The Construction of the 'Immigrant' in Canada's Immigration Discourse -
A Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis through Postcolonial Lenses

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Dedication

This work is lovingly dedicated to my mother -
I am in awe of what you have created with what you were given.

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the many amazing people in my life who provided me endless support throughout this process.

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Abstract

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In this dissertation, I investigate how 'race' and 'ethnicity' relate to non-white immigrants' socio-economic marginalization, such as job ghettoization, underemployment and unemployment. Over the last three decades, the gap between immigrant and non-immigrant population with regards to socio-economic outcomes has been steadily growing (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Reitz, 2011a; Thobani, 2007). At the same time, the proportions of non-white immigrants to Canada have been increasing. Currently, over 80% of immigrants to Canada come from regions with non-white majority populations (Statistics Canada, 2009; 2014a).

I analyze the present immigration discourse based on Foucauldian poststructuralism (Foucault, 1971; 1972; 1981) and postcolonialism (Said, 1978), to problematize contemporary societal and political engagements with 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Through a discursive review of Canada's past, I show how concepts such as 'visible minority', 'multiculturalism' and 'Canadian work experience' contribute to the marginalization of non-white immigrants, ultimately *racializing* them. I also conduct a Foucauldian critical discourse analysis (CDA - following S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) on selected 'texts'. I show the colonial and binary dynamics at play in the image construction of non-white immigrants in the texts from politics, society and media.

This dissertation contributes to Management and Organizational Studies (MOS) by shedding light on the taken-for-granted nature of discursive practices in organizations and contributing new insights into the current challenges that immigrant populations face. Finally, I show how theorizing about rather abstract concepts such as power, knowledge and discourse can serve as a framework to very 'practical' and 'real world' issues, thus making a strong case for how in-depth theoretical elaborations can serve very 'pragmatic' research inquiries.

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Chapter 1 – Canada's Immigration Discourse and its Construction of the 'Immigrant'

> *"Why do you think that Truman has never come close to*
> *discovering the true nature of his world until now?"*
> - *"We accept the reality of the world with which we are presented."*

(From the movie *The Truman Show*; Feldman, et al., 1998, 1:06:04 –1:06:14)

1.1. Chapter Introduction

Living in a time described as the 'age of migration' (Castles & Miller, 2009; Hatton &

Williamson, 1998; Walkowitz, 2006) in which approximately 3% of the world's

population lives permanently outside of the country in which they were born (UNFPA,

n.d.), my dissertation looks at how the immigration discourse in Canada shapes the

identity and socio-economic realities of non-white immigrants[1]. My main interests are to

explore what kind of mechanisms are at play in the construction and understanding of

what constitutes an 'immigrant' and how this understanding impacts the lives of those

affected. Given the fact that Canada has one of the highest per capita immigration rates in

the world (Government of Canada, 2015b) and that over 80% of all immigrants coming

each year to Canada are non-white (Statistics Canada, 2014a), this dissertation's focus on

the socio-economic integration of non-white immigrants is of particular relevance. In my

research, I use the term 'racialized', rather than 'visible minority', to refer to persons who

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[1] By non-white immigrants I refer to individuals who are categorized as 'visible
minority'. The Canadian government describes individuals belonging to visible minority
groups as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-
white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2009).

are non-white to capture the discursiveness of using race as a categorization of humans[2]. I focus on racialized immigrants rather than on a specific immigration category, such as that of skilled workers, live-in caregivers or refugees. I do so because I am interested in the discursive practices mediated by the concept of race and ethnicity as determinant factors for the experiences of immigrants[3].

Foucauldian poststructuralism epistemologically informs this dissertation. I look at how power, knowledge production and discourse are interrelated and how they ultimately shape the socio-economic reality of the racialized immigrant. Language is a form of power, which privileges some and marginalizes others (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Therefore, I draw specifically on Foucauldian critical discourse analysis (CDA) as applied by S. Jäger (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger, 2008; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) in order to investigate Canada's immigration discourse. Further, I conduct a discursive overview of Canada's past with regards to race-related discourses. Foucault's understanding of 'history' and its influence on present discourses (Foucault, 1972; 1977; 1979) guides my analysis of Canada's past.

This dissertation is also grounded in postcolonialism, pointing to and challenging colonial practices in the socio-political, economic and societal spheres. Both approaches,

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[2] For example, Block & Galabuzi (2011), Folson (2008), Galabuzi (2006), Li (2008) and Thobani (2007) problematize race as a criterion for categorization of humans and point to determinants such as 'visible minority' in the creation and maintenance of a societal stratification based on race. The discursiveness of race will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

[3] Among others, see for example the Canadian Council on Social Development (2000); Galabuzi (2006); Levy, Ansara, & Stover (2013); National Council of Welfare (2012); Ontario Human Rights Commission (n.d.) and Thobani (2007) for discussions on the racialization of poverty, the racialization of health, and the racialization of specific ethno-religious populations in Canada.

postcolonialism and poststructuralism, address instances of inequality and power imbalances and at the same time offer a framework to analyze these discursive practices, thus forming together a sound foundation for the endeavour of this dissertation.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, I will justify why I focus on racialized immigrants and why Canada has been chosen as the case study. Following this, I will justify the methodological framework of this dissertation. Finally, I will elaborate on the contributions of this dissertation and discuss the outline of the remaining chapters.

1.2. Immigration as Subject of Study

Immigration is a crucial element of Canadian society, which it has relied on since its beginning as a settler colony (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Young, 2001). Due to low birth rates and the decrease in working-age population, Canada maintains that it is relying on immigration for continuous economic growth (Boyd & Thomas, 2002; Government of Canada, 2009; Government of Canada, 2015b). In 2009, Jason Kenney, Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism emphasized the necessity for economic expansion based on immigration. "While other countries have cut back immigration levels as a short-term response to the global economic downturn, the Canadian government is actually maintaining its immigration levels to meet the country's medium-to long-term economic needs" (Government of Canada, 2009). Between 2005 and 2013, Canada has admitted around 250,000 permanent immigrants per year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012c; Government of Canada, 2014b), with 260,000-285,000 new permanent residents projected for 2015 (Government of Canada, 2014b).

There are two reasons why I focus on racialized immigrants. First, in 1971, 61.1% of all immigrants to Canada came from Europe. By 2006, European immigrants constituted 16.1% of all immigrants while roughly 79.1% immigrants came from regions with non-white majority populations (Statistics Canada, 2009)[4]. By 2011, 82.4% of immigrants came from these regions (Statistics Canada, 2014a). Largely because of this shift in immigrants' countries of origin, between 1996 -2001, the general population growth was 3.9%, while that of the racialized population was 24.6% (Galabuzi, 2006). Hence, the face of immigration has changed significantly in Canada over the last decades.

The second reason for the focus on racialized immigrants is that the shift in the immigrants' country of origin coincides with a new socio-economic reality of immigrants. In 1980, newly arrived immigrants have earned 80% of the salaries of native-born Canadians. By 1996, they earned only 60% of the salaries of Native-born Canadians (Reitz, 2005). The proportions of skilled immigrants working in low-income and low-skilled jobs have also significantly increased relative to Canadian employees (Reitz, 2011a). This 'brain waste' has been steadily increasing over the last decades (Galabuzi, 2006). Reitz (2011a) refers to this trend as the 'Taxi Driver Syndrome', describing immigrants with high educational and professional attainments from their home countries working in manual jobs because they are unable to find employment in the field in which they were trained. Overall, the economic success of the previous (predominantly European) immigrants is not replicated (Creese & Wiebe, 2009; Galabuzi, 2006; Gogia & Slade, 2011; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Reitz, 2011a):

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[4] These regions consist of Africa, Asia (including the Middle East), Central America, South America, the Caribbean and Bermuda (Statistics Canada, 2009).

The immigration data show that the increased numbers of skilled immigrants from the South have not experienced economic success comparable to that of European immigrants or Canadians of European heritage. Instead, in a departure from earlier patterns of immigrant economic performance, the lag in economic attainment has become a permanent income gap between radicalized communities and the rest of the population. (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 9)

Hence, today's immigration is marked by a predominant increase in racialized immigrants. At the same time, an increasing job marginalization among immigrants has occurred. Coming from the Foucauldian poststructuralist perspective, my focus is on the potential relationship between the immigration process and the dominant immigration discourse. The significance of discourse as guiding our thinking processes, value system and behaviour is integral to this dissertation (Foucault, 1971; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009; Linstead, 2010). My understanding of discourse is in line with Foucault's (1971) who argues that discourse is based on rules that reinforce and prohibit behaviours: "These prohibitions interrelate, reinforce and complement each other, forming a complex web, continually subject to modification" (Foucault, 1971, p. 8). Consequently, discourses are rules that dictate the social order of things and tell society what is considered 'appropriate' and is thus linked to power. Foucault (1977) considers the notion of power and discourse as institutionalized and embedded in social structures rather than residing in the individual. Ultimately "that which has been sanctioned by a discourse […] has an authority over us, over our attitudes and behaviour" (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011, p. 100).

Coming from this Foucauldian understanding of discourse, I maintain that investigating the present immigration discourse aids in answering the question of the

socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants. My focus is not on a specific immigration stream, such as the skilled worker or refugee category. Rather, I am interested in investigating the overall immigration discourse with regards to issues of race and how this relates to the socio-economic marginalization of some (racialized) immigrants in comparison to other (white) immigrants.

Following Foucault (1979), Adib-Moghaddam (2011) considers language as a crucial element through which reality is constructed and receives meaning, creating totalitarian methodologies, which come to be established as truth. "In their wealth of signification, words ascribe reality to objects that are otherwise 'lifeless'" (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011, p. 100). Discourses shape what constitutes 'normality,' ultimately resulting in taken-for-granted assumptions about how we view things (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Foucault, 1971; Linstead, 2010).

In the context of my research, this notion of discourse relates to the assumptions and the nature of immigration and the image of what constitutes an 'immigrant'. Discourses are associated with regulations established and promoted by institutions, such as immigration policies, and institutional practices, which reflect the value system of a given discourse if it is to be socially and politically acceptable (Bryman et al., 2011). These regulations, institutional practices and representations are manifested through language, which explains why language incorporates totalitarian methodologies and ultimately power (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011). Hence, investigating today's immigration discourse in Canada allows an exploration of taken-for-granted assumptions and their effects on racialized immigrant populations and elaborating on how these assumptions relate to issues of power.

1.3. Canada as Case Study

Besides my own proximity to Canada's immigration experience, by living here as an immigrant and taking part in other immigrants' lives, Canada as an immigration country holds a unique position. It has one of the highest per capita immigration rates in the world and promotes itself and is understood abroad as *the* multicultural nation (Cotter, 2011; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). It is described by Thomas Liebig, senior economist in the International Migration Division at the OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs as one of the 'lighthouses of immigration' ["Leuchttürme der Integration"] where the coexistence between the immigrant and the native population is described as marked by far fewer problems than in Europe (Wiese, 2010). Described as a 'dream country for many migrants' ["Traumland für viele Migranten"], Canada's immigration policies have been interpreted by some as an effective way of immigrant selection and integration (Slater, 2015; Wiese, 2010). In international polls, Canada ranks continuously as one of the most attractive destinations to which to immigrate (Wiese, 2010).

Canada is famous for being the first country in the world to introduce the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 (Gogia & Slade, 2011) - prescribing "the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins […] and assist[ing] them in the elimination of any barrier to […] participation" (Government of Canada, 2014a). *The Huffington Post* – based on a survey by the Economist Intelligence Unit (2014) - writes, "Canadians know their country is a pretty fantastic place to live, and now the rest of the world is well aware of that too" ("The Best Place To Live", 2014). Similarly, the International research partnership Migration Policy Group (MPG) ranks Canada third

concerning immigrant integration: "Migrant workers and families benefit from the third-best integration policies in the 31 MIPEX [Migrant Integration Policy Index] countries" (MIPEX, 2014).

Also within society, multiculturalism is reported to be an important part of Canadian identity. According to Cotter (2011), 73% of Canadians support the idea of multiculturalism as a characteristic of their society. At the same time, blatant notions of racism in media and public are criticized. This is illustrated by the public outcry when the Nova Scotia politician Joachim Stroink tweeted a photo of himself at a Dutch Christmas event showing him with 'Black Pete', a Dutch Christmas figure; an act which was interpreted as a racist representation of black people as servants ("I didn't sign up for this", 2013).

At the same time, as previously mentioned, today's immigrant integration in Canada is marked by various socio-economic challenges. Galabuzi (2006) emphasizes that 68% of the racialized society are immigrants while 32% of the racialized population are Canadian born. However, both the Canadian and non-Canadian racialized population encounters a similar socio-economic marginalization. "The data show that immigrant members of racialized groups have more in common, in terms of unemployment and low income, with Canadian-born racialized group members than with immigrants from Europe arriving in the same period" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 16).

On one hand, there is a continuous insistence on immigrants within a political and societal climate that seems to be non-discriminatory in its intent. On the other hand, a growing socio-economic marginalization of immigrants occurs. This paradoxical situation makes the study of Canada's immigration discourse so valuable. By attempting

to explain and reconcile these two contradictory developments, new insights can emerge in our theoretical and practical understanding about Canada's contemporary immigration discourse.

1.4. The *Racialized* Immigrant as Focus of Study

Racialized immigrants are not an existing or established category indicating someone's place of origin, their socio-cultural or ethno-religious affiliation, such as Brazilian immigrants, Middle Eastern immigrant, etc. Rather, racialization refers to a *political process* in which individuals experience various forms of socio-political and economic marginalization because of being non-white. Racialization is "the process by which societies construct races as real, different and unequal in ways that matter to economic, political and social life" (Ontario Human Rights Commission, n.d.). Miles (1989) discusses racialization as a form of categorization of the other, "a representational process of defining an Other" (p. 75). It is a process "where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities" (Miles, 1989, p. 75).

By referring to immigrants as racialized rather than as non-white, I acknowledge the political process at play that inevitably impacts non-white individuals' experiences in Canadian society. Non-white immigrants *become* part of the racialized groups because they cannot escape the discourse of race as a politicized process that legitimates 'biological characteristics' as a valid criterion for differentiating people. Agnew (2009) discusses the power dimensions involved in the process of racialization and the various

'life spheres' of racialized groups it impacts. It "is a process that occurs in the context of power relations, whether this process takes place in discourses, is systemic to structures and institutions, or is merely a matter of everyday encounters" (Agnew, 2009, p. 8).

I refer to non-white immigrants as racialized because this terminology incorporates my understanding and acknowledgement of such 'process of racialization' that non-white populations face and which inevitably marginalizes them. This socio-economic and political marginalization of non-white immigrants is thus *racialized marginalization*, a systemic marginalization that disproportionately affects racialized groups. Hence, applying the concept of racialization to refer to non-white immigrants fits well with the scope of this dissertation to analyze discursive practices as determined by 'race'.

Throughout this research, I refer to *othering* as an integral part in the process of racialization and marginalization of non-white immigrants. I understand othering as attributing of favourable characteristics to the ingroup and treating one's own group in more positive terms than the perceived outgroup.

Othering is rooted in the concepts of ingroup favoritism and outgroup bias. Ingroup favoritism suggests that a person deemed similar […] to the self will be treated well or better than a dissimilar person and will receive some favoritism in interactions or behaviours by the self. (Jackson & Hogg, 2010, p. 520)

At the same time, persons perceived as not similar to the ingroup are treated differently, and mostly worse, than the ingroup. "When someone is deemed a member of an outgroup, or unlike the self, that person will be Othered, or treated poorly or worse than someone in the ingroup" (Jackson & Hogg, 2010, p. 520).

Said (1978) discusses the concept of knowing the other as based on the 'strategy of hierarchiazation' during the colonization process. Bhabha (1994) describes this as "an articulation of forms of difference" (p. 67) between the 'Westerner' and 'non-Westerner'. Differentiating the non-Westerner in negative terms from the Westerner came to form the basis for the process of othering. Such othering is illustrated by A. Prasad's (1997) list of binary oppositions attributing positive characteristics to the Westerner and negative, opposite characteristics to the non-Westerner. Ultimately, the process of othering is an integral part of the orientalist discourse, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

1.5. Methodology

From a postpositivist perspective (P. Prasad, 2005), the researcher's methodological and theoretical lenses and the research objective inform the choices of research methods. My research objective is to investigate the present dominant immigration discourse with the focus to answer why racialized immigrants experience socio-economic marginalization, while the previously mostly European immigrants did not. In practical terms, to answer this question, my analysis consists of two parts. First, in Chapter 4, I conduct a discursive review of Canada's past as inspired by Foucauldian historical method (1972; 1977; 1981; 1982; 1990b) and elaborate on the various race-related discourses that have influenced and contributed to the present immigration discourse. In the context of the present immigration discourse, a historical approach informed by Foucauldian poststructuralism allows drawing conclusions on the emergence of present categories of what *currently* constitutes a 'desirable' immigrant.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I apply Foucauldian CDA[5] in analyzing a variety of texts from politics (government documents, policies and statements), society (information brochures, booklets and books intended for immigrants, websites), and the media (newspaper articles and advertisement) in order to investigate what type of image construction of the 'immigrant' contributes to the socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants.

This approach to the research objective reflects my epistemological poststructuralist and postcolonial stance towards the world as socially constructed, rejecting the concept of reality as a concrete truth (P. Prasad, 2005) and viewing 'knowledge' and 'truth' as interrelated with power and thus discursive (Foucault, 1979; 1998). In the next subsection of this chapter, I will elaborate on the suitability of applying both postcolonial theory and poststructuralist analysis methods in my dissertation.

Postcolonial Theory and CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is inspired by Foucault's (1973; 1979) work on power, knowledge and discourse, which is a reason why Foucault is often referred to as one of the 'godfathers' of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10). CDA allows the capturing of discriminatory practices by highlighting power relations and dynamics of inequality as embedded and expressed through forms of texts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). "Critical analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction" (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 250). Because of its focus on language and power,

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[5] The specifics of a Foucauldian CDA will be explained in detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

CDA as a methodological approach is grounded in poststructuralism which considers language and power as interlinked to ultimately display ideas as 'facts' and 'truths', thus giving language discursive features (P. Prasad, 2005).

Postcolonial theory assumes that colonialism is woven into our thinking about society; often as unconscious, taken-for-granted stratification of people in categories of superior and inferior, with the result of perpetuating truth effects according to this scheme (A. Prasad, 1997; P. Prasad, 2005; Adib-Moghaddam, 2011). The concept of binary oppositions is understood at the source of this superiority/inferiority concept. "Binary oppositions are structurally related to one another, and in colonial discourse there may be a variation of the one underlying binary – colonizer/colonized – that becomes rearticulated in any particular text in a number of ways" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 20). Consequently, the articulation of the other is one of the most significant legacies of modernity inflating the differentiation between the 'West' and the rest of the world (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011).

Postcolonial theory therefore pays particular attention to and is concerned with revealing the *continuous* discriminatory practices of colonial domination influencing political, economic, and cultural activities within society (Banerjee & A. Prasad, 2008). In the context of my research, postcolonial theory allows investigating if and to which extent the orientalist concept of binary oppositions is at play in the construction of the image of the immigrant.

Hence, both postcolonial theory and CDA focus on power relations as institutionalized and taken-for-granted (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; S. Jäger & Maier). Both frameworks seek to uncover the dynamics with which power relations are maintained,

highlighting how they are expressed and perpetuated through discursive practices. This consideration for power dynamics and the marginalization of the other aids in this dissertation to investigate how and why discursive practices are at play in the treatment of racialized immigrants.

Further, both postcolonialism and CDA point to the consideration for the context in the analysis of power dynamics, thus assuming that various socio-political, intellectual and cultural components are at play when creating power dynamics. Postcolonial theory insists that there is an "on-going significance of the colonial encounter for people's lives both in the West and the non-West" (A. Prasad, 2003, p. 5) because colonial rule has spanned for over 500 years encompassing at some point 90% of the world (Banerjee & A. Prasad, 2008). In the words of Said (1978), its geographic and temporal significance has created an "ontological and epistemological distinction" (p. 2) about our assumptions of the inferior 'orient' and the superior 'occident'.

This focus on the context is also embedded in CDA. The text under analysis is interpreted within the context it has been produced in and respectively the context is understood from the text (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Van Dijk, 2009). Van Dijk (2009) displays this relationship between text and context as a micro-macro relationship. The text under study represents a micro-element, revealing the macro-structure of discursive practices and vice versa.

Building upon the arguments presented above, postcolonial theory and Foucauldian poststructuralism, and here I refer to CDA as well as to the Foucault-inspired historical overview, complement each other in their assumptions and goals when investigating the micro-macro-dynamics of power structures and discursive practices,

which go beyond the obvious; thus form a convincing theoretical and methodological foundation to analyze Canada's immigration discourse.

The Texts Under Investigation

The aim of the text analysis is to focus on how the immigrant is constructed in texts in general rather than in a specific setting. Thus, texts from politics, society and media are chosen in order to reveal the underlying assumptions in the construction of the immigrant image[6]. Politics, society and media are referred to by S. Jäger & Maier (2009) as "discourse planes", meaning the different "social locations from which speaking takes place" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 48). The analysis of texts from these three different discourse planes is a welcomed undertaking by S. Jäger and Maier (2009) who emphasize that while time consuming, "the analysis of interactions of several discourse planes in the regulation of mass consciousness is extremely interesting" (p. 53). Within the discourse plane of politics, government documents on immigration are analyzed, such as immigration, policies, releases and annual reports. Van Dijk (1993a; 1993b; 1993c) has demonstrated the suitability of political texts for analyzing discursive practices towards racialized groups. Within the discourse plane of society, specific emphasis is paid on information texts for immigrants such as brochures, booklets, books and websites. Such texts serve as a way of 'educating' immigrants about Canadian values, norms and 'appropriate' behaviour and thus form a valuable source for analysis of discursiveness. Hilde (2013) illustrates the power dimension of immigrant brochures and pamphlets in

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[6] For example, Phillips and Hardy (1997) analyze four different institutions in Britain and their processes in establishing the concept of a 'refugee'.

creating knowledge because such texts serve as a form of 'educating' immigrants about values and behaviours expected from them. I also analyze various corporate websites within the society discourse plane. Golnaraghi 's (2015) work demonstrates how corporate websites can contribute to the othering of immigrants.

Within the discourse plane of media, newspaper articles are analyzed from the 25 most read newspapers in Canada ("List of newspapers", n.d.). News sources are important text units in analyzing societal discourses (Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013; Don & Lee, 2014; Van Dijk, 1992). For example, Hardy and Phillips (1999) use editorial political cartoons in their study on how refugees are represented in the media.

Also within the media discourse plane, I analyze advertisements to investigate the 'non-political', and 'natural' representation of immigrants. The goal of analyzing such texts is to show how immigrants are understood and represented within society and how the interaction between the 'local' and the 'immigrant' is represented[7]. By conducting CDA on advertisements, I want to investigate if/how/why binary oppositions are present in the construction of the 'immigrant' image and how these are represented in the ads. Drawing on Said's (1978) understanding of the representation of the other, it will be shown how the 'immigrant' is understood and reflected within society. This is in line with Wodak and Meyer's (2009) understanding of texts representing social reality. "Text in CDA is often regarded as a manifestation of social action which again is widely determined by social structure" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 10).

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[7] For example, Lazar's (1991; 1993; 2000; 2006; 2007) work illustrates the discursive strategies through which advertisements construct representations as 'knowledge'.

1.6. Contributions of this Dissertation

The contributions of this dissertation are manifold. First, research conducted on the problematic of socio-economic discrimination against racialized immigrants assumes that racism and discrimination against immigrants are an outcome of an *active* participation of individual agents and a *conscious* act of institutional practices (e.g. Galabuzi, 2006; Ng, 1993; Thobani, 2007). I seek to contribute to our understanding of the creation of the 'other' through the exploration of *unconscious* mechanisms in the creation and perpetuation of the immigration discourse. By doing so, I aim at shedding light on the process of taken-for-granted assumptions and their impact on the immigration discourse. I claim that the exploration of these 'unintended' assumptions needs to be taken into account to sufficiently explain the socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants.

Second, research on Canada's immigration discusses its development as linear (e.g. Galabuzi, 2006; Gogia & Slade, 2011; Ralston, 1999). For example, Gogia and Slade (2011) discuss the changes in immigration policies as "transitions" (p. 33) or some policies being 'replaced' by others (Ralston, 1999, p. 34). Also Galabuzi's (2006) work illustrates this linear assumption through his argument that "Canada has always considered itself a White immigrant nation" (p. xi); thus assuming an uninterrupted continuity in the immigration discourse.

It is my aim to problematize such linear development and treat certain events within Canada's socio-political process in accordance with Foucault's (1972) 'points of rupture', viewing certain developments as crucial interruptions contributing to changes in societal worldviews. I argue that these points of rupture need to be taken into

consideration in the analysis of Canada's immigration discourse. As pointed out by P. Prasad (2005), "The meaning of human existence today can only be answered in the context of humanity's understanding of its past" (p. 245). Thus, Canada's history needs to be problematized in the Foucauldian (1972; 1979) sense. More specifically, it needs to be surfaced how Canada's racial stratification of society in the past impacts the situation of today's immigrants. This is achieved by examining the various race-related discourses throughout Canada's past and by investigating points of rupture that have affected the organization of race in society. I claim that by exploring these points of rupture, our knowledge of binary oppositions (Said, 1978) within the contemporary immigration discourse can be extended.

Third, I address some very 'pragmatic' problems within society concerning the economic marginalization of racialized immigrants and seeks to insert this practical problematic within an in-depth postcolonial theoretical analysis based on Said's (1978) work, along with the analysis of the immigration discourse. Such in-depth theoretical elaboration is necessary when investigating Canada's immigration discourse. Conventional explanations such as lack of Canadian work experience (Li, 2001; Sakamoto et al., 2010; Sakamoto et al., 2013), devaluation of educational credentials attained abroad (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Reitz, 2001; Reitz 2005), or identifiable accents of non-native English speakers (Scassa, 1994) do not sufficiently explain why racialized immigrants experience socio-economic marginalization. Rather, an in-depth investigation of the immigration discourse is necessary to show its relevance and influence on the socio-economic realities of racialized immigrants. Ultimately, this dissertation demonstrates that rather than being "sealed off from the everyday world"

(Sears, 2005, p. 11), theoretical understanding and analysis aids in identifying and explaining practical problems of 'everyday lives'.

1.7. Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2 lays out the specifics of the methodological framework guiding this dissertation. It features those aspects of Foucauldian poststructuralism that are of relevance for this dissertation, namely, the discussion on power, production of knowledge and discourse. Further, I discuss the importance of language as a form of power, which reflects and also shapes discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In this context, I will provide an explanation of the principles of a Foucauldian CDA (S. Jäger 2004; 2008; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) and point out those aspects that are of relevance to my dissertation. I will also problematize the concept of 'history' as part of my commitment to a 'historical turn' in organization studies (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004) and discuss its relevance for this study. The last section of that chapter will be an elaboration on the relevant aspects of postcolonial theory to this dissertation.

Chapter 3 addresses those ethical issues that are of relevance to research conducted in a postcolonial, poststructuralist framework. Further, I lay out the research design for my analysis, namely a Foucauldian historical overview and Foucauldian CDA. I also introduce and justify the texts to be used for these approaches.

In Chapter 4, I conduct a critical overview of Canada's past concerning race relations, as inspired by Foucault's (1972; 1977; 1981; 1982; 1990b) contributions to a historical analysis. I follow Foucault's (1981) guidelines for analyzing procedures of exclusion in discourse construction. More specifically, I look at race-related procedures

and practices throughout Canada's past. Based on this approach, I resurface the various

past race-related discourses, namely the discourses of whiteness, racialization,

multiculturalism, and globalization. Finally, this chapter traces points of rupture

throughout Canada's historical development, pointing to the impact they have had on the

present immigration discourse.

Chapters 5 and 6 form the text analysis of this dissertation. These chapters are

organized according to the discursive themes (discourse positions) that emerged from my

analysis.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings from the historical overview conduced in Chapter

4 and the themes that emerged from the text analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. In this chapter,

I shed light on the socio-political, economic and ideological context.

Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation. I will summarize the findings, discuss the

contributions and limitations of my research, and offer suggestions for future research. I

will conclude with some final reflections.

1.8. Summary of Chapter 1

In this chapter, I have outlined my main research objective, namely to investigate

how the current immigration discourse in Canada constructs the image of the immigrant,

and how this relates to the socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants. As I

have argued, mostly racialized immigrants coming from the so-called 'developing

countries' characterize Canada's contemporary immigration demographic. These

immigrants do not experience the same economically successful integration into the

Canadian labour market as the previously (mostly European) immigrants. I have further

demonstrated why Canada as a case study is of particular interest for this dissertation. In this chapter, I have made a justification for postcolonial theory and Foucauldian poststructuralism as theoretical and methodological approaches to investigating discursive practices in the immigration discourse. Finally, I have outlined the contributions of an analysis of Canada's immigration discourse in extending our knowledge of binary oppositions.

Chapter 2 – Methodological Framework

2.1. Chapter Introduction

My epistemological understanding is that modernity has contributed to unchallenged notions of 'theory' and 'knowledge' about how the world is constructed (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011), which also impacts our contemporary constructions of the image of the immigrant. Modernist categorizations such as 'knowledge', 'history' or 'tradition' have come to be considered of "universal epistemological and ontological significance" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 17). Weber's (1904/1958) understanding of western modernity illustrates this discourse in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* "In Western civilization only, cultural phenomena appeared, which (as we like to think) lie in a line of development having *universal* significance and value" (p. 13). Along similar lines, Hegel (1900) insisted, the "History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History" (p. 163).

I argue that in order to understand how Canada's immigration discourse constructs the image of the immigrant, modernist categorizations of what constitutes 'knowledge' need to be problematized. Such problematization necessitates the application of poststructuralism and postcolonial theory. Such a framework provides the necessary tools to show how language is a political process rather than a neutral device and thus serves in the creation and maintenance of discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Also, both poststructuralism and postcolonial theory reveal the modernist 'othering' as an integral part of today's societal discourse (see for example Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Ashcroft et al., 2007; Banerjee & A. Prasad, 2008; A. Prasad, 2003).

In the following sections of this chapter, I discuss the specific theoretical contributions of Foucauldian poststructuralism, such as Foucauldian CDA and Foucauldian approach to history, and postcolonial theory, which constitute the epistemological foundation of my work.

2.2. Poststructuralism

In a broad sense, poststructuralism focuses on the analysis of discursive practices such as behaviours, institutional formations and language which are believed to be part of societal structuring (Lemert, 1997; Linstead, 2010). Various thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Jean-François Lyotard, Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault can be said to define the poststructuralist movement (Williams, 2005). The particular contributions of the individual thinkers vary in their perspectives, ranging from textual and rhetorical analysis (Derrida), readdressing Freudian psychoanalysis (Lacan), the linguistic analysis of poetry (Kristeva) and Lyotard's emphasis on art and aesthetics (Lemert, 1997; P. Prasad, 2005; Williams, 2005). I adopt the perspective of Foucauldian poststructuralism because of the emphasis in his work on issues of power, its connection to the production of knowledge and his contributions to our understanding of discursive practices in organizations (Linstead, 2010). As Linstead (2004) asserts, Foucault's contributions transcend the analysis of linguistic units and reveal, "how human life organizes itself and is organized" (p. 6)[8].

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[8] Foucault never referred to himself as a poststructuralist, avoiding labels put on his contributions (Williams, 2005).

Knowledge, Power and Discourse

Foucault (1998) considers power and knowledge as inseparable from each other. "Power and knowledge cannot be thought of as separate or distinct phenomena. Each one is completely dependent on the other for its existence and development" (P. Prasad, 2005, p. 253). Similarly, Linstead (2010) regards knowledge as shaped by power. "With knowledge being the tool of power, the exercise of power creates and causes new objects of knowledge to emerge" (Linstead, 2010, p. 706). An example of power determining 'knowledge' is given by Adib-Moghaddam (2011). The author demonstrates how the understanding of geographic division has been accepted as a taken-for-granted concept applied in the world. It is not only Europeans who understand the global geographic division into West, Latin America, or the Middle East, but also all non-European countries have come to orient themselves according to this geographic conceptualization. Further, Adib-Moghaddam (2011) uses the example of the development of social sciences, such as political economy or international relations, to emphasize their US-centric infrastructure. Such academic US-centrism came to dominate the global understanding of these disciplines while writing out philosophical and theoretical contributions from non-Western origins. These are two examples how modernist assumptions have become universal 'facts' and 'truths' applied globally (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011).

According to Foucault (1982), power is embedded in all aspects of our lives through discourses. Foucault (2001) stresses the interrelatedness of power and knowledge with regards to discourses that enable the legitimization or sanctioning of ideas as

recognized knowledge and at the same time determine what kind of knowledge constitutes 'untruths':

> Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse, which it accepts and makes function, as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 2001, p. 317)

A discourse "secures our assent (or compliance), not so much by the threat of punitive sanctions, as by persuading us to internalize the norms and values that prevail within the social order" (Linstead, 2010, p. 706). This internalization process determines what practices are considered as 'normal' or 'deviant', thus creating a hierarchical order of behaviour within society. Ultimately, a discourse 'normalizes' values and practices in society (Linstead, 2010). Foucauldian (1971) poststructuralism problematizes such 'normalized' practices in society and highlights their discursiveness. In the context of this research, the poststructuralist approach helps us in detecting the discursiveness in normalized and socially accepted practices. As given in the example by Hilde (2013), when newcomers are given welcome handbooks upon their arrival to Canada by immigration officers, this act can be interpreted as discursive in itself based on 'educating' the newcomers on what is appropriate versus deviant behaviour. This also illustrates the power/knowledge relationship where the officer holds the power through the discursive knowledge he/she possesses.

The notion of access is an importance consideration in the dynamics of power and discourse. Who can participate in the creation and reproduction of discourses is restricted to those in power positions (Fairclough, 1989). Consequently, those in power positions, by creating discourses, also determine what 'knowledge' will be regarded as valid. Ultimately, for Foucault, power and knowledge are therefore inseparable from each other.

> We should admit rather that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (Foucault, 1979, p. 27)

The difficulty about the meaning of discourse is acknowledged among scholars. For example, Bryman et al. (2011) emphasize "discourse sometimes comes close to standing for everything and thus nothing" (p. 426) and similarly S. Mills (1997) explains that the confusion of the term 'discourse' in academia has become "common currency in a variety of disciplines […] so much so that it is frequently left undefined, as if its usage were simply common knowledge" (p. 1). Foucault (1972) himself acknowledged that giving 'discourse' one concrete meaning would be limiting from a poststructuralist perspective because defining 'discourse' "would mean to relate it to other terms, which themselves require definitions" (Radford & Radford, 2005, p. 74). "Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse,' I believe that I have, in fact, added to its meanings" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Furthermore, Foucault (1972) insists, "have I not allowed this same word 'discourse' […] to vary as I shifted my analysis or its

point of application?" (p. 80).

My understanding of discourse is inspired by Foucault and expressed by various scholars within the domain of CDA studies. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) describe discourse as a 'social practice' defined as "a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it" (p. 258). Ultimately, the discursive event shapes and is shaped by those situations/institutions/social structures, forming an interactive dynamic:

> Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

That is the reason why discursive practices come to have totalitarian characteristics, contributing to inequality within society:

> Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough &Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

Adib-Moghaddam (2011) makes a strong illustration of these 'issues of power' of discourses by discussing the concept of the German *guest-worker.* Adib-Moghaddam (2011) points to its psychological, cognitive and economic manifestation which "causes

the consciousness of the spectators to fold into an 'I am' (civilized, racially superior), into a present that does not coincide with the object (the savage)" (p. 126). This pronunciation of discourses through language is most powerfully illustrated by the example of the Nazi regime and their articulation of 'scientific' knowledge prescribing racial classifications of humans.

At the same time, lack of power will prevent members from accessing and participating in the creation of discourses. An example is policy making. Van Dijk (1993a) has illustrated this dynamic by exemplifying the restricted access of 'ordinary' people in participating in parliamentarian debates or the institutionalized regulations of the media through press releases or press conferences. In the context of Canada's immigration, this can be illustrated by the fact that immigration officers have the authority to override the point system in the category of skilled worker if they see that the point system does not effectively evaluate the applicant's conditions (Gogia & Slade, 2011). This example is an illustration of discourse dominance and control through marginalizing or silencing the ones without the power through various forms of institutionalized regulations. In the case of the immigration officer, his/her right to override the point system is institutionally legitimized. At the same time, we see a power imbalance in which the applicant has no possibility to override the officer's decision.

Where power resides is a crucial consideration for Foucault (1990a). As he famously stated, "Power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 93). By this Foucault (1990a) refers to the omnipresence of power transcending institutions, individual power holders and groups. It is rather a "chain of systems" (p. 92) which derive its legitimization from the discourse upon which it is drawn.

By power, I do not mean "Power" as a group of institutions and mechanisms that

ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. By power, I do not mean,

either, a mode of subjugation which, in contrast to violence, has the form of the

rule. Finally, I do not have in mind a general system of domination exerted by

one group over another, a system whose effects, through successive derivations,

pervade the entire social body. […] Power is not an institution, and not a

structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that

one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (Foucault,

1990a, pp. 92-93)

From the Foucauldian perspective, discourses are displayed and expressed

through language. "Language is ineluctably imbricated with power relations" (Linstead,

2010, p. 705). For this reason, Foucault "is not interested in the dispositions of the world,

in what is the case outside of language; his concern is with what governs objectification

and description of the world *in* language" (Prado, 2006, pp. 98-99). For Foucault, a

discourse is "a group of statements which provide language for talking about - a way of

representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment"

(Hall, 2010, p. 72). This group of statements then form a 'discursive formation'. "We

shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive

formation" (Foucault, 1972, p. 117). Further, it is 'discursive practices' that regulate the

groups of statements that form a discourse. These discursive practices are socio-political

rules that dictate who can speak, what can be said and what counts as legitimized

knowledge. "A discursive practice oversees the distribution of knowledge and arranges

certain ways of speaking into a hierarchy" (Lehtonen, 2000, p. 42). These discursive

practices form both the procedures and conditions for communication. Through the 'procedure of exclusion', a discourse is controlled by limiting topics and "object of knowledge" outside of "major locations of discussion and analysis" (Turkel, 1990, p. 176). This marginalization of bodies of knowledge results in putting the non-dominant discourses at the periphery. Ultimately, "that which is marginalized, divided-off, and rejected becomes excluded from determining the criteria of what is true and false" (Turkel, 1990, p. 177).

A poststructuralist understanding of how language and power are interlinked to ultimately "alter our ideas of science, history, philosophy, and literature" (P. Prasad, 2005, p. 238) is an important aspect of this research. CDA is the tool that enables us to focus on the study of language to capture this relationship between power and language. "Texts are sensitive barometers of social processes, movement and diversity, and textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change" (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 211).

Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA emerged in the early 1990s when scholars such as Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak came together to discuss theories and methodologies in the application of discourse analysis (DA) (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Some of the features of CDA derived from Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School while its focus on language is inspired by critical linguistics emerging during the 1970s (van Dijk, 1993a). The main aspects of Critical Theory that inspired CDA derived from Horkheimer's (1972) elaboration on the task of social sciences to focus on oppressions within societies, as expressed in his

famous essay *Traditional and Critical Theory*. In this essay, Horkeimer (1972) proposes Marxian guidelines in the field of social sciences, which should challenge the oppressive and absolute assumptions about observations on society. Critical Theory calls for the inclusion of various disciplines in social sciences in an attempt to understand and tackle discriminatory practices within society. Thus, CDA is problem-oriented, focusing on the issue of power and domination, rather than being solemnly method-oriented, and insists on multidisciplinarity to achieve this goal (Fairclough, 1992b; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Van Dijk, 2009).

One commonality all CDA researchers share is its focus on the *critical* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The issues of social injustice, inequality and marginalization of certain groups in society are at the heart of CDA. This shared focus on the critical investigation of social phenomena is influenced by the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas' focus on Critical Theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In accordance with principles of Critical Theory, CDA "want to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7).

CDA is focused on highlighting dynamics of power and inequality through a concrete analysis of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA lends itself well as a tool to surface how discursive practices in society are constructed and perpetuated through text and, as such, is an appropriate tool in my analysis on immigration. Van Dijk (1993a) has demonstrated this suitability by analyzing the speeches of western parliamentarians on ethnic affairs to emphasize the link between a discursive event and its socio-political context that enables and facilitates racially based attitudes in discrouses:

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The enactment of (political) power as part of white group dominance in western

countries is not limited to political decision-making and directly restricting the

rights of minorities, but also, and perhaps more importantly, justifies and

legitimates such acts through the manipulation of public opinion, usually through

the mass media. (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 268)

In the context of my dissertation, CDA contributes to investigating discursive

practices which contribute to the marginalization of a certain type of immigrant. Such

marginalization is achieved through the usage of language which appears netural and

non-offensive on the surface but which is coded with the discourse of colonialism.

Major scholars of CDA (such as Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993a;

Wodak & Meyer, 2009) emphasize CDA's heterogeneity, consisting of various

methodological and theoretical backgrounds. These differences refer to the varying

degree of applying linguistics in CDA, the methodological and theoretical approaches

and the differences in process when conducting CDA (Fairclough, 1992b)[9]. One of the

major divisions within the different approaches to CDA is the degree of detailed, precise

linguistic orientation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Fairclough's (1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1995;

2003) work serves as an example of a detailed linguistic analysis on lexical categories

and properties of language based on Halliday's (1985) in-depth study of language

structures.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) consider Fairclough's approach to CDA to be "the

most developed theory and method for research in communication, culture and society"

(p. 60). However, it is precisely Fairclough's (1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1995; 2003) focus on

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[9] Rather than a single approach in CDA, it is more appropriate to speak of a 'school' of
CDA

a systematic, structured textual analysis that stands in contrast to the poststructuralist spirit of this dissertation. "In contrast to poststructuralist tendencies, he [Fairclough] stresses the importance of doing systematic analyses of spoken and written language" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 65).

The specific approach to CDA in this dissertation is based on Foucauldian CDA developed by S. Jäger and the Duisburg group at the Institute of Language and Social Research (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger, 2008; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). Foucauldian CDA focuses on the concept of 'valid knowledges' at a certain time and place and investigates what this 'valid knowledge' consists of (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). In the context of my research, Foucauldian CDA helps investigate what kind of valid knowledge of the immigrant is found in the present immigration discourse. Knowledge is understood as all those meanings that people use in order to understand and form their environments. These types of valid knowledge are understood as conditioned by socio-political, economic, and historical contexts such as gender, class relations, geographic location or history (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006). Thus, Foucauldian CDA aims at identifying types of knowledges within discourses and showing "how these knowledges are firmly connected to power relations in power/knowledge complexes" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 34-35)[10].

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[10] The Duisburg group has conducted extensive research on racism in Germany. See for example M. Jäger (1996); M. Jäger, Cleve, & S. Jäger (1998); M. Jäger & S. Jäger (2007); S. Jäger (1992); S. Jäger (1993); S. Jäger and M. Jäger (1992); S. Jäger & Januschek (1992); S. Jäger et al., (1998); S. Jäger & Link (1993); Link (1992); Kalpaka & Räthzel (1986). I have translated the titles of these books from German into English since no English versions of these works exist. Having been brought up in Germany and being fluent in German, I have done my best in trying to capture the original intent of these titles.

Foucauldian CDA considers discourse as Omni-present and its function within society as supra-individual (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). The individual is viewed as "an empty site - an intersection of discourses" (Linstead, 2010, p. 706). In short, it is the discourse that creates the subject and not vice versa. "It is thus not the subject who makes the discourses, but the discourses that make the subject" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 37). This is in accordance with Foucault (1981) who remains doubtful about the autonomy of the subject. Such assumptions fit well with the scope of this research to highlight the taken-for-granted nature of race-related discursive practices of the present immigration discourse.

Concerning who has power *over* discourses, in accordance with Foucault (1990a), S. Jäger and Maier (2009) stress the supra-individual power of discourses and assert that while specific groups and individuals have different degrees of access to power and thus to influencing discourses, discourses also take on a life on their own, which characterizes their Omni-present nature. The result is that discourses "transport more knowledge than the single individual is aware of" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 38).

This realization stands in contrast to Van Dijk (1993c) who emphasizes the autonomy of the subject and the power of elites to influence discourses. Wodak and Reisigle (2001) refer to Van Dijk's (1993c) assumptions of a conscious elite creating a discourse as an overemphasis on a "top-down causality of opinion and manipulation (i.e. a manipulative impact from the allegedly homogenous 'elite' on the allegedly homogenous masses of ordinary people)" (382-383). I am aligned with the Duisburg group's Foucauldian understanding of discourse as possessing an often subconscious and unintentional perpetuation of discursiveness because of its Omni-present nature. "The

power effects of discourses should therefore not necessarily be interpreted as the conscious and manipulative intent of some individual or group" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 39). Foucauldian CDA allows me to capture these assumptions in my analysis and to investigate not what one person or one group says about immigrants or immigration, but what type of construction of the immigrant is prevailing within Canadian society and what this says about the present immigration discourse. Foucauldian CDA reveals the mechanisms which make the forms of expressions seem taken-for-granted, or "rational and beyond all doubt" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 36). Foucauldian CDA assumes that discourses dictate what is said, thought and acted upon within society through institutionalized practices based on a certain type of knowledge. Thus, the analysis of talk and text sheds light on the discursive practices and on those specific types of knowledges through which power in society is exercised (S. Jäger, 2004).

Foucauldian CDA also addresses the distinction between "effects of text and effects of a discourse" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 38). S. Jäger and Maier (2009) assert that it is not a singular text that functions as a discursive practice but rather the constant repetition of statements. "A single text has minimal effects, which are hardly noticeable and almost impossible to prove. In contrast, a discourse, with its recurring contents, symbols and strategies, leads to the emergence and solidification of 'knowledge' and therefore has sustained effects" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 38). The recurring symbols within texts are referred to as collective symbolism. *Collective symbolism* is an important feature within Foucauldian CDA because it is assumed to reflect societal, collective knowledge about a topic. "They provide a repertoire of images from which we construct a picture of reality for ourselves" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 48). For example, searching

for collective symbolism in an advertisement in which immigrants are featured reveals the collective understanding of who an immigrant is.

Foucauldian CDA also focuses on the connection between discourses and how they impact the context. Discourses directly create and shape material reality. "Discourses are fully valid material realities" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 36). S. Jäger and Maier (2009) illustrate this dependency of material reality on discourses by elaborating how discourses shape individual and collective consciousness. Collective consciousness shapes human actions such as the socio-economic and political activities of subjects. Therefore, S. Jäger and Maier (2009) conclude, discourses inevitably determine the actions of subjects and therefore shape material conditions of societies. "Discourses may be conceptualized as societal means of production. Discourses are not 'mere ideology'; they produce subjects and reality" and "guide the individual and collective creation of reality" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 37).

For Foucault (1978), the concept of ideology in the Gramscian sense did not explain the interaction between power and the production of knowledge. Foucault did not think that power in society is exercised in a top-down manner as proposed by Gramsci who argued that "power is mainly exerted by the dominant bourgeois class through the medium of ideology" (Daldal, 2014, p. 150). Rather, for Foucault (1990a), power is circular and enacted in all spheres of human activities. Further, in contrast to the Marxian approach, for Foucault (1990a) discourses create material reality rather than vice versa. Thus, analyzing discourses in order to explain socio-economic and political realities is necessary because "the ongoing production of reality" is created through discourses (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 37).

The analysis of the present immigration discourse can contribute to explaining the racialized marginalization by highlighting the various discursive practices in political, economic, cultural and ideological spheres. Such an approach is in accordance with Foucault's (1972; 1981) assumption of the interconnectedness between knowledge production, discourse and its effects on material conditions. "Discourse is a border concept […], both because in practical terms knowledge in discourse will be part of everyday practices, and because material conditions will operate on the conceptual formation of knowledge" (Young, 2001, p. 399).

Finally, Foucauldian CDA has a 'relatively' high degree of flexibility with regards to how the analysis is conducted (M. Jäger & S. Jäger, 2007; S. Jäger, 2004). While specific guidelines and a 'toolbox' of linguistic analysis is introduced, S. Jäger and Maier (2009) make it clear that the specifics of conducting CDA should allow variability and adjustment to the research objectives and thus put theory over method. Foucault (1991) asserts, "I don't construct a general method of definitive value for myself or for others. What I write does not prescribe anything, neither for myself nor for others. At most, its character is instrumental and visionary or dream-like" (p. 29). Thus, the overall assumptions and principles of Foucauldian CDA are particularly fitting for this research because of its focus on analyzing discursive formations while leaving flexibility to the researcher in the specific approach.

Foucauldian Approach to History

An analysis of Canada's present immigration discourse also necessitates a review of Canada's immigration and colonization history in order to prevent an ahistorical and

decontextualized reflection of the present (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006). What history

actually means and how a historical analysis should be conducted is epistemologically

conditioned (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Durepos & Mills, 2012a; Mills & Helms Mills,

2013; Weatherbee et al., 2012)[11]. Rowlinson et al. (2014) speak of "different ways of

'knowing' the past" (p. 251), which expresses well the different epistemological

approaches to understanding history.

Rather than in a temporal order, a Foucauldian historical investigation uses the

past as a way of showing how discursive configurations have come into existence and

demonstrates how these taken-for-granted assumptions influence the present discourse

(Rabinow, & Rose, 1994). Ultimately, for Foucault (1990b), "history serves to show that-

which-is has not always been" (p. 37). In the context of Canada's present immigration

discourse, the analysis of the past can contribute to our understanding of how the current

immigration discourse came to be, which subjects came to be privileged and which came

to be silenced and marginalized. For example, Mills and Helms Mills (2006) argue that a

historical investigation can provide "clues to dominant discourses that create the

conditions under which certain understandings (e.g., discrimination) are possible" (p. 35),

rather than serving "as representations of simple or underlying truths" (p. 35).

For Foucault (1982), uncovering discursive processes of the present necessitate an

examination of the past. "We need a historical awareness of our present circumstances"

(Foucault, 1982, p. 778). The inclusion of a historical analysis seeks to diagnose the

discourse of the present by exploring "the complex and contingent process by which that

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[11] Among others, Booth and Rowlinson (2006), Durepos and Mills (2012a) and Üsdiken and Kieser (2004) discuss the different epistemological differences how 'history' itself is viewed within organization studies.

present took shape" (Barratt, 2008, p. 519). Chapter 4 consists of such a historical

analysis seeking to explore the various exclusionary practices and their relation to the

present. For example, in Chapter 4, I trace the discourse of whiteness over time to show

how it has impacted the present race-related discourse and the othering process.

Foucault's famous expression "the history of the present" (Foucault, 1977, p. 31) implies

that his interest in history is a critical engagement with the present. For example, both

works *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (Foucault,

1965) and *Discipline and Publish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979) were not investigations

of contemporary practices in prisons and hospitals per se but rather showed through

historical analysis how particular discursive processes evolved and were made possible.

As part of a historical overview in Chapter 4, I do not claim to conduct an

archaeo-genealogical analysis tracing 500 years of Canada's immigration history per se,

but rather to "work creatively with [Foucault's] thought and methods […] that in

principle embraces both the historical and systematizing dimensions of genealogical

critique" (Barratt, 2008, p. 519). Barratt (2008) speaks of a detailed analysis of

"connections, encounters, plays of forces, as well as the blockages and accidents […] that

leads to what at a given moment comes to be defined as commonsense" (p. 522). In the

context of Canada's immigration discourse, the historical analysis in Chapter 4 helps to

'destabilize' seemingly 'normal' and 'neutral' practices by tracing such practices over

time and revealing their discursiveness. For example, in Chapter 4, I problematize the

institutionalization of the terminology 'visible minority' by revealing its colonial

meaning through a historical overview. The "problematization of the past serves to

illuminate a present-day problematic, a methodological strategy which serves to unsettle

(and subvert) the taken-for-granted character of extant knowledge" (Golnaraghi, 2015, p. 104).

Another important notion deriving from Foucault's historical analysis is the interrelatedness between discursive practices and epistemes.

Episteme may be suspected of being something like a worldview, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which imposes on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape – a great body of legislation written once and for all by some anonymous hand. (Foucault, 1972, p. 191)

Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) refer to Foucault's episteme as an "epistemic system" (p. 18), while Foss and Gill (1987) summarize it as a "characteristic order that defines the discourse for a period" (p. 386). These epistemological systems are then responsible for the discursive practices at a given time. At the same time, this "total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices" (Foucault, 1972, p. 191), change when there are major shifts in societal discourses. Foucault illustrated this notion in his work *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1973) in which he identifies two major shifts in the Western episteme, one at the beginning of the 'Classical' age in the 17th century, and one at the start of the modern era at the beginning of the 19th century. In the context of my study, tracing what kind of shift in epistemes has occurred explains how and why discursive practices shifted over time. For example, in Chapter 4, I discuss the formal end of colonialism after the Second World War as such a shift in epistemes and highlight how this shift rearranged the relationship between the

subject and the other.

Foucault (1972) discusses epistemes as a form of *Weltanschauung*, thus a powerful set of discursive practices at a given period of time. These discursive processes can change through socio-political and economic transformations and thus discourses can be marked by points of rupture. "Rupture is the name given to transformations that bear on the general rules of one or several discursive formations" (Foucault, 1972, p. 177). When these 'systems of thought' (Rabinow & Rose, 1994) are ruptured or discontinued, they are responsible for changing societal discourses. For my study, the concept of a shift in epistemes is particularly relevant because it explains the reasons for the formations, shifts and changes in discourses. For example, such a shift in epistemes explains the change in immigration policies from a race-based selection system to one that focuses on the qualifications of the applications, independent of the country of origin (Gogia & Slade, 2011).

According to Baert (1998), Foucault has demonstrated through his historical analysis that truth effects and discursive practices do not progress in a linear fashion from the past. Instead, Foucault's genealogy has demonstrated that "every system creates its own internal logic and justification" (Foucault, 1977, p. 122) illustrating that "both the assumption of contiguity and the notion of progress are erroneous" (Foucault, 1977, p. 122). Foucault (1977) asserts that each 'system of thought' has its own internal logic. This is not necessarily a continuation of the previous one, but established its own rules and internal logic. "Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity […], humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination" (Foucault, 1977, p. 151). In the

context of Canada's present immigration discourse, viewing the interactions between discourses as explained above is particularly helpful for my study. For example, in Chapter 4, I discuss the various past race-related discourses and am able to show their interactions, legacies and tensions with the present immigration discourse.

Rabinow and Rose (1994) assert that while Foucault's genealogy has shown us a different way of interpreting the past and as a result, our present, his approach has to be modified and adjusted as new situations arise. For this purpose, and in this spirit, I maintain that my research is inspired by the Foucauldian approach to study Canada's immigration discourse, while preserving the right to divert to other theories and methodologies whenever the need arises. Along similar lines, Rabinow and Rose (1994) consider Foucault's practice of contemporary critique not a methodology per se, but rather as a practice or movement which keeps modifying its tools in accordance with the problems and situations that arise. In this sense, Foucault's theories "set out to open things up, not close them down; to complicate, not simplify; not to police the boundaries of an oeuvre but to multiply lines of investigation and possibilities of thought" (Rabinow & Rose, 1994, p. vii).

Finally, Jenkins (2003) writes that there is no past (before now) prior to what we make out of it. "The so-called past (the before now) doesn't exist 'meaningfully' prior to the effort of historians to impose upon it a structure of form" (Jenkins, 2003, p. 11). In the context of this dissertation, this means my acknowledgement that how I interpret Canada's historical development with regards to its race-relations, is not the summary of facts, but is dependent on my epistemological lenses that I as the scholar have about the world. Thus, how I read and interpret Canada's past and the conclusions I draw about

past and present race-related discourses in Chapter 4, are by no means 'truths', but rather

my personal, subjective interpretations.

2.3. The Postcolonial Approach

Postcolonialism is a broad spectrum of forms of critique rather than a unified

theory or methodology, incorporating varying degrees of Marxism, poststructuralism,

feminism and other approaches (Golnaraghi, 2015; Jack et al, 2011; Loomba, 1998;

Moore-Gilbert, 2005). "There is not one postcolonial, nor one school of theory, rather an

interpretive sensibility conditioned by different thinkers and positions" (Jack et al., 2011,

p. 278).

Overall, postcolonial theory[12] as a theoretical perspective challenges the western

view of superiority and the imperialist paradigm by analyzing economic, geographic,

socio-political and ideological domination by the 'West' on 'non-West' regions

(Ahluwalia, 2007)[13]. Along similar lines, Banerjee and A. Prasad (2008) stress the critical

character of postcolonial thought which is driven by the "radical critique of colonialism,

imperialism and neo-colonialism" (Banerjee & A. Prasad, 2008, p. 90) assuming the

continuous legacy of colonial domination with regards to political, cultural and economic

control. I interpret imperialism as "the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a

dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory" (Said, 1993, p. 8) during the

colonization process. I refer to colonialism as the institutionalized practice of imperialist

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[12] Post-colonial is understood as a temporal indicator that marks the time period
following the formal decolonization of previously colonized countries (Jack et al., 2011).
In contrast, postcolonialism or postcolonial theory refer to the critique of the colonial and
imperial condition (Jack et al., 2011).
[13] For in-depth clarification of the terms colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, post-
colonialism, postcoloniality and postcolonialism, consult Young (2001).

ideology of non-European territories by (European) colonizers (Ashcroft et al., 2007).

Neo-colonialism is understood as the continuation of colonialism in the post-colonial era "without the traditional mechanism of expanding frontiers and territorial control, but with elements of political, economic and cultural control" (Banerjee & A. Prasad, 2008, p. 91).

Neo-colonialism also incorporates social and ideological practices such as the construction of 'different types of knowledge' that are considered superior because they derive from the West (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Jack & Westwood, 2006; Jack et al., 2011; A. Prasad, 1997; A. Prasad, 2012; Westwood, 2004).

Jack et al. (2011) consider postcolonial theory to be a "broad rubric for examining a range of social, cultural, political, ethical and philosophical questions that recognize the salience of the colonial experience and its persisting aftermath" (p. 277). Within the context of MOS, P. Prasad (2005) views postcolonial theory as a methodology that goes behind "seeming normality of routine organizational processes to reveal the enduring colonial legacies that undergird them" (P. Prasad, 2005, p. 277).

A focus of postcolonialism is further to evaluate critically the teachings of modernity (Barker et al., 1994). This can be clearly detected in Adib-Moghaddam's (2011) work when pointing to the evolvement of modernity as a responsible source for imperialism and race relations based on the presumed superiority of the Westerner and the inferiority of the non-Westerner. "In modernity, this search for pure causalities has proven to be rather persistent; it found its logical epitome in the Nazi premise that *Rassenmischung ist Völkermord*, the mixing of races is the death of nations" (Adib-Moghddam, 2011, p. 138-139). It is in modernity that Adib-Moghddam (2011) sees the establishing of 'othering', which is an example of the postcolonial theoretical perspective

in his work. "Modernity created a particular violent syntax […], that […] draws considerable strength from the legacies of colonialism and imperialism" (Adib-Moghddam, 2011, p. 140). It is in the assumptions of modernity thought that the idea of the 'modern man' has emerged.

Postcolonialism puts the consequences of the colonial discourse of political, geographical, racial and economical creation of a centre-periphery relationship between 'Western' and all non-western parts of the world in the foreground of its inquiry. It focuses on the relationship between colonizers and the colonized and attempts to detect colonial discourses that go beyond the obvious in past and current occurrences (Makki, 2004). Memmi (1991) further stresses that for a postcolonial approach, the whole relationship between the colonizer and the colonized has to be investigated to be able to fully understand it. This centre-periphery relationship is illustrated by Adib-Moghaddam (2011) when demonstrating how the concept of Orientalism situates the view of the world through western perspective. "*Orientalism* suggests not only the primacy of the colonial period in the constitution of the Orient and its Arab-Muslim sub-stratum, but also the complete centrality of the West as a *ghul*, a giant with all-enveloping powers" (Adib-Moghddam, 2011, p. 88). Adib-Moghaddam (2011) demonstrates the emergence and evolvement of the world into the ''west and the rest'' (p. 172) and the resulting racial categorization of humans accompanying this discourse.

The postcolonial approach to the study of immigration allows to acknowledge and to challenge the colonial legacy of immigration policy-making and the categorization of immigrants by analyzing facts and 'common-sense' assumptions for its colonial character. In Scott's (1999) words, the concern is for the "decolonisation of

representation" (p. 12). However, in accordance with Adib-Moghaddam's (2011) focus on Western 'critique', rather than the representation of the other, this research on immigration applies the same principle.

Relevance of Postcolonialism for the Study on Immigration

My research is inspired by Said's (1978) work on the orientalist discourse and the dynamics of binary oppositions that govern the relationship between the subject and the other. Said's (1978) introduction of the concept of Orientalism as a *discourse* in the Foucauldian sense is essential for this research. "It was above all the idea of Orientalism as a discourse in a general sense that allowed the creation of a general conceptual paradigm through which the cultural forms of colonial and imperial ideologies could be analysed" (Young, 2001, p. 384). In the context of the immigration discourse, Adib-Moghaddam (2011) demonstrates how the guest-worker in Germany is understood in opposition to the German citizen. The guest-worker is understood as a savage to be utilized for economic purposes. The foreign labourer never becomes part of the nation and remains understood as the opposite other. In the context of the discourse on immigration in Canada, the concept of the binary oppositions helps in analysing what constitutes a 'desirable' and a 'undesirable' immigrant (Ng, 1993) and what type of conditioned patterns of binary thinking has contributed to the contemporary immigration discourse.

Said (1978) brings to light the manifold discursive formations based on binary oppositions which shape the subject's engagement with the other. These binary oppositions have contributed to creating the West and the non-West as a "fictive reality" (Jack et al., 2011, p. 277). These binary oppositions portray the West and the non-West in

qualitatively asymmetrical terms stressing the superiority of the former while portraying the latter as inferior. This orientalist discourse was established and perpetuated with the goal to justify the British Empire in their conquest of the non-West world (Said, 1978). According to Ashcroft et al. (2007), the concept of binary oppositions has enabled a structural order of how reality is understood, created and recreated. A. Prasad (1997, p. 291) offers an extensive discussion on the hierarchical system of colonialist binaries that are intrinsic to the discourse of colonialism.

Table 1: A. Prasad's List of Binary Oppositions

West	Non-West
Active	Passive
Center	Margin/periphery
Civilized	Primitive/savage
Colonizer	Colonized
Developed	Backward/undeveloped/ underdeveloped/developing
Fullness/plenitude/completeness	Lack/inadequacy/incompleteness
Historical (people with history)	Ahistorical (people without history)
The liberated	The savable
Masculine	Feminine/effeminate
Modern	Archaic
Nation	Tribe
Occidental	Oriental
Scientific	Superstitious
Secular	Nonsecular
Subject	Object
Superior	Inferior
The vanguard	The led
White	Black/brown/yellow

The 'West' is understood in terms of 'active', 'in the centre', the 'civilized', the 'developed', 'historical', 'masculine', and ultimately 'superior' to all 'non-West'. Important notions of the system of binary oppositions are the virtues of the 'West' as 'modern', 'liberated', 'secular', and 'scientific'. The 'non-West' is understood in all the opposites to the 'West', such as 'passive', 'at the margins', 'primitive', 'backward',

'ahistorical', 'savage', 'non-secular' and ultimately 'inferior' (A. Prasad, 1997, p. 291).

While the 'West' is understood as 'scientific' and therefore its system of knowledge

proven and verified, the 'non-West' is regarded as 'superstitious' and therefore as based

on no valid knowledge. The 'West' is the 'subject' in this system of oppositions, while

the 'non-West' is the 'object'. Said's Orientalism also applies to the Canadian context

which is historically influenced by colonialism. Also, approaching Canada's immigration

through these lenses is particularly relevant because the majority of the present

immigrants come from non-Western countries. Hence, binarism offers a particularly

helpful tool in analyzing the relationship between the subject and the other, the Westerner

and the non-Westerner.

Adib-Moghaddam (2011) illustrates the evolvement and strength of the concept of

the binary oppositions by showing how our understanding of the 'us' versus 'them'

mentality is still maintained today. This opposing understanding of the world has

emerged through "the complex interaction between representations of 'self' and 'other',

'us' and 'them' during formative periods of world history" (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011, p.

xvi). If 'Western' civilization stands at the centre and as superior, it must be concluded

that all non-Western represents the opposing other.

> Differentiating the in-group from the out-group, does not refer to or cause
>
> detachment. Such processes of 'othering' do not result in autonomy; 'we' and
>
> 'they' continue to inhabit a social field, our 'self' continues to be entirely
>
> interdependent with the 'other'. (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011, p. 8)

Said's (1978) assumptions about the orientalist discourse have received various

points of criticism (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Moore-Gilbert, 2005; Young, 2001). As

Young (2001) stresses, "few books can have sustained let alone survived the veritable barrage of critiques that have been deployed against Orientalism over the years" (p. 384). Spivak (1993) refers to Said's work as "the source book of our discipline" (p. 56), having "inaugurated the postocolonial field" (Bhabha, 1992, p. 465). Yet, both Spivak and Bhabha engage differently with the process of othering in their quest for postcolonial critique.

Spivak (1988) looks at the ways in which the other is "condemned only to be known, represented, and spoken for in a distorted fashion by others", including Western academics such as Foucault (Moore-Gilbert, 2005, p. 452). By investigating the other, Western 'knowledge' is further inaugurated and remains the subject. "The much-publicized critique of the sovereign subject thus actually inaugurates a Subject" (Spivak, 1988, p. 271). Spivak (1988) argues that concentrating on the subaltern and their experiences is a process in which these subalterns gain a voice only through the intellectual who creates the space for such interrogation. "Indeed, the concrete experience that is the guarantor of the political appeal of prisoners, soldiers and schoolchildren is disclosed through the concrete experience of the intellectual, the one who diagnoses the episteme" (Spivak, 1988, p. 274). This also holds true to western feminism and intellectual work on women that are based on patriarchal worldviews. Ultimately, "The subaltern cannot speak. There is no virtue in global laundry lists with 'woman' as a pious item. Representation has not withered away" (Spivak, 1988, p. 309).

In the context of this research, the most crucial point of 'criticism' towards Said (1978) is his emphasis on the subject and the orientalist discourse as having totalitarian

mechanisms (Ahmad, 1992; Moore-Gilbert, 2005; Mills, 1997; Young, 2001)[14].

"Orientalism writes out the colonized (and their agency) almost entirely" (Moore-Gilbert, 2005, p. 457). Similarly, Adib-Moghaddam (2011) warns to be careful when conducting research from a postcolonial perspective in order not to "explain only one side of this dialectic' between the colonizer and the colonized" (p. 106). Explaining such dialectic as one-sided would inevitably disempower the other. Such an approach could underestimate the other's ability "to express themselves, to write their own history, to narrate their sense of selfhood against the colonial odds" (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011, p. 102)[15]. Consequently, Adib-Moghaddam (2011) asserts that his task is on *criticizing* the 'West' rather than *representing* the other.

For Bhabha, the other is described as capable of agency in the interaction with the colonizer. Bhabha (1994) refers to this process as 'mimicry', describing it as "the strategic reversal of the process of domination […] that turns the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 112). In contrast, Said (1978) is 'accused' of overshadowing and silencing the other by the subject (Mills, 1997; Young, 2001). "Bhabha recuperates the agency of the colonized which is written out in Orientalism" (Moore-Gilbert, 2005, p. 459).

Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) take up Bhabha's (1990) understanding of the relationship between colonizers and colonized as taking place 'in between', rather than in

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[14]Loomba (1998) and Young (2001) offer interesting overview on criticism towards Orientalism, including methodological flaws, ideological inconsistencies or faulty analysis processes.

[15] An example how the other 'narrates its own sense of selfhood' is the work of Krysa et al. (2016). This work analyzes RAND interviews between U.S. military and Vietcong prisoners during the 'Vietnam' War and shows the different ways of self-expression and autonomy of the other in the light of the power imbalance.

binary spaces (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006, p. 858). Bhabha's work (1990; 1992; 1994) focuses on the complexities, nuances and, oftentimes, subconscious mechanisms governing the othering process and the subject-object relationship. Bhabha's psychoanalytic perspectives reveal the colonizer as "less secure, both physically and politically, than Orientalism implies" (Moore-Gilbert, 2005, p. 475). Said's (1978) strict division into binaries is viewed as too monolithic. According to Bhabha (1994), Said's work "hints continually at a polarity or division at the very centre of Orientalism" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 73). Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) are critical of an analysis based on binary oppositions because such an approach "masks the hybrid nature of both the colonial encounter and the postcolonial traditions" (p. 858). Said's (1978) orientalism is criticized to represent a static relationship between the subject and the other throughout history, flattening "historical nuances into a fixed East versus West divide" (Loomba, 1998, p. 48).

Loomba (1998) addresses the criticism made towards Said's (1978) focus on the subject's representation of the non-West.

It is true that Orientalism is primarily concerned with how the Orient was 'constructed' […], and not with how such a construction was received or dismantled by colonial subjects. However, it would […] be unfair to conclude that just because Said does not venture into the latter territory, he necessarily suggests that the colonialist's discourse is all pervasive. (Loomba, 1998, p. 51)

Said's (1978) Orientalism does not describe how the world *is* but rather how it is *represented*. Loomba (1998) describes Said's (1978) work not as a book about other cultures, but rather as a book about "the Western representation of these cultures"

(Loomba, 1998, p. 43). Similarly, this dissertation is about the subject's fictitious representation of the immigrant as the foreign, unfamiliar, and contrasting other. Adib-Moghaddam (2011) emphasizes that how postcolonialism is challenging the colonial legacy is more in relation to the 'Western' reader rather than a representation of the other. This is in line with the objective of this dissertation and a reason why, as will be explained in Chapter 8, this dissertation aims at focusing how the image of the immigrant as the other is constructed, but stays away from attempting to represent the other.

Therefore, I consider Said's (1978) work on the orientalist discourse and binarism particularly fitting for my research. Said's (1978) detailed focus on the orientalist discourse and the agency of the colonizer in shaping the representation of the other is essential for my research. "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authoring views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (Said, 1978, p. 3).

This particular approach aids in highlighting how the image and knowledge of the racialized immigrant is constructed and what type of modernist techniques of representations are utilized in such construction. Orientalism aids in my analysis to show how the process of othering is interlinked with Western forms of knowledge about the other. My research is focused on the subject and the discursive regime of knowledge that accompanies the subject's engagement with racialized immigrants. Hence, the idea of Orientalism as a *discourse* enables me to reveal past and present institutional discursive practices that might seem non-discriminatory on surface. Orientalism allows to reveal colonial representations of the non-Westerner and show the various "Western techniques

of representation that make the Orient visible" (Young, 2001, p. 388). Orientalism is therefore particularly suitable for researching how racialized immigrants are constructed in society and how this construction is "closely connected to and supported by how knowledge about the group is produced, reproduced, and interpreted, and by whom" (Lynes, 2010, p. 692). By drawing on the orientalist discourse, I want to show the biases through which the other is viewed, and how these biases are embedded in the colonialist discourse.

Relevance of Postcolonialism for Management and Organizational Studies

Applying postcolonial theory in my research reflects the current call within Management and Organizational Studies (MOS) for more postcolonial scholarly research (among others by Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Jack & Westwood, 2006; Jack et al., 2011; A. Prasad, 1997; A. Prasad, 2012; Westwood, 2004). The discipline itself reveals colonial roots and continues to conduct research in a neo-colonial character (Frank, 1998; Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; A. Prasad, 2012). For example, research within MOS contributes to the 'exoticization' of the other leading to "flawed notions of non-Western cultures and practices" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 19). Such Eurocentric discourse considers all other as homogeneous, thus ignoring localized cultural practices outside of the West. Also, Eurocentrism leads to a decontextualization of Europe's historical, and colonial, legacy in the establishing of scholarly disciplines and at the same time leads scholars to uncritically assume Western practices as universalist, ultimately diminishing theoretical contributions from the non-West (A. Prasad, 2012).

Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) illustrate these Eurocentric/colonial assumptions of MOS by emphasizing how modern management identity has its origins in colonial economic expansions of former colonies. Leaving out these origins of what is now considered principles of 'classical' management theories serves as a 'purification' dynamic of MOS. "Canonical texts […] never mentioned such practices even when explicit theories of management were articulated during the colonial encounter" (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006, p. 861). Consequently, colonies served as 'laboratories' which allowed for experimenting and exploring of organizing and managing of labour which now form part of management thought, while its colonial origins are left out.

Similarly, Jack and Westwood (2006) offer a postcolonial critique on the field of international and comparative management and business (ICMB) and argue that it engages in a continuous colonial 'othering' with an epistemological understanding grounded in positivist, functionalist methodology. Its research methods continue to be treated as neutral, rather than political, thus reinforcing the neopositivist mainstream. Jack et al. (2011) describe MOS as ethnocentric, with its main goal of exporting "management and business ideas and practise that swept in on the shirt-tales of globalizing international business or business knowledge and education" (p. 279). This inevitably results in "an epistemic colonization and cultural imperialism at the heart of MOS" (Jack et al., 2011, p. 279).

An attempt to bring in postcolonialism into MOS has been conducted through the emergence of poststructuralism, postmodernism and critical management studies within MOS, which facilitated the growth of postcolonial organizational studies. In spite of the valuable aspects of postcolonial theory to MOS, "the postcolonial is still understood

within MOS in ways that are excessively narrow" (Jack et al., 2011, p. 285). Thus, Jack and Westwood (2006) see the discipline of organization studies as increasingly trying to step out of neo-positivist methodologies. "There has been increasing questioning of the legitimacy of equating social scientific pursuits with those of natural sciences, the decontextualizing effects of positivist methodologies, and of universalizing and totalizing narratives" (Jack & Westwood, 2006. p. 484).

Hence, postcolonial theory is considered as a methodology that can reinstate the political dimensions into qualitative research. It seeks to overcome Eurocentric and neo-colonial tendencies by "unsettling, disrupting and displacing (the logics and trajectories of) the Western discourse of management, and giving radically new meanings and directions to the theory, research and practice of management" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 22).

A. Prasad (2012) discusses what role postcolonial theory carries in detecting Eurocentrism within the academic discipline: "The postcolonial perspective becomes a truly radical critique of Eurocentrism, and differs significantly from other critical approaches like Marxism, postmodernism, or post-structuralism" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 16). Jack et al. (2011) see postcolonial contributions within MOS in its infancy. "We hold the opinion that such work has only begun to scratch the surface in terms of the intellectual resources available" (Jack et al., 2011, p. 293). Jack et al. (2011) further point to the "gaps, omissions and blind spots" (p. 293) and call for a further postcolonial contributions.

Therefore, investigating the present immigration discourse from a postcolonial and poststructuralist perspective is highly relevant to the field of MOS. The individual who enters the organization is a human who is discursively conditioned. This research

overcomes a narrow understanding of the individual in organizations by showing how the various societal agents come to shape the 'worker'/'employee'/'professional'. Similarly, Jack et al., (2011) assert that binary dynamics are still prevailing in today's environment, which becomes evident in anti-immigrant sentiments in various countries and anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies. In the context of this dissertation, Said's (1978) orientalist discourse allows for pointing how the "naturalization process" and "ideological practices" (Jack & Westwood, 2006, p. 489) are created in the construction of the immigrant image.

A. Prasad (2012) considers postcolonialism as an attempt to go beyond academic neo-colonialism by "exerting constant pressure on, and reorienting, the *logics*, and the *trajectories* generally followed by current scholarship and, in the process, generating uniquely original insights about social, cultural, economic, and other phenomena" (p. 20). This can be done in various ways, by investigating the implications of colonial binaries on Western management knowledge and practices and by revealing its mechanisms as "producer of 'knowledge'" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 22). My research is in line with A. Prasad's (2012) insistence to apply postcolonial theory in MOS to critically engage with the assumption of the West as the norm and to explain the discursive practices that lead to such discourse.

2.4. Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter introduces the methodological framework of my dissertation. In this context, I discuss Foucauldian poststructuralism and its focus on the interrelatedness of power, knowledge creation and discourse. I also explain why these features are important

in the study of Canada's immigration discourse. Further, I elaborate on the specifics of

Foucauldian CDA and the Foucauldian historical method that I adopt in my research.

Also, I have discussed postcolonial theory and its relevant features for this dissertation,

namely Said's (1978) Orientalism, before pointing to the debate within MOS for an

increased inclusion of postcolonial theory. Now I will turn my attention to Chapter 3,

which includes a section on self-reflexivity and lays out my research design. Chapter 3

discusses the data selection and data analysis process for Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 3 – Research Design

3.1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter begins with a piece on self-reflexivity, discussing the methodological and epistemological stance that guides my research. It then follows with the specifics of the research design that guides my analysis process. More specifically, I discuss the process of data selection and data analysis of Chapter 4, which is inspired by Foucault's approach to history. Finally, I explain how and why I chose the specific texts for conducting a Foucauldian CDA in Chapters 5 and 6, and the specific 'mechanics' of my analysis.

3.2. Reflexivity

Coming from the poststructuralist and postcolonial approach, I am grounded in the conviction that there is no neutral reality (P. Prasad, 2005). Thus, I acknowledge that the ideas, concepts, findings and conclusions introduced in this dissertation are not neutral and objective findings, but are rather a reflection of my observations about the world (Chia, 1996; Linstead, 1994). In short, I consider it my ethical responsibility within the poststructural approach to "unpack the production of social reality" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 82) and reflect on the research process and outcomes of this dissertation. "Reflexivity involves reflecting on the way in which research is carried out and understanding how the process of doing research shapes its outcomes" (Hardy et al., 2001, p. 533). Begoray and Banister (2010) consider research as a circular process between the researcher and the research findings during which both are impacted by the

other; the researcher impacts the research process and outcomes and at the same time research process impacts the researcher. Reflexivity serves as a way to bring 'clarity' into the research process. "Reflexivity, then, is a researcher's ongoing critique and critical reflection of his or her own biases and assumptions and how these have influenced all stages of the research process" (Begoray & Banister, 2010, p. 788). To capture this circular relationship, I offer a reflective account of my 'situatedness' within the research process. In the conclusion chapter, I provide further reflective insights discussing the effects this research has had on me, my effects on this research and what realizations I take as a consequence of these effects (Begoray & Banister, 2010; Hardy et al., 2001; Kelemen & Rumens, 2008).

I am fully aware of the political process in writing this dissertation and that the production of this specific *text* is another reflection of a discursive practice perpetuating a specific type of knowledge, while leaving out other types of knowledge (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009; Linstead, 2010; Van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). My study is also a repetition of 'positive statements' in the Foucauldian sense (S. Jäger, 2004). It takes place in a setting legitimized by society, enacted through an institution and requiring the approval by institutionally legitimized subjects (Foucault, 1972). Since "power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 93), no social activities can escape the influence of discourse and power. Hence, writing in the poststructuralist perspective, my ethical obligation is to acknowledge this political representation of my view of reality and remain sensitive to my own ideological conditioning (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009; Linstead, 2010; Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Within my commitment to poststructuralism and postcolonial theory, I acknowledge that my own personal socio-political, intellectual and ideological location influence my approach, logic, research process, the findings and the interpretation of my findings in my research (P. Prasad, 2005). In S. Jäger and Maier's (2009) words, "Subjects develop a discourse position because they are enmeshed in various discourses. They are exposed to discourses and work them into a specific ideological position or worldview in the course of their life" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 49). Therefore, I see a commitment to self-reflexivity of my own specific situatedness in order to contribute to the transparency of my research process.

As a German-Pole, I have been living in Canada for the last 11 years. Born in Poland, I moved to Germany when I was eight years old. As a result, one main thread throughout my life (both personally and later academically) has been the elaboration on what it means to be an immigrant. While I am interested in the experiences of immigrants, their (or our) identity construction and processes of re-establishing and re-defining understandings of 'home', my focus has increasingly shifted to issues of power imbalances in societies between immigrant and non-immigrant populations. Specifically, the process of 'othering' of immigrants has become a special interest to me, inspired by my own experiences and that of other immigrants.

This particular research problematizes the concept of race and pays attention on the othering process of specifically racialized immigrants. As a white immigrant from Europe, I am aware that I am one of those immigrants who have been categorized as a 'desirable' immigrant in Canada's past. I have never experienced race-related marginalization on my own skin and I do not assume that my experiences as an

immigrant are universally shared by all immigrant populations. In this sense, conducting

research on the marginalization of racialized immigrants is, in my opinion, similar to

being a male scholar working in the feminist framework. I have to maintain a critical

stance towards my own assumptions and thought process, but cannot assume that my

findings are entirely free from my own discursive conditioning. However, I consider

postcolonial theory particularly fitting in detecting my own potential colonial

and Eurocentric assumptions when conducting research on racialized groups (A. Prasad,

2012). "Postcolonial reflexivity involves recognizing how our thoughts, actions,

utterances, teaching and so on are connected to the larger global context and to

Eurocentrism" (Golnaraghi, 2015, p. 99).

Intellectually, I consider myself situated within the poststructuralist approach

because such an understanding of the world as determined by power relations that

regulate truth is aligned with my worldview. This approach allows me to investigate and

explain why othering occurs and how it relates to the production of a specific kind of

knowledge and truth. I also consider myself embedded in postcolonialism. Through my

immersion in its theoretical tenants, I have found the tools to understand the nature and

dynamics of the othering process and recognized the (neo)colonial nature in seemingly

neutral socio-political and economic practices.

Ultimately, both frameworks have given me the words to express my worldview

and the framework to analyze, explain and challenge discursive practices. Perhaps even

more important, both approaches carry a political commitment to address issues of

inequality and show its nature and consequences, but at the same time stay away from

pessimism. Rather, both approaches reflect my beliefs that academic work is a form of social and political activism to deal with issues of injustice[16].

3.3. Qualitative Case Study

My research is a qualitative case study as it focuses on an in-depth examination of a specific phenomenon in order to "richly describe, explain, or assess and evaluate" it (Gupta & Awasthy, 2015, p. 25). Rather than conducting a large-scale study to quantitatively measure 'facts' for generalizations, replications and methods of measurement (Bryman et al., 2011), my research is qualitative in nature[17]. Namely, my study concentrates on an in-depth elaboration of a specific phenomenon, offering my personal interpretation, using selected methods that are in line with my epistemological background. My specific in-depth investigation is the phenomenon of Canada's present immigration discourse. My research objective is to investigate how the immigration discourse relates to the racialized marginalization of immigrants. To achieve my research objective, a two-step analysis process is undertaken. First, I conduct a historical contextualization (Foucault, 1981) of Canada's past (Chapter 4). This is necessary in order to shed light on the various race-related discourses throughout Canada's past and their impact on the present immigration discourse. The second part of my analysis process consists of a Foucauldian CDA (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) in order to examine

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[16] Adib-Moghaddam's (2011) work is an exemplary illustration of such a socio-political activism from within the poststructuralist and postcolonial perspective. Concerning those perpetuating the clash between the West and the Islamic world (clash regime), Adib-Moghaddam (2011) writes,"it must be a priority to investigate how the clash regime has been constituted and perpetuated and to debunk its violent logic at the same time" (p. xv).
[17] See Brannen (2005), Bryman et al. (2011) and Das (1983) for useful elaborations on the differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

selected texts for race-related discursive practices (Chapters 5 and 6). The next two sections of this chapter describe the specifics of each of the analysis processes.

3.4. Research Design of Chapter 4

Texts for Analysis

As previously mentioned, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to conduct an in-depth archaeo-genealogical analysis of original texts. Rather, I analyze a selected set of academic works dealing with interpretations of immigration policies, immigrant constructions and interpretations of the immigration discourse (e.g. Day, 2000; Galabuzi, 2006; Thobani, 2007). Further, I consult 'conventional' overviews of Canada's immigration history in my historical overview to pinpoint to specific dates, contents and policies enacted (e.g. Black, 2014; Gogia & Slade, 2011; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). Also, I use reports on statistical comparisons between racialized and non-racialized Canadian and immigrant populations (e.g. Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Cheung, 2006; Statistics Canada, 2014a) as a way to point to the 'material reality' produced by discourses (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009).

My primary data consists of selected writings that specifically deal with race-related issues. For example, I use Woodworth's (Woodworth 1972; originally published in 1909) work *Strangers Within Our Gates: Or Coming Canadians* as a historical document to show the relevance of past discursiveness on the present. I also analyze selective government documents. For example, I look at government definitions and terminologies, such as 'visible minority' (Statistics Canada, 2009), 'three founding nations' (Dewing, 2009) and 'multiculturalism' (Government of Canada, 2015a), to

provide a discursive reading of a seemingly inclusive language. I also look at the specific

government policies such as the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885 and Chinese

Immigration Act of 1923 ("Chinese Immigration Act 1885", n.d.; "Chinese Immigration

Act 1923", n.d.), the Continuous Passage Act ("Continuous Journey Regulation, 1908",

n.d.), and the Indian Act of 1876 ("An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting

Indians", n.d.) among others.

The choices of texts[18] for my analysis were determined by my commitment to a

historical reading in accordance with Foucauldian poststructural principles. The texts

selected gave me sufficient material with which to offer a discursive reading of Canada's

past concerning race-relations. S. Jäger (2004) speaks out for an archaeo-genealogical

oriented approach in discourse analysis in order to be able to understand a specific

knowledge of the present. Cutting through a discourse at particular points in time allows

us to see what changes and continuities within a specific discourse have occurred over

time (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009), which is in the same spirit as Foucauldian archaeo-

genealogical analysis (Barratt, 2008). The analysis conducted in Chapter 4 serves as such

a historical analysis of the immigration discourse. Rather than providing a chronological

overview of Canada's past, I focus on the different practices and race-related discourses

that have contributed to the present immigration discourse. The Foucauldian historical

analysis ultimately aims to "include a broad picture of the historical contribution to the

development of the practices of power […] in the specific discourse under analysis"

(Powers, 2001, p. 55).

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[18] In accordance with the principles of CDA, Philips and Hardy (2002) define texts in
broad terms referring to all forms of communication such as "talk, written texts,
nonverbal interactions, films, television programs, and other media, symbols, and
artifacts" (p. 70).

Analysis Process

Powers (2001, p. 55) provides an overview about the aspects that need to be addressed as part of a Foucauldian historical method. My research addresses these issues in Chapter 4. The following questions guide my historical overview:

Table 2: Powers' (2001) List of Questions for Foucauldian Discourse

- What other discourses and/or events provided models or ideas that influenced the functioning of the discourse under analysis and in what ways?
- What words in the discourse have a linguistic and social history that is significant for assessing the role of the discourse within current power relations?
- What historical context influenced the development of the discourse?
- By what processes did the discourse construct the right to pronounce truth?
- What other discourses were affected and how?
- In whose interests was the social construction of this discourse?
- Whose interests were ignored and/or rejected?

The specific approach to answer these questions is based on Foucault's (1981) two-set procedure. The first set focuses on the "critical section" (Foucault, 1981, p. 70), which pays attention to forms of exclusionary practices in the construction and maintenance of discourses. Foucault (1981) describes exclusionary practices as "procedures of exclusion" (p. 52). Examples of such procedures of exclusions are race-based prohibitions, such as immigration laws that determine legitimacy based on the race of applicants. The second set consists of the 'genealogical' set, which analyzes the conditions under which discourses come to be formed. In the context of my research, I outline in Chapter 4 the nature of the various discourses, the mechanisms of how they became legitimized, and how they interact with the present immigration discourse. Accompanied by Said's (1978) Orientalism, my historical analysis is inspired by Foucault's (1981) two-set discourse analysis.

The objective in my analysis is to specifically search for the different procedures of exclusion that were based on race. I was particularly interested in the rationale of such practices, the consequences such practices have and how they shaped and were shaped by their context. My theoretical framework of postcolonialism and poststructuralism informs the conclusions I draw from my analysis in Chapter 4. Applying such an epistemological approach leads me to identify various dynamics of binarism in race-related discourses throughout Canada's past and present. As a result, in Chapter 4, I identify four race-related discourses that reveal colonial othering based on binary oppositions: the discourse of whiteness, the discourse of racialization, the discourse of multiculturalism, and the discourse of globalization.

3.5. Research Design of Chapter 5

Texts for Analysis

Justification for the texts under analysis is an important aspect of Foucauldian CDA because all texts fulfill a role within discourses, and the role of a particular text should be made explicit (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). The primary data chosen for the CDA in Chapters 5 and 6 are from three different *discourse planes*, namely the media, politics, and society. The materials include written texts, images and video clips. Besides 'conventional' texts such as news articles, policies and releases, I have also included images and video clips to my analysis. Such texts are considered equally important as materials for CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In line with the saying, *A picture is worth a thousand words*, Lirola and Chovanec (2012) demonstrate the effectiveness of images in conveying discursive messages in their study of cosmetic

surgery leaflets. Lirola and Chovanec (2012) illustrate the idealization of a certain female body, showing how "visual communication' in particular can non-verbally draw on and reproduce stereotyped representations" (p. 487). For my analysis, I look specifically at images and video clips to analyze how the immigrant is represented as *visually* different. I look at the different strategies of how the concept of race is utilized for indicating belongingness and otherness.

I have chosen three different discourse planes in order to see what type of discourse positions overlap, contrast or complement each other across the different discourse planes. The advantage of analyzing textual materials is the unobtrusiveness in the data gathering process (Bryman et al., 2011; Golnaraghi, 2015). In contrast to interviewing for example, the researcher cannot influence or 'manipulate' the content of the primary sources (Bryman et al., 2011). As a disclaimer, all of the documents for my analysis are publicly available. The following figure shows the three discourse planes and specific categories of texts analyzed.

Figure 1: The Three Discourse Planes
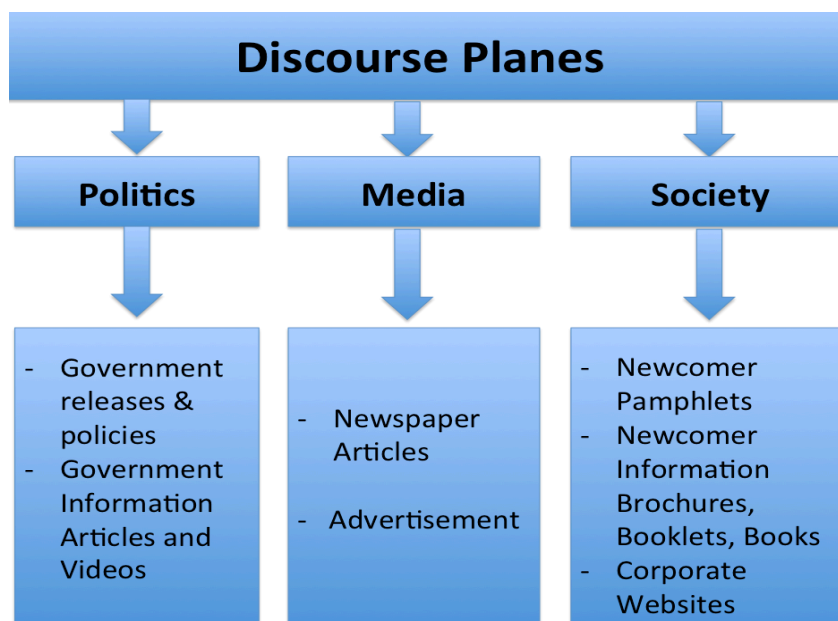
Within the media plane, I focus on the analysis of two TV advertisements that deal with issues of diversity and immigration (Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015; Nexus Canada, 2011). These two specific ads have been included in my analysis because their storylines directly address immigration and the relationship between people living in the so-called developed and developing countries. These ads provide a rich source to illustrate how the immigrant is represented and understood. TV advertisements represent a reflection of what society considers 'normal' or 'standard'. Lazar's (1993; 1991; 2000; 2006; 2007) work illustrates the suitability of advertisement for CDA in detecting 'normal' practices for their discursiveness. "Consumer advertising offers a productive site for the study of cultural politics – relations of power and ideology as they appertain to cultural processes and practices in the public sphere" (Lazar, 2007, p. 156).

Phillips and Hardy (2002) view texts that occur 'naturally' within society as good sources for analyzing discourses because they represent what type of language use is considered as conventional and appropriate. Advertisements are 'naturally occurring' in the sense that the goal of an ad is to appeal with its message to the values of the general public. "As a form of persuasive communication, advertising has always been concerned with adapting to its audience […], appealing to consumer values […], concerning preferable modes of conduct or states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (Zhang, 2014, p. 274).

Within the media plane, I also analyze texts from Canada's top 25 English language newspapers by circulation as of 2011, while excluding the French language newspapers *Le Journal de Montréal* (3rd by circulation), *La Presse* (4th by circulation), *Le Journal de Québec* (15th by circulation), *and Le Soleil* (16th by circulation) ("List of

newspapers", n.d.). The 25 most read newspapers have been chosen to guarantee a wide spectrum of representations in my analysis of what is 'sayable' about race-related issues across different political and geographical locations. Further, these newspapers have a high readership, which illustrates their legitimacy and acceptance as a source of information (and as such knowledge) within society (Jäger & Maier, 2009)[19]. The media is an important analysis unit because it is a reflection of societal values. "The persuasive power of the press is particularly effective if its reporting is consistent with the interests of most readers" (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 17).

S. Jäger et al. (1998) underline the powerful influence of news media in knowledge formation and representation of 'reality'. Extensive research has been conducted investigating the role of news media on public discourse (see for example Don & Lee, 2014; Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013; Hall, 1982; S. Jäger et al., 1998; Van Dijk, 1992; 1993a). "The media regulate everyday thinking and exert a considerable influence on what is and what can be done in politics and everyday life" (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 48). Don and Lee (2014) consider the news media as a contributor to the perpetuation of selected ideas and values through less obvious means than open coercion. "The enforcement of power by discoursal means, which is acquired through some form of collective consent, is less obviously repressive and coercive, and more mental than physical in nature" (Don & Lee, 2014, p. 688).

For each of the newspapers, I typed in the terms 'immigration', 'diversity', and 'multiculturalism' into the search engines to see how immigration is discussed with

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[19] Appendix A lists the top 25 Canadian newspapers in order of weekly circulations in 2011, including location of headquarters.

regards to race related issues, unless indicated otherwise in the analysis chapters. In brief, searching news articles through selected terminology allows me to look for discursive entanglements with other discourse strands. Appendix C illustrates such discursive entanglements in news articles between immigration and Islam-associated issues. For example, when typing 'immigration' into the search engine of the *Toronto Star*, the first 3 out of 4 search results directly link the topic of immigration to Islam-related issues, such as the Middle East ("In-law ex-Tunisian president rejected as Canadian refugee"), Islamic practices ("Tory MP's 'inappropriate comments' about women wearing niquab ignites firestorm") or Islamist radicalism ("Man accused of plotting to blow up U.S. consulate remanded another month").

Searching the news articles for the key terms (immigration, diversity, multiculturalism) within all 25 newspapers produced a vast amount of articles. Many of the articles were published in several newspapers at the same time, which produced duplicates. For example, some articles written and published in larger newspapers such as *Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail*, and *Vancouver Sun*, were republished in smaller newspapers such as *Windsor Star*, *Edmonton Star*, or *Calgary Sun*. While reviewing the articles, it has also become apparent that discourse positions quickly became quite repetitive.

S. Jäger and Maier (2009) emphasize that in discourse analysis only a small amount of texts is needed to investigate "what is said and sayable" (p. 46) about a specific topic. "The arguments and contents that can be read or heard about a particular topic (e.g. immigration) at a particular time in a particular social location are amazingly limited" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 51). Thus, to prevent a distortion of findings

throughout my research process, I continued analyzing the news texts until the point of

saturation was reached, referring to discourse positions repeating themselves within the

texts (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). I concur with S. Jäger and Maier's (2009)

observations about the limiting arguments sayable at a particular place and time in texts.

As a result, I narrowed down my analysis to roughly 100 newspaper articles that deal

with the discourse strand of immigration, diversity and multiculturalism and concur that

what is sayable at a particular time is quite limited.

Within these 100 news texts, roughly 20 newspaper articles are analyzed in detail

for their discourse positions. The 20 articles selected for in-depth analyses were chosen to

provide detailed examples of rhetoric strategies and collective symbolism that form

particular discourse positions. Van Dijk (1991) stressed the importance to include "all

types of news media" (p. 8), including editorials and columns, besides news articles and

featured articles. I follow this advice in my analysis and include editorials, opinion pieces

and columns in my analysis in order to cover a wide spectrum of forms of expressions

concerning the specific representations. "Comments, columns and editorials, for instance,

often have a persuasive function, and therefore usually exhibit various kinds of

argumentative structure" (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 120).

One limitation of selecting news texts for analysis in establishing discourse

positions is a potential 'distortion' of findings based on singling out of texts or taking

them out of context. To counteract such limitation, S. Jäger and Maier (2009) discuss the

proper 'preparation stages' for CDA. These stages consist of a rigorous study of texts in

order to gain an overall idea of themes, narratives and stories contained in the texts; steps

which I have followed as well.

The second discourse plane consists of an analysis of political texts, such as government policies, reports and releases. Similarly as with the media plane, I have selected the data through a rigorous search for discursive entanglements between immigration, multiculturalism, and diversity with other topics. My research resulted in a rich collection of government texts that deal with immigration. For example, I include in my analysis the study guide for the Canadian citizenship test (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a), news releases concerning changes in immigration laws (e.g. Government of Canada, 2012a), and general government releases concerning immigration (e.g. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a; Government of Canada, 2015b; Government of Canada, 2015d). Again, when going through these documents during my 'data selection phase', (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009), the overview reveals a repetition of discourse positions[20]. Specifically, I look at government videos, government releases and particular policies in order to analyze the idea of how the immigrant is constructed. Political texts are crucial reflections of discourses (Van Dijk 1993a; 1993b; 1993c). Foster, Helms Mills & Mills (2014) illustrate the power of political contexts over discourses in their analysis of textbooks produced during the Cold War.

As with the media plane, texts from politics play a crucial role in the construction of certain types of knowledges[21]. On one hand, political texts represent a perpetuation of discursiveness because they function as exaltation of one form of ideas and groups, while

[20] My research process reveals a similar experience as KhosraviNik's (2009) examination of how refugees are represented in newspapers during the Balkan conflicts in 1999 and the British elections in 2005. KhosraviNik (2009) observed that while different strategies are utilized in the representation of refugees in the media, "they all contribute to a similar construction" (p. 477).

[21] For example, Van Dijk (1993a; 1993b; 1993c) has conducted extensive work showing the relevance of politics in discourse construction and maintenance.

prohibiting and excluding other forms of ideas and groups (Foucault, 1981). On the other hand, political texts represent specific values and societal discourses because institutions require societal consensus and must reflect the values and aspects of truth of their time in order to be deemed legitimate and acceptable (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Foucault, 1990a).

The third discourse plane analyzes texts from society. More specifically, I analyze texts that deal with information for immigrants concerning living and working in Canada, because they serve as an 'educational' guide for immigrants (Hilde, 2013). As educational literature, I searched for books in various library databases with subject terms such as 'newcomers guide', 'immigration guide', and 'immigrate to Canada'. I narrowed down my search to books that were published after 2005 to analyze texts that correspond to the current socio-political and economic context. The oldest information literature in my analysis is published in 2008 (Cheinis & Sproule, 2008; Noorani & Noorani, 2008).

Concerning online recourses, I used Google to search terms such as "guide for newcomers to Canada" or "working and living in Canada". Based on this type of search, I found NGO websites that offer advice to immigrants about working and living in Canada (e.g. "Canadian Immigrant", 2015c). I also visited immigrant settlement centres both in Halifax (Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia) and in Vancouver (Skilled Immigrant InfoCentre) to collect information pamphlets for newcomers and educational literature on successful integration. Based on this approach, I was able to add three months' worth of the monthly immigrant news magazine *Canadian Immigrant* to my analysis. Information texts designed for immigrants are political because they have the function of 'educating' newcomers about the norms and values of the host society (Hilde,

2013). In this context, Foucault's (1971) understanding of the relationship between discourse and education is useful.

> Education may well be […] the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle-lines of social conflict. Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the political knowledge and the powers it carries with it. (Foucault, 1971, p. 19)

I also consulted various corporate websites and looked for information for newcomers and information on diversity. For example, I studied the websites of Canada's biggest financial institutions ("Big Five", n.d.) with regards to how the concepts 'immigrants', 'ethnicity', and 'multiculturalism' are described. I specifically chose financial institutions for my analysis because immigrants form an important customer base for financial institutions (Morison, 2012). All five banks have incorporated specific information services and banking offers for 'newcomers' (Bank of Montreal, n.d.; CIBC, n.d.; RBC, 2015; TD Canada Trust, n.d.; The Bank of Nova Scotia, n.d.). Therefore, banks are a particularly good source for analysis because they reflect the current societal norms with regards to how immigrants are viewed.

I also incorporated the analysis of websites of public universities in Canada, specifically searching for information on international students and diversity. Appendix B lists the 16 universities that I researched. I chose the specific universities based on provincial representation and by size. More specifically, I aimed at looking at universities across all provinces to ensure a wide geographical range in my analysis. Analyzing

university websites forms a relevant source for the analysis of discourses. Saichaie (2011) has conducted a CDA on university and college websites to investigate what forms of strategies these institutions use to convey legitimacy among potential future students. Overall, corporate websites form an excellent unit for text analysis. Their content is discursive insofar as their intent is to appeal to the general consensus of society. Thus, websites' content must be sanctioned and legitimized, reflecting societal norms (Stone, 2007). The analysis of corporate websites is useful in investigating what strategies are applied in the construction and representation of the immigrant image[22]. I employed a similar strategy with the society plane as with the previous two discourse planes. I first searched selected documents for specific discursive entanglements, and then narrowed down my analysis to several in-depth ones. These in-depth analyzed texts were chosen to illustrate the general discourse positions found in the texts.

While the texts selected form a 'small' unit of analysis considering the 'vastness' of texts existent, it is this attention to 'repetition of statements' and recurrence of certain 'typicalities' within the texts analyzed that allows for an analysis of discourse statements and ultimately a 'reconstruction of a discourse' (Van Leeuwen, 2009). "It is on the basis of such similar statements, repeated or paraphrased in different texts, and dispersed among these texts in different ways, that we can put the puzzle back together and reconstruct the discourses draw on" (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 145).

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[22] The works of Golnaraghi (2015) and Stone (2007) are examples of a discourse analysis conducted on websites.

Analysis Process

Foucauldian CDA investigates what is sayable about a particular topic at a particular place and time and what elements of discursiveness are contained in what is said. In brief, this approach investigates what type of 'knowledges' is contained in those sayable things (M. Jäger & S. Jäger, 2007; S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). My analysis of the texts described above is conducted on two levels; a large-scale structural analysis and a fine grained linguistic analysis on the smaller text units (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009)[23]. At the level of structural analysis, a broad overall analysis of the text's characteristics is conducted first. At this stage, the researcher pays attention to the illustrations in the texts, the layouts and the application of collective symbols. Attention is also paid to how arguments are constructed and what type of vocabulary is used.

The next step of the structural analysis focuses on associations between different concepts. The analysis of *discursive entanglements* (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 47) looks at how different discourse strands are entangled with each other. For example, I analyze which topics are discussed with regards to immigration, diversity and multiculturalism, such as fraudulent marriages, criminality, over-qualification etc. Such an analysis can reveal discriminatory representations of specific discursive entanglements. For example, Li (2001; 2008) has demonstrated how the media has continuously portrayed the discourse strand of diversity with economic downturn and overload of immigrants. Such a strategy establishes the association of diversity with racialized populations and high unemployment. Such an analysis allows for the capturing of the *discourse position* of

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[23] In this section, I refer mostly to S. Jäger and Maier (2009) in describing the structural and detailed analysis of Foucauldian CDA because this article is written in English. Another crucial source supplying a detailed description of these steps is S. Jäger (2004) and has also been consulted for this section.

texts. A discourse position is "the ideological position from which subjects, including individuals, groups, and institutions, participate in and evaluate discourse" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 49).

The detailed analysis deals with *discourse fragments*, referring to "a text or part of a text that deals with a particular topic" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 47). In the context of my analysis, focusing on discourse fragments has the goal to compare the findings from the detailed analysis with the findings of the structural analysis (S. Jäger, 2004). This is achieved through searching semantically for the category of *typicality* within the discourse fragments, such as typical illustrations of immigrants, typical collective symbols, typical language etc. This is achieved through the analysis of the context of the texts, the surface of the texts, the rhetorical means, and ideological statements of the texts (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009)[24].

Analyzing the context includes the consideration of the producer(s) of the text, their legitimacy and status as well as the context of the text itself, such as the occasion and location of the texts produced. Not every text has the same power with reference to discourse creation. For example, the context of the texts, such as government policies, news articles, Internet blocks or Facebook postings carry different degrees of power over a discourse (Fairclough, 1989; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009; Van Dijk, 1993a).

The analysis of the surface of texts deals with the layout of a text, such as the type of images, the organization of headings and subheadings, and the structure of the paragraphs with regards to units of meaning (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). The third level of the detailed analysis deals with issues of rhetorical aspects. This includes the type of

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[24] For an in-depth description of the structural and detailed analysis, please consult S. Jäger (2004) or S. Jäger & Maier (2009).

argumentation strategies employed, the logic of the text structure and what implications and allusions are made. It is also at this level that attention is paid to what type of collective symbolism is used. For example, are the symbols incorporated linguistically or graphically and through which means, such as caricatures, statistics etc.? What types of idioms are used in the text, what type of vocabulary and style of expression? For example, my analysis reveals that the news media utilizes the collective symbolism of 'urgency' and 'threat' when discussing Islam related issues, such as '*fire*', '*ignited*', '*firestorm*' and *blow-ups*'. Finally, attention is paid to what type of actors are mentioned in the text, how they are portrayed, and what type of references are made.

The fourth level of the detailed analysis deals with the content and the ideological character of the text. Attention is paid to what type of 'worldview' the text portrays, such as the types of image of society and humankind that is introduced. The final step of the overall CDA is a *synoptic analysis*, referring to a final 'compare and contrast' of the findings from the structural analysis and the detailed analysis, "in relation and comparison to each other" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 56).

This procedure is applied in my analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 in order to show what image of the 'immigrant' is constructed through texts with regards to race-related issues. The application of Foucauldian CDA on the selected texts, combined with the epistemological framework guiding this research, has led me to identify four distinct discourse positions that emerge in the texts. These discourse positions reveal an ideological polarization between the subject and the other according to binary oppositions. The representation corresponds to the orientalist discourse (Said, 1978; A. Prasad, 1997) and represents the subject-other relationship in colonial fashion as

normalized subject - differentiated other; *developed subject - developing other*; *positive subject - negative other*.

3.7. Summary of Chapter 3

The goal of this chapter is to bring transparency and clarity to my analysis process. In that endeavour, I first reflect on my own stance and location as the producer of this text. I acknowledge that I cannot divorce myself from my own discursive positioning. However, I am confident that my poststructural and postcolonial framework aids in my undertaking to shed light on discursive practices affecting racialized immigrants, even though I personally do not belong to the marginalized population being studied.

By presenting my research design, I want to illustrate my research path and strategy in order to show how I came to the analysis conclusions presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. To shed light on the present discourse, a historical overview of past discursive practices is necessary (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Foucault, 1965; 1979; 1981; Golnaraghi, 2015; Prasad, 2005). This is achieved through Foucault's (1981) discourse analysis that investigates the nature of the various past discourses and their relation to the present immigration discourse.

For my analysis in Chapters 5 and 6, I provide a broad selection of texts dealing with the concepts of immigration, diversity and multiculturalism. The research steps in my analysis, combined with the theoretical framework underlining this research, allowed me to resurface a colonial representation of the relationship between the subject and the other according to binary oppositions. In accordance with CDA, I take a political stance

in my research seeking to point out hidden institutional forms of othering that affect

racialized immigrants. My analysis aims at challenging the continuous orientalist othering

by revealing its pervasiveness in the present.

Chapter 4 – Problematizing the Immigration Discourse

4.1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter pays attention on the various 'race'-related discourses in an effort to explain why racialized immigrants experience socio-economic marginalization. More specifically, my analysis is inspired by Foucault's (1972; 1977; 1981; 1982; 1990b) historical method in the analysis of present discourses. In that endeavour, I conduct a "discursive review" (Golnaraghi, 2015, p. 102) of Canada's past. I select specific practices that deal directly with the organization of race in public spaces, such as through laws, polices, or newspaper articles. This type of historical review touches upon specific 'moments' throughout Canada's past. These include the colonization process and nation building, the changes in policies following the Second World War, the changes in immigration during the 1960s, and the introduction of the Multiculturalism Act.

Based on the specific application of Foucault's (1981) analysis to trace procedures of exclusion, I interpret the 'knowledge' that these types of exclusionary practices produce. More specifically, I analyze various exclusionary practices based on the 'techniques' explained in Chapter 3, and accord them to corresponding discourses. Since a discourse needs to be viewed as legitimate in order to function, I look at what mechanisms enabled these types of restrictive practices to be considered as legitimate. Based on this strategy, I determine four race-related discourses whose impact I trace to the present immigration discourse, namely the discourses of whiteness, racialization, multiculturalism and globalization. Also, I discuss the shift in epistemes (Foucault, 1972)

following the end of the Second World War, showing how this shift impacted race relations and ultimately the immigration discourse in Canada.

One of the main difficulties in this chapter is to establish which kind of exclusionary practices relate particularly to racialized immigrants. Some exclusionary practices could be perpetuating an elitist and neoliberal discourse, affecting racialized and non-racialized immigrants alike (Aguiar & Schneider, 2012)[25]. The goal of this chapter is to detect those exclusionary and discursive practices that *particularly* affect racialized populations in order to shed light on those processes of othering that are rooted in the orientalist discourse. For this reason, I focus on selected exclusionary practices that I deem relevant for the racialization of immigrants, rather than offering a comprehensive overview of discursive practices and their impact on immigrants.

4.2. Socio-Economic Context of Racialized Immigrants

Canada is "one of the more racially diverse nations on the planet" (Block & Galabuzi, 2011, p. 6), called a "statistical outlier" (Kymlicka, 2007, p. 39) among Western countries because of its ethno-religious and linguistic diversity. By 2006, 16% of Canada's population consisted of racialized members, with an expected growth to 33% by 2031 (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Similarly, this is reflected in the make-up of immigrants to Canada. Between 2001 and 2006, 75% of all immigrants to Canada were non-white, by 2011, over 80% of immigrants came from countries with non-white majority populations

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[25] For example, when applying for permanent residency under the category of skilled worker, an applicant is required to provide sufficient proof of funds. For an applicant, the current amount prescribed is $11,931, which increases with additional family members. Exception to this rule is if applicants have a valid work permit *and* a valid and permanent employment offer in Canada (Government of Canada, 2015f).

(Statistics Canada, 2014a). Among Canada's racialized population, around 68% consist of first-generation immigrants, while 32% are Canadian-born (Block & Galabuzi, 2011).

Overall, data about the socio-economic performance of immigrants outlines two aspects: first, that the income gap between new immigrants and the Canadian population is not decreasing over time as it used to until the 1980s, but is widening (see for example Creese & Wiebe, 2009; Galabuzi, 2006; Gogia & Slade, 2011; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Reitz, 2005; 2011a). Second, there are similarities in the socio-economic realities of racialized Canadians and racialized immigrants (see for example Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Galabuzi, 2006; Thobani, 2007). This 'similarity' is illustrated by the comparison in income of first, second, and third generation racialized and non-racialized Canadians with a university degree or certificate between the ages 25-44 (Block and Galabuzi, 2011, p. 13)[26].

Table 3: Income Comparison between Racialized and Non-Racialized Individual

	Racialized		Non-racialized		Differential (%)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1st generation	45,388	32,165	66,078	39,264	68.7	81.9
2nd generation	57,237	42,804	75,729	46,391	75.6	92.3
3rd or more generation	66,137	44,460	70,962	44,810	93.2	99.2

Racialized immigrant men and non-racialized immigrant men have different income levels although both groups are born outside of Canada. At the same time, first generation non-racialized men earn approximately the same amount as third generation (or higher generation) racialized Canadians. At the bottom of this hierarchy are racialized

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[26] First generation Canadians refers to individuals born outside of Canada. Second generation Canadians refers to individuals born in Canada who have at least one parent born outside of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2014b).

immigrant women who earn around 45% of what non-racialized third generation

Canadian men earn. Overall, data from government censuses indicates that racialized men

and women, both Canadian-born and immigrant, are more likely to be in lower-skilled,

precarious occupations with lower income than non-racialized Canadians (Block &

Galabuzi, 2011).

Block and Galabuzi (2011) speak of a "racialization of poverty" (p. 15), referring

to the disproportionate concentration and reproduction of poverty among racialized group

members. This leads to a "process of social and economic marginalization" (Block &

Galabuzi, 2011, p. 15), which has a wide range of negative consequences for those

concerned. Similarly, Cheung (2006) speaks of a 'deepening racialization of the labour

market' resulting in poverty among racialized immigrants and racialized Canadians. "It is

reasonable to conclude that racial discrimination in employment is a significant factor in

the poor labour market outcomes of workers of colour" (Cheung, 2006, p. 33).

This trend of 'racialization of poverty' fits with the announcement of the Daily

Bread Food Bank. In 2007, 44% of its users in the greater Toronto area were born outside

of Canada, which by 2012 has risen to 51%. "Overall, compared to five years ago, people

visiting food banks are older, more likely to be born outside of Canada and have higher

levels of education" (Daily Bread Food Bank, 2014)[27].

To explain why racialized immigrants experience professional downgrading, job

ghettoization and socio-economic marginalization, arguments are brought forth about the

devaluation of educational credentials and of foreign work experience (Sakamoto, 2013).

In the same context, it has been argued that short residency in Canada and identifiable

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[27] The National Council of Welfare (2012) offers a detailed overview and comparison on
the socio-economic wellbeing of racialized and non-racialized groups in Canada.

accents of non-native English speakers, as well as lack of networking further prevent immigrants to be hired for positions in their professions (Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Reitz, 2001; 2005; Sakamoto et al., 2010; Sakamoto et al., 2013; Scassa, 1994).

However, these 'conventional' arguments do not explain why racialized immigrants and racialized Canadians experience a similar socio-economic marginalization within society. "The fact that Canadian-born workers of colour are doing badly cannot be explained away by reference to lack of Canadian credentials and experience" (Cheung, 2006, p. 1). Also, these arguments do not explain why the income gap between the immigrant and the non-immigrant workforce has increased over the last three decades (Reitz, 2011a). As Galabuzi (2006) points out, a 'complexity of factors' needs to be considered in order to explain this socio-economic marginalization. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are such attempts to shed light on the 'complexity of factors' by investigating the past (chapter 4) and the present (Chapters 5 and 6) for its discursive practices with regards to the concept of race.

4.3. Overview of Race-Related Discourses in Canada's Past

As illustrated, my analysis process leads me to identify four sub-discourses that have relevance for the marginalization of racialized immigrants: the discourse of whiteness, the discourse of racialization, the discourse of multiculturalism and the discourse of neoliberal globalization. The figure below is a simplified depiction of the four sub-discourses within the immigration discourse.

Figure 2: The Present Immigration Discourse and its Sub-Discourses
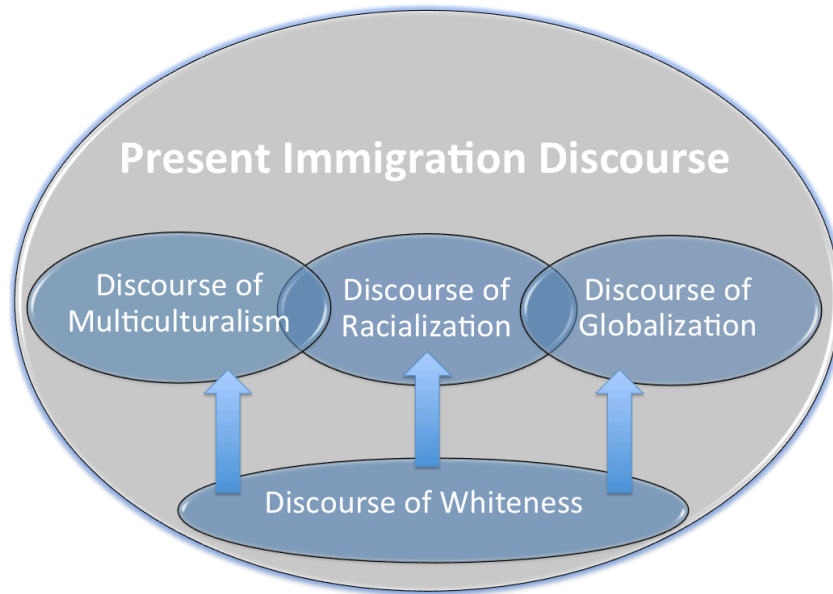
The Discourse of Whiteness

In the process of Canada's nation building, the discourse of whiteness became the socio-political, ideological and economic identity (Galabuzi, 2006; Satzewich, 2011). By discourse of whiteness, I refer to the exaltation of the Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon citizen was considered at the top of the "preferred races" as immigrants to Canada (Thobani, 2000, p. 36), while European immigrants from East and South Europe were considered as less desirable. Immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean and Africa were considered "non preferred races" (Thobani, 2000, p. 36). This racial stratification, with the exaltation of the Anglo-Saxon as the subject of Canadian identity, is grounded in several rationales.

On one hand, the discourse of whiteness is grounded in socio-political and economic interests of the British Empire during the colonization process in order to secure expansionist interests in North America (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). The British

colonialists aimed at replicating all political, societal and economic structures according to Britain. "Hence, the dominant culture, values and institutions of the society mimic those of the 'mother' country; they must constantly be replenished via immigration and importation of British ideas, goods, fashions, institutions, and cultural and economic practices" (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995, p. 97).

On the other hand, modernity's racial worldview accompanied the colonization process. Said (1978) discusses the ontological and epistemological power of the orientalist discourse during the colonization process which shaped the subject's engagement with the other. "The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, dominance, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1978, p. 5). 'Scientific' racial categorizations represent such Orientalist discourse (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995). Social Darwinism proposes that the white race, and more specifically Anglo-Saxon race, is justified in its dominant, colonizing position because of the process of natural selection of the fittest (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995)[28]. While colonization processes and the encounter with the other differed across regions (Young, 2001), the general colonial discourse of superiority of the 'white' race was a crucial feature. According to Young (2001), the expansion of the colonies was only made possible through a hegemonic understanding of European superiority based on the colonizer-colonized binary dichotomies as described by A. Prasad (1997). The dealing of the British colonizers with the native populations was only justifiable if one assumed one's own cultural, economic, political and intellectual superiority. In contrast, the other

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[28] Miles (1989) gives an insightful overview on the evolvement of the idea of 'race' and the role of modernity in establishing a hierarchical relationship between humans that shaped the encounter between the colonizers and the colonized.

failed to qualify as 'civilized' and thus should be subordinated to political, social and economic control by the Europeans.

Woodworth (1972; originally published in 1909) offers detailed descriptions in his writing about the attributes of newcomers to Canada and their degrees of adaptability based on their ethnic background/nationality, illustrating the pervasiveness of the discourse of whiteness. While Woodsworth's (1972) focus was primarily on assimilationist practices of integrating immigrants into Canadian society, the discourse of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and hierarchy of races is pervasive in his work. For example, Woodsworth (1972) writes that British immigrants are "among our best citizens" (p. 46), while the Scandinavians "easily assimilate with the Anglo-Saxon peoples and readily intermarry" (p. 76). On the other hand, Woodsworth (1972) asserts that Polish immigrants have a complicated relationship with Canada, so it is "quite difficult for us to think of the people of this nationality other than in that vague class of undesirable citizens" (p. 114). Persians are described as "not fitted for life in Western Canada" (Woodsworth, 1972, p. 139), and the 'Orientals' (referring to Chinese, Japanese and Indian immigrants) "cannot be assimilated" because they have "their own moral standards and beliefs" (p. 154-155). As these examples show, the other was evaluated based on the understanding of racial categories. "The Other was represented as a biologically distinct entity, as a 'race' apart, whose capacities and achievements were fixed by natural and unalterable conditions which were common to that collectivity" (Miles, 1989, p. 32). Concerning early immigration to Canada, Satzewich (2011) describes the reluctance to admit non-preferred immigrants to Canada as the "'hold your nose' basis; better than nobody at all, but certainly not ideal" (p. 38).

In order to maintain a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, the institutionalization of *exclusionary* and *inclusionary* practices consisted of laws regulating the racial composition of Canada. The first race-based immigration act came into effect in 1885, 18 years after Canada's formation as a Confederation in 1867 (Gogia & Slade, 2011). With British Columbia joining the Confederation in 1871, 15,000 Chinese workers were recruited to build the railroad spanning from the East coast to the West coast. When the railroad was built by 1885, Chinese labour was no longer needed. As a consequence, the *Chinese Immigration Act* was introduced, posing a $50 head tax on Chinese immigrants. The Act prescribes: "Every person of Chinese origin shall pay into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, on entering Canada, at the port or other place of entry, the sum of fifty dollars" ("Chinese Immigration Act 1885", n.d.).

This head tax was later increased to $100 in 1899, and to $500 by 1903, an equivalent of $55,000 today; representing a two-year salary for a Chinese worker at that time (Gogia & Slade, 2011). This strategy of exclusion served as a restriction of immigration from China to Canada by imposing a financial burden for Chinese immigrants as an attempt of discouragement (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010).

Various other race-based exclusionary immigration laws followed. By the beginnings of the 19th century, Japanese and South Asian immigration was also restricted. Through the "*gentlemen's agreement*" between the Japanese and Canadian governments, Japan agreed that it would not allow more than 400 Japanese males each year to immigrate to Canada (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 21). In a letter exchange between the Canadian and Japanese government, the latter confirms that it is "not only willing but

anxious to meet the views of the Canadian government so as to stop for ever any large influx of immigrants" ("Gentlemen's Agreement, 1908", n.d.).

Between 1908 and 1947, the *Continuous Passage Act* was in effect, prescribing that immigrants were required to come to Canada by direct passage from their country of origin. Specifically, the regulation prohibits "the landing in Canada of any specified class of immigrants or any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens and upon through tickets purchased in that country" ("Continuous Journey Regulation, 1908", n.d.). Because no shipping company from Asia and Southeast Asia provided such services to Canada, this regulation inevitably excluded immigration from these regions (Gogia & Slade, 2011).

In 1923, the *Chinese Immigration Act* (also known as *Chinese Exclusion Act*) forbade Chinese people entirely from immigrating to Canada. Article 8 of the act prescribes, "No person of Chinese origin or descent unless he is a Canadian citizen [...] shall be permitted to enter or land in Canada" ("Chinese Immigration Act 1923", n.d.). Exceptions to this rule were students, diplomats and 'special cases' authorized by the Minister of Immigration. As a consequence, between 1923 and 1947, overall 8 Chinese persons immigrated to Canada, consisting of businessmen who were willing to invest into trade in Canada (Gogia & Slade, 2011).

The discourse of whiteness established racial superiority/inferiority as truth status. This is also reflected through language. For example, a newspaper article from the *Toronto Daily News* from January 24, 1913 describes the justification for photographing Chinese people for purposes of crime control:

The average Anglo-Saxon is incapable of distinguishing with any degree of certainty different members of the Chinese race. He only knows that the man before him is a Chinaman, with the characteristic eyes, features, pigmentation and gibberish of the Oriental. The difficulty is only increased by the Chinaman's notorious disregard of the truth, and low estimate of his oath. Photographs and body marks should assist greatly in the identification of Chinese criminals and in the administration of justice to these, the most elusive wrongdoers. ("Move to Check Smuggling" (1913), as cited in Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 2-24)

Similarly, this is expressed through the selective character of immigration policies that would culturally and economically be perceived as advantageous to Canadian society and is stressed in the speech by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1947.

Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens [...]. The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, so make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. [...]. Any considerable Oriental immigration would be certain to give rise to social and economic problems. (quoted in Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 317)

These two examples also show the interconnectedness of language and discourse. For Foucault (1972), the material of a discourse is made up of statements which are not only considered pieces of language but which are also events and things; "a specific material event" or "an historical eruption that impinges on and makes an incision into circumstance" (Young, 2001, p. 401 - 402). Statements are part of institutional practices. Besides providing information, they inevitably create circumstances and events, thus

forming discourses. In this context, the statement about the character of Canada's population and 'Oriental' immigration is a statement. At the same time, this statement also contributes to the maintenance and legitimization of the discourse of whiteness by creating the 'event' of excluding 'Orientals' from being part of Canada's national character; thus creating a material reality in the form of immigration laws and practices.

Another example of a racial 'procedure of exclusion' is the government's approach to distinguish Canada's Native populations from the rest of Canadian society. The *Indian Act of 1876* introduced the status 'Indian' ("An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians", n.d.), a legal distinction categorizing Aboriginal populations as a distinct group apart from the rest of Canada's society (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). The introduction of the *Indian Act of 1876* reflects Foucault's (1981) idea of using "division" and "rejection" (p. 53) of the other as a discursive practice to 'brand' the other as different and inferior. This act led to the legitimized 'rejection' of Aboriginal societies as part of 'us'. According to Said (1978), the orientalist discourse of othering is a necessary tool to distinguish one's own identity based on determining who the (superior) 'us' and the (inferior) 'other' is. "Indians were brought into being as a new category of human life, with institutionalized practices that suppressed self-determination and self-governance" (Thobani, 2007, p. 38)[29].

At the same time, important to the discourse of whiteness is the discursive practice of 'inclusion' of the Anglo-Saxon subject through preferential practices. These

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[29] The Indian Act regulated important socio-political and economic spheres such as land, health care and education policies. This act also prohibited First Nation populations from fully participating in society. Some of the restrictive laws included restrictions of movement in areas outside of reservations, restrictive voting rights (until 1960) and other policies dictating life style (Satzewich, 2011).

inclusionary practices consisted of institutionalized regulations encouraging British immigration. An example of these state-led policies are various 'Female Assisted Passage' programs between 1859 -1870 when working class women from Britain were recruited to Victoria as domestic help. "The importation of white women was a specific strategy to establish Victoria as a white settler society" (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 23). Also, Canadian government workers were sent to Britain and received a $2 bonus for each recruited British immigrant.

The formation of the *Department of Immigration and Colonialization* established after the First World War illustrates the formal institutionalization of the recruitment of British immigrants (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 25). Ultimately, the colonial discourse of the 'superior white' and the 'inferior non-white other' allowed race-based 'procedures of inclusion' to be viewed as 'normalized', legitimate and as justified. Accordingly, all bureaucratic and political processes where created to perpetuate this colonial discourse (Gogia & Slade, 2011).

The discourse of whiteness was an important ideological product of the colonization process and impacted domestic and immigration policies in Canada until the 1960s (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010)[30]. Although race-based immigration laws and domestic policies are no longer in place, the discourse of whiteness has left effects on the present immigration discourse. For example, this discourse contiguously promotes the "difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (Said, 1978, p. 43). This differentiation between the 'familiar' and the

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[30] I will discuss the changes in immigration policies during the 1960s in section 4.4. of this chapter, where I elaborate on how the changes in policies are related to 'ruptures' in discourses (Foucault, 1972).

'strange' is illustrated by the controversy that evolved around the new $100 bill, which had originally an Asian female scientist as design. Because of complaints from focus groups that an Asian female does not represent Canadian society, the bill has now what would appear to be a Caucasian female ("Asian-looking woman", 2012). A focus group in Montreal is quoted as stating, "the inclusion of an Asian without representing any other ethnicities was seen to be contentious" (Robertson, 2012). In response, the article states that "the Bank of Canada said its policies are to avoid depicting any specific ethnic group in such designs" wanting "a neutral ethnicity" on the bill ("Asian-looking woman", 2012). This example illustrates the centre-periphery relationship between the subject and the other as determined by race. The white subject serves as 'neutrality of race', thus the centre, while the other is perceived as ethnic, unfamiliar and the periphery. This 'neutrality' is revealed when describing white and non-white individuals. Conventionally, the prefix 'white' is left out when talking about a white person, while a prefix is added to describe non-white individuals (Nkomo, 1992). This reveals the understanding of the white population as 'raceless'. "'Race' becomes synonymous with other groups, and whites do not have a 'race'"(Nkomo, 1992, p. 490).

This discursiveness of the 'ethnic other' also applies to the immigrant populations. As Thobani (2000) asserts, the discourse of whiteness continues to render all non-white populations to immigrants. "All people of colour become constructed as immigrants" (Thobani, 2000, p. 39). Similarly, Folson (2008) observes that many countries, such as Australia, Canada, Germany and the U.K. are influenced by this discourse of binary oppositions in which "white immigrants are often constructed as citizens, whilst non-white citizens are constructed as immigrants" (p. 42). Gogia and

Slade (2011) consider the different treatment of Canadian populations based on their race as grounded in Canada's colonial legacy that "sought to establish and preserve Canada as a white nation" (p. 36).

In this section I have discussed the discursive practices of the discourse of whiteness as based on procedures of exclusion and inclusion. I have also shown how this discourse is of relevance to the present immigration discourse. Before discussing the discourse of racialization in the next section, the figure below is a simplified summary of the particularities of the discourse of whiteness discussed.

Table 4: The Discourse of Whiteness and its Properties

Discourse of Whiteness (Exaltation of the Anglo-Saxon Subject)	
Discursive Practices	**Effects on Present Discourse**

Procedures of Exclusion:
    Prohibition, Division, Rejection of Other
    - Race-based immigration laws
    - Indian Act
 	
Procedures of Inclusion:
    Preferential Treatment of the Subject
    - Preferential immigration laws for Anglo-Saxons
	The 'othering' Process:
	    - Non-whites rendered as 'other', unfamiliar, immigrant, ethnic

The Discourse of Racialization

In the post-colonial era following the end of the Second World War, human rights movements and global institutions, such as the UN, formalized laws against discrimination based on race, colour, national origin, religion and gender (Thobani, 2007). This led Canada to a socio-political and ideological reorganization of racial relationships that were in line with these post-colonial values and are expressed in the

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discourse of racialization. Such reorganization resulted in changes in immigration

policies. In 1967, the point system was introduced, moving away from 'preferred' and

'non-preferred' immigrants based on race (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010) to a point-based

system for immigrant selection based on the applicant's personal qualifications[31]. This

policy signifies a break with race-based restrictions, making Canada the first country in

the world to do so (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010).

The discourse of racialization refers to the process of *legitimization* and

institutionalization of race in the post-colonial era that reflect a commitment to racial

equality. The discursive practices legitimizing the institutionalization of race are

through linguistic properties that render racial differentiating legitimate. For Foucault

(1972; 1981), language is always a form of 'violence' because it acts as a mechanism of

legitimization of discourses. "It imposes its linguistic order of the world: knowledge has

to conform to its paradigms in order to be recognized as legitimate" (Young, 2001, p.

386).

The institutionalization of the term 'visible minority' illustrates this 'linguistic

violence' and discursiveness. According to the Employment Equity Act of 1995,

individuals of visible minorities are "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are

non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2009). It is argued that

the institutionalization of this terminology aims at protecting racialized groups from

discrimination in the workforce (Vladi, 2007). But, the acceptance and integration of such

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[31] The overall conditions of eligibility for immigration have changed over time. The
original regulations introduced in 1967 consisted of 9 categories: education, occupation,
professional skills, age, arranged employment, knowledge of English and/or French,
relatives in Canada and "personal characteristics". 50 points out of 100 were necessary to
qualify (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 29).

a terminology into state policy *continues* to maintain the concept of race as 'real' and 'true' (Thobani, 2007).

> The attractiveness of a term like visible minorities is that its softer appearance and its being used in the Employment Act […] make it a convenient label that can be innocently adopted to discuss the social worthiness of race and non-whites without running the risk of being branded racist. (Li, 2001, p. 87)

Dividing society into a majority and minority group strengthens racialized marginalization by maintaining the status quo of power inequality based on race. "Minorities are socially constructed entities in societies, and the label implies the imposition of an inferior status" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 31). The other is formulated against the mainstream with all socially constructed prejudices and is thus "branded" in identity "for all time within that imposed silo" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 31).

Our understanding of 'diversity' further reflects the discursiveness of racialization. Li (2001) argues that in Canada the concept of diversity refers to racialized populations. Li (2001) looked at the context in which the term 'diversity' is utilized in polls and policies. Li (2001) concludes that this meaning is increasingly associated with negative examples about racialized groups, such as immigrants. In accordance with CDA, if a specific term is referenced in a particular context continuously, the term becomes associated with that context and thus becomes synonymous with its reference (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Li (2001) quotes a discussion document of Citizenship and Immigration Canada from 1994 under the topic of *Immigration and Diversity* to show how the term 'diversity' it utilized in a negative meaning. "While there may be increasing concerns about the number of immigrants coming to Canada, there is evidence to suggest that these

concerns are linked as much to issues of unemployment and the economic as they are to issues of diversity" (Li, 2001, p. 83). The discourse of racialization continues to other based on exteriority and is in that sense directly related to the discourse of whiteness. For Said (1978), the notion of exteriority is an important feature of Orientalism to promote a specific 'truth' by creating a representation of the otherness. "That what is commonly circulated by, it is not 'truth' but representations" (Said, 1978, p. 21).

In this section, I have discussed how the discourse of racialization has legitimized race according to the values of the post-colonial era. Its effects on the present immigration discourse are the enablement of a social stratification into a majority group, who is perceived as 'raceless', or as 'race neutrality', and a minority group, considered as the 'other', 'minor', 'ethnic' or 'diverse'. "Over time, racialization systematically pairs superficial features of people with social characteristics that are often undesirable to give the false appearance that the social import of race comes from a natural origin, and not society's attribution" (Li, 2008, p. 21).

Before discussing the discourse of multiculturalism in the next part, the figure below is a simplified illustration of the particularities of the discourse of racialization.

Table 5: The Discourse of Racialization and its Properties

Discourse of Racialization (Formalization & Legitimization of Race in the Post-Colonial Era)	
Discursive Practices	**Effects on Present Discourse**
'Linguistic Violence': - Policy of 'Visible Minority' - Diversity refers to non-whites	The 'othering' Process: - Concept of majority and minority groups legitimate – societal stratification

The Discourse of Multiculturalism

The discourse of multiculturalism is another important discourse that has shaped the present immigration discourse with regards to racialized marginalization. In the following section, I will elaborate what the discourse of multiculturalism is, what its discursive practices are and how it contributes to the current immigration discourse.

The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 articulates multiculturalism as a "fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity" (Government of Canada, 2015a). As Dewing (2009) explains, the concept of a multicultural society describes Canada on three levels, namely descriptively, as a "sociological fact" (p. 1), prescriptively, as an "ideology" (p. 1), and practically, "through formal initiatives" (p. 1) on policy level. As Thobani (2007) argues, the insistence on diversity and cultural pluralism became "emblematic of the Canadian national character" (p. 143).

The multiculturalism discourse emerged with the objective to distance Canada from its colonial history and 'reinvent' itself in the post-colonial era. Ahmed (2000) asserts that multiculturalism can be interpreted as a means of reinventing one's identity, "a way of imagining the nation itself" (p. 95). Dewing (2009) describes this shift of Canada from a British oriented identity to a multicultural society as a "time of gradual movement toward acceptance of ethnic diversity as legitimate and integral to Canadian society" (p. 2). Thus, the discourse of multiculturalism features the representation of Canada as a metropolitan, progressive nation that acknowledges and celebrates the diversity of its society. "The adaptation of multiculturalism enabled the nation's self-presentation on the global stage as urbane, cosmopolitan, and at the cutting edge of promoting racial and ethnic tolerance among western nations" (Thobani, 2007, p. 144).

As part of such 'reinvention' of the national identity as progressive and metropolitan is the departure from assimilation towards integration. Diversity is represented as an inclusive way to integrate immigrants, without forcing them to assimilate, as expressed in the government document below.

Multiculturalism has led to higher rates of naturalization than ever before. With no pressure to assimilate and give up their culture, immigrants freely choose their new citizenship because they want to be Canadians. As Canadians, they share the basic values of democracy with all other Canadians who came before them. At the same time, Canadians are free to choose for themselves, without penalty, whether they want to identify with their specific group or not. Their individual rights are fully protected and they need not fear group pressures. (Government of Canada, 2012c)

A report by *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1969) offers a clear differentiation between *assimilation* and *integration*. "Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistics and cultural group. An assimilated individual gives up his cultural identity, and may even go as far as to change his name" ("Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", 1969, p. 5). The *House of Commons, Standing Committee on Multiculturalism* report (1987) describes assimilation as "eliminating distinctive group characteristics" (p. 87). Integration is described in opposing terms to assimilation. "Integration, in the broad sense, does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics or of his original language and culture" ("Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", 1969, p. 5). The report then warns of the consequences of an assimilating strategy. "Man is a thinking and

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sensitive being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring to it" ("Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", 1969, p. 5).

Within the multiculturalism discourse, integration is understood as "ensuring full participation in Canadian society, including the social and economic aspects" (Government of Canada, 2015a). Day (2000) interprets such a definition of integration as taking on "Selfhood without giving up Otherness" (p. 195). Both assimilation and integration assume the other needs to be transformed in order to co-exist with the subject. Both methods in dealing with the other are thus based "upon the transformation of a problematic Other into a non-problematic – 'eliminated' or 'participating' – Self" (Day, 2000, 195). The institutionalized separation from assimilation towards integration serves as a means for breaking with the past and its race-based institutional practices. To which extent the idea of integration actually reflects a break with the discourse of whiteness will be elaborated in Chapter 6, where I problematize the integration discourse.

Further, the multiculturalism discourse continues to privilege the non-racialized majority group, while marginalizing racialized populations in Canadian society through institutionalized discursive practices (Day, 2000; Thobani, 2007). The discourse of multiculturalism re-enacts and reaffirms the socio-political and economic status quo in various ways. For example, the policies themselves officially present Canada as a culturally tolerant and inclusive society, serving as a detachment from the colonial past. This detachment from its own past is achieved through laws and regulations concerning the treatment of the other, for example through the reorganization of Aboriginal rights, such as land rights and political rights, and public apologies for the previously racist

policies towards racialized people (Dewing, 2009). Day (2000) interprets this regularization of treatment of other as a "progressive *officialization* [emphasis made by Day, 2000] of both Self and Other identities" (p. 179). The introduction of the term 'First Nations' for Aboriginal people and listing Aboriginal nations as part of the now *three* founding nations are examples of this 'progressive officialization' of the other and the self (Thobani, 2007).

However, this form of multiculturalism fails to acknowledge and challenge the existing, race-based discursive practices within society and contributes to obscuring past injustices conducted against Aboriginal societies and racialized populations (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001). For Thobani (2007), such obscuring can be interpreted as a "national amnesia regarding inconvenient histories" (p. 154). At the same time, the multiculturalism discourse and its re-interpretation of Canada's history have the result of rehabilitation of the (white) subject. The subject is now viewed as 'advanced' and metropolitan in the quest to establish and protect multiculturalism within society (Thobani, 2007).

Further, the policies of the Multiculturalism Act themselves continue to shape borders of inclusiveness of the subject and othering of the non-subject. One of the procedures of exclusion (Foucault, 1981) is the regulation which languages constitute the 'official' identity of Canada. While the act guarantees "to preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French" (Government of Canada, 2015a), the act nevertheless expresses linguistic hierarchy of what constitutes the 'official' linguistic identity. The emphasis is made to "advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada"

(Government of Canada, 2015a). Canada 'officially' describes itself as established by three founding peoples, including the Aboriginal populations, yet it continues to have two official languages, thus denying Aboriginal people a linguistic officialization within the multiculturalism discourse. Day (2000) interprets this as not granting Aboriginal peoples an official identity. "In being excluded from the process entirely, they once again disappeared from view" (Day, 2000, p. 183).

Further, on an ideological level, the multiculturalism discourse 'exoticizes' and 'ethniciticizes' the different cultures within society by focusing on celebrating 'exotic' exterior appearances as 'representations' (Said, 1978) of what constitutes ethnicity. This type of 'managing of diversity' mutes and suppresses the social stratification based on race and racial inequalities. "This celebration of cultural pluralism is predicated on an established hierarchy of cultures and multiculturalism consolidates these hegemonic relations without challenging the hierarchy of the majority and the minority" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 704). An example of 'managing of diversity' is reflected in certain government positions, such as that of Governor General of Canada, to be increasingly held by 'visible minority' individuals serving as tokens for the multicultural character of Canada. "The position of governor general had become a method of promotion of minorities" (Black, 2014, p. 988).

This is in accordance with Thobani's (2007) analysis of the discourse of multiculturalism that reaffirms the status quo "by transforming its mode of articulation in a decolonizing era" (p. 146). This 'transformation of mode of articulation' consisted of a re-articulation of Canada as tolerant and metropolitan. The success of the other is made possible by the metropolitan and tolerant policies of the subject. Following the aftermath

of Nazi racial monstrosities that have come to be viewed as indefensible, the national subject could only be legitimized and 'rehabilitated' through the promotion of inclusive norms and regulations:

> In these circumstances, multiculturalism was to prove critical to the rescuing of Euro/white cultural supremacy: white subjects were constituted as tolerant and respectful of difference and diversity, while non-white people were instead constructed as perpetually and irremediably monocultural, in need of being taught the virtues of tolerance and cosmopolitanism under white supervision. (Thobani, 2007, p. 148)

The effects of the discourse of multiculturalism are the compartmentalization of race in a simplistic manner. Consequently, this 'sanitized' depiction of multiculturalism maintains power relations rather than challenge them (Thobani, 2007). This discourse perpetuates the reproduction of racialization within Canadian society, interpreted by Day (2000) as a "colonial method of strategic simulation of assimilation to the Other, and not as an overcoming or break with the past" (p. 185).

Similarly, Banerjee and Linstead (2001) interpret this 'sanitized' version of multiculturalism as an important tool to 'manage diversity' for socio-economic purposes, while ignoring issues of racialization. "Multiculturalism aims at preserving different cultures without interfering with the 'smooth functioning of society'" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 702), in which "ethnicity, religious affiliations and nationalities become paramount categorizers while issues of self-determination and inequalities remain invisible" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 707).

In this section I have discussed how the discourse of multiculturalism has served as a form of 'progressive officialization', arranging the relationship between the subject and the other in a legitimate way through various state policies. Its effects are a compartmentalization of race relations in a simplistic manner, hiding issues of racialized inequality. Before discussing the discourse of globalization, the table below summarizes the main features of the discourse of multiculturalism.

Table 6: The Discourse of Multiculturalism and its Properties

Discourse of Multiculturalism (Officialization of Subject and Other)	
Discursive Practices	**Effects on Present Discourse**
Procedures of Exclusion: - Sanitization of the Past - Non-acknowledgement of 'other' - Linguistic hierarchy Procedures of Inclusion: - Rehabilitation of the subject as 'progressive'	Compartmentalization of Race: - Maintenance of power relations - Officialization of 'exotism' and ethnicity of the 'other'

The Discourse of Globalization

As stressed by Banerjee and Linstead (2001), "no discourse operates in isolation from other discourses and often works in close relation to other specific complementary discourses" (p. 685). One of these complementary discourses is neoliberal globalization, described as the "defining political economic paradigm of our time" (Chomsky, 1999, p.

7)[32]. This section focuses on the features of this discourse, its discursive practices and its effects on the present immigration discourse.

The post-colonial era is marked by economic changes on a global level, which are defined by the discourse of neoliberal globalization. Neoliberal globalization is characterized by various economic measures that aim at the free movement of services and goods, for which deregulation, increasing privatization and the expansion of transnational corporations is encouraged, both nationally and globally (Chomsky, 1999). According to the World Health Organization (2015), neoliberal globalization is based on "a belief in the free market and minimum barriers to the flow of goods, services and capital", stressing the "separation of politics and economics and that markets should be 'free' from interference of government". While the neoliberal character of globalization in economics has now become a dominant feature, it has also created a neoliberal discourse that affects policy making and societal practices on a global level. Crossley and Watson (2003) argue, "the influence of intensified globalization and changing geopolitical relations has profound implications for the nature of our discourse" (p. 8).

The features of the globalization discourse are a form of neo-colonialism that ideologically promotes the superiority of Western forms of knowledge and culture. Banerjee and Prasad (2008) define neo-colonialism as a "continuation of western colonialism not in its traditional sense through territorial expansions but with Western elements of political, economic and cultural control" (p. 91). This results in the

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[32] For in-depth discussions about the global economic and socio-political consequences of neoliberal globalization, see for example Chomsky (1999); Makki (2004); McNally, (2006); Veltmeyer (2008).

segregation of the labour force in which racialized individuals are disproportionally represented in precarious jobs.

Globalization can be viewed as the extension of neo-colonialism by its economic, political, social and cultural domination of one form of knowledge over others. Banerjee and Linstead (2001) offer an interpretation of the globalization discourse as the newest form of neo-colonialism: "Globalization is a direct consequence of European expansion beginning from the era of colonization, entrenching itself during the post World War II era of colonial development and emerging in the latter part of the century as a 'world-wide' phenomenon" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 690).

There are also institutionalized discursive practices that are neo-colonial in character as they facilitate the process of racialization. In a free market economy, the role of governments in regulating the workforce is diminished. This neoliberal globalization process consequently encourages the further creation of precarious work (Veltmeyer, 2008). Because the neoliberal economic regulations rely on flexible labour, the marginalized population groups are at the most risk to be exploited by these neoliberal dynamics. "Canada's racialized groups (and particularly racialized women) bear a disproportionate burden of the demands for labour flexibility […]. Racialized groups thus provide a subsidy for the booming globalizing economy" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. xii). Like in many other countries, also in Canada precarious work has become an important feature of the market economy. The outcomes of precarious work, such as low pay, unfavourable working conditions, no regulations in hours and lack of benefits affect the most vulnerable groups of society, who are racialized workers and racialized immigrants (Galabuzi, 2006).

On a global level, the neoliberal economic order has created a transnational division of labour, of which people from developing countries are seen as being able to fulfill. In the context of Canada's immigration discourse, this might explain the increase in temporary foreign worker programs (TFWP) as a way to fill short-term labour needs without taking long-term responsibility for those temporary workers (Gogia & Slade, 2011; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). The economic calculations for the increase in the TFWPs is openly expressed by the government.

> Temporary worker programs are attractive because they enable countries to quickly address labour market needs in an expanding economy without the increased costs associated with maintaining unemployed workers during a downturn—the costs associated with social and economic integration are also reduced. (Thomas, 2014)

Satzewich (2011) reminds us that many of the different types of foreign worker programs, such as the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Programs, deny workers the right to any claim for permanent residency. "It seems that some people are good enough to work in Canada but not good enough to stay" (Satzewich, 2011, p. 51). The neoliberal insistence on flexible production, the decreasing interference of state into market labour regulations, including temporary foreign workers regulations, and the increase of racialized immigrants to urban areas in Canada have contributed to a racialized job ghettoization in which the "racial segmentation of the labour market is becoming normalized" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 12). Economically, the globalization discourse has created a dramatic increase in temporary, part-time, and contract work affecting racialized individuals, especially racialized immigrant women. "Most non-English

speaking immigrant women, if they enter the labour force, become members of the most exploited sectors of the working population" (Ng, 1996, p. 18). What Ng (1996) has observed nearly two decades ago, still hold true as demonstrated by ongoing research[33].

As I have argued and illustrated, the globalization discourse can be interpreted as a form of neo-colonialism because it continues to exalt the white subject with its western forms of knowledge and culture and through it continues to create a centre-periphery relationship with racialized members of society who are socio-economically marginalized. Ultimately, the globalization discourse effects the present immigration discourse in multiple, interrelated ways.

First, the globalization discourse glorifies Western, and more specifically North American culture (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001). This is achieved through the process of meaning making of corporations for the global customers, "through the creation of meaning in their products and services" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 697). The US-culture is exported and 'teaches' the global consumer how to behave and what to value, creating a "global culture" based on the North American model (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 698).

It can be argued that this results in a normalization process of North American culture as a 'point of neutrality', forming a cultural hegemony rendering all non-western as other. The acceptance and understanding of the term 'ethnic' is embedded in the discourse of neo-colonialism signifying the other. As Banerjee and Linstead (2001) challenge, why is tandoori chicken described as *ethnic* food while a hamburger is not? "Ethnicity, authentic or otherwise, is a problematic category with political and

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[33] See for example Block & Galabuzi (2011); Galabuzi (2006); Levy, Ansara, & Stover (2013) for details about income levels across genders and ethnic belonging.

epistemological consequences" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 705). Ethnic comes to stand as the opposition to the main western culture. "Ethnicity is deployed as a totalizing category that normalizes different histories of a variety of minority groups and constructs a category that is opposed to the mainstream – positioning it as an alien category" (Banerjee &Linstead, 2001, p. 705-706). In line with Said's (1978) elaboration of the West's depiction and understanding of the 'Orient', the western cultures' categorization of ethnicity reflects the hierarchal stratification of humans based on their ethnic background. "This cultural production of the Other results in the naturalization of the knowledge of the Other and it is this cultural hegemony that sustains asymmetrical power/knowledge relations" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 706).

For example, the immigrant woman becomes constructed as non-white, associated with attributes such as having an accent and working in low-skilled job (Folson, 2008). Similarly, Ng (1996) argues that the issue of race is the determining understanding of a female immigrant woman. "In everyday life, however, women who are white, educated and English-speaking are rarely considered to be immigrant women" (Ng, 1996, p. 16). According to Ng (1996), the image of the immigrant woman is socially constructed once these women arrive in Canada and enter the labour force under the conditions of precarious work. "Thus, when we call someone an 'immigrant woman' we are in fact naming a process whereby this individual comes to be identified as an immigrant woman" (Ng, 1996, p. 16)[34].

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[34] Canada's neoliberal economic context and its relevance for the present immigration discourse will be further highlighted in Chapter 7, which forms the discussion chapter of this research.

For Said (1978), this understanding of the self and of the other is at the core of the hierarchical binaries, which recreate the colonialist discourse of the subject as white/developed/advanced and the other as non-white/backward/primitive. This ultimately legitimizes the devaluation of some forms of knowledges, degrees and experiences and further explains the shared experiences of racialized groups in Canada since their being othered is determined along racial features. "The hierarchical binaries embodied in the discourse of Orientalism also came to hold great significance for the identities of western individuals" (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008, p. 92).

Ultimately, what Said (1978) observed of the orientalist discourse and its ability to produce the other "politically", "ideologically", and "imaginatively" (p. 3), also holds true for the globalization discourse.

Below is a simplified depiction of the properties of the discourse of globalization.

Table 7: The Discourse of Globalization and its Properties

Discourse of Globalization	
(Superiority of Western forms of knowledge and Culture)	
Discursive Practices	**Effects on Present Discourse**

Procedures of Exclusion:
Neo-liberal policy making
   - Deregulation and privatization of labour market
   - Racialization of labour market
 	
Procedures of Inclusion
Cultural Western hegemony
   - Preferential Treatment of the Subject
	The 'othering' Process:
	   - Non-Western as inferior: culture, knowledge and ultimately humans

4.4. Foucault's Points of Rupture

As previously discussed, rather than interpreting Canada's immigration discourse as evolving in a linear fashion, it needs to be approached through points of rupture (Foucault, 1972) in order to explain the shifts that have contributed to the present immigration discourse. In the previous section, I have highlighted the discourses that have contributed to the present immigration discourse. In this section, I want to highlight the socio-political context that I view as a decisive point of rupture, an "incident of interruptions" (Foucault, 1972, p. 177) a 'before and after', in the evolvement of the present immigration discourse.

Foucault (1973) views one of the major shifts in epistemes in the birth of the modern era at the beginning of the 19th century. As explained in Chapter 2, Foucault (1972) discusses epistemes as a form of *Weltanschauung*, a powerful set of discursive practices at a given period of time. These discursive processes can change through socio-political, economic and ideological transformations, hence 'incidents of interruptions'. Consequently, discourses can be marked by points of rupture. "Rupture is the name given to transformations that bear on the general rules of one or several discursive formations" (Foucault, 1972, p. 177). I view one of the major shifts in epistemes as occurring in the mid 20th century, at the onset of the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the decolonization process.

On the global level, the end of the Second World War rearranged the global order significantly. On one hand, the decolonization process was set in motion, questioning the centuries-old colonial domination of Europe over the world (Young, 2001). On the other

hand, moving away from institutionalized racist practices became a question of legitimacy of countries after the brutalities committed by the Third Reich regime.

> The heightened association of the Nazis with scientific and biological racism discredited this form of racism so thoroughly that every western nation-state, including Canada, was thereafter compelled to distance itself from the use of such racist science to determine state policy. (Thobani, 2007, p. 150-151)

This time period marks the beginning of changes in state policies among Western countries, Canada included, legitimizing one's own existence as a democratic and liberal state. As Thobani (2007) argues, the 'master narratives' of western countries had to be rewritten and a new identity established.

On societal level, increased critique against racist, colonialist ideologies started forming through social movements, including, among many others, the African-American struggle and anti-Vietnam War movements (Apple, 2000). According to Apple (2000), these social movements are highly significant as they "infused new social meanings into politics, economics, and culture" (p. 25). These social movements further brought forth a new understanding and meaning about the importance of human rights, shaping further understanding of the identity of the individual, family and community (Apple, 2000). Within the Canadian context, the immigration discourse throughout the 1950s and 1960s is influenced and shaped by these ideological shifts. The post-colonial era disabled blatant notions and practices of racism and changed the official language with which now race and racial relationships were formulated, legitimized and enacted in public spheres (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2011; Sakamoto, 2013).

I maintain that this shift in epistemes prompted the discourse of whiteness to be 'transformed' and 'shifted' to other discourses. The discourse of racialization and the discourse of multiculturalism reflect such 'transformation' and 'shift' in an attempt to *rearrange* racial relationships within Canadian identity and to *reconfirm* the status quo based on *legitimate* forms of social order. Foucault (1972) reminds us that points of rupture are marked by multiple simultaneously occurring dynamics, in which some of the discursive practices disappear, new ones appear while some stay the same. I maintain that this is the case with the emergence of the discourses of racialization and multiculturalism. While the discursive practices of exclusion within the discourse of whiteness in the form of exclusionary laws were abandoned, its effects of ideological, socio-political and economic construction of racialized members of society as the other has continued.

The discourses of racialization and multiculturalism are prompted by the shift in epistemes and the exclusionary laws of the discourse of whiteness now shifted towards policies that *managed* race in a *legitimate* way. This happened in the form of distancing oneself from *overt* racist policies, such as through the introduction of the point system as selection criteria of immigrants in 1967. There is evidence that besides shifts in race relations, 'pragmatic' issues such as shortage of skilled labour in the post-war economic boom were also driving forces for broadening immigration beyond Europe (see for example Gogia & Slade, 2011; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Ng, 1993; Thobani, 2007). In the 1950s, the majority of Canadians had less than a grade-nine education[35] (Gogia & Slade, 2011). Thus, actively encouraging skilled immigration became a priority. As

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[35] Grade nine education refers to finishing school after the so-called Middle School/Junior High, thus 9 years of education. In order to receive a high school diploma after the 12th grade, students have to attend high school for three more years after finishing the 9th grade of middle school ("Education in Canada", n.d.).

Kelley and Trebilcock (2010) point out, it was exactly this mixture of 'practicality', combined with a new global language on race relations that 'ruptured' the immigration discourse. "The economic and political context of the postwar period led to a gradual liberalization of admission policies and a dramatic increase in immigration" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 318).

Concerning the national character of Canada, both the racialization discourse and the multiculturalism discourse regulated race relations and diversity in legitimate ways, while maintaining a continuance of racialization within society, as has been demonstrated when discussing these discourses. Thobani (2007) refers to this shift in discourses as "the rescue of whiteness" (p. 150). Especially the narrative of multiculturalism allows a 'break with the past' by re-inscribing Canada's history, the history of the other and the subject in a legitimate way through the language of multiculturalism.

A given discourse determines how history is interpreted (Durepos & Mills, 2012a). More specifically, the present is not the evolutionary product of past events, "but rather subject to a discursive process that influences how events are read. From this perspective there is an epistemological […] break between the present and the past, with the latter equally subject to discursively mediated understandings" (Weatherbee et al., 2012, p. 195). The multiculturalism discourse allows the reinterpretation of its (colonial) past and detachment from the discourse of whiteness. An example of such reinterpretation shows the following statement. "Canada's history of settlement and colonization has resulted in a multicultural society made up of three founding peoples - Aboriginal, French, and British – and of many other racial ethnic groups" (Dewing, 2009, p. 1). This statement is an example of 'rehabilitating' once past by reinterpreting its

formation as a *coming together* of Aboriginal people, the French and British and the many other racialized groups to form today's multicultural society. "Control over representations of the nation's past is critical to maintaining legitimacy and moral authority as is control over its present, and maintaining mastery over the national narrative was critical if nationhood was to be effectively sustained" (Thobani, 2007, p. 152).

Foucault (1972) considers points of rupture as non-synchronized processes that change some formations, while leaving some formations the same; "a tangle of continuities and discontinuities" (Foucault, 1972, p. 174). This 'tangle of continuities and discontinuities' is also reflected in the discourses presented in this chapter. While some discursive practices have changed over time, its effects on the present immigration discourse are the continuous othering that is rooted in the concept of race as a criterion of differentiation.

The figure below illustrates the concept of race as such 'continuity'. As has been shown in this chapter, while the socio-political, economic and ideological contexts changed, the concept of race as 'real' and legitimate has been maintained as a valid criterion of differentiation.

Figure 3: Approaches to the Concept of Race

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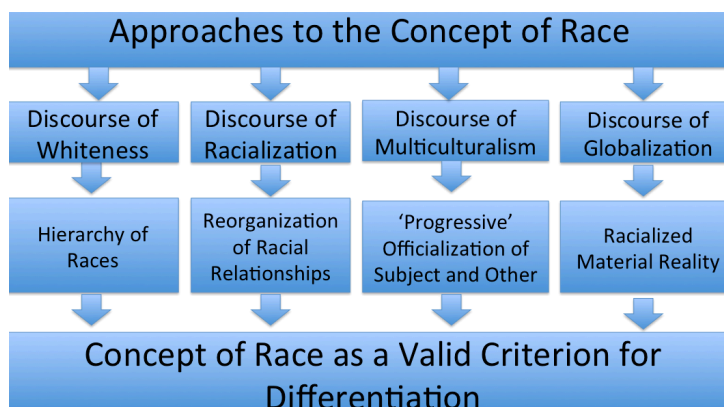
4.5. Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter analyzes Canada's past with regards to race-related discourses, namely the discourses of whiteness, racialization, multiculturalism and globalization. In accordance with Foucault's (1981) steps of discourse analysis, I discuss the features of each of these discourses, their discursive practices and their effects on the present immigration discourse.

The discourse of whiteness in Canada's formation was based on the exaltation of the Anglo-Saxon subject. The exclusionary practices consisted of restrictive policies towards racialized immigrants and the Aboriginal populations. The discourse of whiteness has contributed to the continuous othering effect where racialized individuals are not viewed as belonging to Canada's identity.

The discourse of racialization legitimizes race as a valid category for differentiation. The formalization of the term 'visible minority' discursively divides society into a majority and minority group, thus strengthening social stratification based on race. This ultimately others racialized parts of the population, while representing white populations as 'raceless' and as the subject. The discourse of multiculturalism manages diversity and race relations. Its discursiveness is the structuring of ethnicity in a sanitized way by 'exoticizing' populations along racial lines. As an effect, such 'sanitization' covers up racial inequalities, ultimately perpetuating Canada's racialization.

The discourse of globalization can be understood as neo-colonialism as it continues to maintain socio-economic marginalization of racialized individuals. This is achieved through the epistemological understanding of the superiority of Western forms of knowledge and culture and through economic practices that create precarious work.

The glorification of Western culture normalizes Western/North American values, while turning all other into 'ethnic' cultural norms, thus othering them. Economically, the globalization discourse further marginalizes racialized societies through the creation of precarious work in which racialized groups are overrepresented.

The final section of this chapter discusses the shift in epistemes. The mid 20th century marks this type of shift in epistemes, a reason why new racial relations had to be reformed to be in line with post-colonial values. As I have shown, while some discursive practices changed over time, their effects on the present immigration discourse is the continuous othering, constructing racialized individuals as the 'other', 'ethnic' and 'immigrant', while maintaining white as 'raceless' or 'point of neutrality'. Ultimately, race continues to function as the criterion of differentiation.

Chapter 5 –The Immigrant as the Differentiated and Developing Other

5.1. Chapter Introduction

The following two chapters (5 and 6) present the findings from my text analysis. Applying the specific steps of Foucauldian CDA (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) allowed me to capture the different perspectives, themes and narratives how the 'immigrant' is constructed. These themes are summarized based on their discourse positions, referring to the *ideological positioning* underlying the representation of the other (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). Informed by the poststructural and postcolonial framework of this dissertation, the ideological positions that emerge in my analysis reveal a binary representation of the relationship between the subject and the other; namely as the *normalized subject* – the *differentiated other* (Chapter 5); the *developed subject* – the *developing other* (Chapter 5); *the positive subject* - the *negative other* (Chapter 6). The figure below represents the three discourse positions discussed in the following two chapters.

Figure 4: Representations of the Subject and the Other
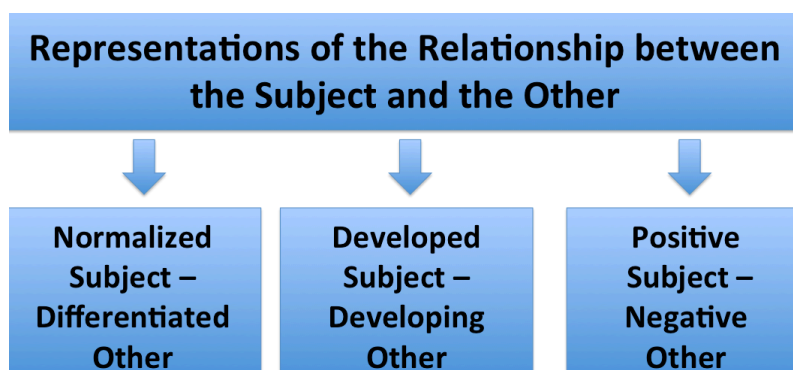
In the following sections of this chapter, I discuss the particularities and strategies through which the immigrant is represented as visibly different. Further, I explore the

various discursive entanglements that present the subject as developed, and the other according to binary oppositions as incomplete and developing. This discourse position draws on representations of the subject as *complete*, *liberated* and *enabling*, and the other in opposite terms as *inadequate, savable* and ultimately *integrated*. I problematize the concept of integration in this context and provide my rationale why I deem this type of process of 'integration' into Canadian society as assimilationist in character.

5.2. The Normalized Subject – The Differentiated Other

The Other as Different

The overall analysis of the texts from the three discourse planes paints the picture of the immigrant as differentiated from the subject. The vast majority of texts discussing issues related to immigrants such as *diversity*, *multiculturalism* and *immigration* show the immigrant first and foremost as non-white. The collective symbolism is *visible* difference. Thus, race becomes the distinguishing element between Canadian and non-Canadian, between the subject and the other. For example, the handbooks for newcomers by Cheinis and Sproule (2008), Goldman (2010), Noorani and Noorani (2008), and Wright (2011) all have predominantly racialized individuals on their covers engaging in some type of professional activities. Noorani and Noorani's (2008) handbook cover is an illustration of the *typicality* (S. Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) how the other is constructed *visibly* different.

Figure 5: Cover Page of Handbook *How to Find a Job in Canada*
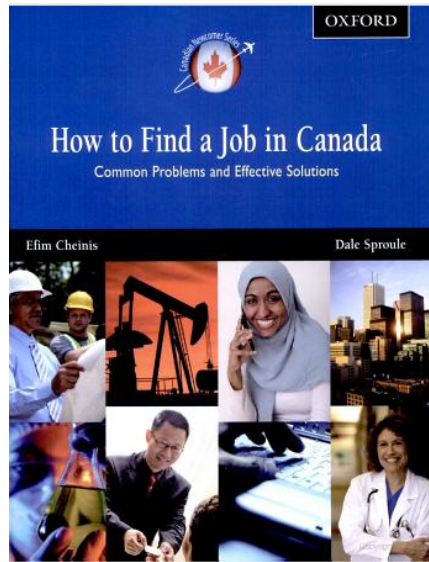
Source: Cheinis & Sproule, 2008

This visibility of the other is also illustrated in the analysis of media texts. News articles about immigrants and immigration are predominantly accompanied by images of racialized individuals. For example, in an article in the *Toronto Star* (Vincent, 2015) about Liberal Party leader Justin Trudeau's criticism of the Conservative Party's approach to multiculturalism and diversity, a picture of Trudeau shaking hands with a racialized individual is accompanying the article.

Figure 6: Picture Accompanying the Toronto Star Article on Justin Trudeau

Source: Vincent, 2015

The rhetorical means to associate Trudeau with multiculturalism and diversity is by representing him in close proximity to a racialized individual. The message of this image is Trudeau's closeness with multiculturalism and diversity. To convey this message, *visibility* of what constitutes diversity is applied in the form of a racialized individual. Such typicality of the white subject and the racialized other is captured in the different media texts (e.g. Ahsan, 2015; Black, 2015a; 2015b; Olukoju, 2015). This typicality speaks to Nkomo's (1992) discussion of the white individual as the point of race neutrality, as *normalized*. The other is created in contrast to the normal, as racialized. Such discursive entanglements between immigration and diversity (Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) reveal racial differentiations as the collective symbolism that represent the relationship between the subject and the other.

This typicality in representing non-Canadians as racialized is also found on the websites of public universities. To emphasize the institutions' internationalization, racialized individuals are depicted when discussing international aspects of the institutions and diversity-related topics (for example Saint Mary's University, 2013; University of British Columbia, n.d.; York University, n.d.). Similarly, government websites reflect such typicality of immigrants as racialized (e.g. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a; Government of Canada, 2015b; Government of Canada, 2015g).

The text analysis from the discourse plane of society reveals a similar discursive entanglement between the discourse strands of immigration, diversity and

multiculturalism. When analyzing advertisements of Canada's top five banks[36] with

regards to information for 'newcomers', the idea of diversity is symbolized through racial

variety in the illustrations (Royal Bank of Canada, 2015; TD Canada Trust, n.d.; Bank of

Nova Scotia, n.d.; Bank of Montreal, n.d.; CIBC, n.d.). The illustrations below depict the

three largest banks' illustrations in the rubrics on newcomers to Canada.

Figure 7: RBC Website for Newcomer Information

Source: RBC, 2015

Figure 8: TD Bank Canada Website for Newcomer Information
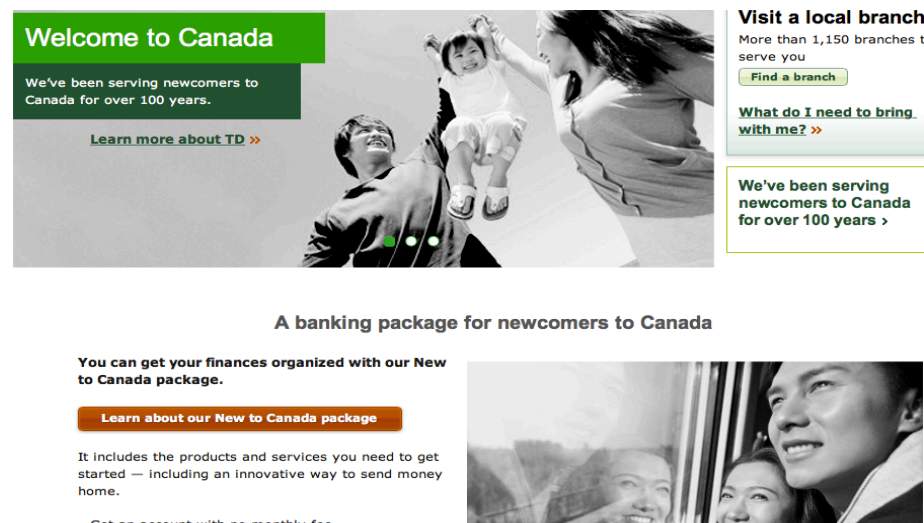
Source: TD Canada Trust, n.d.

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[36] Canada's five biggest banks in order of market capitalization are: Royal Bank of
Canada, TD Canada Trust, Bank of Nova Scotia, Bank of Montreal, Canadian Imperial
Bank of Commerce ("Big Five", n.d.)

Figure 9: Title Page of Scotiabank's Information Brochure for Newcomers

Source: The Bank of Nova Scotia, n.d.

Figure 9 in particular emphasizes the immigrant not only as the racialized, but also as the *exotic* other through the depiction of 'exotic' clothing. The same representation of the other as exotic is conveyed in other advertisements as well. The Tim Horton's ad *Welcome Home* (Nexus Canada, 2011) reflects this symbol of exotism in representing the other. The advertisement features what appears to be an African immigrant in Canada during his preparations for the arrival of his wife and children. When he picks up his family at the airport, his wife is shown arriving in what appears to be 'ethnic' African clothing including head attire, although it is winter upon their arrival in Canada. The analysis of advertisements has been especially useful in the context of this dissertation because it represents what Phillips and Hardy (2002) refer to as "'naturally occurring' texts" (p. 70), appearing in "normal day-to-day activities" (pp. 70-71). Thus, the representation of the other in the ads is assumed to reflect society's understanding of the features of immigrants. In this case, the representation of the immigrant is conveyed through exotism and race.

The Discursiveness in Differentiating the Other

The discursiveness in constructing immigrants as non-white might not be apparent at first. After all, in 2011 over 82% of immigrants to Canada were from non-white majority regions (Statistics Canada, 2014a). Thus, depicting immigrants as visibly different might merely be a reflection of this aspect. However, I argue that such a differentiation is problematic in two ways.

First, as elaborated in Chapter 4, the depiction of immigrants as visibly different creates the impression of the non-racialized person as neutral and normalized while the immigrant as the differentiated, *exoticized* other. The *new*-comer is visibly different from the 'norm'. This leads to the association of all racialized individuals, all ethnic societies to be foreign, "un-Canadian" (Mukherjee, 1994, p. xiii), and ultimately not belonging to Canadian society. This assumption is illustrated in Nelson's (2004) experiences about continuously being asked the question of where the author is *really* from because of not being white.

> There is an ironic coming of age for all Canadians of colour: the moment when you first become aware that you are not seen as a Canadian. That you will forever have to justify your presence in your country in a way that white Canadians, and even newly-arrived white immigrants never will. 'Where were you born?' There are innumerable variations. Sometimes it's, 'You are not from here, are you?' asked with incredulity. 'Okay, but where are your parents from?' (Nelson, 2004, p. 399)

Similarly, Mukherjee (1994) sees such differentiating as discursive because it creates a society that is divided into "the hyphenated Canadian" (p. xiii) and "just

Canadian" (p. 10). "Being 'just Canadian' is a privilege only white people enjoy in

Canada" (Mukherjee, 1994, p. 10). Such 'hyphenating' has a "pejorative effect as it

signals a kind of deviation from social convention" (Teo, 2000, p. 15). Ultimately,

because of such differentiating based on race, also newcomers are viewed as 'deviations

from the norm'.

A government information video discussing the changes to the immigration

system serves as an illustration for such discursive entanglement between race and

immigration (Government of Canada, 2015b). The entire video features, with the

exception of *one* individual, exclusively racialized individuals in the role of "newcomers"

(Government of Canada, 2015b). Thus, "by tying immigrants to 'cultural' and 'social'

diversity, all people of colour become constructed as immigrants" (Thobani, 2000, p. 39).

Secondly, if non-white becomes the collective symbolism for all immigrants, all

other associations made with race are associated with immigrants. For example, if

criminality is discussed in association with diversity, the association with immigrants is

made because of the collective symbolism of immigration and race (Van Dijk, 1991). Or,

vice versa, if criminality is discussed with reference to immigration, the association is

made towards racialized individuals, immigrant or not, again because of the collective

symbolism of race with immigration. The works of S. Jäger and M. Jäger (1992) as well

as S. Jäger and J. Link (1993) illustrate the process how certain negative attributes, such

as unethical or criminal behaviour, are continuously brought in association with particular

immigrant populations (e.g. Turkish immigrants in Germany). These attributes then

become the collective symbolism for people belonging to that particular ethnic

background (e.g. all Turkish immigrants in Germany come to be viewed as criminals).

Thus, the discursiveness of the immigrant as the *visibly* other becomes especially problematic because of its entanglement with other discourse positions. If the collective mind (Jäger, 2004; S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) is taught to think of immigrants as typically racialized, then all topics related to immigration are ultimately associated with racialized individuals. The following two chapters discuss such entanglements of discourse positions, namely that of the developing other and the negative other, and shed light on the effects in producing such representations.

5.3. The Developed Subject – The Developing Other

The Complete Subject – The Inadequate Other

'Educational' advice is one strategy that represents the relationship between the subject as complete and the other as incomplete and inadequate. Within the society discourse plane, brochures and handbooks for newcomers offer advice about the Canadian workplace, such as business meeting etiquette, working in teams, and office communication style. The 'educational' advices transcend strictly work-related aspects and also touch upon body language, eye contact, facial expressions, and social behaviour, thus educating the immigrant how to be *human*. For example, besides knowing English, immigrants are instructed in what kind of facial expressions are 'normal' and 'appropriate' in the workplace: "Speak slowly", "Move your mouth and lips a lot during speech", "keep some space between your teeth" (Wright, 2011, p. 169).

Perhaps one of the most obvious illustrations of the completeness of the subject and the incompleteness of the other is represented in Goldman's (2010) handbook on workplace etiquette *You're Hired… Now What?*. The 'civilizing' of the racialized other

transcends the workplace into advice for immigrants on personal hygiene. Goldman (2010) explains the functions of sweat and body odour and its inappropriateness in the Canadian work setting. The text illustrates the civilized-uncivilized binary between subject and other. The uncivilized other "Sanjay" who "was new to Canada" (Goldman, 2010, p. 80) notices that people avoid him at work. So Sanjay receives the help of the civilized subject, his boss. "Luckily, he had an understanding manager who explained to Sanjay that he had body odour […]. His manager gave him some tips on where to find a dry cleaner, and the problem got resolved" (Goldman, 2010, p. 80).

This kind of civilizing includes warnings about the consequences of smelly feet, dirty nails, dandruff and dirty hair. Advice is given to "buy at least five work shirts" (Goldman, 2010, p. 81) and "carry tissues with you. In a cold climate, your nose may run when you come onside" (Goldman, 2010, p. 82). The foreign, exotic other is described in a child-like way. The other relies on the guidance of the subject not only to learn how to write proper business emails, but also how to take care of basic human necessities.

The rhetorical strategies to achieve the representation of the subject as complete and the other as incomplete are through the technique of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (Van Dijk, 1993c). Positive attributes are directly linked to *Canadianness*, stressing the cultural superiority of the subject. "But being Canadian has become so much more than just the privilege of great social services and a passport that guarantees a hassle-free entry into virtually any country in the world (not usually the case for many immigrants)" (Nasteska, 2015, p. 24). "'Clean' was one of the first words that popped into Pashmina Balani's head when she and her parents arrived in Mississauga from Pune, India" (Noorani & Noorani, 2008, p. 49).

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We do love our Tim Hortons coffee. We have access to public health care. We

enjoy the vast outdoors, watch hockey, celebrate multiculturalism, and do get into

the habit of saying 'ey,' but the true identity of Canada is in Canadians

themselves. Having lived and worked in four countries, I am constantly amazed at

the Canadian heart. (Noorani, 2014, pp. 1 - 2)

The exaltation of the subject is achieved by normalizing those virtues that are

considered as positive and to attribute them to one's own *cultural* norms, even in the

most personal space.

Canadians place high importance on personal hygiene. It is normal for Canadians

to shower daily, to wash their hair frequently, to brush their teeth after every meal

or at least twice a day, and to apply deodorant and change their clothes daily.

(Goldman, 2010, p. 91)

At the same time, the other is constructed as inadequate. As illustrated, such inadequacy

is achieved through representing the subject as *clean* and the other as *dirty*. The subject's

cleanliness and the other's dirtiness ultimately render such 'educational' guidelines about

hygiene and facial expressions as 'justifiable'. At the same time, such representations of

immigrants reflect what 'qualities' are attributed to immigrants.

The Liberated Subject – The Saveable Other

The discourse position of the developed subject and the developing other is also

conveyed through the representation of the subject as liberated and advanced, in contrast

to the other as backward and *in need* of saviour. For example, the *World Vision Canada*

ad (Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015) captures our understanding of the developed, civilized

and white subject and the 'to be saved', underdeveloped and racialized other.

Figure 10: World Vision Canada Advertisement
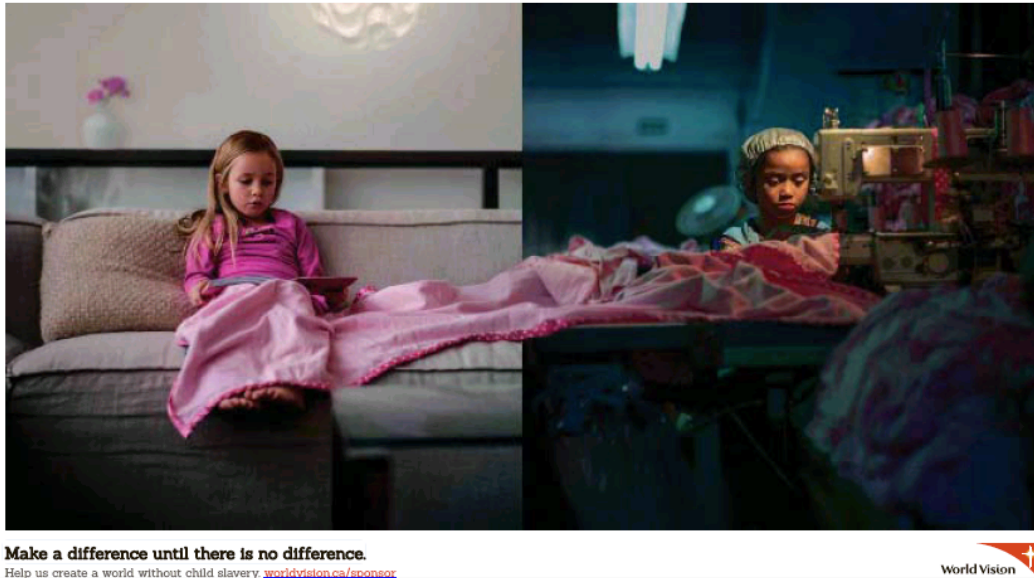
Source: Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015, p. 11

This advertisement captures such a discourse position by drawing on various

orientalist representations that the orientalist discourse teaches about the relationship

between the subject and the other. The subject is white, privileged, liberated. The other is

non-white, economically and socially underdeveloped, living in an unsafe and unstable

environment with uncivilized practices (such as child labour). This taken-for-granted

orientalist binarism becomes evident when imagining the two girls in opposite roles, the

racialized girl as the privileged subject and the white girl as the underprivileged other.

The advertisement would appear absurd and the reader would have difficulties making

sense of the message. This advertisement only makes sense *because* it represents the

world as we know it, with the subject and other in the roles that we are taught they

represent.

Similarly, the Tim Horton's ad (Nexus Canada, 2011) illustrates such representation between the advanced, liberated subject and the 'underdeveloped' other. The immigrant is represented as (presumably) African, speaking on the phone (presumably to his wife) in a 'foreign sounding' language. The man is shown as shopping for clothing in what appears to be Salvation Army. When his family arrives at the airport, his wife is shown as wearing 'ethnic' African clothing, including head attire.

The other is also presented as 'saveable'. After the husband greets his wife at the airport, he speaks to her in English, "Welcome to Canada" (Nexus Canada, 2011, min: 0:50). The final sentence of this ad is the man's voice in the background saying, "Welcome home" (Nexus Canada, 2011, min: 0:58). Similarly, the World Vision logo stresses, "Make a difference until there is no difference" (Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015). The narrative of possibility for the other to be saved and 'adjusted' through the subject is conveyed.

The rhetorical strategies to represent the other as underdeveloped and in need of saving is achieved through utilizing stereotypical 'knowledge' of the other as exotic, poor and coming from the so-called 'developing' countries (e.g. Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015; Nexus, 2011). The need for development is expressed through inadequacy of the other. The other is inadequately developed *economically* (Metro Canada (Ottawa), 2015; Nexus, 2011). But the other is also in need of development *socially*, and needs to be taught how to interact with others. "Ask a new friend or colleague to go for a coffee. Keep it casual" ("Bootcamp Exercises", 2015, p. 21).

Go through newspaper accounts of rapists, murderers and various assorted psychopaths and you will find that invariably the perpetrator is said to have been a

loner. This may be a stereotype but you can readily appreciate how ordinary

Canadians can be nervous about seeing you go back and forth each day without

friends of any sort. (Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009, p. 60)

The 'safe-ability' of the other through the subject is expressed through

propagating the other's development. 'Development' is interpreted as the mimicking of

Western conditions. The Tim Horton's advertisement (Nexus Canada, 2011) illustrates

this desirable development, showing how the main character first speaks to his wife in

their native language but 'develops' to greeting his family in English upon their arrival to

Canada. This development is also conveyed through visual means. His wife arrives in

'ethnic' clothing and head attire but leaves the airport in 'Western' looking clothes. When

the whole family is seen leaving the airport, they look visually 'adjusted'.

The 'safe-ability' by the subject is communicated through stressing the subject as

an enabler of immigrant success. An editorial in the *Toronto Star* (Reitz, 2011b) stresses

Canada's enabling nature. "Supporting immigration is just so Canadian" (Reitz, 2011b).

Similarly, under the heading *Successful Racial and Cultural Minorities*, (Adu-Febiri &

Ofori, 2009, p. 8), the paths to success of racialized immigrants are pointed out. The

discourse of enablement of the subject is stressed. "If Canada had not provided such a

fertile soil for their ambitions", successful immigrants "may not have been able to bloom

and blossom and share with the world their gifts and talents" (Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009,

p. 11).

Similarly, the text fragment below - "From refugee to bishop" (Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, 2013a, p. 36) - illustrates this representation of the subject as an

enabler, while describing the other's path of development according to 'Western' principles.

> As a teenage boy, Vincent Nguyen and nineteen of his relatives made a daring escape from Communist-occupied Vietnam in a wooden boat. They spent seven perilous days at sea until they were picked up by a passing ship. After a year and a half in a refugee camp, their prayers for freedom were answered and they were resettled in Canada. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a, p. 36)

The text fragment discusses the 'humble' beginnings of the future bishop and stresses his position as *in need*, living in inferior cultural (communist country) and personal (traveling on a boat, later refugee) circumstances. The subject's cultural superiority is stressed by drawing on the image of Canada as the *country of freedom*. The idea of the savable (racialized) other and that of the enabling subject is also emphasized in the rest of the anecdote:

> He is now Canada's first bishop of Asian descent and was the youngest Catholic bishop in the country at the time of his appointment. He is a shining example of how Canada makes it possible for people to live in freedom and to excel to the point of making history. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013a, p. 36)

The text fragment emphasizes the subject as the *enabler* of success of the other to the point of '*making history*'.

The Enabling Subject – The Integrated Other

This binarism of the developed subject and developing other is further entangled with the discourse of integration. More specifically, the discourse position of the enabling

subject is entangled with the successfully integrated other. How the idea of integration is understood is reflected in the text units analyzed. For example, texts from the society plane such as information brochures, booklets, books and handbooks for professional development for newcomers feature these discursive entanglements. The vast majority of the texts examined offer step-by-step descriptions how to become successful in Canadian society by evoking 'integration' as a key determinant. The "victim" can become the "victor" by shifting the thinking from complaining about the circumstances to asking, "How could I have done better" (Wright, 2011, p. 26). "With the right attitude, anyone can be accepted and succeed in Canada!" (Noorani, 2014, p. 2).

'Integration' is emphasized as the crucial component for success. What 'integration' entails is clearly formulated. "It entails adapting to the standard norms, dress codes, languages, communication styles, interaction patterns, technologies, expectations and practices of the mainstream monoculture" (Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009, p. 184). The rhetoric of integration entails the *mimicking* of 'Canadianness'. "Watch how you stress words and intonations", "Learn how to pronounce the individual sounds" (Wright, 2011, p. 170). Therefore, integration is understood as the replicating of the subject's behaviour. "Make a point of observing people and modeling your language after theirs" (Wright, 2011, p. 171).

Such integration discourse propagates an imitation of the subject in order to belong.

Rather than sitting with friends from your own community and blaming discrimination for not finding a job, you should say, 'I am going to develop my

language skills to match with those of the natives.' Think positive and talk positive. (Noorani, 2014, p. 92)

Not overcoming one's own cultural differences is deemed as an obstacle to fully integrate. This is in accordance with Li's (2003) interpretation of the present integration discourse.

There is a strong expectation that immigrants should accept Canada's prevailing practice and standard and become similar to the resident population. The discourse nominally endorses cultural diversity, but specific cultural differences, especially those deemed to be far removed from the Canadian standard, are viewed as obstacles to integration. (Li, 2003, p. 1).

The integration of immigrants into Canadian society is promoted through 'minimizing' the influence of one's own culture. For example, Noorani and Noorani (2008) suggest avoiding "ethnic silos" in order to fully integrate (p. xiv).

A lot of immigrants tend to move into an ethnic community that matches their own background […]. Usually, when your friends are from your own country, many of your discussions centre on the past and life 'back home.' You need to look at the future at Canada, your new home! (Noorani & Noorani, 2008, p. xiv)

Such integration discourse goes beyond professional life and touches upon work unrelated habits. The monthly brochure *Canadian Immigrant* discusses 10 steps titled "How to be Canadian," including "Listen to CBC Radio", "Be environmentally conscious!", "Get outdoors," and other elaborations on what it means to become Canadian (Nasteska, 2015, p. 24). The understanding is conveyed that the path of 'integration' will help newcomers to come closer to the subject. The rhetoric "10 ways to

feel more Canadian" (Canadian Immigrant, 2015a, p. 1) illustrates this discourse of integration.

Also within the politics discourse plane, the subject is understood as the enabler committed to continuous improvement of accommodating immigrants. "Canada has a long and proud history of attracting newcomers" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010, p. i). It is acknowledged that immigrants face problems in their integration into the labour market. However, the subject is absolved by admitting to the problem and the willingness to address these issues openly. "The Government of Canada has taken action, in collaboration with our partners, to support the process of assessing and recognizing foreign credentials" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010, p. i).

The rhetorical strategies to promote the relationship between the enabling subject and the integrated other is through positive self-presentation:

> Remember that in Canada you can be anyone you want. You can create the canvas
> of your life in the size that you want. You can have a postage stamp life or a life
> as big and as wide as this beautiful country. (Noorani, 2014, p. 90)

At the same time, the other is represented as *empowered* to achieve such 'postage stamp life'. The lexical properties here are the repetition of the verbs *can* and *want,* signalizing the other's *possibility,* but also *responsibility* in achieving success.

This rhetorical strategy absolves the subject from the failings of the other. According to Adu-Febiri and Ofori (2009) "a little too much pride" (p. 75) and not having "the heart of a champion" (p.74) are two among many other reasons why immigrants fail. The examples of famous immigrants such as such as Adrienne Clarkson, 26th Governor General of Canada, or Michaëlle Jean, 27th Governor General of Canada,

are proof of the subject's contributions and the other's responsibility in achieving success.

The discourse of integration is constructed through depicting stories of economic and societal success of immigrants. The story of success through integration is conveyed through the idea of 'playing by the rules'.

Resume writing is challenging and time consuming. […]. At first, I created one standard resume and sent it to dozens of potential employers. I thought that the more resumes I sent out, the more responses I would get. But I was wrong – I got no responses at all. So I tried a new approach. I visited a couple of employment agencies where I learned about the importance of carefully focusing my resume on each position I was applying for […]. I recently sent out only three resumes, carefully focused on the positions advertised and, to my surprise, I got two interviews! (Cheinis & Sproule, 2008, p. 200)

The example of such success stories shows the entanglement between immigrant integration and economic success, signaling the message of 'easiness' of professional success if the integration process is followed. "If you look like a person that fully understands Canadian culture, you have more chance to be accepted by a Canadian employer" (Jetelina, 2015). "If you want to slay it you had better play by the rules" (Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009, p. 48).

This type of integration discourse is depicted on the website *Building Futures in Canada* developed by The Canadian Foundation of Economic Success (CFEE) ("Hear stories from past immigrants", n.d.) which features short films on immigrants' successes. The narrative of 'integration' is conveyed through portrayal of the interviewees in

visually successful settings, such as upscale homes and professional places of work. The 5 – 6 minute long films touch upon topics of professional formation and process of settling in Canada. The collective symbolism of the portrayal of immigrants in these videos is that of high caliber immigrants who are well educated and adjusted. Their socio-economic success is entangled with a successful 'integration'. The necessity of adjustment and a 'whatever it takes' attitude to the new environment is the collective symbolism in the video clips.

> Anywhere you go, you have to work. You have to work hard for yourself….and make things happen for yourself. If you just gonna come here, thinking like because it's a West world, Western country and big opportunities, but you just gonna sit down and wait for the apple to drop from the tree, it's not gonna happen. You have to go up there and reach it ("Alexander Racela", n.d., min. 3:18 – 3:46)

The necessity to 'mimic' the majority culture is emphasized in the video clips:

> You enter a game. You need to know the rules of playing that game. You enter to Canada, you want to live here, you have to know what's going on. How the people are living, what basic knowledges you want, and you have to go for that, you have to educate yourself on those things. ("Reza & Mina Arefi", n.d., min. 4:31 – 4:56)

Also within the politics plane, immigrant integration is presented as crucial. The government of Canada (2013b) lays out the specific expectations of what integration entails. The goal of integration is, "Assisting individuals to become active, connected and productive citizens and through working with communities and Canadian institutions to aid individuals in accomplishing this objective". 'Productive' citizens are understood

as those who participate in the labour market and contribute to the economic growth of Canada. "Labour market integration of Immigrants and Refugees is key to achieving economic self-sufficiency, and is a key priority in supporting Canada's future economic development" (Government of Canada, 2014d). "Economic self-sufficiency and participation in the social, political and cultural dimensions of life in Canada are important for the successful settlement and integration of Immigrants and Refugees" (Government of Canada, 2014d). One of the strategies for immigrant participation is achieved through the development of language and labour market skills. "Language and skills development – language assessment, referrals, and training, including preparation of instructional materials, tools and guidelines, as well as other skills development such as labour market focused language training, and life-skills training" (Government of Canada, 2014d).

The text fragments stress the conditionality of 'integrating' as *the* determining factor for achieving socio-economic success. "Embrace all that Canada is and offers you. All opportunities come from somewhere and this country provides its citizens a safe, free and peaceful environment to live and do business in" (Dickinson, 2015, p. 34). Discursively, this conveys the message that the identity of the other should be compatible to that of the majority culture in order to succeed. Recalling the Royal Commission's (1969) definition of assimilation as the "absorption into another linguistics and cultural group" (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", 1969, p. 5), the text fragments analyzed above reveal such 'absorption' into the cultural and linguistic majority of Canadian culture. The report also mentions the consequences of assimilation, namely that a person "may even go as far as to change his name" ("Royal Commission on

Bilingualism and Biculturalism", 1969, p. 5). Oreopoulos and Dechief (2011) conducted

several studies showing that job applicants with Anglo-Saxon sounding names are much

more likely to be invited for job interviews than those with foreign sounding names, such

as Chinese, Indian or Pakistani. "Employers often treat a name as a signal that an

applicant may lack critical language or social skills for the job" (Oreopoulos & Dechief,

2011, p. 6). One recruiter's answer why she/he prefers Anglo-Saxon applicants well

reflects the discourse position of the subject as white, (Anglo-Saxon) and Canadian and

the immigrant as non-white, foreign and un-Canadian.

> When you're calling someone with an English sounding name, you know what
>
> you're getting into. You know that you can call Bob Smith, and you can talk to
>
> him as quickly as you want to. It's less work because you know that his English
>
> will be fine. (Oreopoulos & Dechief, 2011p. 44)

The assimilationist nature of the integration discourse is further reflected in the

concept of 'soft skills' and its relevance in the labour market. Soft skills incorporate all

those skills that deal with tacit knowledge and 'rules' of the dominant culture, such as

communication, behavioral patterns, interpersonal code of conduct (Sakamoto et al.,

2010; Sakamoto et al., 2013). Soft skills are therefore "an elusive concept which refers to

unspoken tacit, and taken-for granted cultural knowledge that is neither easy to acquire or

demonstrate on one's resume" (Sakamoto et al., 2013, p. 7). The discourse position of

conformity and integration is stressed also with regards to soft skills as a prerequisite for

success in the Canadian workplace.

> Note that many immigrants come to Canada with a 90:10 ratio of technical skills
>
> to soft skills […]. Canadian employers want 40 percent technical skills and 60

140

percent soft skills but many newcomers can't seem to accept this reality. (p.

Noorani & Sas, 2014, p. 6)

The current integration model is defined as economic success of immigrants (Golnaraghi, 2015; Hilde, 2013). At the same time, economic success is determined by 'soft' skills', hence the *cultural* adaptability into the workplace. Such narrative inevitably promotes an assimilationist concept of integration in accordance with the orientalist discourse because it prescribes conformity to the mainstream culture as a prerequisite to participate in Canadian society, both socially and economically. Such an integration discourse conjures up Woodworth's (1972/1909) elaborations on the necessity of immigrants to assimilate into Canadian society.

We, in Canada, have certain more or less clearly defined ideals of national well-being. These ideals must never be lost sight of. Non-ideal elements there must be, but they should be capable of assimilation. Especially non-assimilable elements are clearly detrimental to our highest national development, and hence should be vigorously excluded. (Woodsworth, 1972, p. 232)

Means of Differentiation of the Subject and the Other

The majority of the immigrants represented in the discourse planes of society, politics and media are constructed as non-white through several means. For example, the other is rendered non-white through foreign sounding, exotic names that are of non-European descent, such as "Sanjay" (Goldman, 2010, p. 80), "Ujjal", (Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009, p. 11), or "Sihem" (Canadian Immigrant, 2015b, p. 10). The symbolism of the other as racialized is also achieved through prescribing places of origin of the other to

regions with non-white majority populations. This is done, for example, through short bios attached to stories of immigrants (for example in Adu-Febiri & Ofori, 2009; Cheinis & Sproule, 2008; Wright, 2011).

Other ways to symbolize the other as non-white is through pre-fixes, as described by Nkomo (1992) and Mukherjee (1994). Illustrations of non-white individuals in the texts are also common strategies applied in the construction of the *racialized* other (for example in Canadian Foundation for Economic Education, n.d.; Canadian Immigrant, 2015a; Canadian Immigrant, 2015b; Canadian Immigrant, 2015c; Canadian Newcomer Magazine, 2015; Goldman, 2010; Noorani & Noorani, 2008). Identifiable accents in conjuncture with visibility of non-white individuals are also means for the racialization of the immigrants (for example in "Hear stories from past immigrants", n.d.; Nexus Canada, 2011).

5.4. Summary of Chapter 5

The discourse position of the normalized subject and the differentiated other is reproduced through the strategy of *visible* difference. This discursively creates the understanding of racialized populations being synonymous with non-Canadian, or "the hyphenated Canadian" (Mukherjee, 1994, p. xiii). Secondly, *racialized* becomes synonymous with *immigrant*, leading to associations made about immigrants to come to stand for all racialized individuals.

The discourse position of the developed subject and the developing other is constructed through the positive representation of the subject as *complete*, *liberated* and

the *enabling* one. The other is constructed in contrasting, binary terms, as *incomplete*,

underdeveloped and finally as *integrate-able* in an assimilationist fashion.

Chapter 6 –The Immigrant as the Negative Other

6.1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of my text analysis process. In the previous chapter,

I have discussed the means of differentiation between the subject and the other and the

strategies inherent in the discourse position of the developed subject and the developing

other. In this chapter, I shed light on the discursive strategies employed in the

construction the other as negative. Specifically, this discourse position draws on

representations of the subject as *secular* and *ethical*, while the other is defined in opposite

terms as *non-secular* and *unethical*.

6.2. The Positive Subject – The Negative Other

The Secular Subject – The Non-Secular Other

The analysis of the news media reveals the discursive entanglement between

immigration and Islam-associated issues, such as the threat of Islamist movements,

terrorist attacks and women's Islamic dress code. Appendix C shows the print screens

from the newspapers *Toronto Star* (1st by circulation), *National Post* (9th by circulation),

and *Winnipeg Free Press* (11th by circulation) after having typed in the term *immigration*

into the search engine. As can be seen, the first three out of four articles at the *Toronto*

Star directly make references to immigrants as Middle Easterners ("In-law of ex-Tunisian

president rejected as Canadian refugee"), discuss the Islamic dress code for women

("Tory MP's 'inappropriate comments' about women wearing niqab ignites firestorm"),

and Islamist terrorist threats ("Man accused of plotting to blow up U.S. consulate

remanded another month"). Similarly, the first two out of four articles at the *National Post* discuss Islam-related issues when searching for articles on immigration, while four out of five news articles entangle immigration with Islam-related topics at the *Winnipeg Free Press*. This 'occupation' with Islam-related topics in association with immigration is also reflected in other news media. Overall, the structural analysis reveals that Islam is utilized as a collective symbolism brought in association with immigration.

For example, I have analyzed the top 100 article titles of *Toronto Star* (1st by circulation), *Montreal Gazette* (5th by circulation) and the *Vancouver Sun* (6th by circulation) ("List of newspapers", n.d.) when typing in the term *immigration* into each of the newspaper's search engine. The table below summarizes those titles of the newspaper articles that make *direct* references to Islam, radical Islamism, terrorism, or Islamic cultural practices. The time frames marked below the titles indicate the time period during which the 100 articles were published when typing in the term *immigration* into the search engine of those newspapers. As can be seen, I conduced this search on April 7, 2015 and counted 100 articles for each of these newspapers after typing in the term *immigration*. This explains the different time frames across the three newspapers.

Table 8: News Headlines Referencing Islam-Related Topics

Source	Headlines
Toronto Star	- Legislative theatre: Why the anti-terror bill review fell short - Islam needs to reform or leave, says Canadian leader of PEGIDA movement - Five reasons Ottawa shouldn't extend Iraq mission - In-law of ex-Tunisian president rejected as Canadian refugee - Tory MP's 'inappropriate comments' about women wearing niqab ignites firestorm - Man accused of plotting to blow up U.S. consulate remanded another month - Tories let niqabs sidetrack them in terror debate - Muslim women in Canada explain why they wear a niqab - Stephen Harper's niqab comments spark Tory consternation:

	Hébert - Senior lawyers join calls for changes to Tories' terror bill - Should Canada deport accused terrorists without trial? - Was Ahmed Abassi a Via Rail terrorist-in-waiting, or just a talker? - Niqab forces parties to face up to irreconcilable differences: Hébert - Quebec Muslims question Montreal plan for 'anti-radicalization' program - Suspect in Toronto bomb plot arrested pending deportation - What the jury never heard in Via terror trial - Face-covering veils are 'anti-women,' Harper says * Articles published between March 10, 2015 and April 7, 2015
Montreal Gazette	- No new passport for Fahmy in Egypt until he is cleared to travel: Foreign Affairs Minister - Saudi Arabia tells Quebec to butt out of Raif Badawi case - PEGIDA anti-Islam rally set for this weekend - Celine Cooper: The niqab is devastatingly easy to manipulate for political gain - Legislate on terrorism and secularism, but keep matters separate experts say - Diversity minister Weil wary of imam's "dangerous" views - Quebec government mulls action on Islam community centre - Gazette Midday: Harper to unveil new anti-terror measures - Racism persists in Quebec, immigration committee told - Couillard seems to be 'imbued' with Saudi values, PQ leader says - Plan to fight radicalism coming soon: Quebec minister - PKP in favour of ban on religious symbols - Thousands of Montrealers march in solidarity with Paris attack victims - Couillard promises fight against extremism - Immigration minister condemns vandalism of Quebec mosques * Articles published between November 12, 2014 and April 7, 2015
Vancouver Sun	- Families play critical role in countering ISIS threat - Reaction to tiny terror threat endangers us all, UBC prof says - Canadians feel rift growing between Western and Muslim societies: poll - National security legislation about oil, not terrorism, B.C. chief says - Opinion: We need a new conversation on religion and secularism in Canada - Vancouver residents' online campaign nets $20,000 for Quebec woman told to remove hijab in court - Guest editorial: Striking down a pointless ban - Federal Court strikes down rule against face coverings during citizenship oath - Douglas Todd: Our Saudi relationship is puzzling - Daphne Bramham: Ottawa aims to end barbaric practices, such as polygamy * Articles published between December 9, 2014 and April 7, 2015

Out of 100 search results that discuss the topic of immigration, 17% of articles at the *Toronto Star* directly make reference to Islam-related topics, 15% at the *Montreal Gazette* and 10% at the *Vancouver Sun*. The majority of the titles reveal the idea of a threat to Canadian society that emerges out of Islam-associated aspects, more specifically Islamist terrorism. But the analysis also shows that Islam-related practices, such as women's dress code, receive attention in the press. Golnaraghi and Mills (2013) have investigated the public 'fixation' on Muslim women's dress code by analyzing print and digital media to examine "the discursive character of contemporary hostility towards the Niqab-wearing Muslim women" (p. 158).

The linguistic and rhetorical choices for headlines represent an important role in texts as they reveal the direction in which the article is going, serving as "the crux of the news event and to orient the reader to process the text in a pre-determined direction" (Teo, 2000, p. 13). Teo (2000) emphasizes the role of headings in news articles through the metaphor of the 'inverted pyramid', where the title has the function to inform the reader about the orientation of the article. A title also expresses the most important components of the article by employing "the minimum number of words to package maximum information" (Teo, 2000, p. 14). Consequently, headlines form important text fragments because they are so carefully and intentionally chosen. The analysis of headlines is an important component of the analysis process as it allows us to "peek into the underlying ideological meaning behind newspaper reporting" (Teo, 2000, p. 14).

The rhetorical strategies to express a threat deriving from non-secularism, and specifically Islam, are evoked through metaphorically creating the image of urgency and

struggle. The *Toronto Star* presents the discussion about the Niqab as '*ignited*' by '*firestorm*' ("Tory MP's 'inappropriate comments' about women wearing Niqab ignites firestorm"); terrorists plotting '*blow ups*' ("Man accused of plotting to blow up U.S. consulate remanded another month"); '*sparking*' consternation ("Stephen Harper's niqab comments spark Tory consternation: Hébert"). Similarly, in the *Montreal Gazette*, issues related to '*fight radicalism*' ("Plan to fight radicalism coming soon: Quebec minister"), as well as to '*fight extremism*' ("Couillard promises fight against extremism") through '*anti-terror measures*' ("Gazette Midday: Harper to unveil new anti-terror measures") are discussed. This metaphorically constructed image of urgency/struggle is also expressed in the headings of the *Vancouver Sun* that discusses '*striking down*' on face covering bans ("Guest editorial: Striking down a pointless ban", "Federal Court strikes down rule against face coverings during citizenship oath") and ending '*barbaric practices*' ("Daphne Bramham: Ottawa aims to end barbaric practices, such as polygamy").

Positive-self presentation and negative other-presentation are important rhetorical strategies in the construction of the secular, positive subject and the non-secular, threatening other. This binarism is narrated in the media through drawing on Canadian national ideals such as diversity, multiculturalism, tolerance, gender equality and entangling them with negative stereotypes associated with religious (Islamist) radicalism. "Canada's fundamental freedoms today face challenges that have not been seen before," says an article in *Ottawa Citizen* (Rohani, 2014)[37].

Rohani (2014) describes the positive subject as "us", referring to the identity of Canada as "a democratic nation" with "our soldiers" and "our leaders", fighting for the

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[37] The Ottawa Citizen is a politically centre-right oriented newspaper (12th by circulation - see "List of newspapers", n.d.).

principles of a "pluralistic, inclusive and tolerant democracy". Such rhetoric evokes the 'us' versus (the Muslim) 'them' rhetoric that Adib-Moghaddam (2011) describes so extensively in his book. Rohani (2014) discursively entangles this discourse fragment with the negative elaboration of the dangerous others who are "the murderers of our soldiers" promoting "violence in the name of religion".

Rohani (2014) mentions that extremism is not specifically related to Islam, and that Muslims "do not have a monopoly on terrorism". However, the text fragment makes stereotypical hints associated with radical Islamist practices. "What was intended as a way to celebrate our differences as part of being Canadian has been muddied by permitting others, including religious orders in distant lands, to dictate how one must act, dress, eat and vote" (Rohani, 2014). References are made to "forced and arranged marriages, honour killings and teaching of hate towards other religions or toward homosexuals, or death warrants against apostates" which threaten "the intent of a pluralistic society" (Rohani, 2014). The other does not belong to us and to here because it stands in contrast to a pluralistic society. The other is from a 'distant land' and poses a real threat to 'us' by 'mudding' what Canada stands for.

This entanglement of positive-self as secular and the negative (threatening) other as non-secular is a recurring feature within the news media discourse. For example, Todd (2015), a *Vancouver Sun* columnist, draws on this binarism between the good subject and the 'oriental' other:

> In multicultural Canada, ostensibly built on the ideal of respect, it might seem odd
> to defend the right to offend. But we need to, because the alternative is far worse.
> Imagine a society, based on honour and shame (like many ancient cultures), where

we're not allowed to make fun. (Todd, 2015, par. 26-27)

The rhetorical means for promoting the legitimacy of the clash regime is by letting legitimate experts speak in favour of one's own position.

Even the most staunch defenders of Canadian multiculturalism, such as scholar Will Kymlicka[38], recognize that's a problem. Kymlicka admits religion provides the toughest test of multiculturalism. Canadians, Kymlicka says, have become accustomed to tolerating, and even welcoming, people of diverse ethnic backgrounds. (Todd, 2015, par. 38-40)

This text fragment constructs the identity of the threatening other as informed by religious indoctrination. And while no references are made towards Islam, it is nevertheless clear that the *Islamic* 'religion provides the toughest test of multiculturalism'. The position of the threatening non-secular (Islamic) other is conveyed through making references to practices associated with Sharia and then discussing religion's overall incompatibility with multiculturalism. This discourse entanglement between immigration and Islamist radicalism is illustrated by invoking the idea of cultural threat in association with Islam. For example, an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* proclaims, "Canada stands with innocent, peaceful Muslims: Defence minister" (Ditchburn, 2015). Such rhetoric invokes the allusion that there are two types of Muslims, the ones that are peaceful and innocent and the ones that are the opposite.

The positive self-presentation is emphasized by stressing that Canadians are not only tolerating of others, they are "even" (Todd, 2015, par. 39) welcoming, thus

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[38] Will Kymlicka is a Canadian political philosopher working as a professor in the Department of Philosophy at Queens University. He also holds the position as Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy and is known for his extensive work and inputs on multiculturalism ("Will Kymlicka", n.d.).

exceeding in expectations. The (Muslim) other is described as pushing the boundaries of this accommodation through religious radicalism, and in doing so posing a threat to the tenants of multiculturalism.

The linguistic means to propagate the clash regime is through stressing the consent of all Canadians in this view. By stressing that "even" (Todd, 2015, par. 38) the most convinced proponents and defenders of multiculturalism feel that there is a (Islamist) threat to Canadian multicultural identity, renders the text fragment as 'truth' and 'knowledge'. Although in defense of women's right to wear the Niqab in Canada, a *Toronto Star* article reflects the subject's own perception of cultural superiority over the other.

> I wore a niqab for two days while working in Pakistan many years ago. I did it out of curiosity. I expected to find the experience stifling, particularly in the monsoon heat and mud. Instead, I found it freeing. Wearing the niqab (along with a black hijab and abaya), I walked through Karachi's streets without being verbally harassed by men, for the first time in weeks. I was no longer a solitary, young, white woman, which - I gathered from the comments I regularly garnered - symbolized promiscuity there. (Porter, 2015)

This text fragment is particularly revealing concerning the discourse position of the metropolitan and tolerant subject that engages with the culturally inferior (negative, Muslim) other.

Similarly, also the government texts reflect the binarism of secularism/non-secularism in capturing the relationship between subject and the other. This is achieved through listing contrasting attributes such as "openness" and "generosity" (Citizenship

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and Immigration Canada, 2012b) of the subject with negative stereotypes of the other as culturally based. For example, the Citizenship and Immigration study guide (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b) for the citizenship test writes:

> In Canada, men and women are equal under the law. Canada's openness and generosity do not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, 'honour killings,' female genital mutilation, forced marriage or other gender-based violence. Those guilty of these crimes are severely punished under Canada's criminal laws. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b, p. 9)

Drawing on obvious negative behaviours as *culturally* based presents the subject's superior culture, while creating the association of inferior *cultural* practices of the other. Canada's gender relations are not explained in their own. Rather, they are explained by means of comparison with the negative (presumably) cultural norms of the other. The emphasis is made on collective generalizations of some existing "barbaric" culture. This strategy draws on the orientalist binarism between the civilized, developed and secular subject and the 'barbaric', non-secular, threatening other.

This text fragment (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b) corresponds to the alternative name of the Bill S-7[39], which is referred to as the "Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices Act" (Parliament *of* Canada, n.d.). Such terminology establishes acts such as 'honour killings', 'female genital mutilation', 'forced marriage' or other 'gender-based violence' as *culturally* based, simplifying and homogenizing complex historical developments occurring throughout millennia across different

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[39] Bill S-7 deals with the criminalization of polygamy and forced marriages and inadmissibility for permanent residency status if an applicant is convicted of such crimes (Parliament *of* Canada, n.d.).

cultures, religions and societies (Government of Canada, 2015c). Secondly, it leads to the assumption that all members of cultures in which such acts occur are assumed to be part of such 'barbaric' practices. This ultimately renders all non-secular others into 'barbarians'. Finally, the construction of one's own identity based on binary representations of the other can be interpreted as colonialist in which the superior subject understands and identifies itself through the opposite values of the other (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Said, 1978).

In this context, it is also important to consider the function of a text (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). This text serves as the official and *only* study guide for the citizenship text (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b). Thus, the content of the booklet is assumed to be read by *every* immigrant who is ever to become officially Canadian[40]. Ultimately, this text ensures that all immigrants are familiarized with this type of othering knowledge upon becoming Canadian.

Similarly, *Welcome to Canada – What You Should Know* (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013) is an information guide for prospective immigrants about Canada's society, politics and economy. Under the subheading *Diversity and its limits*, the discourse position of multiculturalism is entangled with conditional inclusivity/exclusivity criteria. "The policy of Multiculturalism encourages Canadians to maintain those family and cultural traditions which are consistent with Canadian values such as human dignity and equality before the law" (Citizenship and Immigration

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[40] As of January 2015, all persons between the ages of 18 to 54 are required to write the citizenship test. Persons 55 or older are exempted from writing the test but are required to appear at the local immigration office for review of original documents. People 55 or older *may* also be asked to appear in front of the citizenship judge (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a).

Canada, 2013, p. 36). There is the idea of conditionality of acceptance of diversity, namely to that extent as it is compatible with the majority culture. Also this text fragment discusses the limits of accommodation to be the same as in the citizenship study guide. "Canada's openness and generosity do not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, honour killings, female genital mutilation, forced marriage or other gender-based violence" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013, p. 36).

The Ethical Subject – The Unethical Other

The discourse position of the positive subject and negative other is also constructed though the discursive entanglement of immigration with unethicality/criminality. One example for such entanglement is between a specific ethnicity, Chinese in this case, and unethical behaviour. For example, *The Province* (8th in circulation; "List of newspapers", n.d.) discusses "Chinese money" with reference to Chinese people buying property, which drives up the real estate prices in Canada, and specifically in Vancouver (Cooper, 2015). By using the expression of "Chinese money", the article creates the other as *the* Chinese entity, rather than individual investors, creating the impression of Canada being overrun by foreign money of the (Chinese) other. The opening paragraph emphasizes that money is "flooding in" and "driving up" the prices of real estate in Vancouver of significant "magnitude", emphasizing Vancouver as "the second-most unaffordable city in the world" (Cooper, 2015). Incorporating metaphors of natural disasters with the discourse position of immigration creates the associating of (Chinese) immigrants posing a threat to Canadian society.

Terms such as "critical", "trigger" and "sensitive issue" are used to describe the urgency of this situation. The 'threat' by the other is evoked through pointing to the subject's vulnerability. The consequences of such threat are the "driving out" of the insiders, "families born in this region" (Cooper, 2015). The rhetoric of natural disasters such as floods is a common strategy to evoke the idea of a destructive power threatening the 'in-group' (Bickes, Otten, & Weymann, 2014). "Chinese money" is represented as suspicious (e.g. Glavin, 2015). For example, "Canadians are generally open to foreign investment, as long as it doesn't come from China" (O'Neil, 2015). Chinese investment in Canada is described as resulting in "skyrocketing real estate prices" and creating "public concern" (Lee-Young, 2015). Such 'suspicion' against Chinese investors leads *The Globe and Mail* (2nd by readership; "List of newspapers", n.d.) to accuse a Canadian official of espionage for the Chinese government, warning that this "could put Canada's national interests at risk" (Offman, 2015)[41].

Also texts from the politics plane discuss the other as unethical and as a threat to the subject. For example, the structural, detailed and synoptic analysis of three government documents concerning fraudulent marriages (Government of Canada, 2012a; Government of Canada, 2012b; Government of Canada, 2013a) shows that fraudulent marriage is represented as an epidemic problem. The seriousness of the problem is stressed through omitting specific numbers. Rather, the texts talk about "countless" cases occurring "across the country", which constitutes a "growing problem" (Government of Canada, 2012b).

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[41] This accusation resulted in a defamation lawsuit against *The Globe and Mail* (Perkel, 2015).

Minster Jason Kenney[42] justifies the introduction of a conditional permanent residency through invoking the idea that the vast *majority* of Canadians approve such changes. This is achieved through the omitting of numbers: "I have consulted widely with Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2012b). In another document, the minister is quoted as saying "Our government has listened to the victims of marriage fraud and all Canadians" (Government of Canada, 2012a), thus conveying the idea of societal consent to the new regulation.

Invoking of emotionality is another strategy to justify such policy. Minister Jason Kenney is quoted speaking of "heartbreak" and "pain", with regards to the victims of marriage fraud (Government of Canada, 2012a). The strategy to evoke emotionality consists of providing impressions and emotions while leaving out 'factual' information such as figures and statistics (Government of Canada, 2013a)[43]. There is little information about how and why these individuals became the victims of fraudulent marriage. Rather, emotionality is evoked through 'theatrical' means such as music and minimal lighting.

The strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is achieved through the use of colloquial language about the others' unethical behaviour, such as "using marriages of convenience to cheat their way into Canada" (Government of Canada, 2012b). The subject is described in positive terms, such as "innocent Canadians" who are exposed to the "callous victimization" by those who abuse the "generous family

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[42] Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism (Government of Canada, 2012b)
[43] Appendix D shows the transcript of the video clip.

sponsorship program" (Government of Canada, 2012b). "Canadians are generous and welcoming, but they have no tolerance for fraudsters who lie and cheat to jump the Queue" (Government of Canada, 2012b). One of the narrators in the video (Government of Canada, 2013a) speaks in plural terms of what happened to him and by doing so, creates a general 'us' versus 'them' distinction. "They make us believe, like, they love us so much, so we only get to know when it happens, like when they leave us" (Government of Canada, 2013a).

Another rhetorical strategy in constructing the narrative of the positive subject and the negative other is through stressing the unethicality of the other while portraying the subject as the victim. The Director General of the Immigration Branch at Citizenship and Immigration Canada, David Manicom, elaborates specifically on how the subject becomes victim of fraudulent marriages.

Sometimes you have a Canadian or permanent resident who meets a foreign national, perhaps while they're travelling or over the Internet, and becomes convinced it's a genuine relationship, whereas in fact the foreign national is using the relationship merely to get into Canada. (Government of Canada, 2013a)

In contrast, the subject's ability for unethical behaviour is mentioned only briefly. "In other situations, unfortunately, Canadians are part of the fraud" (Government of Canada, 2013a).

The threatening other is evoked through specifying the exact consequences fraudulent marriages have on the subject. While no figures and statistics are previously mentioned, the video is very specific in pointing to concrete financial damages for the victims of fraudulent marriages, such as $30,000 - $40,000 of debt and remortgaging of

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houses (Government of Canada, 2013a). Specifying the amount of damage serves as a means of symbolically and literally putting a value on the unethical behaviour that has been imposed on the subject by the negative other.

A training module for immigration officers to detect fraudulent marriages in permanent residency applications makes direct reference to specific ethnicities as the unethical other ("Evidence of Relationship, 2007)[44]. According to this training module, "Chinese nationals, often university students, marrying non-Chinese" are indicators "as to a <u>NON-GENUINE</u> [emphasis made by "Evidence of Relationship", 2007] marital relationship" (Evidence of Relationship, 2007, p. 2). This text fragment is an example of a discursive entanglement between a specific ethnicity and criminality. This statement assumes that specific ethnic groups as a whole are prone to certain unethical and criminal behaviours.

The text makes further racial references with regards to the compatibility of different ethnicities. More specifically, immigration officers are instructed to pay attention to the ethnic background of the applicants. A reason to suspect a fraudulent marriage is if the couple does not share a 'similar' ethnic background. "Ethic background –are they from similar cultures or do their cultures vary greatly" (Evidence of Relationship, 2007, p. 3). This text fragment reflects the discourse of whiteness and its modernist assumptions about racial hierarchies and (in)compatibilities. Such a discourse position inevitably assumes the 'mixing' of perceived 'incompatible' ethnicities as an indication for insincere and criminal behaviour. This discourse position reflects

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[44] Immigration lawyer Steven Meurrens received this document from Citizenship and Immigration Canada by invoking the *Access to Information Act* and published it online (Keung, 2015).

Huntington's (1996) concept of *Clash of Civilizations,* assuming the incompatibility of 'Western' and 'non-Western' cultures. Citizenship and Immigration Canada commented that these types of 'instructions' were issued "in response to an observed, temporary spike in cases of marriages of convenience" (Young, 2015). Further, "the instruction has not been active for more than three years, as the conditions that led to the instruction being issued subsequently changed" (Young, 2015). Thus, evoking a perceived threat to the subject, namely an increase in fraudulent marriages, legitimizes 'ethnic' profiling in this case.

Also within the news media, similar rhetorical strategies, such as using colloquial language, omitting of numbers and discussing the 'nation' as the overall victim, are utilized in creating the image of the negative, unethical (in this case Chinese) other. For example, Mandel (2015) writes of "hundreds of Chinese students" who become permanent residents through fraudulent marriages. These "cheaters" are "lying to the nation that's taken them in" (Mandel, 2015). The 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric is invoked, generalizing the subject as referring to all Canadians and the perpetuators as referring to all Chinese. "It is hard to explain to regular people how marriages like this are regarded in the Chinese community" (Mandel, 2015).

The threatening other is also invoked by emphasizing the need for protection when discussing immigration related issues. For example, the title "*Protecting Canada and Canadians, Welcoming the World: A Modern Visa System to Help Canada Seize the Moment: Report of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration*" (House of Commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, 2014) invokes such a threat by prioritizing and emphasizing the concept of protection (House of Commons

Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, 2014, p. 1). Strategies to imply the

necessity to protect Canada is evoked through headings and subheadings in immigration

documents that allude to perceived threats that require protection. "Putting Canadians

First" (Government of Canada, 2014b) or "Facilitating Legitimate Travel and Protecting

the Integrity of Immigration Programs" (Government of Canada, 2014b) are both

subheadings of a report on immigration. While there is no indication of misuse of the

immigration system in the particular documents or specific instances of threat resulting

from immigration, the text fragments suggest the necessity for protection. For example,

the website *2014 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration* (Government of Canada,

2014b) stresses the need to "protect the integrity of Canadian citizenship", "continuing to

protect the health, safety and security of all Canadians" and "protect Canada from

international threats" (Government of Canada, 2014b).

The texts analyzed in the above sections are government documents influenced

and shaped in their content by the Harper government, reflecting the Conservative Party's

views on immigration. However, I maintain that such government rhetoric is related to

and reflective of the present immigration discourse. As previously mentioned, what is

sayable at a particular place and time is shaped by the dominant discourse (S. Jäger &

Maier, 2009) and also includes the 'limits' of the politics plane about how discourse

positions can be discussed and presented. The influence of discourses on politics becomes

apparent when comparing the differences in what is 'sayable' by Conservative parties in

Europe, in contrast to North America, and Canada specifically. Ultimately, the content of

the government texts analyzed in this section are 'sayable', 'recurring statements' which

serve as *legitimate* texts acknowledged by society. According to Foucauldian

understanding of what constitutes a discourse, it follows that these texts are part of and reflective of the present immigration discourse[45].

Means of Differentiation of the Subject and the Other

Similarly as with the discourse positions discussed in the previous chapter, also the discourse position of the positive subject and the negative other depicts immigrants as racialized. One strategy to differentiate the other as racialized is through pointing to immigrants' countries of origin. For example, the other is described as coming from 'distant lands' (Rohani, 2015), from the so-called developing countries (Government of Canada, 2013a) or from countries with 'barbaric cultural practices' (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

Illustrations of the other as racialized, identifiable 'exotic' accents (Government of Canada, 2013a) as well as prefixes (for example 'Chinese' money) are further strategies in the process of rendering the immigrant as non-white. But also the depictions of Middle Eastern looking men, and women with headscarves, are important strategies in the construction of immigrants as racialized. The analysis of the 100 search results from *Toronto Star*, the *Montreal Gazette* and at the *Vancouver Sun* reveals such representation of the immigrant as the Middle Eastern, non-secular, racialized other. Finally, ethnic 'profiling' is another strategy to discursively entangle a specific ethnicity with a specific topic, such as criminality and unethical behaviour (e.g. Cooper, 2015; "Evidence of Relationship", 2007; Mandel, 2015).

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[45] On October 19, 2015 the Liberal Party won the federal general elections with Justin Trudeau as the new Prime Minister of Canada ("Federal election results", 2015). It will be interesting to see how the immigration policies and immigration rhetoric of the Liberal Party will affect the future immigration discourse.

6.3. Summary of Chapter 6

The discourse position of the positive subject and negative other is constructed through the representation of the subject as *secular* and *ethical*, in contrast to the other as *non-secular* and *unethical* that poses a threat to the subject. Especially the entanglement between the discourse of the clash regime and immigration constructs the other as threatening to the subject's identity as a tolerant, democratic, pluralistic and multicultural society. The concept of race serves as the means of differentiation between the subject and the other. Strategies to construct immigrants as non-white consist of the utilization of pre-fixes, indications of ethno-cultural backgrounds, depictions of non-white individuals and 'exotic' accents when referring to immigrants, along with ethnic profiling. The figure below summarizes the properties, rhetorical strategies and means of differentiations of the three discourse positions discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Table 9: The Properties of the Discourse Positions

	Normalized Subject – Differentiated Other	Developed Subject – Developing Other	Positive Subject – Negative Other
Binaries	Subject: Other: - White - Non-white - Normal - Different	Subject: Other: - Complete - Incomplete - Liberated - Savable - Enabling - 'Integrated'	Subject: Other: - Secular - Non-secular - Ethical - Unethical
Rhetorical Strategies	Immigrants represented through race	Positive-self representation and negative other-representation	Subject constructed as victim of the unethical, criminal other
Means of Differentiation	Other as Racialized through - 'Exotic' names - Images - Accents - Pre-fixes - Locations -Ethnic 'profiling'		

My text analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 is by no means a comprehensive overview of the most prevailing discourse positions found in 'texts' across the three discourse planes. Since the research objective of this dissertation is the investigation of the present immigration discourse and how it relates to the socio-economic marginalization of *racialized* immigrants, the text analysis needed to be narrowed. Fairclough (1992a) and Van Dijk (1991) discuss the polylithic nature of texts that represent multiple perspectives and viewpoints. Therefore, Chapters 5 and 6 are concerned with capturing those discourse positions, those 'positive recurring statements' (Foucault, 1972), which contribute to explaining why *racialized* immigrants experience socio-economic marginalization. As in Chapter 4, I have narrowed down my analysis to race-related discursive strategies in the construction of the 'immigrant', and paid particular attention to discursive mechanisms through which race continues to other racialized populations.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

7.1. Introduction

As previously indicated, an important consideration in CDA is the incorporation of the *context* in analyzing discourses (Fairclough, 1992a; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In this chapter, I contextualize the various discursive practices uncovered in the previous three chapters. Ultimately, such contextualization is the final step in shedding light on the research objective, namely, why *racialized* immigrants experience socio-economic marginalization.

7.2. Towards an Understanding of *Context*

There are various theories of what *context* actually means within CDA (Fairclough, 1992a; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I consider context as related to *intertextuality*. Grant et al. (2004) argue that intertextuality interprets discourses as having an *existence* beyond the text under study. "Intertextuality reminds us that while texts may be the discursive units on which the researcher focuses, discourse itself has an existence beyond any individual text form which it is constituted" (Grant et al., 2004, p. 12). Intertextuality allows the researcher to go beyond the explanations of the discursive event to point to questions of issues of power and dominance as enacted in the *social context* of texts. "Discourses determine reality, though of course always via intervening active subjects in their social contexts as co-producers and co-agents of discourses" (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 37). This chapter sheds light on such 'social contexts'. "The notion of intertextuality thus enables a focus on the social and historical context in which

discourse is embedded" (Bryman et al., 2011, p. 426).

7.3. Contextualizing the Texts and Discourses Analyzed

Van Dijk (2001) describes context as all those social dynamics that have an impact on the production of a given discourse: "Context is defined as the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). Van Dijk (2001) summarizes relevant properties as consisting of categories such as "overall definition of the situation, setting (time, place), ongoing actions [...], participants in various communicative, social, or institutional roles, as well as their mental representations: goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideologies" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 356). I translate these categories, these social situations, as referring to the socio-political, economic and ideological aspects in which the texts analyzed occur and which shape and are shaped by the discourses discussed in Chapter 4. The figure below summarizes the interconnection between text, context, and the discourses.

Figure 11: The Interrelatedness between Text, Context and Discourse
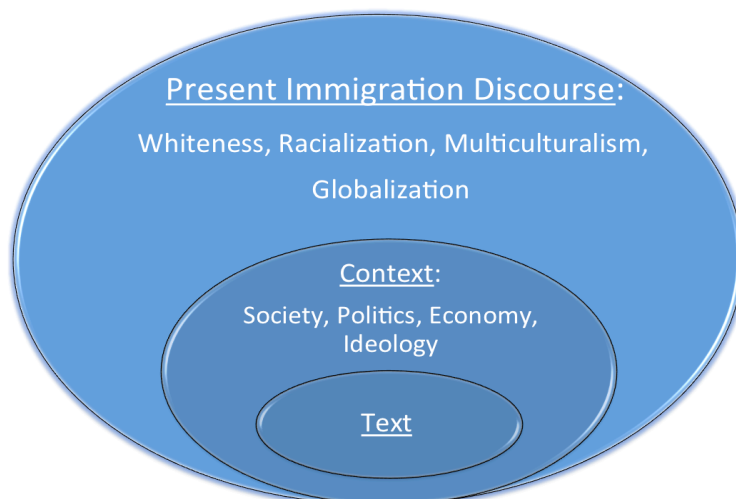
Socio-Political Context

On the socio-political level, the texts that feature the discourse position of the 'positive subject' and the 'threatening other' represent a time and 'social situation' during which the public is occupied with national and international incidents of religious fanaticism such as 9/11. More recent examples include the attack at Parliament Hill in Ottawa in October 2014 ("Ottawa shooting", 2014)[46], the spreading of ISIS (Withnall, 2014), and the attacks in Paris in January 2015 (Withnall & Lichfield, 2015), among others. This makes it plausible as to why such a high percentage of recent news texts are occupied with Islam related issues, and the question to what extent Islam is compatible with a democratic and pluralistic society.

But as has been shown from the politics media plane, the reference to the 'threatening other' as related to Islam is not merely based on the most recent religious-radical incidents. As Adib-Moghaddam (2011) argues, the idea of the threat of the non-secular (Islamic) other is a dominant discourse of modernity and reflected in Huntington's (1996) idea of a *Clash of Civilizations*. Adib-Moghaddam (2011) describes this ideology as the 'ideology of the clash regime' and argues that its strength derives from the discourse of whiteness accompanying the Colonialization process. It is during that time period that the discourse of whiteness emerged and rendered the differences between the 'West' and the 'non-West' as 'truth' (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011).

Thus, the 'threatening (non-secular, Muslim) other,' is reflected in our continuous doubt about the 'morals' of the 'Oriental' and the impact of her/his values on the

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[46] The extent to which this incident has occupied public's attention is illustrated by the fact that reporting on the attack at Parliament Hill has been the most read story at *CBC News* in 2014 ("CBC year in review", 2014).

subject's culture. The discussion of 'barbaric cultures' (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013) reveals a similar othering as in the speech about the 'Orientals' made by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1947. "Any considerable Oriental immigration would be certain to give rise to social and economic problems" (quoted in Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 317).

By constructing the image of the 'negative other' as threatening and unethical, the texts engage in promoting the idea of an out-group whose values are incompatible with the values of the in-group. The *negative other* is created through the process of 'collectivization'; interpreting 'threatening' behaviours of the other as culturally based. This is in accordance with Thobani's (2007) discussion about a continuous collectivization/generalization of the image of the other. "The failings of outsiders, however, are seen as reflective of their inadequacies of their community, of the culture, and, indeed, of their entire 'race'" (Thobani, 2007, p. 6).

Economic Context

> *"We asked for workers but human beings came"* (Max Frisch, Swiss Novelist,
> quoted in Mittelman, 2011, p. 197)

An important discourse position analyzed in the texts is that of the enabling subject and the integrated other. This fits well with the economic context in which the immigration discourse is embedded. The majority of permanent residents to Canada belong to the group of economic immigrants. In 2012, for example, Canada admitted a

total of 257,887 permanent residents[47]. Including dependents, 62.4% of permanent

residents consisted of the group of economic class (Citizenship and Immigration Canada,

2012c). The table below shows the breakdown of permanent residents to Canada between

2008 and 2012 according to immigration category.

Table 9: Facts and Figures 2012 - Immigration Overview

Category	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Family class	65,581 (26.5%)	65,207 (25.9%)	60,223 (21.5%)	56,449 (22.7%)	65,008 (25.2)
Economic immigrants	149,068 (60.3%)	153,491 (60.9%)	186,916 (66.6%)	156,117 (62.8%)	160,819 (62.4%)
Refugees	21,859 (8.8%)	22,850 (9.1%)	24,697 (8.8%)	27,873 (11.2%)	23,094 (9%)
Other immigrants	10,736 (4.3%)	10,623 (4.2%)	8,846 (3.2%)	8,305 (3.3%)	8,961 (3.5%)
Category not stated	2	1	7	3	5
Gender not stated	1	0	0	1	0
Total	**247,247**	**252,172**	**280,689**	**248,748**	**257,887**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012c, pp. 12-13

As can be seen, the majority of permanent residents (over 160,000 in 2012)

belong to the economy class. Also the newest immigration policies reflect the

government's economic focus. As of January 1, 2015, the 'economic success' of the

applicants is stressed as a crucial selection criterion of those who want to immigrate to

Canada as workers. Such focus on economic performance aims at "ensuring that only the

candidates who are most likely to succeed—not simply the first to submit their

application—are able to apply to immigrate to Canada" (Government of Canada, 2015b).

The notion of the candidate most likely to succeed is determined by economic indicators.

Under the new system called *Express Entry*, candidates can achieve a maximum of 1200

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[47] A permanent resident is defined as "someone who has been given permanent resident
status by immigrating to Canada, but is not a Canadian citizen" (Government of Canada,
2015e).

points. Out of these, 600 points alone are allocated to pre-arranged employment, while the remaining 600 are allocated for "human capital factors" such as age, education, work experience, and knowledge of the official languages (Government of Canada, 2015d). Thus, it is the *economic potential* of the applicant that is given priority in the application process.

At the same time, Canada is "witnessing an explosion in temporary foreign workers" (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 88), which is becoming a pervasive feature of the Canadian labour market. The table below reflects the increase of temporary work permits issued between 1994 and 2013.

Table 10: Temporary Foreign Worker Program Work Permit Holders, 1994 - 2013

Year	Permits Issued
1994	15,468
1996	14,664
1998	17,680
2000	22,519
2002	29,313
2004	37,222
2006	54,018
2008	110,629
2010	92,154
2011	81,586
2012	86,710
2013	104,160

Source: Government of Canada, 2014c

As can be seen, between 1994 and 2013, there is an almost seven-fold increase in temporary work permits issued. Gogia and Slade (2011) problematize such shifts in proportions between temporary and permanent residents to Canada and point to its neoliberal character. "In many ways the federal government is running the country like a business that relies on a temporary agency for its staffing" (Gogia & Slade, 2011, p. 57).

Such economy-driven policies well reflect the discourse of globalization. The desirability of immigrants is determined by their economic potential. It is not surprising that within this neoliberal discourse, the texts analyzed reveal the discourse of integration that reflects assimilationist tendencies. As Hollifield (2000) stresses, such immigration process renders a "political process to an economic calculus" (p. 145). Economic potential and success as inclusion/exclusion criterion remind of Woodsworth's (1972) justifications for excluding those immigrants who are thought of as not capable of adjusting to the majority culture.

Within the globalization discourse, the concept of 'Canadian work experience' functions as a restrictive measure that marginalizes racialized immigrants in their socio-economic integration. This concept is orientalist in its functioning because it incorporates colonial structuring of what constitutes 'knowledge', exalting Western forms of knowing and Western culture. "Globalization, like modernity, is associated with the diffusion of capitalist society and western culture" (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001, p. 690).

The understanding of Canadian work experience and Canadian credentials represents more than the geographic location in which the educational and professional qualifications have been attained. Such understanding also carries an epistemological meaning about the value of 'knowledge acquisition' from places of the other (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011). This explains why there is the 'problem' of recognition of foreign credentials and work experience from certain countries. This is in line with Foucault's (1998) notion of power and knowledge being inseparable from each other. Centres of power define what constitutes *legitimate knowledge*. Thus, how we understand the 'West', and 'developing countries' carries epistemological meaning. The 'West' is

viewed as superior and the centre against which 'developing countries' and its citizens are understood (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; A. Prasad, 1997; Said, 1978).

This colonial evaluation of what is legitimate knowledge is visible in the popularity of university degrees attained in North America, Northern and Western Europe. 'Ivy League' education is associated with the West, which helps explaining why there is limited popularity among North Americans and European university students to attain education in 'developing' countries. Such colonial othering also explains why there is a different perception of work experience attainted at an engineering company in Germany than, let's say, in Rwanda.

This colonial evaluation of knowledge in education and work experience ultimately results in marginalizing racialized immigrants because of the scepticism of 'knowledge' deriving from non-Western countries. "The knowledge possessed by immigrants is deemed inferior because their real and alleged differences are claimed to be incompatible with the cultural and social fabric of traditional Canada" (Guo, 2009, p. 47).

One strategy to overcome such inferiority of 'knowledge' is the attainment of Canadian postsecondary education by immigrants, even if they have university degrees from their home countries (Grant, 2005). Attaining Canadian credentials is seen as an important strategy for the integration into the labour market (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Expanding on the orientalist evaluation of what constitutes legitimate knowledge, the concept of 'Canadian work experience' also marginalizes racialized immigrants because it functions as a *legitimate* way to categorize immigrants based on race without it appearing openly racist, thus limiting the ability to label it as such:

'Canadian experience' dismisses any challenge that there may be racial bias in how we evaluate immigrants and their skills; any reference to race or ethnicity is dismissed by the argument that we live in a multicultural and democratic society. 'Canadian experience' becomes a neutral arbiter of what we expect of newcomers. (Sakamoto et al., 2013, p. 21)

Such 'economic context' as explained above makes it plausible why the discourse of integration is such a dominant narrative in the texts analyzed. Arguably, the discursive themes found in the texts transcend into discursive practices on the societal level and are mediated by the globalization discourse.

In this case, I have shown how the discourse of globalization 'speaks' in the texts through promoting the colonial idea of the developed and enabling subject and the developing and conforming other. The discourse of globalization marginalizes racialized immigrants by devaluating their knowledge and experiences but also masks the discourse of whiteness through the pretence of 'Canadian work experience'.

Ideological Context

The overall discourse position of the subject identified in the texts is that of *developed*, *positive* and *enabling*. This fits well with the ideological context of a country committed to multiculturalism and to ensuring "that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (Government of Canada, 2014a).

The ideological context is mediated by the discourse of multiculturalism and racialization. These discourses establish the discourse positions of the normalized subject

and the differentiated other found in the texts analyzed because they articulate the centrality of race as a means of differentiation. This ultimately leads to the distinguishing of 'us' as the white subject and 'them' as the racialized other. Within the 'social situation', this is embedded in a climate where racialized individuals are continuously rendered as ethnic, exotic, and foreign.

This results in an uneasy relationship with race. For example, there is a general unease about ways to discuss people's skin colour and there is no real agreement about what kind of language actually constitutes racism. Mukherjee (1994) provides us with a discussion about the complexity and politics of the idea of categorization based on race:

> We even disagree with the words that are used to mark our difference: some find 'non-white' totally unpalatable because it is rooted in negation; some love to use the term 'people of colour,' others hate it because in their mind, it obliterates our heterogeneity; some have no problems with 'visible minority,' they say, because one should call a spade a spade, whereas others find it a term imposed by a racist state. (Mukherjee, 1994, p. 10)

A more complex practical reality of the ideology of multiculturalism is that it makes open discussions on racism difficult *because* of the institutional and societal commitment to multiculturalism. "The language of diversity is often exercised in institutional responses to reports of racism" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 143). As a result, "the migrant who insists on speaking about racism becomes a rather ghostly figure" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 164).

It is the discourse of multiculturalism and racialization that intertextually establishes this 'tension' with regards to race. The subject 'educates' the other about the

conditions of diversity, and its boundaries while the racialized other learns about the 'appropriate' ways of living his/her ethnic identity. This fits well with the discourse position of the *integrated racialized other* who conforms to the majority culture, while remaining 'exotic' in a socially 'acceptable' way.

> The discourse of diversity is one of respectable difference – those forms of differences that can be incorporated into the national body. Diversity can thus be used not only to displace attention from material inequalities but also to aestheticize equality, such that only those who have the right kind of body can participate in its appeal. (Ahmed, 2012, p. 151)

7.4. Summary of Chapter 7

As illustrated in this dissertation, our overall societal discourse contains various sub-discourses that impact how we think, behave and ultimately live. From all these discourses in which we are embedded, I have focused on the sub-discourse of immigration and more specifically on race-related discursive practices.

My analysis in Chapter 4 has identified the discourses of whiteness, racialization, multiculturalism and globalization as relevant discourses that have had an impact on the present immigration situation with regards to race relations. I have demonstrated how through 'procedures of exclusion' of the other and exaltation of the subject (Foucault, 1981), the relationship between the subject and the other is based on the orientalist discourse of binary oppositions (Said, 1978). Based on Foucault's (1972) consideration for points of rupture, I explained the 'shift' from the discourse of whiteness to that of racialization and multiculturalism, maintaining race as a valid means of differentiation.

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The text analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 enabled me to capture the different discourse positions (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009) embedded within texts, displaying what is 'sayable' about immigrants. I identify three discourse positions in the construction of the image of the immigrant that are based on orientalist binaries.

The texts convey the discourse positions of the (white) subject as normalized, developed and positive, while the (racialized) other as differentiated, underdeveloped and negative. The discourse of integration is an important discourse position within the texts, communicating that the economic success of the other is dependent on the willingness to conformity and assimilationist integration to the subject's culture.

In this chapter, I have discussed the various contexts on which the discourses and texts interact. Within the socio-political context, I have shown how the discourse of whiteness continuously perpetuates the 'clash regime' (Adib-Moghddam, 2011). Not surprisingly, this is also revealed in the texts through which the discourse position of the positive subject and the negative (Muslim) other is constructed. The text analysis has shown that there is a continuous doubt, fear, and mistrust towards the compatibility of Muslim culture with a democratic and pluralistic society committed to multiculturalism.

Within the economic context, the texts reveal an ideological stance of conformity and assimilationist integration of the other. According to orientalist binaries, the subject is described as developed and enabling, teaching the other how to become an 'integrated' part of society. A mimicking of the majority culture is presented as an important component in how a desirable immigrant is viewed. This fits well with the economic context of Canada and its neoliberal influence on immigration policies. The

success of immigrants is understood predominantly in economic terms and serves as the major selection criteria for choosing desirable candidates to immigrate to Canada.

The text analysis has shown that the immigrant is understood as differentiated from the subject through race. This fits well with the discourse of racialization as it legitimizes race as an acceptable criterion for distinguishing individuals. As I have shown, the discourse of multiculturalism and racialization creates a 'sanitized' way to deal with diversity in society. These discourses construct the subject as civilized and developed, in accordance with the requirements of multiculturalism. The texts continuously paint the image of the other as racialized, without this appearing to be problematic.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

In this chapter, I summarize the main points of my research, with hopefully now having convinced the readers of the discursive features persisting in the present immigration discourse concerning racialized immigrants. Further, I explain why this research is about the subject and its representation of the other, rather than about the relationship between the subject and the other. Next, I highlight the implications and contributions of this dissertation, but also point to the limitations of my research process. I also explain the relevance of this research to the field of Management and Organizational Studies (MOS). Finally, I discuss potential future research projects, followed by some final reflections.

8.1. Dissertation Summary

Texts, Contexts, Discourses

This research seeks to challenge the process of othering. Rather than theorizing about issues of power, knowledge and discourse for the sake of exercise, I do so in order to shed light on very 'real' concerns persisting in society. Such concerns refer to discursive practices that contribute to the marginalization of a specific group. This research offers a very 'practical' purpose with all this 'talk' about discourses. Ultimately, I seek to problematize seemingly politically correct and 'neutral' practices as exercised in public spheres through politics, media and society to demonstrate its colonial assumptions and how these affect the immigration discourse. The analysis of texts, contexts and discourses serve this objective of challenging the process of othering.

The theoretical frameworks of this research are Foucauldian poststructuralism and postcolonial theory. Young (2001) considers postcolonialism to be characterized by a combination of theoretical work with a political and social activism to address social injustices marked by the colonial legacy. "Postcolonial critique marks the moment where the political and cultural experience of marginalized periphery developed into a more general theoretical position that could be set against western political, intellectual and academic hegemony and its protocols of objective knowledge" (Young, 2001, p. 65). As expressed by Said (1978), postcolonial theory serves to tackle contemporary injustices within societies through a "retrospective reflection on colonialism" (p. 45). Therefore, the postcolonial approach is particularly relevant for the scope of this research. Similarly, within poststructuralism, Fairclough (1995) points to the importance of critique by emphasizing "in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause and effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence, 'critique' is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 36).

I have applied two specific analysis methods in my work. One strategy consists of a Foucauldian historical investigation (Chapter 4) of the various race-related discourses. Foucault (1972) stresses the *temporal* significance of discursive practices. "It is not an atemporal form, but a schema of correspondence between several temporal series" (Foucault, 1972, p. 74). Such an approach highlights the interactions and relationships between the various discourses and their relevance to the present. By focusing on procedures of exclusion, I trace the various past discourses and discuss in which ways race is institutionalized in order to privilege the subject and marginalize the racialized

other. More specifically, I discuss the relevance of the discourse of whiteness, racialization, multiculturalism and globalization for the present immigration discourse.

The other strategy consists of a Foucauldian critical discourse analysis of texts selected from the discourse planes of politics, society and media (Chapters 5 and 6). Texts are considered as indicators of societal discourses, or in Van Dijk's (2009) metaphor, 'tips of icebergs' (Van Dijk, 2009). Texts reveal the discursive processes underneath the surface. There are various methods and theories within adherents of CDA, with varying degrees of linguistic and theoretical analysis in its application (Fairclough, 1992b). In the context of my dissertation, I was committed to abide to the recommendations and communalities of CDA and its focus on investigating the dynamics of power imbalance. At the same time, I am well aware that a certain degree of variance in data analysis emerges as a natural consequence. By applying S. Jäger and Maier (2009) specific analysis steps, I reveal that the relationship between the subject and the other continues to be constructed according to orientalist principles. Namely, this relationship is based on the discourse positions of the *normalized subject* – the *differentiated other*; the *developed subject* – the *developing other*; the *positive subject* - the *negative other*.

The findings from both analysis approaches are assumed to be discursive. In accordance with Bourdieu (1984), S. Jäger and Maier (2009) emphasize this subjectivist nature of working in the poststructuralist framework. The researcher and the conclusions from analysis are embedded in a discourse and at the same time reproduce a discourse (P. Prasad, 2005).

In Chapter 7, I have paid attention on the context in which the discourses and texts analyzed are contained (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I have discussed the *relevant*

socio-political, economic and ideological 'social situations' of my analysis findings. Concerning the socio-political context, I tie the discourse position of the *positive subject* and the *threatening other* to the discourse of whiteness. This explains why there is a ongoing investigation about the (in)compatibility of Muslim culture with a democratic, pluralistic society such as Canada. I have demonstrated that there is a continuous ideology of the 'clash regime' at play.

Concerning the economic context, I show how the globalization discourse affects immigration policy-making. The current immigration system focuses on attracting those applicants who are the most likely to (economically) succeed in society. Within the text dimension, the globalization discourse reveals itself through the discourse positions of the *developed, enabling subject* and the *developing (racialized) other* who is in need of conformity and integration to the subject's culture in order to be successful. The concept of 'Canadian work experience' serves as a method of excluding the racialized other, enacting the discourse of globalization and whiteness through legitimate means.

Concerning the ideological context, I discuss how the discourse of multiculturalism and racialization compartmentalize race and serve as a means of silencing critical discussions on racism, diversity and ethnicity. Within the text dimension, the racialization discourse is revealed through all three discourse positions of the normalized, developed and positive (white) subject that is contrasted with the differentiated, developing and negative (racialized) other. Within such context, the racialization and multiculturalism discourse continuously paint the picture of the racialized person as the foreigner, while using the idea of 'valuing diversity' as a means to divert from accusations of any form of racial discrimination. Ultimately, the present

immigration discourse others racialized individuals and renders them as outsiders of society, depriving them of equal opportunities for socio-economic participation.

8.2. Why I Focus on the Subject

My research is about the *representation* and *construction* of the other by the subject, rather than about the *relationship* between the subject and the other. Ultimately, this dissertation is a critique of the Western colonial othering in the construction of the other. My decision to make the subject the focus of this research is based on the elaborations of Said (1978) and Spivak (1988) concerning representing the other and their doubts about the ability to capture an accurate image of the other.

Said (1978) argues that representing the other accurately is doubtful because all representations are influenced by the context of the writer such as language, cultural and socio-political context; in short; the writer's own discursive setting.

> The real issue is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything, or whether any and all representations, because they *are* representations, are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of the representor. (Said, 1978, p. 272)

Rather than corresponding to an actual capturing of the 'immigrant', the representation of the other is a product of the subject. As Said (1978) reminds us, the 'fact' or 'truth' of what constitutes the other is a representation based on the subject's imagination. "We must be prepared to accept the fact that a representation is *eo ipso* implicated, intertwined, embedded, interwoven with a great many other things besides the 'truth', which is itself a representation" (Said, 1978, p. 272). In this context, it is the orientalist

discourse that creates the imagination of the immigrant. "The Oriental Other is an object

of fantasy and construction" (Young, 2001, p. 398).

Similarly, Spivak (1988) argues that reflecting on the voices of the 'subaltern' is a

process in which these subalterns gain a voice *only* through the intellectual who creates

the space for such interrogation. Based on the example of the Indian tradition of widow

burning, Spivak (1988) shows the colonial intellectual influence on its discursive

meaning. Spivak (1988) illustrates how the modes of interpretations of widow burning

have come to be evaluated against western ideology as a point of reference. The

conclusion for Spivak (1988) is that the subaltern cannot speak. The subaltern is only

represented through western intellectuals. "The subaltern cannot speak […].

Representation has not withered away" (Spivak, 1988, p. 309). While Kalonaityte (2012)

asserts that there should be an increased focus in finding ways for the subaltern to speak

within MOS, this dissertation rather focuses on showing the subject's role in the narrative

of what constitutes and 'immigrant' and how this contributes to the racialized

marginalization.

The focus on the subject is also one of the main reasons why I have purposefully

left out issues of resistance in my analysis. This does not mean that resistance and

counter-discourses do not occur. On a theoretical level, both postcolonialism and

poststructuralism stress the importance of resistance. Postcolonialism assumes that within

the power relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the element of resistance

is a significant consideration (P. Prasad, 2005). The issue of resistance in power relations

is illustrated by Adib-Moghddam (2011) when arguing that for every colonial assumption

created, a counter-colonial argument is produced. Resistance is assumed to be present in

every act of domination (Adib-Moghaddam, 2011; Memmi, 1991; Said, 1993; Young, 2001). "At every moment, we move from rebellion to domination, from domination to rebellion" (Foucault, 1998, p. 94).

Resistance movements from marginalized populations such as immigrants and Aboriginal populations are important occurrences within the socio-political and ideological context throughout Canada's history. Their struggles to challenge and resist grave injustices are crucial in challenging the status quo (Galabuzi, 2006; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010; Thobani, 2007). I have not discussed issues of resistance in this dissertation specifically *because* the struggles and efforts put forth to challenge dominant discourses require their own concrete, in-depth investigation and do not deserve to find only marginal attention in this dissertation.

I challenge the process of othering in my research by focusing on the subject's discursive strategies in the construction of the other. I have stayed away from offering concrete advice or solutions about how to change discursive practices or overcome the socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants. First, developing genuine and constructive solutions for such a complex issue is beyond the scope of this research. Second, pointing to the discursiveness of seemingly neutral practices is in my view already an important contribution to invoke consciousness about the process of othering. I challenge othering by showing how seemingly emancipatory and inclusive language and practices maintain the racialized marginalization within Canada's society (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Galabuzi, 2006; Grant, 2005; Guo, 2009; Thobani, 2007).

8.3. Implications and Contributions of this Research

The findings from this research carry theoretical and practical significance concerning our knowledge, thinking and practices with regards to race. Theoretically, I have argued that rather than assuming a conscious silencing and excluding of the other by the subject, or 'elite' (Van Dijk, 1993c), unconscious mechanisms need to be investigated in the marginalization of racialized immigrants. This is in accordance with Foucault's (1990a) understanding of discourse as Omni-present and supra-individual (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). This is exactly what my analysis of texts reveals, namely that marginalization and othering occurs in a hidden, unconscious and subtle way, not easily detectible by text producers or receivers.

Further, as pointed out previously, Canada's immigration discourse needs to be approached as an uneven development, 'ruptured' by specific events and shifts in worldviews, rather than as a linear development. This 'rupture' redefined the institutionalized practices concerning the concept of race. By drawing on Foucault's (1972; 1973; 1977; 1979) understanding of history, I provide a discursive reading of Canada's immigration past. More specifically, I contemplate on the concept of race by reviewing its discursiveness through a Foucauldian approach to history.

On a practical level, my research focuses on a very 'pragmatic' problem within society and on the organizational level. I have shown that all the theorizing and discussing of postcolonial theory, poststructuralism and CDA serve a 'practical' purpose and are very applicable to 'real' issues of 'real' people. I emphasize the possibility of bridging theories about discourses with socio-economic problems that populations face. Rather than offering advice on inclusiveness and diversity in the workplace, I consider

the 'practicality' of this research in showing the interconnectedness between discourses and the 'actual' living conditions. Mukherjee (1994) well captures the purpose of academic work.

> However, I do hope that this 'academic writing' is not 'academic' in the derogatory sense of that word, i.e., 'scholarly to the point of being unaware of the outside world' (Heritage Dictionary). I would like to hope that I speak in an accessible language and about issues that are not merely 'theoretical.' Whether I have succeeded in my aim is for the reader to judge. (Mukherjee, 1994, p. xvi)

Perhaps most importantly, in practical terms, the impact of this research is its contribution to political change and social justice, which is central to postcolonialism. For example, by showing how seemingly politically correct concepts such as 'Canadian work experience', 'soft skills' or 'visible minority' are related to colonial othering is emancipatory because it serves as a point of departure to discuss the colonial nature of institutional practices. This work invites readers to 'decolonize' our own minds by bringing awareness to the hidden nature of colonization in a multicultural, progressive, liberal and democratic society. The findings in this dissertation question the validity of race as an acknowledged 'true fact' and question its legitimacy.

By creating awareness of the prevalence of colonial binarism in knowledge production, othering can be challenged in meaningful ways. On an individual level, challenging one's own assumptions and practices is a first step. On societal level, the findings from this work call for meaningful, complex and honest discussions on race relations and ways to overcome race-centred discursive practices. These range from the language used when discussing immigrants as the other to demanding more action from

the government concerning discriminatory practices against racialized immigrants. For example, why is 'foreign' work experience a legitimate reason not to hire a candidate, while age, gender, and religion are not? I consider such questioning a meaningful way to challenge colonial othering.

The findings from this research carry significance for both, the academic community and society. For MOS, as Calás and Smircich (1992) remind us, scholarship impacts organizational practices. This research proposes alternative approaches to view the meaning and application of 'diversity' in organizations. This dissertation has shown that although well intended, the commitment to a diverse workplace does not necessarily guarantee the eradication of discriminatory practices. On the contrary, I have shown how the unchallenged validity of race continues to racially discriminate. This research challenges 'mainstream' management theories concerning diversity in the workplace.

On societal level, these findings are strategically important for various organizational practices. For example, on policy level, these findings reveal the discursive nature of immigration policies. Especially with the change in government, from the Conservative to a Liberal one, these findings can contribute to rethinking what kind of colonial thinking impacts policy making and what alternative approaches there could be. For example, do immigration policies differentiate between the 'quality' of refugees, between who is welcome as a refugee in Canada and who is not? How does such a differentiation relate to our colonial understanding about the other? Does binary thinking regulate how we view refugees and immigrants? For example, do we 'pity' refugees, fear them or do we think of them as truly equal to the insider, the subject? Does

such societal thinking also affect policy making, and if so, how could alternative approaches look like?

8.4. Limitations of this Research

I have presented an analysis process that seems 'logical' to me and introduces findings according to my interpretation. However, as expressed previously, I am well aware that the views and points presented reflect my own subjectivity and ideological stance. From a poststructuralist perspective, I assume that any academic work produced is subjective in nature and features *a* view rather than *the* view of the world. So, I do not see my subjectivity as a limitation *per se*. Some of the limitations discussing data collection methods and the data collection process are addressed in Chapter 3, such as danger of distorting findings and taking texts out of context (S. Jäger & Maier, 2009). I also described the 'proper' analysis process to counteract these types of limitations.

Another practical limitation is the *literal* limitation prescribed for a dissertation. Many of the concepts elaborated on could be expanded in further detail. In many instances, I had to evaluate the relevance of what aspects should form part of this dissertation and which could be left out. Investigating a discourse is a broad undertaking. It is part of becoming a scholar to learn the boundaries of one's topic and develop the ability to select what should be said, what should be expanded on, but also what should be left out. I spent a lot of time elaborating on the necessary concepts to present in this dissertation to hopefully make a convincing argument, while at the same time remain within the space limit required in a dissertation.

Finally, approaching the question of socio-economic marginalization of racialized immigrants through postcolonial theory, poststructuralism and by conducting CDA are 'sound' methodological and epistemological approaches as I argued previously. However, as with any other methodological and theoretical framework, the rigorousness of the research process and the ethical conduct of the researcher pose limitations on the research and determine the credibility of the research findings. I have continuously strived to keep my ideological views at bay to hopefully offer a genuine, thought provoking, and plausible research to the readers.

8.5. Relevance for Management and Organizational Studies

As I demonstrate, the individual who enters the organization is a human who is discursively conditioned. This research benefits MOS because it overcomes a narrow understanding of the individual in organizations by showing how the various societal agents come to shape the 'worker'/'employee'/'professional'.

Further, the consideration of discourses is enriching to MOS research by contributing to the multidisciplinary evolution of this discipline. I have shown how discourse precedes material reality. This understanding can shed light on many organizational issues within MOS, such as diversity in organizations, gender or organizational culture. By investigating accompanying discourses, I believe that MOS scholars can greatly contribute to research in their particular domains.

Also methodologically speaking, postcolonial theory is enriching to MOS because it shows ways how to overcome its own colonial legacy (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006; Jack & Westwood, 2006; Jack et al., 2011; A. Prasad, 1997; A. Prasad, 2012; Westwood,

2004). Similarly, poststructuralism and its focus on issues of power and knowledge production are important considerations for organizations. As Linstead (2004) asserts, "Whatever is the focus for an organizing activity, power, knowledge and subjectivity are involved" (Linstead, 2004, p. 6). I have shown how problematic it is to take notions of 'knowledge' and 'truth' at face value. In the context of MOS, this allows a critical investigation of different forms of 'knowledges' in and about organizations. Also the methodology of CDA is a valuable tool for MOS to investigate discursive practices. An abundance of texts on organizations and written by organizations can be utilized in its analysis.

Further, the inclusion of problematizing history in this research is relevant for MOS and corresponds to the increasing call within this discipline for consideration of 'history' and its role in scholarly 'knowledge' production (Mills & Helms Mills, 2013; Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2012). Among others (such as Clegg, 2001; Jacques, 1996; Kieser, 1994; Üsdiken & Kieser, 2004; Zald, 1993; 2002), Booth and Rowlinson (2006) point to organization and management scholarship as suffering from universalism and presentism, thus approaching organizations and management in a vacuum devoid of its historical context. The call for a historical turn within MOS is in line with Zald (2002) who argues that business schools lack "humanistic thinking" (p. 381) and has been answered in works of various scholars of organization studies (see for example A. Prasad, 1997; Durepos & Mills, 2012a; Durepos & Mills, 2012b; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006; Mills & Helms Mills, 2013; Weatherbee et al., 2012).

Therefore, I follow this call for a 'historical turn' (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004) by drawing on a Foucauldian approach to history. Foucault has been of considerable

importance for management theorists (Durepos & Mills, 2012a). Jacques' (1996) publication *Manufacturing the Employee* is based on Foucauldian approach to theorizing about the past in the context of management theory, while McKinlay's (2002) alternative views on the concept of modern careers is based on Foucault's engagement with the problematizing of history. My own approach to history is inspired by Foucault's study on the intersection of knowledge production within the historical context (Koopman, 2013). As I have demonstrated in Chapter 4, Foucault's approach to a historical analysis and his emphasis on the importance of *epistemes* in the formation, maintenance and change of discursive practices were particularly useful for this study.

8.6. Future Directions

This research analyzes the general immigration discourse and its relevance to the process of racialization in constructing the 'immigrant'. An extension of this work is the analysis of discursive practices in the construction the different types of immigrants. For example, how are the 'economic immigrant' and the 'refugee' constructed? Are these constructions similar or do they different in their representation of the other? And, what are the repercussions of such discursive constructions?

Also, the concept of intersectionality with regards to race and immigration would be a valuable contribution to shed light on the contemporary situation of immigrants. Distinguishing between the different constructions of immigrants based on countries of origin could shed light if there are different narratives constructed about, for example, Chinese immigrants, Middle Eastern immigrants or African immigrants. With regards to the discourse of whiteness, do discourses draw on different imaginations between the

'different' types of immigrants? Do we apply Woodsworth's (1972) typology of races about the 'qualities' of immigrants?

In this context, a crucial investigation within the immigration discourse would be the intersection of immigrants' gender *and* ethno-cultural background. I mentioned only briefly that there are differences in 'material realities' between female and male racialized immigrants. However, I didn't go into detail about the specific differences between the construction of the male and the female immigrant and the outcomes it produces. The double burden of racialization and gendering is acknowledged as a dominant by-product of the immigration process (Block &Galabuzi, 2011; Thobani, 2000; Wallis & Kwok, 2008; Zuberi & Ptashnick, 2011). "Visible minority immigrant women often end up in some of the worst jobs in North America" (Zuberi & Ptashnick, 2008, p. 65). Investigating the immigration discourse with regards to specific attention on racialization *and* gender is an important step to contribute valuable attention to the issue of marginalization of racialized immigrants.

On a broader and more multidisciplinary level, research about the construction of the 'migrant' and the impact it has on the current global socio-political and economic situation is highly relevant and, in my opinion, very necessary. I am finishing this dissertation at a time when between April 13 and April 20, 2015 alone an estimate of over 1,000 migrants, attempting to enter Europe illegally, have drowned in shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea ("EU minsters meet for crisis talks", 2015). Referred to as "the deadliest border crossing in the world" (Lind, 2015) with over 4800 deaths in 2014, most of these recent migrants who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea were escaping political unrests, conflicts or war in Middle Eastern and North African countries ("EU minsters

meet for crisis talks", 2015). Referred to as "European Migrant Crisis" (n.d.), the International Organization for Migration estimates that between January and August 2015, some 350,000 migrants crossed EU borders ("Why is EU struggling", 2015). The picture of the three-year-old Syrian boy, Aylan, found dead on a beach in Turkey, has become the symbol for this 'crisis' ("Shocking images", 2015). Also Canada's approach and role in providing assistance to refugees is under scrutiny ("How Canada could be doing more", 2015; "The refugee crises", 2015).

This leads me to questions such as what kind of immigration discourse has contributed to producing such a material reality for these migrants? How have discursive criteria of inclusion and exclusion, of the 'desirable' and 'undesirable' immigrant contributed to such a catastrophe? How does the 'North-South' immigration discourse mediate the socio-political, economic and ideological context in which this disaster occurred? What strategies of the orientalist discourse (Said, 1978) are at play in perpetuating this 'North-South' relationship? Attempting to address these questions through the analysis of discursive practices could aid in shedding light on this complex 'North-South' relationship and the othering it produces.

Another important future undertaking within MOS is to find possibilities for getting beyond binaries, both theoretically and practically. A. Prasad (2012)'s research "Working Against the Grain: Beyond Eurocentrism in Organization Studies" is such an attempt to find ways of overcoming binarism within MOS. Taking seriously thinking from the South and alternative forms of knowledge are examples of such undertaking. "Theories that might be essential for adequately understanding organizations and institutions located not only in non-Western countries, but also those within the Western

world itself" (A. Prasad, 2012, p. 22). The works of Golnaraghi (2015), Kalonaityte (2012) and Krysa et al. (2016) are further attempts within MOS of stepping beyond binaries by pointing to possibilities of resistance and agency of the other.

8.7. Some Final Reflections

I would like to conclude my work by reflecting on this research process. This is in line with Hardy's et al. (2001) commitment for "the inclusion of the researcher in the subject matter he or she is trying to understand" (p. 532). This research has left a deep effect on me. Engaging for such an extended period of time with the concept of race, I became deeply aware of the 'sneakiness' of race-based discursive practices because they appear so 'normal'. Foucault's (1972) expression of "some anonymous hand" (p. 191) appropriately expresses this invisible, yet pervasive force of racial discrimination. Rather than showing that there is an 'elite' who comes up with ways of how to discriminate against racialized immigrants, the problem is much more systemic because discursiveness is so difficult to identify.

Concerning Canada, writing this dissertation has definitely made me more attentive to the process of racialization and how skin colour continues to be a changing social construct resulting in an unequal access to socio-economic and political participation in society. Personally, I have witnessed on various occasions that racialized Canadians were asked where they were from while I was the one with the clearly foreign accent. I doubt that such inquiries are reflections of individual acts of racism. Rather, such assumptions capture well the contemporary immigration discourse in which the non-white other stands for the foreign.

My personal context has certainly left effects on this research. Being committed to postcolonialism, I viewed this work not only as an academic process but also a political one, attempting to reveal the binarism engrained in our everyday thinking and acting. The situation for immigrants is complicated and challenging, marked by varying degrees of economic challenges, societal frictions and also impacted by the specific backgrounds of the immigrants. From my observations I have concluded that immigrants, and more specifically racialized immigrants from what we consider 'developing' countries, face very serious obstacles and experience significant economic and societal hurdles when they decide to migrate to a 'developed' country.

However, as was the intent to show, each place has its specific understanding of the subject and the other, with corresponding discursive practices. Considering the interrelatedness between texts, contexts and discourses, it is interesting to see how different each of the countries *talk* about immigrants, engage with them and shape their realities. Ultimately, the immigration discourse of each country needs to be looked at in its own context to point to the individual particularities of the discursiveness and how the 'othering' effect of those who don't belong is achieved.

Calás and Smircich (1992) call for a critical reflection of researchers about the consequences scholars' theorizing has on the 'real world'. In Chia's (1996) words, "organizational research and theorizing has direct practical consequences in that they help shape and define the texture of modern society" (p. 43). I am well aware of my own role in contributing to a certain type of 'knowledge' and its possible effects. "What emerges as organizational knowledge is an 'effect' of the ongoing contestation between different ways of carving out and making sense of our human experiences. Its legitimization in

turn affects the shape and form of social and institutional orderings" (Chia, 1996, p. 43).

This is in line with postcolonial reflexivity that discusses the scholar's obligation for

analyzing their work and its role in reproducing colonial thinking. Postcolonial self-

reflexivity "involves challenging misrepresentations of others […] and engaging in an

analysis of how we as scholars are inscribed in the very structures of power we are trying

to escape" (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007, p. 254). What I have attempted to do is to

provide an alternative reading of the contemporary relationship between the Canadian

and immigrant population and to explain how race influences and shapes this

relationship. I am aware that my political stance is deeply ingrained in this work,

influenced by my political stance of the world as continuously organized according to

neo-colonial principles. However, the 'knowledge' produced in this work constitutes one

among many other interpretations about the social world, and is by no means the only

possible interpretation. "Reflexivity in these circumstances helped to open up research to

multiple readings and to highlight that any research text was merely one representation

among many possible representations" (Hardy et al., 2001, p. 536).

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[48] *"BrandSätze"* represents a play of works in this case. 'Brandsätze' refers to arson attacks, however written as 'BrandSätze' is put together from the words 'Brand' meaning 'fire' and 'Sätze' meaning sentences, indicating the connection between incidents in Germany where asylum homes of refugee claimants were set on fire and how the media reported about these incidences.

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Appendix A: List of Newspapers in Canada by Circulation

Rank	Newspaper	Headquarters	Weekly Circulation 2011
1	*Toronto Star*	Toronto	1,932,385
2	*The Globe and Mail*	Toronto	1,906,336
3	*Le Journal de Montréal*	Montreal	1,420,214
4	*La Presse*	Montreal	1,305,435
5	*The Gazette*	Montreal	806,122
6	*Vancouver Sun*	Vancouver	1,011,799
7	*Toronto Sun*	Toronto	956,482
8	*The Province*	Vancouver	918,048
9	*National Post*	Toronto	814,898
10	*Calgary Herald*	Calgary	915,048
11	*Winnipeg Free Press*	Winnipeg	823,184
12	*Ottawa Citizen*	Ottawa	822,711
13	*Edmonton Journal*	Edmonton	722,454
14	*The Chronicle-Herald*	Halifax	775,636
15	*Le Journal de Québec*	Quebec City	598,048
16	*Le Soleil*	Quebec City	557,410
17	*Hamilton Spectator*	Hamilton	517,653
18	*The Times-Colonist*	Victoria	351,437
19	*London Free Press*	London	392,366
20	*Windsor Star*	Windsor	330,626
21	*The Record*	Kitchener	326,650
22	*Edmonton Sun*	Edmonton	325,726
23	*The StarPhoenix*	Saskatoon	316,452
24	*The Leader-Post*	Regina	264,786
25	*Calgary Sun*	Calgary	207,385

Source: ("List of newspapers", n.d.)

Appendix B: List of Selected Public Universities in Canada

Name	City	Province	Total Students
University of Alberta	Edmonton, Camrose, Calgary	Alberta	39,502
University of British Columbia	Vancouver, Kelowna	British Columbia	50,330
Simon Fraser University	Burnaby, Surrey, Vancouver	British Columbia	35,204
University of Manitoba	Winnipeg	Manitoba	26,800
University of New Brunswick	Fredericton, Saint John	New Brunswick	10,638
Memorial University of Newfoundland	St. John's, Corner Brook, Harlow, UK	Newfoundland and Labrador	18,913
Dalhousie University	Halifax, Truro	Nova Scotia	18,354
Saint Mary's University	Halifax	Nova Scotia	7,586
University of Ottawa	Ottawa	Ontario	42,587
University of Toronto	Toronto (St. George), Scarborough, Mississauga	Ontario	74,760
York University	Toronto	Ontario	52,290
University of Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown	Prince Edward Island	4,555
Concordia University	Montreal	Quebec	43,944
McGill University	Montreal, Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue	Quebec	32,514
Université de Montréal	Montreal	Quebec	55,540
University of Saskatchewan	Saskatoon	Saskatchewan	18,620

Source: "List of universities in Canada", n.d.

Appendix C: Newspaper Print Screens

March 18, 2015 (Source: Toronto Star; 1st news paper by circulation)

Nicolas Rouleau: We need a new citizenship oath

... is a diverse and multicultural land. Its citizenship ceremony should reflect this fact. In the 1990s, Citizenship and **Immigration** Canada asked a team of writers to draft a new oath, intended to be a more meaningful pledge of commitment to this country ...
National Post - Thursday. Mar. 12, 2015

The Third Man: Expelled student, suspected in VIA terror plot, says real instigator is the mysterious FBI agent

... received an email from Citizenship and **Immigration** Canada: A mistake had been ... a lawyer to intervene with Canadian **immigration** . When Mr. Abassi resisted, Mr. El Noury appealed ... Abassi was told he was arrested for **immigration** fraud and misuse of a visa "to facilitate ...
National Post - Thursday. Mar. 12, 2015

Today's letters: Dr. Day's Charter challenge

... high levels of federally controlled **immigration** , it is time to move the debate on sustainable **immigration** policies from predominantly quantitative ... demographically sustainable federal **immigration** policy to accomplish for their city ...
National Post - Thursday. Mar. 12, 2015

Stephen Harper's 'anti-woman' niqab comment mocked on Twitter with #DressCodePM hashtag

... Leader Justin Trudeau who accused the Tories of fueling prejudice against Muslim Canadians. In particular,

March 12, 2015 (Source: National Post, 9th news paper by circulation)

217

Pakistani accused of wanting to blow up U.S. consulate, buildings in Toronto

03/11/2015 7:17:00 PM | *Canada*

Jahanzeb Malik, who came to Canada as a student in 2004, was ordered detained on "security grounds" following a hearing before the **Immigration** and Refugee Board.

Clement defends niqab ban at citizenship ceremonies, but not federal workplaces

03/11/2015 5:24:09 PM | *Canada*

"We need to know who they are," said Tory MP Costa Menegakis, parliamentary secretary to the citizenship and **immigration** minister.

Key dates in the alleged Via Rail terror plot case

03/11/2015 10:48:06 AM | *Canada*

June 3, 2014: Abassi accepts a plea deal and pleads guilty to **immigration** charges after U.S. prosecutors drop terror-related charges, saying he refused alleged attempts by Esseghaier to join a terror plot.

Harper calls Muslim face-covering veil 'anti-women,' unacceptable

03/10/2015 5:37:00 PM | *Canada*

Among other things, Trudeau pointed to **Immigration** Minister Chris Alexander calling the hijab — a head scarf worn by some Muslim women — a perversion of Canadian values, and New Brunswick MP John Williamson, a former Harper communications director, referring last weekend to "whities" and "brown people."

Tories worried about base finding out how much they spend helping immigrants

03/10/2015 4:24:08 PM | *Canada*

OTTAWA - A briefing note for a Conservative MP suggests the government is worried about how spending on **immigration** programs is going over with its base.

March 12, 2015 (Source: Winnipeg Free Press, 11th news paper by circulation)

*Please note that the results reflect the outcomes found at the time the analysis was conducted.

Appendix D: Video Clip Transcript

Transcript: "Marriage fraud: Stories from victims"

Video length: 5:24 minutes

The video begins with the following text written in white and fading onto the black screen:

Many Canadians marry people from other countries.

A second sentence appears:

But sometimes, marriage is a SCAM to jump the immigration line.

The word "scam" is capitalized and written in red.

Both sentences fade out and the following sentence fades in:

Victims are left ABANDONED.

The word "ABANDONED" is written in red.

A woman begins to speak as her silhouette appears on screen. She is shown from the shoulders and up, in minimal lighting, to ensure anonymity. Her face is in the shadows, the lighting highlights only her right shoulder.

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: I met my husband in 2002 in the hotel in Cuba that I was visiting for a week.

Cut to a close-up of her hands as she continues to speak:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: In 2005, we were married. I sponsored him and he came to Canada in 2006.

Cut to another dimly lit silhouette. She is shot from the shoulders and up, her hair is softly highlighted with light and her face is completely dark. She is speaking in French and the following English subtitles appear as she is speaking:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *He and I met in a chat room.*

Cut to a close-up of her nervously fidgeting with her fingers as she continues to speak:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *One thing led to another and I developed strong feelings for him. He seemed to share them; that's what I thought.*

Cut to a silhouette of a man wearing a turban and shown from the elbows up. His blue turban is highlighted with minimal lighting. His face is unrecognizable as it is completely darkened.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN: We knew each other a little bit. That's why I trusted her.

Cut back to a close-up of the second woman's hands. She is still nervously fidgeting as she continues to tell her story in French. The following subtitles appear and approximately midway, the image cuts to her silhouette. The contours of her hair are softly lit and the rest of the silhouette is darkened:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *His marriage proposal came very quickly, about three weeks later. I said yes.*

Cut to the first woman. She is shot from the shoulders and up, and minimal lighting reflects only off of her right shoulder. She continues her story as follows:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: I didn't find anything untoward before he came to Canada.

Cut to David Manicom appearing on the right side of the screen. He is fully lit in a studio setting. The background is black. He says the following:

DAVID MANICOM: Sometimes you have a Canadian or permanent resident who meets a foreign national, perhaps while they're travelling or over the Internet, and becomes convinced it's a genuine relationship, whereas in fact the foreign national is using the relationship merely to get into Canada. And you know, the sponsor has been tricked. In other situations, unfortunately, Canadians are part of the fraud.

As he speaks, the following text credits appear on screen:
DAVID MANICOM Director General, Immigration Branch Citizenship and Immigration Canada
His name is in red print and capitalized, the rest is in white print.

Cut to the man wearing a turban. His silhouette is lit the same way as previously and he continues his story as

follows:

UNIDENTIFIED MAN: After marriage, everything changed, and after she arrived in Canada, I was nothing to her.

Cut to a close-up of the first woman's hands. She nervously scratches her fingers as she speaks:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: When he left on the 24th of March in 2007, it all came crashing down.

Cut to her silhouette appearing on the right side of the screen. Her silhouette is lit in the same fashion; only her right shoulder is captured by light as she proceeds with her story:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: I felt that he had now accomplished what he set out to do. He had gotten his permanent residency. He had gotten his work card. He had gotten his health card. He was with his friends, and I realized then that this was all false.

Cut to the man wearing a blue turban. The lighting is the same as in his previous appearances on screen as he continues his interview:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: After she left me, I filed a police complaint and police informed me after three days, like, she's good in health and she's found and… but they said, "She doesn't want to come to you."

The screen goes black as David Manicom begins to speak:

DAVID MANICOM: The financial obligations of a sponsor are that you are responsible for a period of three years for the person you sponsor to come into the country.

The following text fades onto the black screen during his explanation:

Sponsors are financially responsible for THREE YEARS.

The text is written in white and the words "three years" are capitalized and written in red. When the text fades off screen, David Manicom continues to speak:

DAVID MANICOM: So if the person you sponsor uses social assistance during that period, you'll be

responsible for that and will have to repay that debt.
The following text fades onto the screen during his explanation:
If the person you sponsor uses social assistance, YOU will have to repay that debt.
The text appears in white, except for the second "you" which is capitalized and in red.
Cut to a close-up of the second woman's hands. She continues with her story in French and the following English subtitles appear on screen:
UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *I have been reimbursing the 10 months of social assistance he received.*
Cut to a close-up of her silhouette from the shoulders up. The lighting is the same as previously, highlighting only her hair:
UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *I owe about $30,000.*
Cut to a close-up of the hands of the man wearing a turban. He nervously agitates his fingers:
UNIDENTIFIED MAN: It's around $40,000. It's too much. It's too much for me.
Cut to his silhouette. The blue of his turban and his clothing on his left side are lightly highlighted.
UNIDENTIFIED MAN: I had to pay my lawyer fee. I sent her ticket. So all my marriage expenses.
Cut to the woman whose hair is slightly contoured with lighting as she continues her story in French. The following subtitles appear:
UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *I sent him money because he said he needed it, or he owed some to other people.*
Cut to a close-up of the first woman's hands. She is pointing her left index finger to stress her first point:
UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: First of all, I remortgaged my home. Then bringing gifts and clothes, not only to his family members but to his neighbours and anyone he knew.
The screen goes black as David Manicom begins to speak:
DAVID MANICOM: There are a lot of legal consequences

for engaging in marriage fraud. It is fraud. There are the possibility of criminal sanctions, which can include a fine of up to $100,000 or imprisonment up to five years or both.

The following text gradually appears on screen as David Manicom speaks:

Consequences for engaging in marriage fraud:
• A fine of up to $100,000
• Imprisonment for up to FIVE YEARS

Both "$100,000" and "five years" are written in red. "Five years" is capitalized.

Once David Manicom finishes speaking, the text fades off of the screen. Cut to the man wearing a turban as he proceeds with his story:

UNIDENTIFIED MAN: Actually, I'm a little bit strong person. I tried to recover everything, but sometimes, yeah, it hurts.

Cut to a close-up of the second woman's hands. She continues speaking in French and the following English subtitles appear on screen:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *My self-esteem took a big blow. I became severely depressed and had suicidal thoughts...*

Cut to the first woman's silhouette. The lighting remains the same:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: I had to be medicated and be off work.

Cut to a close-up of her hands as she proceeds:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: All of it, it just, it became too much. I thought that I was a worthless person; that didn't deserve to be happy.

The screen darkens as David Manicom begins to speak:

DAVID MANICOM: CIC has adopted a couple of new rules. First, people in new relationships, relationships of two years or less where there's no child in common, receive a permanent residence status. During the first

two years after their arrival in Canada as permanent residents, they have to maintain a genuine relationship with the person who sponsored them. If they don't, they could have their permanent residence status removed and be asked to leave Canada.

Secondly, we have a new provision that someone who is sponsored to come into Canada for a period of five years, they cannot turn around and sponsor a new spouse or partner.

The following text gradually fades in during his explanation:
For two years, permanent residents must maintain a genuine relationship with their sponsor.
Once the sentence fades off screen, the following text gradually appears in point form:
• *Permanent residence could be removed.*
• *They will be asked to leave Canada.*
Once the two points fade off, the following text appears:
A person who is sponsored to come to Canada cannot sponsor a new spouse for five years.
As the sentence fades off screen, David Manicom proceeds as follows:

DAVID MANICOM: We will detect the fact that it's a fraudulent marriage. You can be forbidden to enter Canada for a period of two years. Even if you get to Canada and it's detected afterwards that it was a fraudulent marriage, you'll be subject to a deportation.

The following text gradually fades in during the above explanation:
You can be forbidden to enter Canada for two years. You will be subject to deportation.
Cut to a close-up of the anonymous man's hands. Halfway through his sentence, the image changes to a close-up of his silhouette shot from the shoulders and up. The lighting slightly highlights his turban and shoulders as he speaks:

UNIDENTIFIED MAN: They make us believe, like, they love us so much, so we only get to know when it happens, like when they leave us.

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Cut to the anonymous woman speaking in French, her silhouette appears on screen as it did in previous shots. The following English subtitles appear as she speaks:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 2: *I was manipulated, there's no doubt about that.*

Cut to the first woman. Her silhouette is shot from the shoulders and up and her right side is slightly lit. As she speaks, the image switches to a close-up of her hands and then goes back to her silhouette:

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN 1: Honestly, I really never saw it coming. I thought that he was different, and I think you just have to be very careful. There are so many people across Canada that are suffering nowadays from the exact same thing that happened to me.

The screen goes black and the following text appears in white on screen:

Marriage fraud.

The second sentence fades onto the screen in red below the first:

Don't be a victim.

The following website link appears at the bottom of the screen under the two sentences:

Immigration.gc.ca/fraud

The screen fades to black before the Government of Canada logo appears, and the screen fades to black once the logo fades off.

Source: Government of Canada (2013a, April 3). *Marriage fraud: Stories from victims*. Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/media/multimedia/video/marriage-fraud/marriage-fraud.asp

** Please note, the choices for text style such as italic, bold, font size etc. have been made by the producers of this text and have not been modified by the author of this dissertation.