizen, do you wish to become a Canadian citizen?  
( ) Yes      ( ) No ( ) Not sure

Why or why not?

________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________
Appendix E – Questions about the Participants' Mentoring Experiences

13. Did you have any mentors and/or mentees before coming to Canada?
   ( ) Yes  ( ) No  ( ) Not sure
   Please explain your answer:
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________

14. Why have you become interested in the mentoring program from Artistry/ Settling House?
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________

15. When did you start to participate in this mentoring program from Artistry/ Settling House?
   ___________________________________________________________________________

16. Has your recent mentoring experience at the Artistry/ Settling House program helped you to understand what is Canadian citizenship?
   ( ) Yes  ( ) No  ( ) Not sure
   Please explain your answer:
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________

17. Has your recent mentoring experience at the Artistry/ Settling House program helped you to get prepared for the Canadian job market?
   ( ) Yes  ( ) No  ( ) Not sure
   Please explain your answer:
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________
Appendix F – Interview Guide for the Collages

**Part I (first session)**

1. Do you know what mentoring is? (What does mentoring mean to you? – alternative question) Before answering it, I would like you to select pictures, drawings or any materials here that could represent this idea, and then you can start from there.

2. Would you be able to select pictures, drawings or any materials that could represent what you consider the best aspect(s) of being a mentor/mentee?

3. Would you be able to select pictures, drawings or any materials that could represent what you consider the worst aspect(s) of being a mentor/mentee?

4. Would you be able to identify people (mentors and/or mentee) who have been significant in your life? Why/how is this specific person or are these people significant to you? Would you select pictures, drawings or any materials here that would represent this person or these people?

5. Would you give me more details of when, where and how you met this person and how you realized that this person had become a mentee/mentor? Was it an immediate process or did it take a long time?

6. Would you be able to select pictures, drawings or materials that could represent what you have learned/taught from/to this person that you can consider significant in your life?

7. Has a mentor/mentee ever disappointed you? If yes, please provide details of why, how and in which circumstances this person disappointed you. In this case, would you like to be able to select pictures, drawing, materials that could represent this experience/ these experiences?

**Part II (second session)**

1. Would you please select pictures, drawings or other materials that could represent your home country(ies)?

2. Would you select pictures, drawing or other materials that could represent this other country (or these other countries) where you also lived for some time? (if applicable)

3. Would you select pictures, drawing or other materials that could represent Canada?

4. Would you be able to identify the most important contribution gained from any mentee or mentor that can be helpful for you to be integrated into Canada? Would you be able to represent this idea with pictures, drawings or any other materials?
5. Do you think that any aspect of your learning through mentoring could be significant for your future? Could you select pictures, drawings or any other materials in order to represent this idea?
Appendix G – Consent Form for the Interviews

Consent Form

Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada

What is this project?

This research project is an integral part of Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares’ doctoral studies in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Social Justice in Education department at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. His doctoral study intends to better understand the practices of immigrants based on the relationships between mentors and mentees. In other words, this project should investigate the importance, dynamics and composition of mentoring relationships for the integration of immigrants in Canada.

What will I have to do?

- I will participate in 2 two-hour collage interview sessions in order to explore my mentoring experiences and then express how these experiences may be affecting my integration into the Canadian society. In other words, the researcher and I will cut images and/or texts from magazines, newspapers and other materials, and the selected material should be glued into a big piece of paper by the end of the second interview in order to represent some of my answers to the researcher’s questions during the exercise.
- First, I will also complete a short questionnaire about my age, gender, nationality, spoken languages, race, marital status, and immigration status in Canada. In addition, I will answer general questions concerning my immigration experience, my integration into the Canadian society, and, finally, my past and current mentoring relationships as a mentor and/or as a mentee.
- I also understand that each interview session is taking place in a private room at Artistry, Settling House and/or the University of Toronto.

Who can I contact if I have questions?

This entire study is conducted by the doctoral candidate Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares under the supervision of Dr. Rinaldo Walcott who is a professor in the University of Toronto. If I have any questions or concerns regarding this study, I can contact Mr. Tavares at hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca, or alternatively his supervisor Dr. Walcott at rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca.
I also understand that:

1. I am volunteering to participate in this study. For this reason, I can freely leave this study at any time up to six months after my initial meeting with the researcher, and I should inform him of this decision in person or by e-mail. In addition, if I experience any discomfort or don’t like a topic during the interviews with the researcher, I can chose not to respond to questions. In reality, any decision to leave this doctoral study or refuse to answer specific questions will have no negative consequences for me. In addition, these decisions can be made without any explanation to the researcher, and they will not affect my position as a Artistry and/or Settling House participant either.
2. I will not receive money or any financial compensation for my participation in this study.
3. Any information obtained as part of this study will remain confidential, and it will only available to the research team. In order to protect my identity, I will use a fake name through my interactions with the researcher during the collage interviews.
4. In order to collect information, the interviews will be audio recorded, and the researcher may also take notes. In addition, I understand the research team will never ask me for information that could possibly identify me. If I provide information that can identify me during the interviews for any reason, the researcher will change it, and I will remain anonymous.
5. I am aware that my interactions with the researcher will develop in a respectful way, and the researcher will not criticize my performance or make me uncomfortable in any way during the collage interviews. If I feel uncomfortable for whatever reason, I can always ask the researcher to withdraw or skip certain activities during the process.
6. During this study, I will be answering questions, and I will be asked to create a collage that will be viewed by others, so other people can learn more about mentoring practices, immigration experiences and immigrants’ integration in Canada. For the creation of my collage, I will receive magazines, newspapers and other materials from the researcher.
7. My collage can be academically and/or artistically used for this doctoral study in a variety of ways such as publications, websites and exhibits, for example. I also understand that the information originated from the transcriptions - the written outcomes of my oral interviews - will be primarily used for academic and educational purposes by the researcher of the study. Besides the use of this information for the completion of his doctoral dissertation, the dissemination of all the findings of this study can be also done in scholar publications, exhibitions, conferences, interviews and websites, for example. Finally, this additional dissemination of the results of the study can be partially made during the development of the project or only after the doctoral dissertation is fully completed.
8. All the printed and electronic information generated as instruments for analysis through my collaboration in this project will be securely kept in safe locations, and all the materials, except the published outcomes and the collages, will be destroyed up to five years from the main publication of the doctoral project.
9. If I wish to receive an electronic copy of my collage, a summary of my interviews or even get information about the future directions of this research project, I should contact the researcher directly. After my participation in the study, I understand that the researcher will not have the ability to contact me.
10. If I have questions about my rights as a participant that the research team did not explain, I will be able to contact the University of Toronto’s Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or (416) 946-3273 for more information.

Participant Consent

I understand what the study “Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada” is, and what is necessary for my participation in this study as well. I have read the information above, and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Then I
am giving my consent here to participate in this study. In fact, I have been also given a copy of this form for my own information.

Sincerely,

Signature of the Participant

______________________       _____________________________       ____________________
Name           Signature of the participant  Date (mm/dd/yr)

Signature of the Investigator

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

______________________       _____________________________       ____________________
Name           Signature of the investigator  Date (mm/dd/yr)

Researcher’s Name: Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
Researcher’s E-mail Address: hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca

Supervisor’s Name: Dr. Rinaldo Walcott
Researcher’s E-mail Address: rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca

#1 Partner Agency’s Contact Person: (undisclosed)
Organization: Artistry
Position: (undisclosed)
E-mail: (undisclosed)

#2 Partner Agency’s Contact Person: (undisclosed)
Organization: Settling House
Position: (undisclosed)
E-mail: (undisclosed)
Appendix H – Codes for Transcription

Conventions for Transcription

Speaker identity/turn start: :

Speech overlap: [ ] or (overlapping)

Non-verbal communication or other sounds like coughing, laughing, sneezing: (looking at me) or (laughing)

Inability to hear what was said: (inaudible) or (xxx) with the x’s representing the guessed number of words

Inability to hear what was said with tentative word or sentence and question mark: (word?)

Truncated word or unable to complete the word or sentence: -

Final transitional continuity: .

Continuous transitional continuity: ,

Appeal transitional continuity: ?

Medium or long pause: …

Short pause: ..

Researcher’s comment: (( ))

Speaking louder than the average or with an emphasis (big caps): WORD

Held sounds with repetition and hyphens: “I was ve-er-r-r-ry happy”

Reproduction of what someone else said: (mimicking voice) “What’s your problem, dear?”

After the grammatical mistake: [sic]

Exclusion of part of the passage from the quote: [...]

Appendix I – Codebook

1. Deconstructing and Reconstructing Mentoring

1.1. Knowledge Versus Experience

1.1.1. Big Questions in terms of Knowledge and Experience

1.1.1.1. Mentoring as a Learning Process

1.1.1.2. Mentoring Styles as Personal Attributes

1.1.1.3. Mentors as Guides or Sources of Knowledge

1.1.2. The Value of the Mentoring Experience

1.1.2.1. Age and Experience

1.1.2.2. Mentoring based on Life Experiences

1.1.2.3. Place of Birth and Experience

1.1.2.4. Width and or Depth of Experience

1.1.3. Trading Knowledge

1.1.3.1. Accessing Mainstream Knowledge

1.1.3.2. Devaluation of Foreign Knowledge

1.1.3.3. Lack or Overload of Local Knowledge

1.1.3.4. Optimization or Compatibility between Different Systems of Knowledge

1.1.3.5. Reluctance to Reassess Foreign Knowledge or Gain Local Knowledge

1.1.3.6. Similarities of Interests, Dissimilarities or Lack of Interest

1.1.3.7. Waste of Knowledge during the Process

1.2. The Importance of the Structure in Mentoring

1.2.1. Formal Mentoring

1.2.1.1. Mentoring and Certification

1.2.1.2. Mentoring and Work Ethics

1.2.1.3. Mentoring Skills

1.2.2. Group Mentoring

1.2.2.1. Communication Issues in Group Mentoring
1.2.2.2. Comparisons between One-on-one and Group Mentoring

1.2.2.3. Distributions of Tasks

1.2.2.4. Formal Rules in Group Mentoring

1.2.2.5. Informal Rules and Dynamics of Interpersonal Relationships

1.2.2.6. Leadership and Mediation

1.2.2.7. Personal Responsibility and Resilience

1.2.2.8. Screening, Matching and Assessment

1.2.2.9. Size of the Group and Respect to Time and Space

1.2.3. Informal Mentoring

1.2.4. Non-hierarchical Mentoring

1.3. The Politics of Naming in Mentoring

1.3.1. Difficulties in the Definition of the Mentoring Concept

1.3.1.1. Analytical or Spatial Opportunities and Challenges in Defining Mentoring

1.3.1.2. Functional Opportunities and Challenges in Defining Mentoring

1.3.1.2.1. Lack of a Name because of no Functional Imposition

1.3.1.2.2. Opting for a Name based on a Functional Imposition

1.3.1.2.3. Overlap with Another Term or Function – Coach

1.3.1.2.4. Overlap with Another Term or Function - Teaching and Higher Education

1.3.1.3. Linguistic Opportunities and Challenges in Defining Mentoring

1.3.2. Recognition of Past Mentors

1.3.2.1. Gradual, Partial or Incomplete Recognition of Past Mentors

1.3.2.2. No Recognition of Past Mentors

1.3.2.3. Total Recognition of Past Mentors

2. General Methodological Issues

2.1. Communication Issues in the Interviews

2.2. Critical Engagement with the Process

2.3. Diversified and Enhanced Engagement during the Interviews

2.4. Significant Emotional Exchanges during the Interviews
2.5. The Impact of Time on the Interview Process

3. Participants' Features Affecting the Mentoring Practices

3.1. Age

3.1.1. Age and Different Interests or not

3.1.2. Age and the Arrival Time in Canada

3.1.3. Age Differences Important in Mentoring or not

3.1.4. Age Differences Important in the Country of Origin

3.1.5. Link between Age and Proficiency in English

3.1.6. Not Having the Age to Volunteer

3.2. Gender

3.2.1. It Does not Matter the Gender of the Mentor

3.2.2. Gender Differences as a Problem or not

3.2.3. Maintaining Gender Roles from Country of Origin or not

3.2.4. Perceptions of Gender Inequities between Country of Origin or Canada

3.2.5. Preferring Mentors from Opposite Gender

3.2.6. Preferring Mentors or Mentees from Same Gender

3.2.7. Stereotypes about Male and Female Mentors

3.3. Language

3.3.1. Challenges and Opportunities of Being an ESL Learner or Speaking Other Languages

3.3.2. Challenges and Opportunities of the Fluency in French or not

3.3.3. Different Levels of Proficiency in English

3.3.4. Perception of Accent

3.3.5. Practicing English at Work or not

3.3.6. The English Language as a Challenge for Integration

3.3.7. The English Proficient as Role Model or not

3.4. Marital Status

3.4.1. Divided Families or Family Responsibilities

3.4.2. Marital Status or a Sign of Freedom or not
3.4.3. Mentoring as Family

3.4.4. The Intersection of Gender and Marital Status in Mentoring

3.5. Mental and Physical Health Issues

3.5.1. Being in Good Shape for the Walks or not

3.5.2. Discrimination or Awareness based on Beauty or Fitness

3.6. Place of Birth

3.6.1. Canadian Mentors with Immigration Background - More than One Perspective

3.6.2. Inability or Hesitation to Go to the Country of Origin

3.6.3. Mentors from Other Canadian Cities

3.6.4. The Place of Birth of the Mentor doesn't Matter

3.6.5. The Place of Birth of the Mentor is Somehow Important

3.6.6. The Place of Birth of the Mentor Matters

3.7. Race

3.7.1. Difficulty of Integration in Homogeneous Countries in terms of Race and Ethnicity

3.7.2. Link between Racism and Mental Health

3.7.3. Race as a Factor in Mentoring

3.7.4. Racial Stereotypes and Beliefs

3.8. Religion

3.8.1. Mentoring and Religion

3.8.2. Religious Differences and Opportunities as Conflict or Dialogue

3.8.3. Welcomed or Discriminated by Religious Groups in Canada

3.9. Social Class

3.9.1. Class Consciousness

3.9.2. Class Issues Crossing Borders

3.9.3. More or Less Social Mobility in Canada

3.9.4. Use of Professional Titles in Canada or Abroad

4. Performance Performativity and or Mimicry

4.1. Mentoring as Practice/Training in a Safe Space
4.1.1. Emotional Work

4.1.1.1. Attempts on the Normalization of Emotions

4.1.1.2. Boundaries and Emotional Instability

4.1.1.3. Questions of Honesty and Ambivalence

4.1.2. Presence or Absence of Emotional Support

4.1.2.1. Age and Emotional Comfort

4.1.2.2. Gestures and Sharing of Mutual Feelings

4.1.2.3. Mentor Helping in Difficult Situations

4.1.2.4. Mentoring as a Bubble or Safe Zone for Practice or not

4.1.2.5. The Emotional Support of Family and Friends - Real or Imagined

4.2. Performance Performativity Mimicry

4.2.1. Big Questions for Performance and/or Mimicking

4.2.1.1. Can the Performer be Convincing all the Time Everywhere?

4.2.1.2. Does it Matter if the Actor is Confident Enough to Convince Others?

4.2.1.3. Does the Person Want to be an Insider or only Being Treated Well?

4.2.1.4. Does the Transnational Person Have an Advantage in Performances or not

4.2.2. Challenges and Opportunities in the Performances/Mimicries

4.2.2.1. Acting in accordance with Different Sets of Social Norms

4.2.2.2. Awareness or not about the Right Level of Sugarcoating for Each Situation

4.2.2.3. How to Approach and or Relate to Strangers

4.2.2.4. Putting the Right Emotional Undertone in the Interactions

4.2.3. The Art of Interacting with Others

4.2.3.1. Getting Familiar with Technologies, Practices and Places

4.2.3.2. Learning how to Speak with Others in Public

4.2.3.3. Observing and Imitating Others

4.2.3.4. The Care with the Appearance - dress and body odours - for the Presentations

4.3. Right Bodies Settings and Custom Designs for the Performance as Immigrants

4.3.1. Bodies Competing for Limited Resources in a Certain Space
4.3.2. Bodies Places Feelings and Sensations

4.3.3. Climatic and Physical Conditions Affecting the Immigrant Experiences

4.3.4. Differences in Pace and Rhythms between Countries

4.3.5. Different Issues around Crowded and Uncrowded Places

4.3.6. Distinct Perceptions of Small and Big Places

4.3.7. Familiarity or not of/with Certain Bodies at Certain Times

4.3.8. Familiarity or not of/with Certain Bodies in Certain Spaces

4.3.9. Familiarity or not of/with Certain Elements of the Places

4.3.10. Interplay between Family and Career Matters in Different Places

5. Projecting the Image of the Happy Immigrant

5.1. Making Friends

5.1.1. Assumptions about Socialization through Mentoring

5.1.1.1. Expectations that the Mentors or Mentees Become Friends

5.1.1.2. Mentoring as Social Glue for Political Stability and Social Peace

5.1.1.3. Mentoring Helping Immigrants who Have no Other Forms of Institutional Support

5.1.1.4. Mentoring Preventing Isolation by Bringing Different People Together

5.1.1.5. Pros and Cons of Private Mentoring Versus Public Mentoring

5.1.2. Strategies for Socialization through Mentoring

5.1.2.1. Consulting Opinion Leaders

5.1.2.2. Educational Connections for Socialization

5.1.2.3. Family Connections

5.1.2.4. Meetup Groups in Person and Virtual

5.1.2.5. Only Virtual Connections

5.1.2.6. Religious Connections for Socialization

5.1.2.7. Work Connections for Socialization

5.1.3. The Meaning of Making Friends in Canada

5.1.3.1. Making Friends in Canada doesn't Mean Making Friends from the Same Country

5.1.3.2. Making Friends in Canada doesn't Mean Making True Friends
5.1.3.3. Making Friends in Canada Means a Network of Contacts

5.1.3.4. Making Friends in Canada Means the Same as in the Country of Origin

5.1.3.5. Making Friends in Canada Means Volunteering

5.2. Real and or Imagined Mentoring Perceptions

5.2.1. Highlights of Ethereal Relationships

5.2.1.1. Famous Mentors in the Media or as Role Models

5.2.1.2. Limited Contact between Mentors and Mentees or not

5.2.1.3. Mentoring as a Holistic and Spiritual Experience

5.2.1.4. Sacrifice for Family and or for Others

5.2.1.5. The Image of the Patient and Wise Mentor

5.2.2. Main Contradictions of the Mentoring Relationships

5.2.2.1. High or Low Expectations from Mentors and Mentees

5.2.2.2. Inspiration versus Reality in Mentoring

5.2.2.3. Mentor as Hero versus an Ordinary Person

5.2.2.4. Mentoring as Essential versus a Superfluous Experience

5.2.2.5. Working on the Positives and Avoiding the Negatives or not

5.3. The Fun Side of the Canadian Integration of Happy Immigrants

5.3.1. Age and Motivation or Energy to Mentor

5.3.2. Fighting Unhappiness and Frustration from Situations in Canada

5.3.3. Good Mentoring as Compensation for Immigrants' Hardships

5.3.4. Happiness in the Country of Origin

5.3.5. Happy and Energetic Immigrant not Always Conscious

5.3.6. Multiculturalism Makes Mentoring More Interesting

5.3.7. Normative Citizenship

5.3.8. Praising the Happy Immigrant and Criticizing the Melancholic

5.3.9. The Mobile Immigrant is Happy while the Sedentary is Melancholic

5.3.10. The Sense of Adventure and Hope through Migration

5.3.11. The Sense of Discovery and Excitement through Mentoring

5.3.12. Working and Having Fun or not

6. The Role of Mentoring and Volunteerism for the Commodification of Citizenship

6.1. Community-based and Instrumental Perspectives on Mentoring and Volunteerism
6.1.1. Community-based and Instrumental Mentoring
6.1.1.1. Combination of Community-based and Instrumental Mentoring
6.1.1.1.1. An Interplay of Community-based and Instrumental Mentoring
6.1.1.1.2. Instrumental Generativity
6.1.1.1.3. Length of Mentoring Relationships
6.1.1.1.4. Massive Investment in Mentoring Contacts
6.1.1.2. Community-based Mentoring
6.1.1.2.1. Emphasis on Process, Collaboration and Connection
6.1.1.2.2. Inclusive Mentoring with Family and Friends
6.1.1.2.3. No Connection or Interest in the Final Result or Certification
6.1.1.3. Instrumental Mentoring
6.1.1.3.1. Fostering Economically Active Immigrants
6.1.1.3.2. Lack of Focus in the Program or not
6.1.1.3.3. Mentoring as an Outreach Tool for Companies
6.1.1.3.4. Mentoring as Professional Development
6.1.1.3.5. Mentoring as Self-Marketing
6.1.1.3.6. Previous Networks and Privileges in the Country of Origin

6.1.2. Community-based and Instrumental Volunteerism
6.1.2.1. Combination of Community-based and Instrumental Volunteerism
6.1.2.1.1. Multiple Volunteer Commitments or not
6.1.2.1.2. Organization of the Volunteering Sector in Canada
6.1.2.1.3. Volunteering and Struggling with the English Language
6.1.2.1.4. Volunteerism in the Country of Origin
6.1.2.2. Community-based Volunteerism
6.1.2.2.1. Devaluation of Informal Volunteering
6.1.2.2.2. Generativity and Socialization
6.1.2.2.3. Volunteer Connection to a Stage in Life
6.1.2.2.4. Volunteering for Multicultural or Ethnic-specific Organizations
6.1.2.2.5. Volunteerism and Religious Practices or Beliefs
6.1.2.2.6. Volunteerism as a Political Act
6.1.2.2.7. Volunteerism as an Altruistic Act of Transformation
6.1.2.3. Instrumental Volunteerism
6.1.2.3.1. Volunteerism and Deskilling or not
6.1.2.3.2. Volunteerism as a Self-Rewarding Act
6.1.2.3.3. Volunteerism for Career Advancement

6.2. Different Forms of Citizenship and Nationalism in Migration Studies
6.2.1. On the Crossroad between the Consumers and the Citizens
6.2.1.1. Canadian Politeness Decoded
6.2.1.2. Civic Religious versus Commercial Holidays
6.2.1.3. Comparing Business and Government in Canada and in Other Countries
6.2.1.4. Exploration of Spaces as Volunteers, Tour Guides, Tourists and Immigrants
6.2.1.5. Getting Familiar with Multicultural Canada
6.2.1.6. Immigrant Experiences Affecting Consumerist and or Citizenship Practices in Canada
6.2.1.7. Interest in the History of Places and or in Consumption
6.2.1.8. Not so Much Diversity in Country of Origin
6.2.2. The New Canadian Citizens and their Views
6.2.2.1. Alienation from Political and Social Situation in the Country of Origin or Other Countries
6.2.2.2. Canada as a Peaceful Place with Perceived Gender and Religious Equity
6.2.2.3. Canadian Military Peacekeeping Images
6.2.2.4. Citizenship as Legal Status with Partial or Complete Lack of Knowledge
6.2.2.5. Discussing and Engaging in Civic and Political Activities in Canada
6.2.2.6. Nationalism and Emotional Connection with Canada
6.2.2.7. Satisfaction with Access to Public Safety Net in Canada
6.2.2.8. The Construction of Canada as an Organized Space
6.2.2.9. Unable to Work or Dissatisfied with Employment in Canada
6.2.2.10. Walking for a Healthier Lifestyle with More Contact with Nature
6.2.3. The Transnational Consumers and their Views
6.2.3.1. Attraction to the North American Way
6.2.3.2. Branded Natural Space as a Marketing Strategy
6.2.3.3. Canada as Transitory Point for Accommodation and Food
6.2.3.4. Devaluation or Lack of Interest in the Country of Origin
6.2.3.5. Does Transnationalism Mean a Consumerist Mindset or not?
6.2.3.6. Fixed Views on Cities, Nations and Nationalities for Consumption
6.2.3.7. Looking for Academic and Professional Opportunities
6.2.3.8. Rebranding Canadian Things, People and Places
6.2.3.9. The Interest on of the Immigrant based on his or her Reproductive Capacity
6.2.3.10. Undervaluing Canadians Things, People and Places
6.2.3.11. Value or not of Citizenship for Mobility and Border Crossing
6.3. Theories of Mobilities for the Construction of Social Relations
6.3.1. Mentoring and Movement
6.3.1.1. Benefits of Mentoring and Walking in Canada
6.3.1.2. Inability to Move on in Canada or in Country of Origin
6.3.1.3. Internal Mobility Affected by Border Crossing
6.3.1.4. Mentoring as Journey or Final Destination
6.3.1.5. Mentoring for Internal Mobility in Dynamic Toronto
6.3.1.6. Movement and Pace
6.3.1.7. Movement and Visibility
6.3.1.8. Previous Mobility in the Country of Origin or Others
6.3.1.9. Walks in Different Ways in Canada
6.3.2. Mentoring to Know Places
6.3.2.1. Mentoring as Urban, Rural or Both
6.3.2.2. Mentoring for Getting to Know a Place
6.3.2.3. Mentoring in Orientation and Disorientation
6.3.2.4. Mentoring in Physical and Virtual Spaces for the Walks
6.3.2.5. Mentoring Offering Perspectives for the Evaluation of Alternatives
6.3.2.6. Mentoring to Get Familiar with the Arts Scene
6.3.2.7. Mentoring with Comparison in Terms of Space and Time
6.3.2.8. Mentors as Spatial References
6.3.3. Mentoring to Meet People
6.3.3.1. Mentoring as Memory and Imagination
6.3.3.2. Mentoring as Observation and Practice in Social Relations
6.3.3.3. Mentoring as Sharing and Interpersonal
6.3.3.4. Mentoring for English Learning
6.3.3.5. Mentoring for Network
7. Visual Analysis
7.1. Expressing Specific Ideas throughout the Process

7.1.1. Covering Up and Fences

7.1.2. Game and Focus

7.1.3. Imbalance between People Animals and Things

7.1.4. Incompleteness or Transition

7.1.5. Investment

7.1.6. Movement or Lack

7.1.7. National Symbols

7.1.8. Orientation in Time and Space

7.1.9. People Having Fun Together

7.1.10. People Helping Each Other

7.1.11. People Learning from Each Other

7.1.12. People Working Together

7.1.13. Protection

7.2. Repeated Elements through the Interviews

7.2.1. Beaches

7.2.2. Birds

7.2.3. Building

7.2.4. Cliffs Mountains and Climbing

7.2.5. Fire

7.2.6. Flowers

7.2.7. Fresh Food and Fruits

7.2.8. Frustrated or Sad People or Masks

7.2.9. Ice and Snow

7.2.10. Leaves Changing Colours

7.2.11 Maps

7.2.12. Music

7.2.13. People and Things in Movement

7.2.14. Practice of Sports

7.2.15. Umbrellas

7.2.16. Watches
7.2.17. Water
7.2.18. Welcoming People/Places
7.2.19. Well-known People
Appendix J – Administrative Consent Letter – Artistry

OISE Letterhead

Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
(contact information and mailing address)

Date

Name of the representative from Artistry
(contact information and mailing address)

Dear Ms. X,

As you know, I am a doctoral student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. My doctoral research project is currently titled “Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada”. This doctoral proposal will consider the importance, dynamics and composition of mentoring relationships for the integration of immigrants in Canada. In this letter, I am requesting your consent to conduct my doctoral research with your organization.

With your permission, my research project will consist of participant observations, semi-structured interviews and collage exercises that will investigate the relationships of mentors and mentees of the partnership between Artistry and Settling House. For the participant observations, I will be following the mentoring groups who consent to take part in my research project. However, for this initiative to happen, I will need the support of your organizations as well as of Settling House during the whole data collection process. Firstly, I would like the help of your organization and/or Settling House to send a standard invitation e-mail to all the mentoring groups who will be taking part in the collaborative mentoring program this year. Once I am invited to the first meeting with some of these groups, I will ask the participants to provide their verbal consent in order to allow my observant participations in their meetings, activities and volunteer shifts until the end of the festival activities. As you know, activities will be happening at your office, Settling House’s office and in a variety of public spaces such as public libraries and parks that will be hosting the activities of your partnership with Settling House this year. Before my time following the mentoring groups ends, I will also invite participants for the individual collage interviews, and ask for their permission in order to send them detailed e-mail messages about the collage interview process.

Each collage interview session will combine questions made by me in association with a collage exercise in collaboration with the participant. In other words, the participant and I will both cut images and/or texts from magazines, newspapers and other materials, and the selected material should be glued into a big piece of paper by the end of the second interview in order to represent some of the participants’ answers to my questions during the exercise. If they agree to meet with me for their first individual collage interviews, I will be then asking for their written consent to take part in this second stage of this research project’s data collection. In addition, the collage interviews with
the participants of the mentoring groups will be conducted in an available office space still to be
defined at your location, Settling House or the University of Toronto, and this will certainly depend on
each institution’ willingness and/or availability of space. These interviews will also consist of two
meetings at least one week apart from each other, and each session should last approximately two
hours. As the first step of the collage interview, I will be asking the consenting participants to answer
socio-demographic and citizenship questions. Then we will proceed with the actual collages with the
help of an interview guide. For the collages, I will be providing participants with magazines,
newspapers and other materials.

In order to guarantee confidentiality for all the participants in this research project, I will be
asking them to choose fictional names when I first meet with them for the collage interviews. In
addition, all the names of other people or places potentially identifiable through the collage
interviews will be also changed. Immediately after my interactions with the participants, the printed
information collected for this research will be also safely stored in secure places, and the online
information will be stored in an encrypted laptop and USB devices. Except for the publications and
collages, five years up to the publication of my doctoral dissertation, all the materials used in this
doctoral research project (except the published outcomes and the collages) will be destroyed.
Finally, the participants are also aware that their collages may be displayed, and the content of their
interviews and ordinary conversations may be discussed for academic and/or educational purposes.

The participation in my research project will not involve any kind of financial reimbursement
for the partner organizations or individual participants in this study. In addition, the individual
participation in this doctoral research project is completely voluntary, and the participants can
withdraw as well as withdraw any data provided for this research before, during or up to six months
after their participation in this project. During my interactions with the participants, they can decline
to answer any interview questions. Finally, the collage interviews with the participants will be audio
recorded, and notes will be taken with the permission of the participants. In fact, all the participants
will have the chance to receive their own collages and summary of their interviews as per their
requests.

By taking part in this project, participants of this project will be able to reflect about the
nature, dynamics and composition of their mentoring relationships as well as on the role of
mentoring for their integration into the Canadian society. By providing participants with opportunities
to stop and think about their own practices, this project can enable them to freely talk about their
ideas and/or evaluate their own experiences overtime. In addition, this project can also be very
helpful to your organization by providing it with an in-depth account of the aggregated outcomes of
your program that can be later discussed with you. As a result of this process, I will be also able to
take full advantage of the outcomes of these collage interviews and participants observations in
order to develop a comprehensive analysis that will serve as the basis of my doctoral dissertation
and other related academic pieces of work. In this content, it is important to highlight here that some
pieces of information such as your name, your contact information and the name of your program
will be probably revealed to some of the participants of my research along the process. For example,
the individual consent forms for the collage interviews have your names and contact information at
the end of the documents. In addition, the name of your program and its respective affiliations may
be also disclosed to the general public through the publication and/or presentation of the findings of
this research project.

If you or the participants of the mentoring groups have any questions or concerns in regard
to this project, please do not hesitate to contact me and/or have them do the same through my
institutional e-mail address at hewton.tavares@utoronto.com. Alternatively, you and/or any actual or
potential participants of this research project are also free to also contact my supervisor Dr. Rinaldo
Walcott at rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca. In light of any ethical questions regarding this research
project, the Office of Research Ethics of the University of Toronto can be also reached by phone at (416) 946-3273 or by e-mail at ethics.review@utoronto.ca.

Thank you in advance for your help with this research project!

Sincerely,

Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares

_______________________________________________________________________________

I, ____________________________________ (please print your name in full here), have read this administrative consent letter. Thus I am supporting Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares' doctoral project, and agree that participants of my program can choose to participate in his study on immigrants' mentoring practices in Canada.

In addition, I have had opportunities to get detailed information about this project before providing my consent here.

__________________               Signed this ____day of ____________, 2013

Signature

Kindly return a completed copy of this administrative consent letter, and please retain a second copy for your records at your discretion.
Dear Ms. Y,

As you know, I am a doctoral student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. My doctoral research project is currently titled “Consuming Citizenship: An Investigation of Immigrants’ Mentoring Practices in Canada”. This doctoral proposal will consider the importance, dynamics and composition of mentoring relationships for the integration of immigrants in Canada. In this letter, I am requesting your consent to conduct my doctoral research with your organization.

With your permission, my research project will consist of participant observations, semi-structured interviews and collage exercises that will investigate the relationships of mentors and mentees of the partnership between Artistry and Settling House, and also in the Settling House’s WALKspaces program if necessary. For the participant observations, I will be following the mentoring groups who consent to take part in my research project. However, for this initiative to happen, I will need the support of your organizations as well as of Artistry during the whole data collection process. Firstly, I would like the help of your organization and/or Artistry to send a standard invitation e-mail to all the mentoring groups who will be taking part in the mentoring programs this year. Once I am invited to the first meeting with some of these groups, I will ask the participants to provide their verbal consent in order to allow my observant participations in their meetings, activities and volunteer shifts until the end of the festival activities. As you know, activities will be happening at your office, Artistry’s office and in a variety of public spaces such as public libraries and parks that will be hosting the activities of your partnership with Artistry this year. Before my time following the mentoring groups ends, I will also invite participants for the individual collage interviews, and ask for their permission in order to send them detailed e-mail messages about the collage interview process.

Each collage interview session will combine questions made by me in association with a collage exercise in collaboration with the participant. In other words, the participant and I will both cut images and/or texts from magazines, newspapers and other materials, and the selected material should be glued into a big piece of paper by the end of the second interview in order to represent some of the participants’ answers to my questions during the exercise. If they agree to meet with me for their first individual collage interviews, I will be then asking for their written consent to take part in
this second stage of this research project’s data collection. In addition, the collage interviews with the participants of the mentoring groups will be conducted in an available office space still to be defined at your location, Artistry or the University of Toronto, and this will certainly depend on each institution’s willingness and/or availability of space. These interviews will also consist of two meetings at least one week apart from each other, and each session should last approximately two hours. As the first step of the collage interview, I will be asking the consenting participants to answer socio-demographic and citizenship questions. Then we will proceed with the actual collages with the help of an interview guide. For the collages, I will be providing participants with magazines, newspapers and other materials.

In order to guarantee confidentiality for all the participants in this research project, I will be asking them to choose fictional names when I first meet with them for the collage interviews. In addition, all the names of other people or places potentially identifiable through the collage interviews will be also changed. Immediately after my interactions with the participants, the printed information collected for this research will be also safely stored in secure places, and the online information will be stored in an encrypted laptop and USB devices. Except for the publications and collages, five years up to the publication of my doctoral dissertation, all the other materials used in this doctoral research project will be destroyed. Finally, the participants are also aware that their collages may be displayed, and the content of their interviews and ordinary conversations may be discussed for academic and/or educational purposes.

The participation in my research project will not involve any kind of financial reimbursement for the partner organizations or individual participants in this study. In addition, the individual participation in this doctoral research project is completely voluntary, and the participants can withdraw as well as withdraw any data provided for this research before, during or up to six months after their participation in this project. During my interactions with the participants, they can decline to answer any interview questions. Finally, the collage interviews with the participants will be audio recorded, and notes will be taken with the permission of the participants. In fact, all the participants will have the chance to receive their own collages and summary of their interviews as per their requests.

By taking part in this project, participants of this project will be able to reflect about the nature, dynamics and composition of their mentoring relationships as well as on the role of mentoring for their integration into the Canadian society. By providing participants with opportunities to stop and think about their own practices, this project can enable them to freely talk about their ideas and/or evaluate their own experiences overtime. In addition, this project can also be very helpful to your organization by providing it with an in-depth account of the aggregated outcomes of your program that can be later discussed with you. As a result of this process, I will be also able to take full advantage of the outcomes of these collage interviews and participants observations in order to develop a comprehensive analysis that will serve as the basis of my doctoral dissertation and other related academic pieces of work. In this content, it is important to highlight here that some pieces of information such as your name, your contact information and the name of your programs will be probably revealed to some of the participants of my research along the process. For example, the individual consent forms for the collage interviews have your names and contact information at the end of the documents. In addition, the name of your programs and their respective affiliations may be also disclosed to the general public through the publication and/or presentation of the findings of this research project.

If you or the participants of the mentoring groups have any questions or concerns in regard to this project, please do not hesitate to contact me and/or have them do the same through my institutional e-mail address at hewton.tavares@utoronto.com. Alternatively, you and/or any actual or potential participants of this research project are also free to also contact my supervisor Dr. Rinaldo Walcott at rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca. In light of any ethical questions regarding this research
Thank you in advance for your help with this research project!

Sincerely,

Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares

I, ____________________________________ (please print your name in full here), have read this administrative consent letter. Thus I am supporting Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares' doctoral project, and agree that participants of my program(s) can choose to participate in his study on immigrants’ mentoring practices in Canada.

In addition, I have had opportunities to get detailed information about this project before providing my consent here.

__________________               Signed this ____day of _________, 2013
Signature

Kindly return a completed copy of this administrative consent letter, and please retain a second copy for your records at your discretion.
Appendix L – Approval from the Research Ethics Board

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 28787

April 17, 2013

Dr. Rinaldo Walcott
DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY & EQUITY STUD. IN EDUC.
OISEUT

Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY & EQUITY STUD. IN EDUC.
OISEUT

Dear Dr. Walcott and Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Consuming citizenship: An investigation of immigrants’ mentoring practices in Canada"

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: April 17, 2013
Expiry Date: April 16, 2014
Continuing Review Level: 1

We are writing to advise you that the Social Sciences, Humanities, and Education Research Ethics B has granted approval to the above-named research protocol under the REB’s delegated review process. Your protocol has been approved for a period of one year and ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your current ethics approval. Note that annual renewals for studies cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry.

If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

REB Chair

REB Manager

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS
McKinnel Building, 12 Denmark Park, Connaught West, 2nd Floor, Toronto, ON M5S 1B8 Canada
Tel: +1 416 946-3773 ● Fax: +1 416 946-5763 ● ethics.review@utoronto.ca ● http://www.research.utoronto.ca/ir/researcher-administration/ethics
Appendix M – First Renewal of the Original Approval from the Research Ethics Board

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 28787

April 8, 2014

Dr. Rinaldo Walcott
DEPT OF HUMAN, SOC SC & SOC JUSTICE EDUCATION OISEUT

Mr. Hewton Ricardo Moreira Tavares
DEPT OF HUMAN, SOC SC & SOC JUSTICE EDUCATION OISEUT

Dear Dr. Walcott and Mr. Hewton Ricardo Moreira Tavares,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Consuming citizenship: An investigation of immigrants' mentoring practices in Canada"

ETHICS APPROVAL

| Original Approval Date: April 17, 2013 |
| Expiry Date: April 16, 2015       |
| Continuing Review Level: 1        |
| Renewal: 1 of 4                   |

We are writing to advise you that you have been granted annual renewal of ethics approval to the above-referenced research protocol through the Research Ethics Board (REB) delegated process. Please note that all protocols involving ongoing data collection or interaction with human participants are subject to re-evaluation after 3 years. Ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your protocol. Note that annual renewals for protocols cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry as per our guidelines.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible. If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

REB Chair

REB Manager
Appendix N – Second Renewal of the Original Approval from the Research Ethics Board

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT, RESEARCH AND INNOVATION

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 28787

April 8, 2015

Dr. Rinaldo Walcott
WOMEN AND GENDER STUDIES INSTITUTE
NEW COLLEGE

Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
WOMEN AND GENDER STUDIES INSTITUTE
NEW COLLEGE

Dear Dr. Walcott and Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares,

Re: Your research protocol entitled, "Consuming citizenship: An investigation of immigrants' mentoring practices in Canada"

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: April 17, 2013
Expiry Date: April 16, 2015
Continuing Review Level: 1
Renewal: Data Analysis Only

We are writing to advise you that you have been granted annual renewal of ethics approval to the above-referenced research protocol through the Research Ethics Board (REB) delegated process. Please note that all protocols involving ongoing data collection or interaction with human participants are subject to re-evaluation after 5 years. Ongoing research under this protocol must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your protocol. Note that annual renewals for protocols cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry as per our guidelines.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible. If your research is funded by a third party, please contact the assigned Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research.

Yours sincerely,

REB Chair

REB Manager

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS
McHarg Building, 17 Queen's Park Crescent West, 2nd Floor, Toronto, ON M5S 1A8 Canada
Tel: +1 416-946-5777 • Fax: +1 416-946-5760 • ethics-review@utoronto.ca • http://www.research.utoronto.ca/researchers/administration/ethics
Appendix O – Completion of the Fieldwork from the Research Ethics Board

Confirmation of Study Completion Report - Protocol ID 28787

continuing.ethics.review@utoronto.ca <continuing.ethics.review@utoronto.ca>
Tue 2015-12-08 7:00 PM

To: rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca <rinaldo.walcott@utoronto.ca>; hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca <hewton.tavares@utoronto.ca>

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 28787

December 8, 2015

Dr. Rinaldo Walcott          Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares
WOMEN AND GENDER STUDIES INSTITUTE
NEW COLLEGE

Dear Dr. Walcott and Mr. Hewton Ricarter Moreira Tavares,

Thank you for submitting the study completion for the protocol entitled "Consuming citizenship: An investigation of immigrants' mentoring practices in Canada". Your file is now officially complete as per Tri-Council Policy Statement guidelines and you are therefore not to engage in the research activities contemplated under the protocol. If appropriate, you may spend any remaining research funding on eligible non-protocol related activities.

Congratulations on the completion of your study, and thank you for taking care to observe the process and standards of ethics review.

Office of Research Ethics
# Interview Debriefing Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant:</th>
<th>Date:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer:</td>
<td>Interview #:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Part I: Interview

### Key themes that emerged and/or comments:

### Describe any connections you observed between this participant and others (i.e. common themes/experiences):

### Things that were left unclear, or require further probing:

### Describe the interviewer-interviewee dynamic (if relevant, indicate emotionally difficult instances, or power imbalances, etc):

### Were there any variations? (Significant late start, missing documents, batteries ran out, had to turn off recorder for sensitive info, etc)

### Referrals/ Resources to provide the participant in the future (indicate if urgent action is required):

## Part II: Collage Interview
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you notice any barriers to participation/engagement in the collage activity? Were there exercises that made the participant uncomfortable?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What the collage exercise worked especially well? Why do you think so?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Please note any elements in the collage that were especially striking to you (i.e. color chosen, specific symbolism of a posture, image, etc).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Materials and or special collage requests to bring to the next interview or add (i.e. images, materials):</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>