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**COMPETENCE, OPPORTUNITY, NEGOTIATION AND THE
RECONSTRUCTION OF A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY
BY FOREIGN-TRAINED TEACHERS IN CANADA**

by

Fengying Xu

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

This study is a three-year longitudinal research project on the linguistic, pedagogical, cultural, emotional and career needs and adjustments of seven foreign-trained teachers who struggled to reconstruct professional identities as teachers in Ontario schools after they had received additional training and qualifications as required by Canadian standards and had become Ontario certified teachers. A co-constructive perspective on identity formation was employed, which allowed data collection by various methods such as analysis of written materials, individual interviews, and group discussions.

The research data strongly suggest that these teachers' professional identity in Ontario schools should be understood as a site of joint collaboration between them and significant others in their environment. Due to their culturally and racially different backgrounds from those of the mainstream teachers, these teachers were often placed in a position of having to manage their differences in accents, acts and appearance. This difference-managing process reflected the fact that their professional identity was also ethnically and linguistically defined. Furthermore, given that they were subject to constant subjective outside evaluations of their competencies at a variety of school sites which could not be defined at static points, their professional identities are interpreted as conflictually multiple and constantly changing.

The researcher concludes that it is possible for foreign-trained teachers to be accepted within a school system and to be symbolically visible in some positions in schools, but it is very unlikely for them to be visible in classrooms, teaching. The progress of their integration into a school system is effectively impeded by various barriers which reflect just some of today's social ills. Drawing insights from the notion of co-construction of a given identity (Ochs 1993; He 1995), the analysis of opportunity and social identity (Peirce 1994), and the concept of negotiation and professional identity (Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson 1996) in relation to the seven foreign-trained teachers' experiences in Ontario schools, the researcher recommends that serious research attention should be given to the opportunity structure in North America, which, according to Cherryholme's (1988) description of power operations, should be destructured.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was a labour of love, and I would like to acknowledge the help of all those who contributed to the process.

It began life as a research project for the Faculty of Education in the summer of 1994, in which I was recommended as a research assistant by Dr. Mari Wesche to Dr. Hanne Mawhinney who, at that time, was busy with preparation for a pilot upgrading program for teachers trained outside Canada. That project eventually turned into a Ph.D study, during which I was initially introduced to ethnographic qualitative research and gradually to abstract theories on identity formation, and finally took on a life as a researcher, under the guidance of Dr. Mari Wesche, my thesis supervisor, and Dr. Hanne Mawhinney, my thesis co-supervisor.

The thesis would not have been possible had it not been for Mari's durable availability, substantive input, including choice of words, and constant encouragement. The thesis would not have been possible had it not been for Hanne's continuous effort in searching for financial assistance, and her constructive demands and critiques. Their probing questions helped me to think and talk my way through the many puzzles of the data and the research process. I also wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance from my committee members who read and discussed with me the design and drafts along the way. Dr. Richard MacLure, with his unique expertise in research and critiques, contributed greatly to the design of this project and strengthened the study as a whole. I wish to express my admiration for Dr. Sima Parabahkt's successful career in Canada, and my thanks for her timely moral support at one point when I wanted to discontinue the study. More importantly, I gratefully acknowledge her reading the thesis with a great care, which contributed to a more coherent final product. Very special thanks, too, are due to Dr. Robert Courchène who initially assisted Hanne in designing the pilot upgrading program. Throughout the current project, he was always willing and generous in providing me with invaluable comments, insights and suggestions on the issues I brought to him. My appreciation goes to Dr. Cheryl Duquette known for her work with indigenous teachers in Canada, who joined the committee as an internal examiner. My appreciation also goes to Dr. Dennis Thiessen from the

Ontario Institute of Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. His work, with his associates, on the lives and careers of racial minority immigrant teachers enhanced my understanding of the experiences of the seven foreign-trained teachers under study.

I am very grateful to the teachers, vice principals and principals from the local schools, college instructors, university professors, community representatives, and particularly to the seven foreign-trained teachers who participated in my study. Without their generous cooperation, this study would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank Constantine Ioannou who, as my supervisor while I was working for a local school board in 1995, initially encouraged me to take on doctoral studies; and who, subsequently, as the TESL Ontario representative on the TESL Canada Board in 1999, shared his insights regarding the conclusions of the thesis. I am grateful to Dr. Kim Echlin, a friend and a former York University professor who taught me English literature in the English Department of Dalian University of Technology in China in 1984-85, and now a professional novelist. She generously read the thesis and helped refine its writing. Special thanks go to Dr. Awad Ibrahim who shared with me his experience in conducting a research project on the process of identity formation by 16 immigrant students in a high school in Toronto. I wish, too, to say a heartfelt "thank you" to my fellow doctoral students and friends, Alina MacFarlane, now a Ph.D., Martine Peters and Nazmia Bengelil, who managed from time to time to pull themselves away from the intensity of their own work to share their insights with me, and most importantly, to cheer me on.

A special "thank you" goes to my 17-year-old son, Yuetai, whose occasional teenage resistance against my good will intertwined with his support in sharing his experience as a visible minority student in an Ontario elementary school, a high school and a university. His contribution made this undertaking even more challenging, possible, and unforgettable for the years to come. Finally, my thanks go to my husband, Huizhong, who with me shared both joy and frustration during this doctoral research. To him I dedicate this thesis.

KEY FOR ACRONYMS

3As	Accent, Acts and Appearance
CANTEST	Canadian Test of English for Scholars and Trainees
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CICIC	Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials
CLB	Canadian Language Benchmarks
CME	Council of Ministers of Education
CTF	Canadian Teachers' Federation
CTT	Canadian-trained teacher
FTT	Foreign-trained teacher
ITA	International teaching assistant
MLO	Multicultural liaison officer
OMET	Ontario Ministry of Education and Training
PUP	Pilot Upgrading Program

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I still remember, [in 1978] when my plane was landing at the Toronto Airport, looking down at the city, feeling, that I had reached the peak of the mountain, that *my future was as bright and shining as the night lights beneath me* [emphasis added].

I received my Master's degree [from the University of Toronto] in 1981...I discontinued my doctoral studies and applied for a one year Bachelor of Education program to qualify as a teacher. My three practicum experiences were instructive, but one of them almost drove me out of teaching and indeed, out of Canada. *I wondered if all my hard work was wasted and all my good feelings about Canada merely illusions* [emphasis added].

That thought overwhelmed me with sadness. I cried and cried as if trying to shed all the tears that I had accumulated since birth. After having been in Canada for almost 12 years, I began to think that not only had I made a mistake in coming to this country, but also I had imposed this mistake on my children. I regretted it deeply...I forced myself to stop crying. I decided not to look back and began to think, instead, of my children and their future. I made the mistake of coming to Canada without giving them a choice, then I felt that I should make up for it by being strong. *I promised myself that I would survive and I would not leave this country because it was now my children's homeland* [emphasis added; also see the end of the conclusion section in 6.7].

Lam's (an immigrant teacher from Taiwan) 17-year experience in Canada
Cited in a SSHRC-funded (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council)
Study by Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson, 1996, pp. 51-78.

1.1 An Opening Statement

The researcher wants to confess. This study was born out of frustration. The frustration was her own. She was constantly frustrated by the fact that many of her friends who were *visibly* experienced and effective teachers with both foreign and Canadian qualifications could only work as "alternative and back-up" teachers in economically good times, and they would be entirely *invisible* in schools in any downturn in the economy.

At the outset, the researcher decided to undertake the current study because she desired to be able to understand why after having lived in this country for several years, her friends, and she herself, developed the same feeling as Lam, "*Actually we had been better off before coming here.*"

In the process of this project, the researcher constantly wanted to retreat from it entirely because many of the collected data caused her a great deal of inner turmoil, too uncomfortable for

her to enjoy the work. But in the end, she continued to its completion because of its importance. The experiences of seven foreign-trained immigrant teachers in Ontario schools were too significant to allow her to give up.

Looking back, the researcher realizes that her being trained, challenged, supported and helped by a group of dedicated Canadian educators and scholars throughout this endeavour was itself an indication that the Canadian educational system is capable of self-criticism and the possibility of improvement despite the difficult or perhaps painful experience that the seven immigrant teachers went through in some of its schools.

In what follows, interested readers may find that in places the researcher sheds unfavourable light on some of the practices within the Ontario school system. But it should be pointed out that she is fully aware that what she criticizes or even condemns exists elsewhere, too. Compared to some other countries where unfairness, injustice and discrimination may be taken for granted (e.g., "that's the way things are") or ignored (e.g., "they are not our priorities"), these problems are taken seriously in Canada, and efforts are made to search for solutions. As Adrienne Clarkson, the 26th Governor General of Canada, said in her inaugural address, entitled *The Circle of Canada: A Nation That Forgives Looks to the Future*:

As a forgiving society, Canada works towards the actions of the future. The forgiving society enables people to behave well toward one another, to begin again, to build a society in hope and with love (Ottawa Citizen, October 8, 1999).

1.2 Background Information to the Study

The issue. During the past three decades, Canada has become an increasingly multicultural society. Multiculturalism is particularly manifest in educational systems. It is now common to find

that Canadian schools must respond to the needs of students from many cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups because one school with many cultures is a typical social phenomenon in Canada. While this diversity is evident in the student population, it is not so apparent in the teaching force. Visible immigrant and Canadian-born teachers are, in fact, poorly represented and largely invisible in schools, and their unique experiences have not extensively enriched Canadian education.

The reason. The credentials of many foreign-trained teachers (FTTs) who were employed as certified teachers in their home countries are not considered as satisfying the requirements for teaching certification in Canadian provinces such as Ontario. Moreover, many FTTs simply do not have an understanding of Canadian standards or adequate resources (e.g., financial difficulty prevents them from taking Canadian training, joining professional associations, subscribing to professional journals and buying textbooks) to overcome the barriers they face in attaining professional certification. Even FTTs who have achieved teaching certification may still experience difficulty obtaining teaching positions and finding acceptance as professionals in the Canadian educational milieu.

The consequences. Like many other immigrant professionals, FTTs often end up doing various kinds of menial jobs for which they are over-qualified, over-educated - or both (e.g., see Bell 1996), and struggling to make ends meet. Expressed in Ogbu's (1974) words, these individuals got a "dirty deal" for their educational accomplishments and qualifications (p. 257).

The discontinuity of FTTs' professional opportunities results in a significant loss to Canadian school systems of the rich experiences and expertise that these individuals bring to their new country. It also results in a high emotional cost for them. It comes as no surprise that for many immigrants, visible minorities in particular, keeping hope alive becomes increasingly difficult and

maintaining their professional aspirations and dreams for a better life in Canada may slowly give way to hopelessness and disillusionment (Blandin, 1994). A disturbing outcome is that such hopelessness and disillusionment generate criticism and cynicism regarding Canadian immigration policy. Peirce (1994) quotes a wealthy immigrant teacher from Peru, who bitterly resented the fact that she and her husband were "duped" by the Canadian Government, "Professional people lose rather than gain when immigrating to Canada because they are not as 'welcome' here as they expected. The Canadian Government wants us to spend a lot of money, but does not offer compensatory opportunities for us" (p. 159). Syed (1998) raised a question: "Do we really want doctors sweeping floors?" Sohail (1998, p. 2) goes even further, analyzing this Canadian social phenomenon in the following words:

What is this immigration policy looking for - a brain drain from already under-developed nations, creating a population of disgruntled people who will soon use their skills in abusing the system, or creation of a disillusioned and humiliated lower class?

Undoubtedly, recruiting professionally-trained people from all over the world into Canada when there is little likelihood that they will have the opportunity to make use of their skills in Canada should be a political embarrassment to different levels of governments. Under- and unemployment may be viewed as a contemporary form of a human rights violation. But the irony is that Western society, which often criticises and even condemns many Eastern countries for violating basic human rights, fails to see the human sufferings in its own system.

A solution pursued. Recognizing the employment barriers faced by immigrant teachers, the Government of Ontario, in March 1994, called for proposals from Faculties of Education in the province to develop upgrading programs for FTTs which would provide them with training for an

additional basic qualification in areas in which they have been judged to lack training. One of the successful proposals for upgrading was submitted by Dr. Hanne Mawhinney of the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Education. The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (OMET) accepted her proposal and granted her funding for an upgrading program for FTTs (The proposal is provided in Appendix A).

As a result, a re-credentialling program for teachers trained outside Canada, entitled *the Pilot Upgrading Program (PUP)*, was designed and implemented at the University of Ottawa in the fall of 1994. The program was a full-time, 13-week, largely on-site program, including a weekly reflective seminar, an integrated foundations/pedagogy course, support for language development, and a practicum in schools. The rationale of the program was:

These teachers [foreign-trained teachers] should not have to compete for regular admission into Faculty of Education. What they need is a professional development program that will sensitize them to the Ontario educational context, and at the same time, recognize their rich work and life experiences. These teachers should be provided with opportunities to upgrade their skills and training in order to better qualify for an Ontario Teacher Certificate (Mawhinney, 1994, p. 1).

The aim of the program was to achieve the following six outcomes (Mawhinney 1994):

1. To facilitate school boards' compliance with the Education Act (i.e., equity policy)
2. To recognize FTTs' prior learning and develop their teaching competencies for Ontario school contexts.
3. To develop FTTs' understanding of the educational, social and cultural dimensions within the Ontario school system.
4. To develop skills of classroom teachers and professors working with FTTs.
5. To facilitate monitoring and job entry opportunities for FTTs.

6. To develop transferable materials, programs and methodologies so as to better serve FTTs from under-represented groups.

To ensure that FTTs would be able to work effectively in Ontario classrooms, a *Candidate Selection Working Group* of five representatives of the Eastern Ontario Advisory Council in Teacher Education was formed to evaluate FTT files. The group offered promising FTTs admission into the program on the basis of the following five criteria:

1. An evaluation by the OMET, indicating divisional training requirements for the FTT to obtain an Ontario Teaching Certificate.
2. An evaluation of the FTT's English skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) by the Second Language Institute of the University of Ottawa.
3. A letter by the FTT outlining his or her background and goals relating to becoming a teacher in Ontario.
4. Letters of support for the FTT's admission from under-represented community groups.
5. An evaluation of the FTT's application by the Registrar of the University of Ottawa and the Advisory Working Group.

The PUP consisted of ten components of which the five major ones are briefly described below (see Appendix A for details):

1. **Orientation:** Prior to the beginning of the program, two evening orientation sessions were given to the FTTs. One session provided the FTTs with an overview of the program. The second session addressed issues of diversity in the context of Canada's policies on Multiculturalism.

2. **On-Site Practicum:** The FTTs were placed in different classrooms under the supervision of selected mentor teachers at several local schools (mentors are referred to in this thesis as *PUP implementors*) at several local schools. The FTTs' practica included the initial period of observation, increasing responsibilities for the classroom, participation in school and board professional development activities, and involvement in school extracurricular activities.
3. **University seminar:** During the practicum, a weekly three-hour session was conducted on campus, half of which was spent in a reflective seminar guided by the faculty advisor for the program (i.e., a *PUP facilitator*). The seminar allowed the FTTs to reflect on the implications of their on-site practicum experiences for their understanding of education in Ontario. The other half of each session was allotted to an integrated methods/foundations course in which the FTTs had an opportunity to gain understanding of core aspects of teacher expertise ranging from social and philosophical foundations to curriculum and psychology.
4. **Language Assistance:** The FTTs were also offered a three-hour integrated Canadian studies/ESL course by an experienced college ESL instructor (a *PUP facilitator*) every week, usually on Friday afternoons. The course gave them opportunities to gain understanding of the Canadian history, literature, politics and geography while increasing competence in the English language. One hour of the course was spent in a language lab where the FTTs could listen to different voices of speakers of English including the ESL instructor, and record and listen to their own voices. In this way, they could compare their own speaking skills with those of native speakers in order to improve their English pronunciation and intonation.

5. Assessment of the FTTs upgrading: Upon completion of the PUP, each FTT was required to present a portfolio of work he or she had done throughout the program and the portfolio was reviewed by an *Assessment Committee*.

Evaluative research. Between September 1994 and June 1996, seven FTTs (out of 35, see Xu 1996) participated in and completed the PUP. During that period, the researcher, as a research assistant, carried out an ethnographic study, evaluating the selection criteria and analyzing the program with an emphasis on the perspectives of the FTT participants. Three sequential reports document and describe these FTTs' upgrading experiences (Xu 1994; 1995; 1996). The data for these reports were gathered by means of: a) classroom observation (52 hours at the University and 35 hours at seven local schools); b) meetings (16 hours with the Program Advisory Committee, the Selection Committee, and at a social and feedback session); c) face-to-face interviews (38 hours with 29 persons including seven project staff, eight mentor teachers, three principals, one vice principal, and seven FTTs); and d) telephone interviews (32 hours mostly with the FTTs). Other project staff produced several reports on other topics, the progress, problems and prospects of the program (see Appendix B for a brief summary of these reports).

These reports provide evidence that the PUP was successful in assisting FTTs' initial access to Ontario schools. Within only a few months after completion of the program, all seven FTTs became Ontario Certified teachers who are now legally qualified to teach in Ontario schools. Nevertheless, full integration of FTTs into the Ontario school system entails many barriers. While detailed information will be given in Chapter 4, two findings from the earlier studies which led to this current in-depth study should be mentioned here.

The first finding is that Ontario schools need FTTs. Almost unanimously, those whom the

researcher interviewed during the implementation of the PUP agreed that the profiles of Ontario students in the 1990s reflect great diversity, which greets teachers and staff in schools on a daily basis, and that these students can best be served through the combined strengths of both established Canadian teachers and FTTs. According to a middle school principal, "in today's Ontario schools, we have an urgent need for foreign-trained teachers" (quoted in Xu 1996, p. 20). A high school principal commented that "it is beneficial to our students to have FTTs join the Ontario teaching force" (quoted in Xu 1995, p. 23). The FTTs themselves also believed that the Ontario classroom was a place where they could have a meaningful career in Canada. An FTT from a country in Africa commenting on her experience in supply-teaching French at a local school said that before she entered the classroom, a black girl approached her, looking curious and asking: "Are you teaching us French, today?" "Yes!" she answered. All of sudden, the girl became excited and ran towards other students. The FTT said: "The girl looked very happy as if she had never had a black person teaching her French. I am sure my presence at school on that particular day will have a positive impact on her" (quoted in Xu 1996, p. 9). These comments and examples illustrate that it is not possible for Ontario schools to provide equitable educational experiences for all students without recruiting and actually employing teachers from diverse cultural backgrounds. As Ho (1992) has concluded, "Canadian schools can no longer afford to live by policies for multiculturalism which serve to acknowledge the legitimacy of cultural diversity but fail to offer a structural framework by which it can be implemented" (p. 85).

The second finding, unfortunately, uncovers disagreement, misunderstanding and even distrust between Canadian teachers /principals and FTTs. While the former supported the upgrading

program and the latter acknowledged a need to *learn, relearn* and *unlearn*¹ skills in order to function in a linguistically and pedagogically effective manner in a Canadian classroom, both sides held different views on what it meant to be competent teachers. A mentor teacher judged the FTT cited above, who was assigned to her classroom for a practicum, as a "non-teacher." On one occasion, the mentor claimed: "No one is going to hire her. The whole package of being a teacher is missing." To this, the FTT responded in self-reflection: "It is upsetting to know that the mentor does not trust me. No matter how well I do, she is going to fail me" (quoted in Xu 1994, p. 57).

In many cases Canadian teachers are particularly critical of FTTs' English language skills, while FTTs believe that their teacher competence is discounted in the name of so-called "language deficiency." In an interview, a principal said that he would not hire the FTTs who were placed at his school for practicum, unless they totally eliminated their non-native accents. Some FTTs considered such a linguistic requirement unfair, and speculated about why in Canadian society strong British and French accents were acceptable but not Eastern-European or African accents (Xu 1995, 1996). Opinions concerning accents were even divided among program facilitators. One ESL instructor described an FTT as "unfit" because of his perceived shyness. On the contrary, according to the program coordinator, the same FTT was the most intelligent candidate and had the potential to do well in Ontario schools. While it is indisputable that FTTs who do not meet Canadian requirements of teacher competence should not be allowed to teach, opinions are divided on what makes a good and effective teacher.

To further explore the ways of facilitating as effectively as possible the integration of

¹ To learn new skills, relearn (i.e., upgrade) acquired skills, and unlearn (i.e., get rid of) skills which are not effective in Canadian school settings.

foreign-trained professionals into Canadian society, a symposium was organized at a national conference on Canadian education held at the University of Quebec in Montreal in 1995 by a group of Canadian educators² (Mawhinney, 1995). As a result of the symposium, Wesche and Mawhinney (1995) strongly recommended that a follow-up study to the PUP be undertaken in order to search for "ways of teaching that involve both immigrant and nonimmigrant educators working together" (Sauvé 1996, p. 19). Without follow-up, any innovation such as the PUP might produce just another set of dust-gathering reports with no significant meaning for the individuals involved or effect on the larger context. If FTTs are indeed necessary role models who can have a positive and supportive influence on students, they should be assisted in their access to the Ontario school system and provided with opportunities to gain Canadian teaching experience. Without such assistance, FTTs' previously acquired skills as well as their additional Canadian qualifications will slip away. As a consequence, they will remain trapped in the ghetto labour force, with the Province of Ontario having to bear responsibility for wasted human resources. Additionally, these foreign-trained professionals' initial willingness to associate with their Canadian counterparts may be transformed into withdrawal and contempt.

1.3 Need for the Study

This research seeks to further explore the experiences in Ontario schools of FTTs who completed the PUP and obtained an Ontario Teacher Certificate. It builds on the earlier program evaluations (Appendix B) as well as on recent related research and theory on identity formation and

². The group included R. Courchène, H. Mawhinney and M. Wesche from the University of Ottawa, S. Shapson from York University, J. Munroe from Queens' University, N. Bascia from the University of Toronto and many others.

change (Ochs 1993; He 1995; Peirce 1994; Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson, 1996; see Chapter 2). The study is also a follow-up to the PUP, providing information on how the FTTs have fared since the end of official support in the form of the PUP. The purpose is to achieve a deeper understanding of the dynamics and complexity of FTTs' integration into a Canadian school system in terms of the reconstruction of their professional identity.

The pursuit of diversification of the Ontario teaching force is justified not simply by a desire for fairness; rather, it is a matter affecting the quality of educational experiences for racial minority and immigrant students as well as for non-minority Canadians (Bascia 1994). Since immigrants constitute a growing percentage of the Canadian population, it is vital that the minority workforce be educated and competent. It follows that in order to provide quality education for the growing number of immigrant children in schools, the Canadian teaching force should be composed of well-trained individuals who reflect the diversity of the Canadian urban population. Otherwise, "quality education for all students" will remain elusive because "without enough exposure to minority teachers throughout their education, both minority and non-minority students come to characterize the teaching profession and the academic enterprise in general as better suited for non-minorities" (Loehr 1988, p. 215).

Finally, this research can help to explain the under-representation of non-mainstream teachers in the Ontario teaching profession. Until the late 1980s, much of the literature related to immigration in this country focused on how immigrants reestablished successful careers in Canada as cab drivers, laundry men, restaurant owners, or cleaning ladies. Such a reality creates a perception that immigrants are not capable of making meaningful contributions to Canadian society in professional positions (e.g., Jupp, Roberts & Cook-Gumperz 1982; Mills & Simmons 1995). Only recently has

this perception begun to shift attention from immigrants' so-called "incapability" to the view that their under-representation in various professional roles is a structural phenomenon (Ho 1992), that is, a function of institutional forces that effectively keep immigrants, professionals and non-professionals alike, in a ghetto labour force (Mills & Simmons 1995). The intention of the present study is to achieve a better understanding of the dynamics and complexity of foreign-trained professionals' integration into the Canadian workforce through an exploration of seven FTTs' experience during and after the PUP. The main issue that drives this study is the nature of the process by which FTTs who have received additional Canadian training and qualifications may become established and/or be acknowledged as professionals in the Ontario school system. The study, in addition to tracing the experience of individuals, may bring to our attention the societal effects of the structural phenomena (Ho 1992) and institutional forces (Mills & Simmons 1995) referred to above. It has, for example, been suggested (Jupp et al. 1982; Kachru 1990; Lowenberg 1993; MacPherson 1997; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996; Syed 1998; Tollefson 1991) that these structural forces unwittingly serve exploitative multinational commercial interests in immigrant countries by discounting immigrants' professional qualifications and leaving them to take undesirable jobs which cannot otherwise be filled locally; while at the same time, severely weakening the resources of the immigrants' home countries.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The case studies presented here comprise the first systematic and longitudinal (3 years) research on the linguistic, pedagogical, cultural, emotional and career needs and adjustments of FTTs in Canada. It is expected that *the research findings will offer interested readers little to fear or hope*

for but much to consider. For example, foreign-trained professionals may gain some insights into how well they are prepared for a career adjustment in an English-speaking setting, at least, in terms of their second language (L2) readiness and professional upgrading needs. For their part, Canadian language educators need to develop more flexible and feasible language and teacher education programs in order to meet the needs of their new clientele from Asia and other non-European regions as well as to "undertake further research on work-related second language assessment for professional purposes" (Wesche 1992, 1996). The study may benefit Canadian institutions which aim to meet the second language and other training needs of foreign-trained professionals who struggle to make progress in their adjustment to the Canadian context - not because they are not capable of functioning well themselves, but because of the barriers which place them in conditions of marginalization. It is also anticipated that the research findings may help generate recommendations for changes to government policy and practices which aim to create a richer and more equitable mosaic of interaction in Ontario schools. Given the fact that in recent years more and more foreign trained professionals are recruited and encouraged to come to Canada, it is important to "ensure that newcomers are given the opportunity to contribute more quickly to Canada's economic, political and social life" (Robillard, 1997, p. 1).

Finally, it is hoped that the outcomes of the study will make it possible to formulate testable predictions and hypotheses about the dynamics of immigrant teachers' integration into the Canadian school system which currently do not exist. In addition to the possible benefits to foreign-trained professionals in education, insights can be developed into how foreign-trained professionals in other fields, for example, accounting, medicine, and law, may become integrated into various Canadian contexts.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter Two, the study is generally situated within the constructive approach to identity formation, and more particularly, within FTTs' professional identity reconstruction. The chapter is divided into five sections. In the first section, the concept of professionalism is explored and its implications for the Canadian teaching profession are considered. In the second section, studies and documents are reviewed that describe FTTs' professional identity domain in terms of the competencies required of them in Canadian school contexts. In the third section, identity formation is examined in some depth within the constructivist paradigm, in light of studies that have a particular bearing on the research questions. In the fourth section, a conceptual framework is proposed to represent the working perspective that the meanings of an individual's experience are created, negotiated, sustained and modified within a specific context of human actions. And in the last section, the research questions that have guided this investigation are presented.

In Chapter Three, theoretical considerations underlying the methodology and the standards for judging the quality of a qualitative study are first presented. Then, 16 informants, who were involved in different aspects of the PUP and who were willing to participate in the present study, are introduced. These informants are divided into three groups. Group A, *program participants*, consists of seven FTTs who took part in and completed the PUP between 1994 - 1995. Group B, *program implementors*, involves three Ontario school teachers, one principal and one vice principal who assisted in implementing the program. Group C, *program facilitators*, is composed of three professors and one community representative who facilitated the implementation of the program. The research process, including the complexity and the levels of negotiation of access to informants is then described, followed by a description of data collection procedures and the principles on which data were organized for the purpose of analysis.

In Chapter Four, research findings on the seven FTTs' experiences in their pursuit of a career as teachers in Ontario schools are reported in three sections. In the first section, documents that were written prior, during and after the implementation of the PUP (June 1994 to June 1995) are examined. These are followed by evaluations of the FTTs' upgrading performance by the implementors and facilitators, including official decisions concerning the FTTs' academic credentials and professional certification, and the FTTs' reflections on their upgrading experience. In the second section, seven stories are presented, recounting each FTT's experience over three years (September 1994 to December 1997) as they worked to become teachers in Ontario schools. These stories are based on individual interviews with each of the seven FTTs between June and December 1997. Each story includes the FTT's career expectations upon completion of the PUP, their views about being a teacher in Ontario schools, employment and training, retrospective comments on the PUP, their ways of dealing with problems, self evaluation and future plans. In the third section, focus group data, obtained from a discussion session that took place in January 1998, are reported, illustrating the FTTs' collective conceptualization of their on-going efforts in pursuing a professional career as teachers in Canada.

In Chapter Five, the sequences and segments of the data presented in Chapter Four are reconstructed in combination with data collected from five implementors and four facilitators to address similar issues and ideas relevant to the five research subquestions of the study. Various factors which have influenced the process and helped shape FTTs' identity during the research period are identified. The opportunities for the FTTs to participate in school activities and the degree of their acceptance as teachers are analyzed. The ways in which the FTTs negotiated for entitlement in terms of opportunities to participate in school activities and recognition of professional experiences are described. The impact of their three-year experiences in the Ontario school system

on their long-term professional aspirations in Canada is also explored. In the final section, the informants' collective suggestions on how to better facilitate successful reconstruction of FTTs' professional careers in Ontario schools are reported. It should also be mentioned that in Chapter Five, "*insiders*" and "*outsiders*" are used as headings to refer to "*FTTs*" and "*implementors/facilitators*", respectively. Such headings make it convenient and possible for the researcher to utilize a constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss 1967) to organize and present the data (see 3.4.3 and Chapter Five).

In Chapter Six, underlying meanings of these findings are explored, and in particular the main research question is addressed. The chapter is divided into seven sections. In the first section, the PUP mission is reviewed and assessed, and FTTs' teacher competence is examined. Contradictions between the accomplishment of the PUP primary mission and the difference in FTTs' self-assessed and perceived teacher competence are observed. In the second section, larger social contexts for FTTs' entry into the Ontario teaching profession are explored. Persistent perceptive and structural obstacles which constrained the FTTs' access to schools are acknowledged, and accordingly certain important issues are raised. In the third section, the seven FTTs' experiences are examined, with a focus on the role of opportunity in light of relevant concepts on identity formation. On the basis of the data analysis, the FTTs' professional identity is essentially viewed as a site of joint collaboration between the FTTs and significant others in their environment. The central conclusion that emerges is that without others' ratification of the FTTs' competence and skills, the FTTs' individual efforts will not succeed. Due to culturally and racially different backgrounds, the FTTs are often placed in an inescapable position of having to manage their differences in accent, acts (i.e., culturally defined habits or manners) and appearance (3As). This difference-managing process determines that their professional identity is also ethnically and linguistically defined. Furthermore,

given that the FTTs are subject to constant subjective outside evaluations of their competence in a variety of school sites, which cannot be defined at static points, their professional identity is interpreted as conflictually multiple and constantly changing. In the fourth section, the process of the FTTs' reconstruction of a professional identity as teachers in Ontario schools is examined and the conceptual framework is revisited. In the last three sections, limitations to the study are acknowledged, implications of the findings and conclusions are considered. The position taken is that an individual is a change agent who is responsible for his or her own career, which, however, must be simultaneously facilitated by sustainable official support. In addition, findings of this study suggest that Ontario schools do not necessarily offer a structural framework through which multiculturalism policies that acknowledge the legitimacy of cultural diversity can be readily implemented. Rather, it is concluded that it is more an implicit rule than an exception that personal connections officially coined as a "network" appear to be a key to success above and beyond an individual's qualifications. In other words, an individual who knows how to "play the game" rather than "play by the rules" is more likely to be accepted. These conclusions are defended with examples provided by the informants for the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Every individual, concurrently, is like all other men, some other men, and no other man.

Levita, 1965, p. 74.

From the ethnographer's perspective, communicative competence refers to the range of linguistic, interactional and cultural phenomena which must ultimately be accounted for in an adequate description and explanation of communication

Saville-Troike, 1989, p. 24.

This chapter presents a review of the literature related to identity formation and FTTs' professional identity, upon which a conceptual framework is built for this study. The chapter is divided into five sections. In 2.1, the concept of professionalism is explored and its implications for the Canadian teaching profession are considered. In 2.2., relevant studies are examined, identifying three components that constitute FTTs' professional identity: language proficiency, teacher competence and knowledge of Canadian education. In 2.3, relevant research which explores how social stances, acts, interaction, opportunity and negotiation skills influence the integration of immigrants into the mainstream is reviewed. In 2.4., a conceptual framework for the present research is introduced. In the last section, the research questions that have guided this investigation are presented. It should be noted that the studies to be reviewed represent primarily a Western perspective. As will be seen in Chapter Four, in reporting data provided by FTTs and Canadian schools teachers as well as some Canadian educators, some of these Western views are problematic for FTTs (and even for some Canadians as well) most of whom come from Eastern societies. Potential problems may include a clash of ideologies, values, teacher expectations about how to run a school and how to organize classroom activities.

2.1 Professionalism and Canadian Teaching Profession

In this section, two basic ideas are reviewed in order to portray the unique characteristics of teaching in Canada. First, the concept of professionalism is examined and then its implications for the Canadian teaching profession are considered.

The purpose of discussing the concept of professionalism and the professional status of teaching in Canada is to offer some insights into the unique characteristics of teaching in Canada and into the expectations and demands those characteristics make of Canadian teachers. More importantly, an understanding of these issues by FTTs should help raise their awareness that they may share, or differ from, some of the standards laid out for the Canadian teaching profession. In the case where FTTs and Canadian teachers have common views, they might feel freer to exchange ideas with one another, and work together to offer better educational services to all Canadian students. In the case where they have divided views, FTTs might be better prepared (on guard) to face as well as to solve potential problems, conflicts and tensions which might occur, and still be able to work together with one another.

2.1.1 Characteristics of Professionalism

What is a profession? In everyday life, the terms "profession" and "professional" have very broad ranges of meanings. In the academic literature, professionals are often defined through an examination of the characteristics of so-called "true" professions such as medicine and law. Based on the work by Hall (1986) and Rich (1984), there are three widely accepted defining characteristics of professionalism:

1. A profession possesses a unique body of knowledge that is obtained by its members

over a long period of formal training. Professionals are continually adding to this knowledge throughout their careers.

2. A profession is afforded a high degree of personal autonomy and is self-regulating. Professional bodies possess a code of ethics and regulate both entry into the profession and the behaviour of their members. Individual members exercise independent judgement in carrying out their work, and depend on their peers rather than their superiors for advice and direction.
3. A profession is an essential service that is held in high regard by society at large; as such, its members are usually afforded high status in the society.

Such lists of characteristics have the conceptual status of an "ideal type" as, in fact, no occupation fully embodies each of these characteristics, and different occupations vary over time and from place to place in the extent to which they meet each of these criteria. Given this perspective, this ideal type allows teachers to strive for recognition of teaching in the elite ranks of the professions. For example, "American teachers, as a group, have been striving in a race longer than most, and they have been among the least successful in legitimating their claims to professional status" (Soder 1990, p. 36). In the academic literature on teaching, the discipline of teaching is more likely to be classified as a "semi-profession" (Levin and Young 1994, p. 229; Louis, Kruse and Associates 1995, p. 12).

2.1.2 Status of Canadian Teaching Profession

Whether teaching is a profession or not has been a subject of some debate. On the one hand, some researchers (e.g., Shulman 1987) believe that there is a formal knowledge base to guide educational practice. On the other hand, some researchers (e.g., Osborne 1992) note that most

teachers still say that they learned most of what they needed on the job, and that most hold a relatively low opinions of their professional training.

If using the second definition of professionalism as listed above to examine the Canadian teaching profession, it does not meet the criterion. With the exception of the British Columbia where entry into teaching is not regulated by the Ministry of Education but by an independent organization of teachers, teachers' organizations across Canada do not have the primary responsibility for regulating the profession (Levin and Young 1994; also see the section on Canadian education below).

Despite this, a career as a teacher in Canada offers prestige, a reasonable salary and some of the autonomy characteristic of most professions. Both the salary level and prestige associated with teaching are higher in most provinces and territories than they are in most of the United States (Canadian Teachers' Federation [CTF] 1992, p. 19). Compared to their American counterparts, Canadian teachers have been far more successful in their drive for recognition as a profession. As Levin and Young (1994) observe, "Among Canadian teachers, the legitimacy of their claim to be regarded as professionals is usually vigorously asserted, and the desirability of enhanced professionalism is often taken for granted" (p. 229). This is because in Canada, public opinion generally places a high value on schooling and the work of teachers - a response that is considerably more positive than the one shown in the results of American public-opinion surveys (Williams and Millinoff 1990).

Most Canadian provincial teachers' associations, as in other professions, have laid out a code of ethics, requiring teachers to act professionally. As a guide to professional conduct, a code of ethics serves several functions (Rich 1984, pp. 6-7):

1. It provides some assurance to its clients that they can expect to be treated in accordance with established standards of practice and acceptable moral conduct.
2. It offers the general public some confidence that the profession is serving the public interest and is thus worthy of trust and support.
3. It offers a set of uniform rules that provide a basis for properly regulating their conduct.

Codes of conduct adopted by teachers' organizations provide a framework for defining appropriate behaviour for teachers, but there may be quite different ways for a teacher to act as a professional. And no matter what steps teachers themselves take, their status is in large measure shaped by others. If the teaching profession does not live up to the standards as outlined above, the profession and its members may be open to public criticism. As a matter of fact, in recent years the general public has become increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of Canadian education. For instance, in a study commissioned by the Canadian federal government examining economic issues, Harvard professor Michael Porter (1991) points out that generous spending on education in Canada does not translate into superior performance and that Canada needs to set high national educational standards (p. 90).

In a book, *Overdue Assignment: Taking Responsibility for Canadian Schools*, Lewington and Orpwood, a York University professor in education and a senior journalist for *The Globe and Mail* with long involvement in education, express a similar concern as Porter: "Canadians have good reasons to expect a lot of their schools. By almost any yardstick, Canada has the people and the resources to deliver an education system second to none. Yet many Canadians are losing faith in the ability of their schools to provide the necessary survival tools for the next generation" (1993, p. vii).

In examining professionalism in teaching, they describe that the Canadian public has the perception that "Teacher education lacks substance and intellectual rigour and being a teacher is essentially an easy task not worthy of added educational preparation or professional status" (p. 186). They say that Canadians are now setting higher expectations of teachers and that it is necessary to "re-examine the current structure of the teaching profession and traditional approaches to the education and training of teachers, with a view to enhancing the status of teachers as professionals" (p. 187). In their view, "if teachers are treated like professionals, then we can expect they will behave more like professionals" (p. 188).

Regardless of divisive opinions on Canadian education in defining and pursuing avenues of professionalism, Canadian teachers' organizations, whether they are regarded as professional associations or as unions, provide a strong and important structure for representing teachers' interests and for promoting public education in Canada.

2.2 Components of FTTs' Professional Identity

The review in this section traces studies and documents which report research or shed light on FTTs' professional identity domain. From writings on international teaching assistants (ITA) in American tertiary classrooms (Rounds 1987; Yule & Hoffman 1990; Byrd & Constantinides 1992; Hoekje & Williams 1992; Hoekje & Linnell 1994; Halleck & Moder 1995), and from the research materials that were developed for/during the PUP (see Appendix A: Courchène 1994; Eapen 1994; Mawhinney 1995; Persad 1994; Thompson 1994; Xu 1996) are identified three components that constitute FTTs' professional identity. They are: a) language proficiency, b) teacher competence and c) knowledge of Canadian education.

2.2.1 Language Proficiency

Language proficiency has been interpreted and reinterpreted in various ways during the past 30 years or so. An influential construct was that introduced by Chomsky (1965) as grammatical competence which focused on the internalized linguistic rules which generate grammatically correct sentences. Chomsky's theory of language proficiency represented the primary interest of linguists in modelling the knowledge, but not the capacity underlying performance. In response to the work of Chomsky, Hymes (1972) proposed that, in addition to such grammatical knowledge, ability for use is also important in determining language proficiency. As he explained: "The specification of ability for use as part of competence allows for the role of noncognitive factors, such as motivation, as partly determining competence" (p. 283). For Hymes, ability for use refers to "the individual's potential to realize a possible, feasible and appropriate speech act, not to the realization itself." (Hornberger 1989, p. 226). In other words, ability for use simply means something underlying a state of actual use and an actual event in a language. Hymes' idea was further developed in the second language proficiency model of Canale and Swain (1980) who described an expanded domain including sociolinguistic competence (Hymes' ability for use and appropriateness) and discourse competence (cohesion and coherence). Canale (1983) subsequently added to the model strategic competence which was thought to "compensate for breakdown in communication due to insufficient competence or to performance limitations, and to enhance the rhetorical effect of utterance" (p. 339). Canale and Swain's model was a major advance in theorizing about second language proficiency, and dominated the field of second language education for a decade in the 1980s. More recently, Bachman (1990) has developed a theoretical framework which contributes significantly to the conceptualization of communicative language ability (see below). A group of Canadian scholars

have also produced an applicational framework, the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB; Citizenship & Immigration Canada [CIC] 1996), highlighting the importance of "what the learner can do in a second language" as opposed to the conventional interest in "what the learner knows about the language" (Wesche 1987; 1992).

Drawing insights from these studies, the first part of the review below will identify contexts for language use by L2 professionals, such as tasks, purposes, themes of communication, activities, processes, texts, general strategies and so forth. The second part of the review introduces definitions of language proficiency, including Bachman's (1990) framework and the CLB (CIC 1996). This choice is appropriate, useful and necessary because Bachman's (1990) model, although it may look relatively unrealistic in real-world terms, specifies the qualities of execution in language performance, and/or evidence about the L2 user's control of the underlying linguistic system. The CLB, characterized as a task-based framework, has the specific purpose of describing and assessing the ESL skills of adult immigrants in Canada in terms of what they do in their second language, thus serving as a highly relevant instrument for defining language proficiency in a real-world sense.

2.2.1.1 Target Contexts for Language Use

The importance of language use appropriate in context-specific situations has been established through research initiated by Hymes (1972). Subsequent studies have examined various features of language use (see below), and until recently broadened its scope to relations of power, recognizing the implications for language users in a broader economic and institutional powers that shape their lives (e.g., Peirce, 1994; Goldstein, 1997). The following review offers a few examples to illustrate language use by professionals seeking employment opportunities in L2 contexts, demonstrating possible challenges and difficulties faced by FTTs in Canadian schools.

Doctor-patient. McNamara (1990) reported on a three-year research project at the University of Melbourne in Australia, investigating L2 use by immigrant nurses, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, dentists, and speech pathologists who wanted to be medical practitioners in Australia. Based on the results of his investigation of L2 use in a clinic-communication context, McNamara concluded that for overseas-trained health professionals to be successful in Australia, they should be able to use English to:

1. Talk on a professionally relevant subject as well as carry out a consultation between a practitioner and a patient; and
2. Demonstrate overall communicative effectiveness, intelligibility, fluency, comprehension, appropriateness of language and resources of grammar and expression.

Professors-university students. Wesche (1992) described a language needs analysis undertaken by the Second Language Institute at the University of Ottawa, a bilingual institution. The study examined L2 (French or English) use by bilingual professors in the social science faculties and determined that in order to carry out their academic tasks, new professors should, in their L2, be minimally able to:

1. Read and understand student papers and written examinations, articles in the mass media and in professional journals and administrative texts;
2. Write brief notes related to the work situation; and
3. Understand oral interventions in committee meetings, respond to straightforward requests for information from students and colleagues and briefly discuss their own work situation.

ITAs-undergraduates. Since Bailey's (1982) doctoral dissertation on the communicative competence of international teaching assistants (ITAs), a number of research studies have been conducted and have identified various features of the L2 use by ITAs in instructional contexts. For example, Rounds (1987) reported that features of effective ITAs' language use include:

1. Overtly marking the "junctures" (important decision points) of problems that they are explaining in a teaching context;
2. Explicitly organizing and chunking material and marking overt transitions between topics, and
3. Developing cohesion and continuity between problems and in subsequent classes by repetition and linking devices.

According to Byrd and Constantinides (1992), when solving a problem on the board, less successful ITAs give minimal narration of the problems they are covering or do not talk at all. In Halleck and Moder's work (1995), it is found that most ITAs' instruction is teacher-centered, and the flow of information is often unidirectional. Of all the studies of ITAs, the most relevant to the present research is that of Hoekje and Williams (1992) which has succinctly summarized the research on ITAs as follows: "For ITAs, the aim is effective language usage while performing the role of TA. This most general aim includes the objectives of language ability, cultural awareness and teaching skill."

FTTs-school students. The research on the PUP (Faculty of Education, 1994a) suggests that to be linguistically effective, FTTs should be able to use expressions and jargon directly related to the school environment; be familiar with vocabulary in content areas; and be aware of subtle elements of communication (tactfulness and polite assertion). FTTs' teaching assignments during their practica was found to be highly demanding interactionally, with different emphases at each school level:

1. At the elementary level, successful FTTs tended to speak in a soft voice, sometimes a high pitch, more exaggerated intonation and more frequent repetitions than less successful FTTs (Xu 1994);
2. At the middle school, or junior high school level, FTTs need to be comfortable using shorter sentences in a firm tone with students with rapidly maturing minds and bodies and greater social assertiveness, because students at this level answer back more (Persad 1994);
3. At the high school level, FTTs need to develop excellent listening skills, as the fast, idiomatic and even non-standard language of adolescents is difficult to understand (Thompson 1994).

FTTs' language proficiency is determined by measuring their conversational fluency and writing skills. Conversational fluency encompasses listening comprehension, pronunciation, fluency, accuracy and range. Writing skills refer to the effective coverage of content (main ideas and supporting ideas), organization (clear, logical and cohesive), language use (accurate spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing) and vocabulary (appropriate choice of words, phrases, and register) (CanTEST Project Office 1993).

In summary, in addition to a good basic linguistic knowledge of a second language and the ability for use, the key features of the language use situations faced by these L2 professionals are their integrative nature with highly variable communicative demands. In the case of doctor-patient as well as that of professors-university students, intelligibility and ability to understand oral communication and respond to requests for information play a vital role in professional success or lack of success. For ITAs, success or failure relies largely on an individual ITA's presentational skills

in a university context. With regard to FTTs, (social) skills in interacting with people as well as academic qualifications are required, and sometimes the former appear to be even more important than the latter. Thus, interactional fluency, flexibility and range are crucial for FTTs to function effectively and successfully in Canadian schools.

2.2.1.2 Definitions of Language Proficiency

Communicative language ability. Bachman's (1990) conceptual framework of Communicative Language Ability covers three basic areas: a) knowledge of language, here termed as language competence, b) strategic competence (certain cognitive aspects of ability for use, McNamara 1996), and c) psychophysiological mechanisms (modalities of performance). But in this review, the focus is mainly on the area of language competence. Language competence, seen as "control of the rules of usage and use" (Bachman 1990, p. 105), consists of two main aspects: organizational and pragmatic competence shown in the following graphic presentation.

Table 1. Components of Communicative Language Ability (Bachman 1990)

Concept	Main Aspects	Sub-Aspects	Detailed Components
L A N G U A G E C O M P E T E N C E	ORGANIZATIONAL COMPETENCE	Grammatical Competence	1. Vocabulary 2. Morphology 3. Syntax 4. Phonology 5. Graphology
		Textual Competence	1. Cohesion 2. Rhetorical organization
	PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE	Illocutionary Competence	1. Ideational functions 2. Manipulative functions 3. Heuristic functions 4. Imaginative functions
		Sociolinguistic Competence	1. Sensitivity to dialect/ variety 2. Sensitivity to register 3. Sensitivity to naturalness 4. Cultural/ references / figures of speech

As illustrated in the table, organizational competence includes the knowledge involved in creating or recognizing grammatically correct utterances, comprehending their propositional content (grammatical competence), and organizing them to form texts (textual competence). Pragmatic competence refers to knowledge of the pragmatic conventions for performing language functions (illocutionary competence) and the ability to recognize the context of the communication by performing those functions appropriately for that context (sociolinguistic competence). According to Bachman, the context in which the language is used integrates the two components. He specifies that it is the interaction among factors in the language use context, including both sociological and cultural phenomena, which determines both the form (organizational features) and functions (pragmatic features) of discourse. In other words, for Bachman, context influences acquisition of both organizational and pragmatic competence and it is the link between the competencies as realized in performance.

Bachman's framework is further enhanced by a more recent discussion in *Language Testing in Practice* (Bachman & Palmer 1996) in which all terms are defined and effective examples are given for clarification. In this book, Bachman and Palmer give greater importance to the fact that characteristics of individual language users, such as previous experience with a given context, may interact with the L2 use context to determine whether learners even attempt to use language in a given situation and how flexible they are in adapting language to variations in the setting. In sum, Bachman and Palmer's operational definitions of the components of language competence contribute to a clearer understanding of how language use differs in different contexts and to an illustration of how context influences the choice of language forms and functions and their uses.

Despite the amendment, this model still falls short of what is needed for the present study of social aspects of language development, an important aspect of the present investigation.

Bachman in fact identifies only the linguistic outcomes of language acquisition. The conceptualization of language as a salient attribute of another culture, of language proficiency as the ability to understand and interact with native speakers in a range of contexts for L2 users as socialization into the L2 culture are only implied rather than stated specifically. As Wesche (1992) has pointed out, "nonlinguistic factors are present in any language performance and it is therefore important to understand their role and to channel their influence" (p. 105). The role of nonlinguistic factors in language performance has been recently reiterated in the work of MacFarlane (1998) on bilingual school exchanges as follows:

[nonlinguistic factors] are particularly relevant in learning contexts such as that of Canadian immersion where students learn the L2 to a high functional level with very limited exposure to native speakers and L2 use contexts. This relevance is recognized intuitively if not explicitly in that these non-linguistic outcomes are often an implicit goal in organized exchanges.

MacFarlane's finding is particularly useful for understanding FTTs' experience, for one focus of the present study is to determine the adequacy of FTTs' L2 competence for the school context in terms of Bachman's framework, and to examine how FTTs experience the process of becoming professionally socialized into a Canadian school system. Like MacFarlane's French immersion students, FTTs with a high level of functional L2 skills often lack exposure to native speakers and contexts for L2 use which, according to Sposky (1973), are the necessary conditions for L2 learners to develop and perform their language competence with fluency in these contexts.

A major weakness of Bachman's model, like many other models, is that it focuses too much on the L2 learner alone rather than the learner in interaction, stressing knowledge and incorporating social interaction in a static way, via knowledge dimensions deriving from work in sociolinguistics. Given the interactional nature of language use by L2 professionals as illustrated in the above four

contexts, the importance of appropriate interaction ability can be established. While some excellent discussions on co-construction in language interaction exist in the language socialization literature (e.g., He 1995; Ochs 1993; Jacoby & Ochs 1995), the idea of L2 proficiency as involving social interaction has thus so far featured only weakly in the L2 literature except for a few studies exploring interaction in a classroom setting (Pica & Doughty 1985; Pica & Long 1986).

Canadian language benchmarks. The CLB, which reflects a collective effort by Canadian researchers, testing specialists and ESL practitioners, is a common framework for describing and evaluating ESL skills of NNS adult immigrants across Canada. According to the CIC document (1996), the driving force behind its development was government policy, which in recent years has increasingly required accountability in language training in terms of evidence that concrete, practical and demonstrable ESL skills required of L2 adults in the Canadian workplace and larger society were being developed.

The CLB describes an L2 immigrant's English skills (listening/speaking, reading and writing) under specifically defined performance and situational conditions. Performance conditions refer to specifications of the level of performance required, including some reference to linguistic, discourse, sociolinguistic and strategic features where possible or practical. Situational conditions refer to time constraints, length of task, audience, assistance allowed, etc. (CIC 1996). Clearly, the CLB draws heavily on Hymes' idea of "actual instances for language use", emphasizing the importance of creating/providing contexts for language use. In addition, the CLB provides a detailed task-based descriptive scale of ESL abilities, expressed in terms of communicative competence as 12 benchmarks, from Benchmark 1 to Benchmark 12. The 12 benchmarks are divided into three proficiency stages:

Stage I - Benchmarks 1-4 (basic proficiency)

Stage II - Benchmarks 5-8 (intermediate proficiency)

Stage III - Benchmarks 9-12 (advanced proficiency)

There are four benchmarks at each stage, indicating four different levels of competence: a) initial competence, b) developing competence, c) adequate competence, and d) fluent competence. According to the CIC document (1996), "learners who achieve Benchmark 8 demonstrate professional and academic readiness" (p. 2). This means that FTTs' ESL skills should at least reach Benchmark 10 because the language requirements for any L2 professionals seeking a professional certification in order to be employed in an English environment are relatively high. Table 2 below presents the competence levels at Stage III for these tasks in listening/speaking at Benchmark 10, in reading at Benchmark 11, and in writing at Benchmark 12, respectively (glossed; CIC 1996, pp. 71-93).

Table 2. Sample tasks at Stage III given in the Canadian Language Benchmarks (1996).

Description	Benchmark 10	Benchmark 11	Benchmark 12
Skill Area	Listening/speaking	Reading	Writing
Competence Level	Developing competence in advanced oral communication	Adequate competence at reading complex texts	Fluent competence in writing complex texts
What the Person Can Do	Social interaction	Information texts	Convey formal messages
Performance Conditions	Express appropriately; choose expressions to the formality level	Understands to a high degree texts in all style (e.g., business letters)	Write a speech for a specific purpose
Situational Conditions	Interaction with other people, face-to-face. Considerable level of stress may affect performance	May ask for the meaning of 2 unfamiliar culturally-dependent references or low-frequency idioms.	Text length: appropriate to purpose and format. topic may include: world peace
Sample Task	Give a presentation: e.g. Research findings.	Interpret letters from financial institutions	Write instructional materials for a training workshop
Task Purpose	English for study	English for community access	English for work access

To recapture the discussion above, several points should be highlighted. First, relevant contexts for language use are a necessary condition for the development and the enhancement of language proficiency. Second, Bachman's model permits the necessary theoretical clarity for defining and assessing FTTs' L2 competence while the CLB offers specifications for describing FTTs' L2 competence. Taken together, they have consolidated the grounds for a proper understanding and assessment of FTTs' linguistic requirements in Canadian school settings. For example, if FTTs are required to write instructional materials, their L2 ability can be examined using Bachman's construct of organizational competence. On the other hand, FTTs' conversational performance in classrooms can be evaluated in terms of sensitivity and naturalness as detailed in the CLB. It is also clear from the above that the study of language and interaction within the tradition of ethnography deserves the attention of researchers in language education.

2.2.2 Teacher Competence

Generally speaking, teacher competence simply means "what teachers need to know and be able to do" in a classroom (Darling-Hammond, Wise & Klein 1995). The literature offers a variety of definitions. O'Neil (1988), for example, identified 20 instructional factors on teaching effectiveness and then divided them into the three stages of an archetypical Socratic lesson: a) proactive, b) interactive, and c) postactive. In teacher education, the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa (1994) described teacher competence in terms of three domains: a) preparation, b) presentation and c) reinforcement. In higher education, Ashcroft and Foreman-Peck (1995) referred to three teacher qualities: a) a secure command of subject matter, b) communication skills, and c) an ability to assess student learning.

In an effort to set out relevant dimensions of the FTTs' experience in the upgrading program, descriptions from the literature and the evaluative research on the upgrading program (Appendix B) are reclassified under three modified themes: a) subject-matter knowledge, b) teaching abilities, and c) assessment competency.

2.2.2.1 Subject-Matter Knowledge

Some researchers (e.g., Tardif 1984) surmise that teaching implies knowing something and giving that something to somebody else. This SOMETHING is what is coined here as subject-matter knowledge to be transmitted to that SOMEBODY known here as the student(s). Other researchers define subject-matter knowledge strictly as the expertise or content specialization specified by the curriculum guides and the prescribed textbooks (Moses 1985; Ericksen 1985; O'Neil 1988; Ashcroft & Foreman-Peck 1995). To them, subject-matter knowledge revolves around what to teach. The teacher is then regarded as the possessor of the requisite knowledge and skills, which will enable the one being taught to "know" - transmitting professional expertise and transforming the students' gestalt from confusion to familiarity, so the students come to inhabit the professional world. This is known as the "expert" part of the system, the expert whose competence represents the relevant knowledge domain (Ashcroft & Foreman-Peck 1995). It is this knowledge that makes them professionals. From this perspective, the role of a teacher is seen as one "for manipulating the cognitive field so as to compel the students to achieve the curriculum learning objectives" (Van Manen 1976 p. 13).

According to some research (Begle & Geeslin 1972; Begle 1979; Erikson & Barr 1985), knowledgeable teachers are well versed in their teaching area(s). Teachers who show up strongly in a number of specific fields such as mathematics where mathematical methods courses are particularly important and other vocational education teach more successfully than those who are weaker in their discipline. Even in teacher education, Greene and Campbell (1993) noticed in their

research that when student teachers were having difficulty, comments about insufficient knowledge of subject matter surfaced most frequently. Teachers' credibility will suffer if they are insecure about the subject they teach. Because students listen in good faith to what their teachers have to say, this trust in their teacher's decisions about course content must not be misplaced.

The significance of subject-matter knowledge is firmly established by the fact that all schools, be they elementary, secondary, collegiate or tertiary, claim to select their teachers in terms of demonstrated competence in a subject in order to keep abreast of changing knowledge. As we often hear and read from both popular and academic media, educational validity rests on the subject-matter expertise of instructors. Consequently, teaching is now increasingly being viewed by some as a mechanistic process: teachers must be subject experts capable of matching their teaching to particular age levels and then be held accountable for the success of their students' learning. The now familiar call for "benchmarks" for progress (as noted in the discussion of CLB earlier in this chapter) reflects the accumulating implications of recent moves in Ontario, elsewhere in North America as well as in England and Australia (see Diamond 1993), towards centralized control of the curriculum. Awareness of constant changes may help FTTs stay on course with curriculum guides set by authoritative institutions such as school boards or ministries of education.

2.2.2.2 Teaching Abilities

Teaching abilities essentially refer to *options* for presenting curriculum contents to students. These can be content-based, culture-based or whatever is required by the curriculum guides. It seems then that the analysis of teaching skills should be guided by how teacher presentations facilitate understanding on the part of the students, how they enhance motivation, learning and the retention of the knowledge. Specifically, teaching abilities are evident in the aspects of: a) lesson planning, b) personal qualities, c) classroom climate, and d) classroom management.

Lesson planning. An effective presentation requires considerable preparation in terms of the specific course content, the sequence of points, and the grouping of learners (e.g., individually, small group, or larger group). The teacher should not, however, prepare too much by practising and rehearsing the presentation because a successful presentation also depends on spontaneous and natural student support (see classroom climate below; Erickson 1985; O'Neil 1988; Xu 1994). Furthermore, learner characteristics should be taken into consideration in lesson planning. For example, in teaching "TELLING THE TIME" to a group of pupils, planning to bring a big clock made of multi-and-bright coloured carbon paper (say, one colour for the clock itself, another for the hour hand and still another for minute hand etc.) *before the class* will probably be more effective than to draw a picture on the board *during the class*. As we know, visual and bright objects can easily catch the attention of young children. In addition, if the teacher teaches TELLING THE TIME and DRAWING simultaneously, the kids may do neither well as their attention span is short (Xu 1995). But a similar plan (or method) may not work at all with high school students who enjoy lessons most when the teacher is transforming *resistance* to *interest* and sustaining their *curiosity* (Cooper 1994 [emphasis original]). As for college and university students, they appreciate lectures most when the teacher is concentrating on the intellectual organization of a complex body of knowledge and its value implications (Erickson 1985).

In essence, the overriding considerations in giving presentations are to make them concrete and interesting, to have a point to make, and to speak with credibility and enthusiasm (see below, personal qualities), depending on whom the teacher is working with.

Personal qualities. In his research paper, O'Neil (1988) outlined a number of important teacher personal qualities. The first and foremost is that the teacher must be able to articulate a point in an effective voice, showing enthusiasm and confidence. Techniques of gesturing, eye contact, and

use of the chalkboard help to direct and hold attention and projecting one's voice to the back of the room is better than mumbling. A research analysis of students' ratings shows that students give central weight to how well the teacher talks (Kulik & McKeachie 1975).

Classroom climate. Climate or atmosphere is the "social spirit or echo of the classroom" (O'Neil 1988, p. 168); and it is often portrayed in words such as *supportive, warm, pleasant* and *fair* (Brophy & Evertson 1978; Cruickshank 1976; Anderson, Evertson & Brophy 1979; Hare 1993). This temperament is reflected in the tone of the communication, the global attitudes and emotional states, and the reciprocal bonds of allegiance. To ensure successful lectures or presentations, the teacher needs student support which is built on a good rapport between the teacher and students.

Classroom management. Classroom management is concerned with the daily functional or maintenance aspects of the classroom. Specifically, management includes the implementation, administration, and enforcement of work patterns, regulations and routines. Evidence overwhelmingly shows that well-managed classrooms are strong determinants of student learning (O'Neil 1988; Xu 1994; 1995). Lack of management skills has a negative impact as experienced by one of the FTTs who lost her supply teaching position at one school because of her perceived weakness in classroom management (see 4.2.3. below).

2.2.2.3 Assessment Competency

A first point to be clarified is the term "assessment competency". I am aware that "postactive" is used by O'Neil (1988), and "reinforcement" is often preferred in teacher education (Erickson 1985; Faculty of Education 1994b) to express similar ideas. But I choose "assessment competency" because it was used for an in-depth discussion of this topic in a position paper by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT 1993).

It is worthwhile to first briefly consider O'Neil's research due to its Canadian content. To him, assessment competency refers to teacher feedback, teacher praise and teacher criticism. Feedback is a simple, impartial teacher response to the degree of pupil success or failure. Teacher praise goes beyond feedback by expressing positive teacher affect (e.g., delight). Teacher criticism goes beyond whatever level of simple feedback (i.e., negation) is needed to indicate that student behaviour is inappropriate or answers are incorrect. It should be noted that teacher criticism does not suggest that the teacher be given the licence to belittle, shame or scold students.

Standards for teacher competency in the educational assessment of students were established by the AFT (1993) based on a three-year research project. The AFT's standards provide a conceptual framework which specifies various assessment *techniques* that teachers are required to possess; *activities* that indicate the scope of teachers' role and responsibilities for student assessment; and *skills* that teachers should have in order to make these standards operational. Presented below is a table listing these specifications in a modified format.

Table 3. Standards for teacher competency in educational assessment of students (American Federation of Teachers 1993, pp. 30-32).

Assessment Techniques	Teacher Activities	Teacher Skills
1. Formal observation 2. Informal observation 3. Qualitative analysis of pupil performance 4. Paper-and-pencil tests 5. Oral questioning 6. Analysis of student records	1. Before instruction: understanding of students and planning instructions accordingly. 2. During instruction: monitoring pupil progress and judging the extent of pupil attainment of instructional outcomes 3. After instruction: evaluating the outcomes of the learning and teaching 4. Involvement in school building and school district decision-making 5. Involvement in wider community of educators	1. In choosing appropriate assessment tools 2. In developing appropriate assessment tools 3. In administering, scoring and interpreting the test and results 4. In using the results when making instructional decisions 5. In developing valid grading procedures which use pupil assessments 6. In communicating assessment results to students, parents, and other educators 7. In recognizing unethical, illegal and otherwise inappropriate assessment methods

Teacher competency in the assessment of students is crucial because "quality education for our children requires a teaching force which is viewed as a profession consisting of individuals who make judgements about teaching and learning" (Fullan, Connelly & Watson 1990, p. 51).

This part of the review has explored various studies of teacher competence and then focused on three themes. It has been shown that teaching not only involves knowing one's subject matter well but also knowing how to transmit it. Teacher competency in educational assessment of students and detailed various techniques, activities and skills has also been highlighted.

The current literature seems to imply that little has changed in the view of teacher competence since Socrates. Although different opinions are found sporadically in the literature, in essence, they are quite similar to each other. A typical example of this is the fact that the three domains as suggested by the Faculty of Education (1994b) are an adaptation of the 20 instructional factors identified by O'Neil (1988), skilfully divided into three stages of a Socratic lesson. In a generic sense, for simplicity, teacher competence can be summed up as *what* (subject-matter knowledge), *how* (teaching skills) and *why* (assessment competency), plus a big *WHEN*. It is legitimate to ask: What should teachers do *before*, *during* and *after* classroom instruction and assessment of their students? This is a question that FTTs should seriously ask themselves in the first place before undertaking any pedagogical activities.

2.2.3 Knowledge of Canadian Education

In addition to solid academic qualifications and teaching competence, FTTs need to have a good understanding of how daily practices, both official and hidden, in Canadian schools and other institutions may affect their entry into the Ontario teaching force, and subsequently the reconstruction of their professional identity. Familiarity with fundamental principles, concepts,

beliefs, structures, rules and the people in Canadian education will enhance FTTs' understanding of the way Canadian schools have come to operate and why they are the way they are. The review below will examine these issues, focusing on the aspects that are frequently discussed in the literature on Canadian education: a) values and purposes, b) school systems, c) teachers and students, and e) tensions and dilemmas faced by Canadian schools.

2.2.3.1 Values and Purposes

It seems to be a Canadian tradition that words like *freedom*, *democracy*, *happiness* and so forth are always placed on the top of the vocabulary list when it comes to the values and purposes of Canadian education. As a way of illustration, consider briefly some historical and current views on education in Canada.

In 1922, Hughes (then chief inspector of schools in Toronto) with his colleague, Foster, published a book called *The Dominion Educator*, in which they wrote: "*Education in a broad sense is the development of all the powers of the individual.*" In 1968, Leonard, in his book entitled *What Is education?*, concluded as follows: "*Education, at best, is ecstatic*". In 1974, Beck, a professor from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), in his book on educational philosophy in Canada, explained that Canadians "derive their values in large part from the fact that they serve ultimate life goals such as *happiness, freedom, fulfilment, wisdom, health, survival, fellowship, self-respect*, and so on, *for oneself and others*" (p. 21 [emphasis original]). Even in a practical sense, say a child's daily school activities, interpretation is still linked to abstract terms. Titley and Miller (1982), in their book entitled *Education in Canada*, described schooling as socialization which "is defined as the process through which successive younger generations learn to function as responsible adults in society" (p. 1).

In 1981, educational philosopher Robin Borrow identified a list of purposes for Canadian schools - critical thinking, socialization, child care, vocational preparation, physical instruction, social-role selection, education of emotions, and development of creativity. More recently, Holmes (1986) claimed that Canadian education strives to accomplish six goals for Canadian schools - allocative, custodial, intellectual, socializing, aesthetic, and physical.

These goals are very ambitious but there is no guarantee that all these goals can be achieved at the same time. As Levin and Young (1994) explain, it may be that achieving one purpose will necessarily be at the expense of another because there is only so much time, energy and money. For instance, if one of a school's goals is to make students physically fit, the time spent on fitness cannot also be spent, say, on reading. Despite the fact that these goals "will never be fully achieved, they remain a beacon in our day-to-day efforts" (p. 10).

If FTTs, particularly those who come from Eastern societies where collectiveness and self-sacrifice (Brislin, Richard & Tomoko 1994) are valued more than individuals' happiness and freedom, learn more about the Canadian value system, they may be able to make a conscious effort to bridge the gap between their past experience and current practice. In addition, as most FTTs appear to hold the view that the priority for students is to learn knowledge and skills (see 4.2.1 below), understanding the purpose of Canadian education will assist them in setting realistic objectives, say, in daily lesson planning, as well as in their own career paths.

2.2.3.2. School Systems

Canada does not have a national department of education but rather a Council of Ministers of Education (CME). Because education is a provincial responsibility, the federal government does

not have any mechanism to oversee educational policy. Although the CME represents the ten provinces and two territories on issues from kindergarten to university, it is a politically weak body that has made few contributions to Canadian education (Lewington and Orpwood, 1993). Canada's level of decentralization in the important area of education is probably unique in countries of its size in the world. Except for some symbolic and constitutional power that the federal government controls, the delivery of elementary and secondary education falls squarely on the ten provinces and the three territories. All of the provincial educational systems have similar structures and objectives but reflect historical differences in governance, finance, and educational priorities.

According to Dunning's book (1997), *Education in Canada*, Canadian schools are organized into two major divisions - elementary, which usually includes children from kindergarten through grade 6 or 8; and secondary, which prepares them for graduation. The two common organization structures are: a) K - 8 (elementary) followed by 9 -12 (secondary); b) K - 6 (elementary), followed by 7 - 9 (junior high school or middle schools) and 10 - 12 (secondary). Ontario is the only province that provides for an optional fifth year of secondary school to prepare for university³.

Each province has created some form of local educational body for school administration, usually called school boards or school districts, with legally defined powers delegated to them by the province. These bodies, however, exist only at the discretion of the provincial government, and final authority over most areas of educational decision making remains at the provincial level, with a minister of education.

Based on the analysis of Lewington and Orpwood (1993), all 13 school systems in Canada

³. An educational reform in Ontario which started in 1995 when the current government took office will bring it into line with the other provinces by creating a four-year secondary school program, beginning with the cohort entering Grade 9 in 1999.

share two important characteristics. First, they operate inside a delineated structure. From ministry of education bureaucrats at the top, through school board officials in the middle, to school principals and teachers in the classroom, all have been socialized into the same mould, which is described by Lewington and Orpwood (1993) as a "factory model" of the 19th century - school boards as owners, superintendents as managers, principals as foremen, teachers as workers and students as products (p. 82). In order to gain access to the hierarchy, one needs a series of paper qualifications. Moving up the hierarchy, in rank and pay, is tied to acquiring additional specialist qualifications.

The gate-keeper model described above effectively cuts off "new blood" that might introduce new ideas that may be seen to "threaten the status quo." Consider hiring as example. Officially, hiring has at least two requirements. "The first is to define the qualities needed to fill a position; the second is to use some process to select a particular person who, presumably, best embodies those qualities. In practice, however, neither requirement may get explicit attention" (Levin and Young 1994, p. 184). Although expertise is an important consideration in hiring teachers, a criterion generally weighted highly for an actual hiring decision is to assess "whether the candidate will 'fit in' with a particular staff. The goal of hiring may be to minimize the risk of problems rather than to find the most dynamic and effective person. A candidate who is perceived as a potential source of 'problems' will not be hired regardless of his or her academic and professional qualifications. The evidence suggests that university grades are often given little importance in hiring decisions" (Levin and Young 1994, p. 186). Change in this "edu-culture" (Lewington and Orpwood 1993) is thus very difficult to achieve.

A second striking feature is that all those inside the systems relate to each other, not to the outside public, according to a rigidly maintained hierarchy. The philosophy and agenda of education

are set at the senior levels of ministries and boards, with those in the classroom expected to fall in line. In the meantime, it is considered to be inappropriate, unprofessional and unwise for those lower in the ranks to challenge their superiors. New directions and ideas generated at the top are articulated in greater detail as one moves down the system, until classroom teachers convert the policies into reality. Nevertheless, those on the lower rungs of the hierarchy have ways to confound the "factory model" of school organizations. Professionals at each level of the system take the edicts from above with a pinch of salt. Once the classroom door is closed, for instance, most teachers carry on with practices they perceive to be in the best interests of their students.

It is important and useful for FTTs to become familiar with the school administrative structures. Such knowledge may assist FTTs in developing workable strategies in order to gain access to a school system, or to resolve potential conflict/dilemmas within a system. Although awareness of school organizations and control should not have direct relevance to whether FTTs can function effectively in classrooms, it might help improve others' perceptions of FTTs, say, during their contact with others in casual conversations which may result in unofficial but possible connections. The relevance of such information is borne out by the reality that immigrants tend to be judged more than necessary on their academic and professional qualifications within official institutions (see immigrant teachers in Canadian schools by Bascia, 1994); and on their personal preferences as to what to eat, wear, and so forth, in staff rooms (see Peter's comment on FTTs Adam and Ted in Chapter Five below). An honest "confession" of not knowing, say, a Canadian TV character, could cause an "uproar", drawing an unwanted cold look from some people at workplace and putting oneself in a disadvantaged position (see the study of immigrant women in Canada by Peirce 1994).

2.2.3.3 Teachers and Students

Teachers. There are approximately 260,000 teachers in Canadian schools, a figure that has remained more or less stable over the past twenty years (Statistics Canada 1990). Teaching in Canada has been traditionally done by women, especially at the elementary level - more than 75% of teachers are women (Lockhart, 1991, p. 29). The gender make-up of teaching force is characterized by grade level. Far more women than men teach kindergarten to grade 6. The ratio of male to female grade 7 to 9 teachers is more equal and there are more male than female secondary teachers (94% female teach K-3, 72% 4-6, 53% 7-9 and 46% 10-12/OAC) (CTF 1992, p. 20).

Almost all teachers have one university degree. Those who teach higher grades tend to have higher degrees. For example, 10% of 10-12/OAC teachers and only 3 percent of K-3 teachers have masters of education. Similarly, 9% of 10-12/OAC teachers and only 1% of K-3 have other masters' degree (CTF 1992, p. 20).

Teaching at one time was a low-paying, low-status job and teachers came predominantly from blue-collar or working-class background. Today many teachers come from the middle and upper socio-economic classes (Lockhard 1991). However, relatively few teachers are drawn from the ranks of Canada's recent immigrants, visible minority, and aboriginal communities, even though these groups provide an increasing proportion of Canada's students (e.g., Lochhard 1991; Bascia 1994; Mawhinney 1994; Thiessen et al. 1996).

Students. The experiences of students can vary considerably depending on their teacher and their school. But a consistent body of research (largely from the United States) shows that students at all levels frequently find classrooms boring. Students' experience of schooling also depends on their backgrounds and on how the school has categorized them. Students regarded as of lower

ability may find that "less is expected of them, that more attention is given to their behaviour than to their learning, and that their efforts to improve themselves are actively resisted" (Levin and Young 1994, p. 274).

In an extensive examination (1961) and reexamination (1975) of high school life, Hollingshead found that Canadian students associated with each other on the basis of their parents' social-economic status; and that regardless of their ambitions, lower-class adolescents could not escape their status. In more recent studies (Edar 1981; Edar 1985; Edar, Evans & Park 1995), it was found again that a stable hierarchy of cliques developed during the middle school years, so that by the eighth grade seating patterns in the cafeteria isolating "grits" (i.e., low-income students) from "good kids" were firmly established. Edar hypothesized that students' stereotypes of one another and their fear of rejection prevented contact between the various groups.

Additionally, attractiveness and good looks are far more valued than academic achievements among school students. In a study testing the priority of values among 15,000 students from 19 high schools across Canada, Friesen (1967) found that in responding to items necessary for group membership, 51.3% of the students chose friendliness, 25.4% good looks, 13.8% money, 7% athletics and only 2.5% academic excellence. Similarly, in responding to items most important for popularity, students chose leading crowd membership (64.3%), an athletic star (18.7%) and a nice car (12.7%) as values more instrumental in gaining popularity than high grades (4.2%).

Almost 30 years after Friesen's (1967) study, the same picture remains largely unchanged. Lewington and Orpwood (1993) have described that "for young people, heroes are defined in narrow terms as those who demonstrate athletic prowess or success in show business. Indeed, the definition may include those who might have left school at Grade 10 and gone on to make a fortune" (p. 167).

In a book which addresses Canadian adults' basic skills for the workplace edited by Taylor, Lewie and Draper (1991), Jones, the president of *the Business Task Force on Literacy*, reported that (p. 38):

A minimum standard for functional literacy was established by a jury of Canadians from many walks of life, and was subsequently revised downwards because it was felt that the public would not accept the high levels of illiteracy resulting from the jury's definition. Even so 24% of all Canadians were found to be functionally illiterate, including one in six Canadians in the labour force.

Jones then offered his analysis (p. 44):

[Canadian] Society as a whole, it appears, sends a message to young people that education in general and reading in particular are not perceived as rewarding behaviour. Whether from music videos or television from advertising or the experiences of the siblings, or even from the educational process itself, the message is usually clear that *fun and entertainment do not involve reading* [emphasis original].

Jones went on, advising all of us (p. 44):

We must come to terms with the unarguable fact that our schools are producing, and in many cases graduating, functionally illiterate young adults.

Finally, Jones raised two questions (p. 44):

How do the students get through the system with their basic needs unattended to?
And what is being done to stop this occurring repeatedly in the future?

A Canadian teacher named Larry appeared to have found the answers to these questions

(Levin and Young, 1994, p. 229):

If we are going to be seen as professional I say what we need to do is to *get serious about what it is that we do: teach kids in classrooms* [emphasis added]. If we pay attention to that, keep up on our own subjects and on our teaching and make sure that the kids in our classes are learning what we're supposed to be teaching them, then I don't see how you can have time for "action research" or whatever. I get quite angry at the number of days that some teachers spend away from their classes on curriculum committees or doing workshops and the like. Sometimes that's what I call *unprofessional* [emphasis original]. I don't think we all have to be philosophers and

researchers to be professional - we just have to be given the supports to do our job and then left alone to get on with it. I work damned hard, and my kids always get among the best science results in the province. That's how I'm professional, and I think that's how we should judge the profession.

The above studies have consistently confirmed that the academic area does not receive full support from the adolescent society, high marks do not substantially contribute to popularity, and friendliness, good looks, popularity and athletics are prime values in the youth society that makes its habitat in the long corridors of the school and on the miles of pavement in modern cities. These studies have also revealed a consequence of such prime values in the youth society that Canada faces 24% of functionally illiterate persons in its society, including one in six Canadians in the labour force.

If FTTs choose to have a career as teachers in Canadian schools, they should ask themselves whether they know who Canadian teachers are, what their social status and their concerns are; and what challenges and problems are faced by Canadian schools. FTTs have to be aware of these important issues because these issues will have implications for their own careers. As well, FTTs should ask themselves whether they have the knowledge of who Canadian students are, and whether they will be able to channel the energy of the student subculture to make it functional in terms of the broad purposes for Canadian schools. In a nutshell, FTTs have to come to the terms with a new reality that teaching is not simply imparting knowledge to students as many may have believed (see 4.2.1). Instead, teaching is primarily an enterprise which deals with complex human activities. To be successful in this enterprise, FTTs need to know far more than just their subject matter; they have to understand themselves as well as their would-be colleagues and clients.

2.2.3.4 Tensions and Dilemmas

Given the values and goals for Canadian schools, along with the variety of cultures, languages and value systems that the diverse student population brings into Canadian schools, it is not surprising that a number of tensions and dilemmas are faced by Canadian schools. For example, although Canadian schools are mostly staffed by women, the overwhelmingly majority of school administrators are men. Female teachers who have the desire and qualifications to become school administrators but fail to obtain such positions may feel that they are discriminated against because of their gender. The parallel is also true: in many Canadian cities, large numbers of students come from various ethnic minorities, yet few teachers originate from these same groups. In much of northern Canada, large numbers of students are aboriginal, yet there are relatively few aboriginal teachers in schools. According to Lewington and Orpwood (1993), education on the reserve, *by whatever definition*, is a failure despite the millions of dollars the federal government has spent because there is hardly any shared meaning in the curriculum associated with the life of aboriginal students. Inevitably, these phenomena have resulted in a series of tensions and dilemmas in Canadian schools, three of which are particularly striking: a) uniformity and diversity, b) stability and change, and c) power and equality (Levin & Young 1994).

Uniformity and diversity. Despite 12 schools systems in Canada, Canadian schools are remarkably similar to one another in their internal appearance: rows or groups of classrooms full of desks or tables. Students everywhere in Canada have to learn certain content and their progress through the system depends largely on how well they do on various assessment measures. The school day is about the same length and covers about the same hours of the day almost everywhere in Canada.

While these similarities are quite consistent, schools are found in diverse settings. A school in a very small community in the high Arctic, for instance, has a few dozen students, from kindergarten to Grade 9, and a couple of teachers. Most of the children are Inuit, and they come to school speaking Inuktitut, while the teachers, who are probably white, come from southern Canada, and often leave after three or four years. Resources for the school have to be flown in from outside, so does much of the community's food.

Compare such a school with a school in a new suburb of Montreal. There may be 400 or 500 students and about 30 teachers. Most but not all the children speak French, many also speak English and a significant number of students are from visible minority groups. Many of the children are used to having books, libraries, museums and all other amenities in a large city. Unlike the Inuit children, these children face the pressures of commercialism.

Or consider a third setting - an inner-city in Winnipeg. Here, many of the children come from aboriginal and immigrant families, speaking neither English or French. Their parents are subject to frequent unemployment and are unable to afford adequate food and housing, let alone holiday trips or trendy athletic shoes for their children. Their parents may have limited education or English skills and they are "intimated by the school system. After years of unsuccessful struggle, they feel powerless to influence their situation, and live very much on a day-to-day basis" (Levin and Young, 1994, p. 13).

These descriptions, although brief, demonstrate that the conditions of learning and the job of teaching vary across settings, even though the schools may be structured in quite similar ways. There can be no single right way to organize schools and conduct schooling.

Stability and change. Until the last century, there was no mass public education in Canada;

schools were primarily private or church affiliated, and they charged fees that only the wealthy could afford. In the mid-19th century, public education was introduced. Some historians see the development of schooling as part of societal progress and others believe that mass schooling was developed in order to ensure that new factories and industries had an adequately supply of workers who were both skilled and trained in habits of obedience of authority.

While Canadian school structures remain largely unchanged (a factory-model of the 19th century), they are different in some important areas. Today's teachers have a union which protects teachers' interests and challenges and even refuses to implement policies made by ministries of education and school boards districts. Take teacher strikes for example. According to a Canadian Teachers' Federation Report (1991, cited in Levin and Young 1994, p. 251), there were 19 teacher strikes and sanctions across Canada between 1989 - 1991 and a total loss of schooling days for students was 464 days. Of the 19 strikes and sanctions, 11 (57%) occurred in Ontario schools and 257 (55%) days were lost. Based on the analysis of Levin and Young (1994), most of these strikes were triggered by collective bargaining between teachers and employers, negotiating teaching contracts (normally a teaching contract is valid for one to three years). Teachers' unions normally try to improve salaries and benefits in each bargaining, while school boards and provincial governments try to limit salary increase and maintain control so as to have more freedom to arrange things as they see fit in light of public pressures and interests.

Another change is the pressure from the public. Although school boards are in charge of making educational decisions, many Canadian taxpayers - the business community, special interest groups, community groups and parents - all want to be involved in educational decision making, say, for how to run large and complex organizations that may have hundreds or even thousands of

teachers as well as high budgets. Lewington and Orpwood (1993) have reported that since the early 1990s, there have been dissonant voices in Canadian education. Some people criticise schools for attempting to be "a substitute parent, moral teacher, social worker, and babysitter" (p. 17), and demand that teachers be responsible and accountable. Others even categorize teachers as "unionized fat cats who enjoy relatively high pay and job security, long summer holidays and frequent professional days, but who show little regard for results" (p. 184).

But teachers complain that teaching is becoming increasingly stressful and yet they are asked to take on more and more responsibilities. Teachers have to sort out ambiguities on a day-to-day basis - confronting the reality of more students coming to school hungry and otherwise not ready and unmotivated to learn. According to a survey conducted by the CTF (1992), many teachers felt that they were exhausted, suffering from burnout (p. 123):

We are expected to be nurses, social workers, counsellors and babysitters - for some children - added to this teachers are expected to give of their time providing extracurricular opportunities at noon, before schools and after schools as well as provide extra help to students.

I have enjoyed my profession. However, I feel, at this time, that I as a teacher am being asked more and more to be mother, psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker, entertainer. I am neither qualified nor energetic enough to fulfil all these roles for those kids. For my sanity, and that of the students, it's time to leave and find something else.

Power and equality. Schools, like all organizations, are shaped by power relations. Some people have more influence over how to run schools and what should happen than others do. For example, principals can give instructions to teachers, while teachers have considerable power over students but not much over administrators. Where power exists, there is always the potential for unfairness and abuse. Thus it is important to ask whether power is being used in the right way.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] (1976),

much of the history of schooling in Canada has been marked by struggles over power and control from which enduring questions have emerged. For instance, how much authority would be held by provincial governments, by school boards/principals, by teachers, by community members, and by parents?

Canadian schools are also marked by inequality. Some schools are better staffed and equipped; and some teachers get better teaching assignments or more resources for their courses. However, "inequalities in schooling are not accidental" because "one job that schools have been expected to perform is allocating social roles, determining who will go to work for low wages and who will get professional training" (Levin & Young 1994, p. 15).

Although the purpose of Canadian education is to have every student develop all skills and competencies identified in its curricula, many believe that failure is part of the mission of schooling (Metz 1990, p. 85):

Imagine what would happen if all students would become top performers...Chaos would ensue. Colleges would not have room for all, but would have little ground on which to accept some and reject others. Employers looking for secretaries, retail salespersons, waiters, busdrivers, and factory workers would have jobs unfilled as every student considered such work beneath his or her accomplishment.

As long as education is used to rank young people and sort them into occupational futures that differ substantially in the money, status, power and intrinsic rewards they can yield, good education, or students' success at education, must remain a scarce commodity.

There is no doubt that schooling in Canada does produce unequal results. Worse still, societal rewards are not distributed only on the basis of talent. "The kind of family you come from, and particularly your parents' income and occupations, have a great deal of influence on how much education you receive, the kind of job you have, and how much money you earn" (Levin and Young, 1994 p. 16). Parents' occupations and income also determine where they live, which then further

determines what kind of schools their children attend. Evidence reveals that residence is indeed a factor in determining how much a child gets and how well he or she performs in school. For instance, in 1991, a large local school board investigated the links between socio-demographic data and school results, drawing data from city-wide tests rotating subjects and grade levels from year to year. It was found that (Lewington & Orpwood 1993, p. 143):

By simply using postal codes in the city, the board researchers discovered an absolute match between the two - high economic standard, high results.

This example conveys that stratification (e.g., unofficial residence separation) is an unquestionable social norm (a fact) in Canada, perhaps throughout North America. Because of this social norm, stratified classroom arrangements in schools are assumed as a normal practice. For instance, bright children who are from poor families are sometimes streamed into slow-learner groups and bright immigrant children whose accents and vocabularies are difficult for school officials to understand are slotted into basic programmes. In one American school special education was reserved for mildly handicapped students, yet 67% of the children who are not handicapped but from low-income families were placed in such classrooms. A student from a high-income family said that: "It's pretty predictable who's going to be in which group. They might just ask what your parents do and then make the placements" (Edar et al. 1995, p. 84). In a personal communication with the researcher (1998), a professor at the University of Ottawa commented that: "The sad thing is that once these children are placed in such a program, they never get out of it."

Anyone who has read John Porter's (1965) classic study of Canadian society will find that educational practice is associated with the stratification system on the basis of class, region, race and ethnicity in Canada. Studies, which have either reviewed or continued Porter's work (Clement 1975; Young 1982; Mills & Simmons 1995), indicate that little has been changed since Porter (1965).

According to these studies, in Canada the best predictor of determining who is most likely to make the greatest use of education and consequently be allocated to the highest positions in society is not the ability or motivation of the individual but rather the position that his or her parents occupy. Inequalities which exist are by large reproduced in the next generation by the educational system. If this allocative function of education is examined carefully, ample evidence will be found that "inequality of educational opportunity has been and is today more the rule than the exception in Canada" (Young 1982, p. 222)⁴.

Awareness of the tensions and dilemmas in Canadian schools is valuable to FTTs in that they will extend their understanding that their reconstruction of a professional identity as teachers in Canada is not purely an academic or professional matter; rather it intertwines with powers which initiate, maintain and exploit subordination of others. More importantly, the awareness and understanding of these issues may help foster FTTs' wisdom and diplomacy in dealing with human relations during their contact with educational authority, teachers and students in a Canadian school milieu.

2.2.4 Summary

Drawing insights from studies of language education, teacher education and education in general, and from evaluative reports on the upgrading program, this section has proposed that language proficiency, teacher competence and educational knowledge as the major components comprising FTTs' professional identity domain.

In terms of language proficiency, various contexts for language use by FTTs in teaching and teaching-related situations have been examined. It is found that FTTs' language use is characterized

⁴. If carefully compared, Young's 1982 conclusion remains the same as that in his book with Levin in 1994.

by its integrative nature. To function in a linguistically effective manner in Canadian classrooms, FTTs must be fluent and flexible in their interactions with students. In defining language proficiency, Bachman's (1990) concept of organizational and pragmatic competence has been discussed because the context in which language is used integrates these two components. Given its focus on real world language use by L2 adult immigrants in Canada, the CLB (CIC 1996) has also been reviewed. In conclusion, relevant contexts for language use are a necessary condition for the development of language proficiency; Bachman's (1990) model permits the necessary theoretical clarity for defining FTTs' L2 competence, while the CLB (CIC 1996) offers specifications for describing FTTs' L2 competence.

With regard to teacher competence, the section has first highlighted the fact that it is the subject-matter knowledge that qualifies individuals as teachers to work with students. If teachers are insecure about the subject they teach, their credibility will suffer because students listen in good faith to what their teachers have to say. It has then identified skills which will allow teachers to transmit or present their knowledge and ideas to students effectively and successfully. In addition, the section has stressed teacher competence in the assessment of students. An ability to make sound judgements about teaching and learning will enable a teacher to develop workable and flexible lesson plans, tasks, activities and so forth, and to make adjustments when needed.

Finally, the section has discussed values and purposes of Canadian education and described Canadian school systems, teachers and students. It has also identified a number of tensions and dilemmas faced by Canadian schools and their implications for FTTs. It is assumed that knowledge of Canadian education will extend the FTTs' understanding of the way Canadian schools have come to operate, and will challenge their thinking about why they are the way they are. After having acquired solid academic qualifications along with a good understanding of the Canadian education

as a whole, FTTs would be more effective in pursuing avenues of reconstructing a professional identity as teachers within a Canadian school system.

2.3 Constructive Approach to Identity Formation

Historically, most attempts to define identity followed one of two approaches, those emphasizing an individual's self-construct and those highlighting external forces. Social psychologists, for example, tend to juxtapose identity with concepts such as self-esteem, guilt and shame (Lynda 1959), and the feeling of belonging or not belonging to a certain social group (Tajfel 1982). Sociologists, on the other hand, are interested in human interactions (Strauss 1959). They stress the fact that identity is formed from the dialectic between a person and society and it is maintained and modified by social processes. Moving away from this tradition, Erikson's (1945) developmental perspective proposed that a person's identity formation depends on the mutual influence of the individual's characteristics and interaction with his/her social world. Within this tradition, "there is no social vacuum in which human elements could for a little while develop all by themselves, in order then - as similar phrases go -to be molded or 'channelized' by society" (p. 325).

Although Erikson in his writings (1945-1968) consistently stressed that identity cannot be adequately studied without an understanding of the socio-cultural history from which it emerges, most studies have ignored or neglected the social aspects of identity (Grotevant 1987; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer & Orlofsky 1993). At worst, studies of identity formation in immigrant adults' self-perception and attitude towards the mainstream are ambiguous, and the "findings are often inconclusive or contradictory" (Phinney 1990, p. 500) and do "little justice to minority language groups"(Williams 1992, p.1).

The present research attempts to examine the process of FTTs' professional identity reconstruction within the constructivist paradigm which recognizes the interactions between the individual and social contexts. For constructivists, realities are seen as apprehendable in the form of multiple realities as opposed to the single reality held by positivists. These realities are socially and experientially based, and both local and specific in nature, "having individuals take on complex social roles and reconstruct elaborate social roles" (Magoon 1977 p. 652). Constructivist thinking encourages a subjectivist view, emphasizing the understanding of the processes through which human beings enact, create and concretize their relationship to their world.

In a fairly unremarkable sense, we are all constructionists if we believe that the mind is active in the construction of knowledge. In this sense, constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it. We invent concepts, models, and schemes to make sense of experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in light of new experience. According to Guba and Lincoln (1989) and Schwandt (1994), constructions are attempts to make sense of or to interpret experience, and most are self-sustaining or self-renewing. An individual's constructions are challenged when he or she becomes aware that new information conflicts with the held construction or when he or she senses a lack of intellectual sophistication needed to make sense of new information.

Drawing on the constructivist thinking, the author uses the term *identity* to refer to a process during which the meanings of an FTT's experience are created, negotiated, sustained and modified within a specific context of human interactions. Recent studies of identity reflecting a constructivist stance provide important insights and methodological guidance for this study. Four of these will be examined below, introducing the concept of identity formation as viewed by these researchers.

2.3.1 Stances/Acts and Identity

An important contemporary study pursuing the constructivist approach to identity formation is Ochs' (1974) longitudinal study of how children in a Samoan village become culturally competent members of society. Strongly grounded in ethnography as a research method, Ochs focused on the relationship between the mother and her child who jointly construct each other's identity through actions such as touching, reaching and manipulating and by taking stances such as reacting to objects, either approaching or avoiding them. Informed by her findings, Ochs (1988-1993) has repeatedly emphasized the point that identity is a social construct that is both inferred and interactionally achieved through displays and ramifications of social acts and stances. As she argues (1993):

These joint constructions produced in the course of moment-to-moment interaction socialize infants into how they should think about people around them and provide them with models of how they themselves might use affective displays to create, transform, or destroy relationships and other social identities (p. 292).

In Ochs' view, social *acts* refer to any socially recognized, goal-directed behaviour, such as making a request, while *stance* means a display of a socially recognized point of view. Thus, a person may attempt to build his or her identity as a university professor by performing a range of professional acts such as hypothesizing, claiming, instructing and assessing, and displaying stances such as objectivity, knowledgeability, and intellectual flexibility. On the other hand, other persons (e.g., students) in their environment may also be trying to construct their own identities. Thus, in the social constructive approach to identity, the often-asked question is: "what kind of social identity is a person attempting to construct in performing this kind of verbal act or in verbally expressing this kind of stance?"

Of crucial importance to the current research is Ochs' (1993) finding that a stance or act may be used to examine how FTTs interact with other people (e.g., Canadian-born/trained teachers) in

their environment (i.e., through joint efforts) to reproduce a professional identity. Without reference to others, who, together with them, co-construct their identities, FTTs' experiences cannot be fully understood. In short, Ochs' (1993) research helps situate conceptually how FTTs' acts and stances give rise to their professional identity within the Canadian school systems.

2.3.2 Interaction and Institutional Identity

Building on Ochs' work, He⁵ (1995) proposed a co-constructive approach, emphasizing human interactions in identity formation. In her study in a California university, He explores how undergraduate students' institutional identity is collaboratively constructed through specific encounters and activities taking place at the academic counselling service center. In these encounters, a student usually takes the initiative in contacting a counsellor by making an appointment. He's study involved eight academic counsellors and 21 undergraduate students. The research data comprised video- and audio-tapes of 21 academic counselling encounters collected over a period of 10 months from 1990 to 1991.

He (1995) takes "identity to be an interactional problem, emphasizing that identity is collaboratively constructed by participants through concrete human actions and activities in real time" (p. 217). These occur in the same way as actors enact characters on the stage, with individuals enacting, individually and collectively, preconceived roles and identities (Vygotsky 1978). In this spirit, identity is then understood in its association with its verb form, *to identify*, and thus as identification. Whether or not a person (e.g., a speaker) succeeds in establishing the identity he or she intends to project also depends on acknowledgement from other persons (e.g., a listener).

⁵ He is a Chinese surname which sounds like 'her', the possessive pronoun in English. The author is female.

Furthermore, He suggests that research on identity should be situated with specific activities, examined along temporal dimensions and constituted on the basis of relevance in the context of the local culture. As an example of identity and temporality, consider the following dialogue between a student (S, female), who requests an appointment about choosing a major, and a counsellor (C, male) (He 1995 p. 220-221):

- C: What can I do for you?
 S: Well, I was accepted to the school.
 C: Congratulations.
 S: Thank you, u...m
 C: And?
 S: I did apply for the World Arts and Cultures Program.
 C: Uhuh,
 S: But I wasn't accepted and I just automatically got my second choice which was English.
 C: Uhuh,
 S: And I don't know why I put that down. Now I have got it. What am I going to do?
 C: ...
 S: So, I guess I'm here because I want some help, picking a major, uhuh, I have something in mind but I'd like to know what I am closest to.

As has been illustrated, this narrative is initiated, sustained, and jointly produced and co-constructed by both the student and the counsellor. Hence, transcending the immediate boundaries of time, they together produce a biographical narrative in real time from which the student's identity emerges and that in turn sets the stage for her counselling service request raised later at the end. Throughout the narrative, the student mixes past, present, and future verb tenses, embedding her past experiences as well as her future goals in the construction of her here-and-now identity.

Relevant to the present project is He's empirical evidence that FTTs' professional identity may be categorized and recognized collaboratively through context-specific actions and activities, in a similar way as undergraduate students have their institutional identities constructed and recognized. Moreover, He's treatment of identity along the temporal dimension is particularly significant to the case of FTTs. Their change in professional identity occurs in the process of being

or becoming, which receives a dynamic connotation of something in process, something moving forward, developing in time from the past to the present and from the present to the future.

2.3.3 Opportunity and Social Identity

In 1991, Peirce (1994) conducted research on the experiences of five immigrant women learning ESL (English as a second language, also referred to as L2) in school, at work and at home in Canada. Using data from diary studies, questionnaires, individual and group interviews, and home visits from January to December 1991, she demonstrates how and under what conditions the immigrant women in her study created, responded to, and sometimes resisted opportunities to practice speaking English.

Peirce claims that the supposition underlying L2 acquisition theory, that an individual learner is primarily responsible for progress in learning a language well, fails to adequately address how relations of power affect interactions between language learners and target language speakers. Peirce reports that the immigrant women in her study are motivated to learn English and have a strong desire to practice speaking English but their motivation and desire to learn well is restricted by unequally constructed social relations of power which reduce rather than increase opportunities for them to practice speaking English.

Peirce (1994) provides an example of a social interaction between Sahali (an immigrant employee in Quebec for whom French, the official language, was a L2) and Madame Rivest (a Canadian employer) as background to her discussion of the inequality of power arrangements experienced by the immigrant women in her study:

Once a week, Sahali goes into Madame Rivest's office, takes the envelope with a weekly-pay check in it handed by Madame Rivest, says: "Merci beaucoup. Madame Rivest" and steps out of the door. Each time after leaving Madame Rivest's office, Sahali will regret that she hasn't answered Madame Rivest in longer sentences but she thinks that: "It will be a long time before they let us practise" (p. 1).

This weekly routine social interaction indicates that Madame Rivest has control over the language (French) and Sahali's weekly living expense (her wage). Sahali desires access to both symbolic and material resources⁶ but it is Madame Rivest who controls how and when these resources are to be distributed and what form they will take. Each time when Sahali bids farewell to Madame Rivest, she dares not attempt to prolong any conversation with Madame Rivest and create opportunities to speak. If she ever tried to go on talking without Madame Rivest's active participation, her behaviour would be considered sociolinguistically inappropriate and she could have jeopardized her access to desperately needed material resources which help to sustain her from day to day.

Like so much else that happens in the workplace in our society, the ability to participate educationally in Canadian schools is unequally distributed and language has often become an effective barrier to participation in, say, decision-making processes. According to Levin and Young (1994), professionals may use jargon, whether consciously or not, as a way of showing their own skills and, effectively pushing decision-making processes in particular directions and diminishing the contributions of those who are unfamiliar with "word attack skills". Consequently, "those most in need of the political process to advance their interests - children, poor people, immigrants - are often least able to mobilize themselves to take advantage of it" (p. 76).

⁶ Peirce (1995) defines language, education, and friendship as symbolic resources and capital goods, real estate and money as material resources.

Such social relations and power arrangements, as also demonstrated by Cherryholms (1988), produce or deny an individual's opportunity to speak and/or to work. As well, they are intimately and subtly connected to both symbolic and material resources as well as to the process of social interaction. People who have access to a wide range of symbolic and material resources in a society will have access to power and privilege, which will in turn influence how they understand their relationship to the social world and their possibilities for the future.

Accent is an example of symbolic and material resources. Bourdieu (1991) sees a particular accent as the product of a certain way of moving the tongue and lips and a manifestation of structured character of the habitus. By virtue of the habitus, individuals are already predisposed to sound in a certain way and become who they are. Accent, however, becomes an index of the social positions of native speakers and a reflection of the linguistic capital which they possess. By assigning this social position, a social system may allow native speakers to legitimately exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a profit of distinctions (i.e., symbolic and material resources).

Of particular value to the examination of FTTs' reconstruction of professional identity within Canadian educational systems is Peirce's analysis of opportunity and social identity. She draws attention to the "opportunity structure" (Kanter 1979) that signals to non-mainstream people that they are not fully valued members of Canadian society. Given such social structures within which FTTs desire to be acknowledged and accepted as professionals, what should FTTs do to achieve their goals, and how? With this question in mind, let us turn to the study by Thiessen et al. (1996).

2.3.4 Negotiation and Professional Identity

Between 1992 and 1993, a team of six researchers employed the life history methodology to carry out a study of the professional lives of six racial minority immigrant teachers across Canada. The study was a response to the call to diversify the Canadian teaching force (e.g., Cochran-Smith 1995; Irvine 1992; Thiessen et al. 1996) in order to meet the needs of the increasingly multiracial, multiethnic and multilingual student population in schools.

Within the life history methodology, interviewing was the primary form of data collection. Interviews lasted anywhere from four to twenty hours. During initial interviews, the researcher's role was to elicit the teacher's life story through open-ended, general questions (e.g., concerning the teachers' earlier experiences as students in schools and their decisions to become teachers). In subsequent and longer interviews, these teachers' "life histories are co-constructed as teacher and researcher develop a working relationship to interact to probe and reflect on the subject's statements" (Thiessen et al. 1996 p. 5). Findings from this research that are relevant to the present study are as follows.

First, the study reports that the professional identity of immigrant teachers who are members of a racial minority must be understood within the perception of "difference" and "otherness," often created externally but felt internally. Because these immigrant teachers look different and may speak or act differently from what native-born Canadians expect of a Canadian teacher in a Canadian school, they are continually reminded that they are "not Canadian" simply because of their visible "difference" and therefore they are not professional teachers either. There is no shortage of such evidence reported in the study by Thiessen et al (1996). For example, a black teacher named Adam, who was constantly followed by policemen at night, reported: "I don't feel like a Canadian because

people won't let me" (p. 163). Another immigrant teacher, who came to Canada from Hong Kong at *the age of 7*, started her schooling in Canada. After secondary education, she went to a university to major in the French language and literature in Montreal. On her first day in the classroom, a professor singled her out and doubted her ability to cope with instruction in French, speaking to her in a loud, staccato manner trying to caution her about specializing in French before achieving proficiency in English, which she was not at all prepared for. Years later, with a BA degree in French with honours, and completion in teacher education, she became a teacher of core-French in an elementary school in Toronto. Being a "Chinese" teacher of French brought her much unwanted attention and scrutiny in the school. Her principal kept sending her ESL students with emotional and learning problems. She complained that in the first place it was not her responsibility to provide counselling services to ESL students and furthermore, she was not qualified to provide such services. Even though she was a 100% Canadian-trained teacher, she was made to feel like a "displaced person". In the end, she could find no reasons to stay at the school and stopped being a teacher of French. Her impression of the system was quite bleak: "...it [Metro Toronto] still has a very small town mentality, and everybody is white and Protestant and they expect everyone else to be [the same]."

Second, immigrant "teachers' actions and activities and their characterizations of their roles as teachers, are profoundly the products of ongoing negotiations with colleagues, administrators, students, and parents" (Thiessen et al. 1996, p. 9). Schools are the places where teachers' conceptions of teaching are supported and challenged. Teachers can be constrained by categories and rules and schedules and also by other educators who, by virtue of their life experiences and cultural expectations, may hold divergent views. In the areas of access to particular classes, schools,

roles and opportunities to interact in everyday teaching activities, and in longer-term career paths, teachers, racially different immigrant teachers in particular, often confront institutional processes whose goals and values conflict with their own.

Relating these immigrant teachers' experience to the case of FTTs, it would appear that their development of skills to negotiate in a challenging social world, both in and outside of school settings, is vital for their success. Many immigrants from Eastern societies simply do not possess negotiating skills, and in fact some may even hold a negative view of such skills, which are highly valued in Canadian society. This is due to a cultural difference that "Easterners believe in freedom of silence, Westerners believe in freedom of speech" and that "Easterners are taught from the cradle to want less and less, Westerners are urged everyday to want more and more" (see East-West cultural differences in Shade, 1997, p. 53).

2.3.5 Summary

In this section, four empirical studies have been reviewed, each offering a unique viewpoint on identity which has stimulated the conceptualization of the current research.

Oche's (1993) work stresses that identity is a complex social meaning that can be distilled into the act and stance meanings that bring it into being. Conversely, a person's stances and acts may be used as resources for constructing a wide range of identities (e.g., as a foreigner, a stranger, a student teacher, a supply teacher, a counsellor, an outsider, an insider, etc). He's (1995) study demonstrates how a person's institutional identity is achieved moment-by-moment through collaborative interactions in concrete and context-specific situations. Peirce's (1994) analysis of opportunity and identity draws attention to social structure and power arrangements. The role of

negotiation and its influence in the development of immigrant teachers' professional identity in Canadian schools as examined by Thiessen et al. (1996) is explicitly relevant to FTTs' experience. Identity in these studies is treated not as a collection of static attributes or as some mental construct existing prior to and independent of social interactions, but rather as a process of continual emerging and becoming. It is a process that identifies what a person becomes and achieves through ongoing experiences in interactions, negotiations with other persons and objects.

In summary, three ideas from these studies, stance/act, opportunity and interaction/negotiation help capture the process of FTTs' identity reconstruction in a Canadian educational context. Throughout this process, FTTs can achieve their desired professional identity by demonstrating appropriate stances/acts (i.e., competencies) and by seeking/creating opportunities to negotiate and interact within the Canadian educational system. These interactions can be formal or informal, oral or written, personal (self-reflection) or social (with others). In other words, to reconstruct a professional identity, a FTT "has to experience himself [herself]⁷ as continuous; others must see him [her] as continuous, and he [she] has to have confidence that both elements are connected" (Block 1961, p. 228).

2.4 Conceptual Framework and Its Rationale

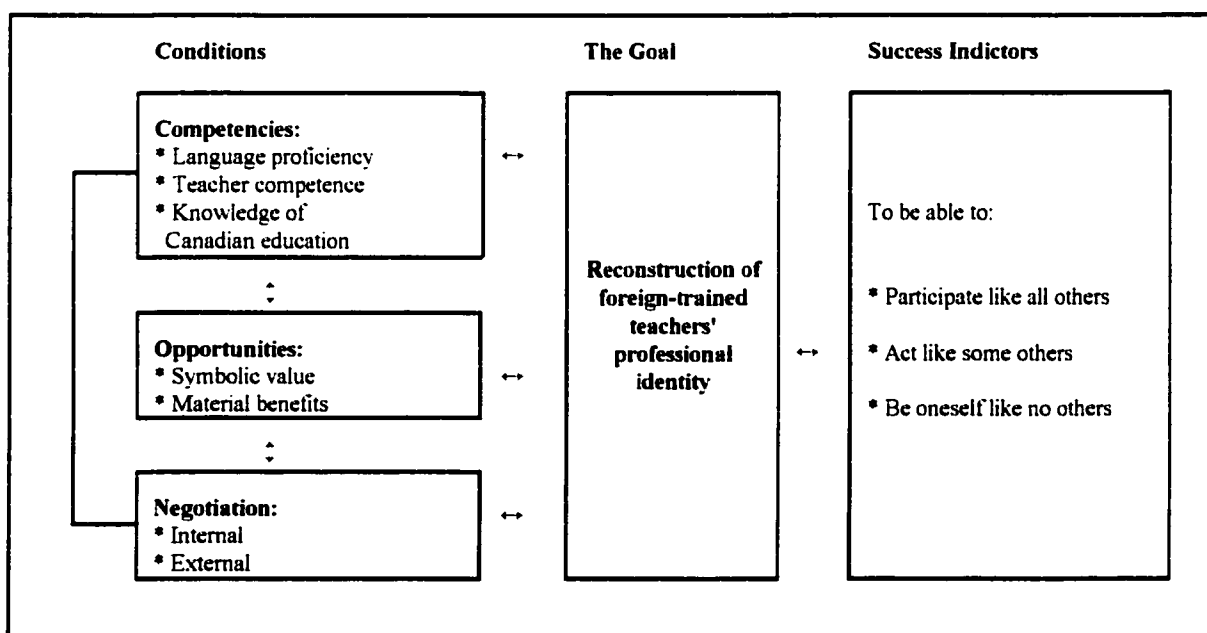
The literature reviewed above has consolidated the ground upon which FTTs' on-going identity formation can be conceptualized within a framework which hypothesizes that the total process of FTTs' professional identity reconstruction may be regulated by three elements: competencies, opportunities and negotiations. During this process, FTTs will "learn, relearn, and

7. [s are added.

unlearn" skills to satisfy the local standards and requirements in order to achieve their goal. Such a learning process as shown in He's (1995) data above, proceeds moment-by-moment and may involve FTTs' synthesis of their previous experience into a more or less coherent, unique whole that provides them with both a sense of continuity with the past (outside Canada) and a direction for the future (in Canada).

Moreover, building on the concept of Levita (1965) that "Every individual, concurrently is like all other men, some other men, and no other man"(p. 74), three success indicators are proposed to evaluate the extent of FTTs' goal-achievement, and to assess the nature and force of any obstacles which may block the process. Taken together, these components form an integrated whole. The conceptual framework developed for this investigation of FTTs' learning process and professional identity reconstruction in Canada is presented in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: A **proposed** conceptual framework for the process of reconstruction of foreign-trained teachers' professional identity



There are several assumptions underlying this framework. Working from the centre of the

figure, it is suggested that the reconstruction of a professional identity is the goal which motivates, directs and requires FTTs to fulfil the conditions as displayed on the left side of the figure.

The top box on the left side considers competencies identified in 2.2. as the basis (or the first condition) for FTTs to begin their construction of a new identity. These competencies illustrate "a unique body of knowledge" discussed in 2.1.1., as well as demonstrate a link between competencies and identity formation, in Ochs' term "stances/act and identity" examined in 2.3.1. The middle box, reflecting Peirce's (1994) concept reviewed in 2.3.3., suggests that opportunities (or the second condition) are indispensable in order to fulfil the first condition. Fulfilment of this condition enables FTTs to have human (or social) interactions during which their identity can develop and emerge, as described in 2.3.2. Also, opportunities embody a form of recognition which bears symbolic values and material benefits. The bottom box, informed by Thiessen et al's (1996) study examined in 2.3.4., assumes that negotiation (or the third condition) is needed to create opportunities to ensure the fulfilment of the first condition. When there is a lack of opportunity for demonstrating competencies, negotiation is a necessary tool for entitlement.

The three success indicators displayed on the right side of the figure highlight the concept proposed by Levita (1965; see the quotation at the beginning of the section). The assumption is that these indicators can be used as an evaluative tool to determine to what extent FTTs have achieved a positive reconstruction of their professional identity. The first indicator assesses whether an FTT participates in educational practice in the same way as all other professionals within an educational system. The second indicator can be used in estimating whether the FTT resembles other Canadian-trained teachers [CTTs]) in that he or she shares Canadian teaching standards and practice. The third indicator evaluates whether the FTT is like "no other individual" in that among CTTs he or she

occupies a place (i.e., a class to teach) in which he or she alone can teach in a given way, reflecting his or her unique background and experience as an FTT.

2.5 Research Questions

The body of literature discussed in the preceding sections, including previous research on the FTTs' upgrading experience and related studies of professional identity formation, has led to the formation of a guiding research question for this study:

What is the process by which FTTs who receive additional Canadian training and qualification may come to establish and have themselves acknowledged as professionals in the Ontario educational milieu?

The guiding research question, focusing on the process, is intended to embrace the conceptual framework as a whole. Five further sub-questions assumed to be embedded in the process are also posed:

1. What personal and environmental factors appear to influence this process, positively or negatively?
2. What opportunities appear to increase FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice?
3. To what degree does Ontario educational practice promote FTTs' acceptance as competent teachers in Ontario schools?
4. In what way do FTTs' negotiate their professional identities internally and externally?
5. How does this process of professional upgrading and subsequent experiences change FTTs' long-term professional aspirations in Canada?

The first sub-question is posed to identify all relevant teacher competencies and environmental factors. The second and third questions aim to examine whether, and to what degree, FTTs have access to the opportunity to demonstrate their competencies, and to be rewarded for them in both symbolic and material terms. The fourth question seeks to determine whether and how FTTs negotiate their changing identity in professional contexts. The last question seeks to assess FTTs' experience and its impact over time, using the three success indicators. These questions are not to be treated in isolation as they are intricately linked as a whole.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The choice and adequacy of a method embodies a variety of assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge and the methods through which knowledge can be obtained, as well as a set of root assumptions about the nature of the phenomena to be investigated.

Morgan & Smircich, 1980, p. 491.

The constructionist (and constructivist) position tells us that the socially situated researcher creates, through interaction, the realities that constitute the places where empirical materials are collected and analyzed.

Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 353.

3.1 Overview

This chapter explains the research methodology adopted in investigating the process of how FTTs reconstruct a professional identity within a Canadian system after having received additional training and qualifications as required by Canadian standards. The procedures and methods used in this study are adapted from the work of a number of qualitative researchers (Denzin 1970, Ogbu 1974; Magoon 1977; Jones 1983; Krueger 1988; Merriam 1988; Morgan 1988; Patton 1990; Steward & Shamdasani 1990; Bodgan & Biklen 1992; Glesne & Peshkin 1992; LeCompte, Millory & Preissle 1992; Janesick 1994; Miles & Huberman 1994; and Schwandt 1994). By combining multiple theories, methods, data sources, and observers, the researcher hopes to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-theory, single-method, and single-observer studies.

Several key methodological suppositions underpin this study. It was initially assumed that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. It was then assumed that the unique multiple realities of participants could inform the research questions. Further, it was assumed that triangulation is the best strategy that most often revolves

around comparing data collected from different sources and with different techniques. Finally, it was assumed that while there is no value-free research, objectivity is the researcher's ideal, and subjectivity, the prototypical orphan in the cinders, is something to live with, to strive to avoid, and never, never to be caught consorting with. When reading different texts and hearing different voices, the researcher should nod and shake her head appropriately.

Furthermore, to ensure that what was presented in this study is believable, accurate, and right, the researcher complied with four general standards for judging the quality of a qualitative study proposed by Lincoln (1995; also see Creswell 1998, pp. 193-218). The first is the standard of *positionality*. This means that the researcher strove to collect and present data that would display honesty/authenticity about their own stance as well as about her own position (e.g., see the opening statement in 1.1. and the closing comments in 6.7). The second standard falls under the rubric of *community*. As stated in 1.4., the current study aimed to serve the purposes of the community (i.e., local schools and beyond) in which it was carried out. The third standard is that qualitative research must give *voice* to all participants. The researcher listened carefully to the seven FTTs under study. As well, she did her best to ensure that alternative or multiple voices (i.e., implementors/facilitators) would be heard (e.g., see the three-stage interviewing technique displayed in Table 5 in 3.3). The fourth standard is *critical subjectivity* which means that during the research process, the researcher heightened her own awareness and created personal as well as social transformation. This "high-quality awareness" enabled her to understand her own psychological and emotional states even if it meant that she found it painful to listen to and understand what she was hearing (e.g., that an Asian accent may denote a low source of opportunity for a given FTT in Canadian schools, see Figure 19 in 6.3.5).

To sum up, the important goal of the current research is to understand FTTs' experience in their reconstruction of a professional identity in Canada and to interpret their stories as accurately as possible. As Coles (1989, p. 7) emphasizes:

The people who come to see us bring us their stories. They hope they tell them well enough so that we understand the truth of their lives. They hope we know how to interpret their stories correctly. We have to remember that what we hear is their story.

The rest of this chapter is further organized under the subheadings: a) sampling, b) data collection, and c) data analysis.

3.2 Sampling

Seven FTTs who successfully obtained an Ontario Teacher Certificate after their completion of the PUP at the University of Ottawa between September 1994 and April 1995 were invited to participate in this study. It was a purposive sample, for the selected group was a marginalized group within Canadian educational institutions. It was a group from which the processes being studied were most likely to occur as a focus on negative cases or marginal groups in society is a key feature of qualitative study, and it is often negative cases that put principles in test (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Glesne & Peshkin 1992; Ragin, 1994). More importantly, it was a diverse group of individuals who had a belief that they would have a meaningful career in Canadian classrooms after having received some Canadian institutional support and input toward reconstruction of a Canadian professional identity in the form of the upgrading program as well as varied opportunities and support outside the program. Thus, it offered a rich context for studying the role, over time, of such support and opportunities and for relating them to varied outcomes.

3.2.1 Subjects

The seven subjects under study included three females -Angela from Eastern Europe, Barbara from Asia, Rose from Africa, and four males - Adam, Henry, Ted and Wilson from Africa. Before coming to Canada between 1970 and 1993, they all had completed teacher education programs. Six of them had taught for 1-12 years, while Barbara had left her native country in Asia as soon as she graduated from a teachers college.

Prior to the PUP, Angela had been teaching a heritage language to children and adults in local schools for five and a half years on a part-time basis. The others in the group had not taught at all in Canada, including Henry and Rose although both of them were legally allowed to teach in Ontario schools (i.e., they were Ontario certified teachers). For various reasons, they had been either doing work unrelated to their training or looking for jobs, and were at various levels of underemployment or unemployment. Table 4 below summarizes the profiles of these teachers.

Table 4. Profiles of the subjects under study.

Pseudonym & Gender	Grade & Subject Area	Years of Experience	Year of Arrival in Canada	Native Home/Continent	Jobs in Canada before the PUP
Adam/M	11 Biology	1	1991	Africa	Grocery clerk
Angela/F	8 All subjects	8 & (5 ¹ / ₂ part-time in Canada)	1989	Eastern Europe	Language teacher (contract/evening position)
Barbara/F	3&4 All subjects	0	1970	Asia	Contract office clerk
Henry/M	9/Biology & math	3	1990	Africa	Store helper
Rose/F	3&5/All subjects including French	12	1988	Africa	Looking for a teaching position
Ted/M	10/ESL & history	3	1990	Africa	Odd jobs
Wilson/M	6&8/math 9/Biology	1	1993	Africa	Looking for a job

3.2.2 Informants

The purposive sampling could yield a comprehensive and information-rich story from which a great deal could be learned about how the FTTs under study became integrated into various Canadian contexts, with possible relevance for other foreign-trained professionals as well. The human world, however, is not perfectly ordered and human researchers are not omniscient; and therefore, perfect patterns and omniscient explanations are unlikely to be found, and are likely to be greeted sceptically. To enhance robustness and credibility of the study, all potential informants who were involved in one form or another during the implementation of the PUP from September 1994 to June 1995, were contacted and invited to take part in the current research. These individuals included program participants, program implementers, and program facilitators (see 1.4 above). Figure 2 below provides information about each informant who participated in the current study with respect to his or her role in the PUP.

Figure 2. Informants*

Informant	Pseudonym	Title	Notes
The PUP Participant	Adam	Foreign-trained teachers (FTT)	Subjects under study
	Angela		
	Barbara		
	Henry		
	Rose		
	Ted		
	Wilson		
The PUP Implementor	Brian	Vice principal	Investigator triangulation
	Ellen	School teacher	
	Jack	Principal	
	Pat	School teacher	
	Peter	School teacher	
The PUP Facilitator	Ben	Language testing expert	Investigator triangulation
	Janet	ESL instructor	
	Sandra	Community representative	
	Stone	Program coordinator	

* Note: Also see Appendix C for additional information about the informants.

3.2.3 Negotiation of Access

To assure the respect and the confidentiality of the individuals concerned, it was first necessary to clear the research methodology with the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education (HRECFE) at the University of Ottawa. Following obtention of an approval from the HRECFE, the seven selected FTTs were contacted by telephone, and sent letters and participant consent forms (Appendix D). Within three weeks, five of them had returned the forms as required, agreeing to be interviewed.

In an effort to include their stories, the researcher again contacted the remaining two potential participants and left her telephone number with both of them, hoping that it might be useful in case they needed to contact her. About five months later, one of them did change her mind after she got a call from her friend requesting some information on the current research. At about the same time, the other one, while he was taking graduate courses at the University of Ottawa, implied to his professor in a casual conversation that he would take part in this project if he were approached again, which the researcher did, and so also he agreed to be interviewed.

Moreover, because the study involved Canadian teachers and principals from five schools within two school boards, I had to make contact with the Regional Research Advisory Committee (RRAC). In addition, due to the structure of the three-staged procedures for data collection (see below), activities planned at the first stage had to be completed before starting those at the second stage and so forth. As a result, gaining access was a complicated and lengthy process, requiring eight months (May to December 1997). The most challenging problem was getting to potential informants. Locating teachers and principals from different schools across different school boards was not an easy task. Letters and participant consent forms were sent to 10 selected implementors. Two of them

declined to take part in the study, two had been transferred to unknown places, and one retired and therefore no longer considered as a potential informant. Contacts with facilitators were relatively easy and efficient. A chronological summary of the process of negotiating access to the informants is provided in Appendix E.

3.3 Data Collection

As discussed above, the current research was undertaken within the constructivist framework which allows data collection by various methods such as interviews, observations, consultation of written materials and personal experience (Denzin & Lincoln 1994). The study drew insights from Ogbu's (1974) research on the American urban barrio/ghetto "folk system" (i.e., constructed social reality), an influential educational study within the constructivist framework (Magoon 1977). Ogbu gathered substantive data explaining the schooling failure of minority children by consulting documents, interviewing minority students and visiting their parents and middle-class residents.

Following this line of inquiry, three specific techniques were developed: a) document examination, b) interviewing, and c) focus group discussions (Jones 1983; Russell 1993; Janesick 1994). The first technique was used to re-evaluate research data already available to the researcher. The second aimed to obtain additional data through in-depth interviewing. The third facilitated a collective conceptualization of and response to data already collected so that deeper levels of meaning could be identified by allowing important connections to be made and subtle nuances in expression and meaning to be more fully understood. Taken together, these techniques made it possible to gather meaningful and significant data for investigating the dynamics and complexity of FTTs' integration into Canadian educational systems. Table 5 below presents specific procedures for using these three techniques and their objectives.

Table 5. Procedures for data collection

Techniques	Data Sources	Objectives
Consultation of written documents	Prior and in-program reports and other related materials (see 3.3.1 below)	To generate insights for interview questions
Interviewing	Program participants	To obtain post-program data and to cross-validate written accounts
	Program implementors	
	Program facilitators	
Focus group discussion	Program participants	To seek a collective conceptualization

3.3.1 Written Documents

A variety of written documents produced during the implementation of the PUP between September 1994 and May 1995 were obtained from the University of Ottawa. The gathering of written materials presented no obstacles. Within two days, the following in-program written materials were collected:

1. Evaluative reports on the implementation of the PUP by the project staff (see Appendix A).
2. FTTs' portfolios containing their assignments collected over the duration of the PUP and providing a record of the FTTs' upgrading experience organized into eight categories: a) reflective teaching, b) classroom instruction, c) lesson planning and evaluation, d) classroom management, e) interpersonal skills, f) contribution to the total school support, g) ESL development and h) professional growth.
3. Reports on the FTTs' PUP entry and exit English language exams by language testing experts (facilitators)
4. Evaluation of the FTTs' practicum performance by mentor teachers (implementors)

5. FTTs' in-program performance assessment by the University of Ottawa (including facilitators).
6. The OMET's recognition of the FTT's qualifications.

These in-program written materials served as a starting point for identifying possible patterns and categorizing them into initial themes (see data analysis below). On the basis of the researcher's examination and understanding of these materials, a number of questions (Appendix F) were developed for interviewing program participants to collect post-program data in order to measure the extent to which the FTTs could succeed when institutional support such as the PUP was no longer available to them. The ultimate purpose was to understand the truth of their experiences in a Canadian context so that their stories could be interpreted correctly.

To sum up, these documents helped the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problems. As Hodder (1994) points out, written materials allow language and meanings to be controlled more effectively, and to be linked to strategies of centralisation and codification. At the same time, this overt advantage (i.e., control of language) sometimes may become a problem because what is written down can be different from what people do, think and feel (Rathje & Thompson 1981; Rathje & Murphy 1992).

3.3.2 Individual Interviews

Between June 26 and December 15 1997, individual interviews were carried out with 16 informants divided from three groups (see Figure 2 above). The first group consisted of the FTTs: Angela from a country in Eastern Europe, Barbara from a country in Asia, and Adam, Henry, Rose, Ted and Wilson from different countries in Africa. The second group, implementors, included Brian,

a vice principal of an elementary school (where Rose had her practicum), Jack, a principal of a middle school (where Angela had her practicum), Ellen and Peter, high school teachers who were mentors to Henry & Wilson, and Adam & Ted, respectively; and Pat, an elementary school teacher who was Angela's mentor. The third group, facilitators, consisted of Ben, a university professor and language testing expert, Janet, an experienced ESL instructor, Sandra, a visible minority community representative and a researcher, and Stone, a retired vice principal and the coordinator of the PUP.

Interviews with these informants were all tape-recorded, with the approval of each interviewee. These single-session interviews lasted from 35 minutes (in one case with Pat who offered to be interviewed at 7:45 in the morning before she began her daily teaching work at 8:30) to 2 hours (in one case with Ted who chose to be interviewed at his home when he was taking a summer holiday). In total, about 20 hours of individual interviews were transcribed exactly (Guba 1989), resulting in 287 pages of transcripts (single space in a regular paper size of 8½ by 11).

Interviews in general were conducted in structured questionnaire-driven formats. Underlying this practice were three assumptions: a) the interviewer and the interviewee(s) had a common vocabulary, b) questions discussed were equally meaningful to both the interviewer and the interviewee(s), and c) the contexts in which questions were asked had a common meaning (Denzin 1970). Specifically, interviews with interviewees from the first group (i.e., FTTs) were semi-structured (Briggs 1986; Mishler 1986; Denzin & Lincoln 1994). Conversations with these informants were relatively free and open, which allowed further probing. For example, by asking "what is your ideal workplace?" the researcher easily got a direct answer which then naturally allowed her to put forward the next question "why", eliciting more and richer data.

Interviews with those from the second group (i.e., teachers and principals) were more

structured (Patton 1980; Merriam 1988). Perhaps it was due to the fact that before the interview, these informants had already received the questions generated from the outcomes of document analysis and interviews with the first group. Except for Pat, they were all well prepared and careful in what to say and what not to say. For example, at one point during the interview with Ellen, I asked her what the barriers were that could impede FTTs' integration into the Canadian school systems after she and I had discussed contributing factors leading to FTTs' success in Canada. She was obviously surprised, responding, "Oh, the question is not here", pointing to the paper in her left hand (see Appendix G for interview questions). Following these interviews, a written summary of the interview was sent to each interviewee from this group for validation purposes. These summaries were all returned to me in time. Peter even retyped his summary, Brian took the trouble editing his summary, and Ellen supplied additional explanations. All three offered to be contacted for further information if necessary.

Compared to interviews with members of the first and second groups, those with the informants from the third group (facilitators) were both semi-structured and open-ended (Hyman 1975; Briggs 1986; Mishler 1986; Glesne & Peshkin 1992; Denzin & Lincoln 1994). Their responses tended to be more candid, open and direct. For example, when asked about major barriers faced by FTTs, Janet said: "Employers' fear for taking responsibilities" and Sandra gave a quick and short answer: "Racial discrimination".

Finally, it should be mentioned that all interviews took place in the settings chosen by the interviewees. These places were either individuals' homes (in most cases with FTTs) or classrooms and offices (mostly with implementors and facilitators)⁸.

⁸ To express my appreciation for the informants' time, effort and willingness to share their stories and opinions with me, I sent thank-you cards to all 16 interviewees. Additional small gifts were given to those from the first group, including reimbursement of transportation costs if needed.

In summary, interviewing was used to cross-validate written accounts in order to safeguard against potential incorrect interpretations of written materials. It was employed also for triangulating and assessing consistency and accuracy of multiple accounts obtained from in-program written data and post-program interview data. As well, these data helped generate questions for focus group discussions (see 4.3).

3.3.3 Focus Group Discussion

The advantages of focus groups are that they provide a non-threatening setting for getting at deeply held attitudes and perceptions, and the interaction with other people that can get at views which might be less likely to surface in individual structured interviews (Morgan 1988; Steward & Shandasani 1990). The literature offers many examples of stories which were successful in combining interviews, documents and focus groups as data sources. For example, in his work on how individuals create and portray the social world surrounding them, Jones (1983) found it difficult to explain piles of data gathered by means of surveys, interviews and documents. He then conducted focus groups sessions which helped him reach the desired level of conceptualization. In another study of how some deaf adults managed to succeed academically and in the workplace, given the stigma of deafness in our society, Janesick (1994) organized one focus group session after observations and interviews and obtain additional data which otherwise would not have been possible.

In the present research, one focus group session with the FTTs was organized. Questions for the group discussion were developed from the outcomes of the on-going analysis of written documents and interview data. There were three types of kinds of questions (Stewart & Shamdasani

1990). The first type was directed for the purpose of a focused discussion, probing answers to the main research question. The second included leading questions, useful for guiding the discussion toward deeper meaning, often formulated by using the group's words and ideas and by asking "*WHY*". The third aimed to nudge the group back onto the main research questions.

The group session took place in a classroom at the University of Ottawa in January, 1998, a snowy Sunday afternoon, with five members present. The focus group session lasted for two and half hours. Similar to individual interviews, it was tape-recorded and transcribed exactly, generating 29 pages of transcripts. As implied above (see 3.2.2), organizing the focus group session was not easy. It was scheduled, cancelled, rescheduled and then cancelled again. In all, there were four cancellations. Even so, two FTTs were not able to participate in the group discussion due to personal reasons. One, however, provided a written account related to the questions that were discussed during the group session.

In summary, the group session created a focused discussion which tapped into how these FTTs viewed their experiences in a social setting, and how they influenced each other before they formed their own personal viewpoints⁹.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study proceeded at the three levels advocated by most qualitative researchers (e.g., Merriam 1988; Carney 1990; Tesch 1990; Glesne & Peshkin 1992; Miles & Huberman 1994). At the beginning stage, the major task was to reduce the data or in order to sort

9. The focus group session might not be as satisfactory as expected for it was a group of only five members and only one session was organized. Given the fact that all they seemed to be experiencing some frustration, I greatly appreciated that some still managed to come to the meeting, sharing their experience with me and with each other.

out which data might be relevant to the phenomenon under investigation. The next stage involved development of categories, coding themes and construction of data display. At the final stage, the task was to verify all the data to piece them together in order to shape the study as a whole. Specifications of these activities are illustrated as follows.

3.4.1 Reduction

Document summary sheets and marginal remarks were the primary techniques used for selecting, simplifying and condensing raw data into a more manageable and definable form.

Document summary sheets. During examination of documents, all the written materials were read several times, from beginning to end (Merriam 1988). After these initial readings, a summary sheet was created for each FTT in order to sort out various views as expressed by different informants. Each summary sheet was organized under the headings: performance evaluation, individual reflection, summary, and questions. *Performance evaluation* was based on the documents written by both implementors and facilitators. *Individual reflection* focused on those written by the FTTs. The researcher wrote the summary of the above two parts and jotted down questions, puzzles and possible themes for subsequent analysis. Summary sheets reduced the bulky amount of disorganized written materials. As the data were becoming thinner and condensed, their significance began to manifest themselves. Gradually, ideas were formed and developed, resulting in the first set of questions for individual interviews with the FTTs (see Figure 7 in 4.1 for a sample summary sheet).

Marginal remarks Marginal remarks were made mainly on interview transcripts. While the researcher was focusing on and bounding each piece of interview transcript, she picked out small

segments of data and assigned tentative categorical labels to them. Marginal remarks were mostly words, phrases, short comments, queries. In addition, fluorescent HI-LITERs, computer functions such as bold and underline were all taken advantage of to highlight key points for subsequent analysis. In fact, what she was doing at the point was virtually "revisiting interviewees" in another form and another setting. In Merriam's (1988) words, she was "holding a conversation with the data, asking questions of it, making comments and so on" (p. 131).

3.4.2 Exploration

Developing categories. To move from (data reduction) telling a first "story" about a particular individual (e.g. *what* happened to Rose?) to a specified situation in which that "story" happened (e.g., *how* did that happen to Rose?), key variables needed to be located and categories needed to be identified (Rein & Schon 1977). Holsti (1969) emphasized that categories should reflect the purpose of the research and care should be taken to ensure the categories are congruent with research goals and questions. Other researchers (e.g., Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam 1988) suggested comparing one unit of information with the next.

The development of categories was started by classifying data by sources and by questions. In the first case, the focus was placed on *who* provided the sources and what he or she said. The result was three sets of within-case themes for three groups for informants. In the second case, the focus was placed on *what*, and as a result, a significant set of cross-case themes was created (see Chapter Five for details) which allowed the researcher to contrast, compare and identify patterns with the themes for cross-validation purposes (Wolcott 1990a). For instance, in defining what it meant to be a competent teacher, there were 50 answers given by 16 informants. Knowing whose answer

it was made it possible to find meaningful patterns and assess the accuracy of interpretation of the data.

Data reduction facilitated the work greatly. Summary sheets and marginal remarks were very useful and use of the computer increased productivity. All the key highlighted words and phrases shown in the summary sheets as well as marginal remarks were easily moved, assembled, subclustered, broken into semiotic segments by using "cut" and "paste" functions on the computer. In addition, all the data were examined many times before being placed into categories. Accordingly, a master list was made for easy retrieval. Part of this list entails: a) background information, b) literature (e.g., language issues, identity formation and teacher competence), c) research methodology (e.g., sampling, interviewing and focus group), d) research data (e.g., documents, transcripts and correspondence), e) data display (e.g., figures and tables), f) miscellaneous (e.g., brochure, a collection of research proposals).

In short, this segment of work was important. Although it appeared partly mechanical, it was in fact mostly interpretative undertaking because every time, by deciding to omit a data bit as unworthy or to locate it somewhere, the researcher was making a judgement. As Holsti (1969) observed, category construction is a form of content analysis.

Coding themes. After the researcher created several large organizational frameworks such as data by sources, data by questions, and data by literature etc., she coded the content of each major code clump, thereby breaking down the major codes into numerous subcodes. For example, under the category of "factors leading to success" for FTTs, which will provide an answer to the first research question (see 2.4. above), three major codes were created as shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3. Factors leading to success

1	PF	Personal Factors
2	EF	Environmental Factors

*

Several subcodes were then created under each major code (see display below). By coding, the researcher was able to place various data chunks in a meaningful sequences. Coding was a progressive process of sorting and defining, and defining and sorting the scraps of collected data that were applicable to the research purpose.

Data display. After the development of different categories, tables and figures were designed to illustrate the themes, the flow, and the connection of events. In addition to those shown above (e.g., Figure 7; Appendix C), an example of the display, an extension of personal factors as shown in Figure 3, is provided in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Factors leading to success*

1	PF	Personal Factors	Cultural knowledge English language proficiency Knowledge of subject matter Teaching methodology
2	EF	Environmental Factors	Official support Student needs

* Note: Only a partial list is provided (see 5.1.3 for details).

Data display provided the skeleton of the work. It helped the researcher see the overall patterns in the data without getting lost in the details. Doing so forced her to begin to think and to critique. It indeed served the purpose that "you know what you display" (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 11).

3.4.3 Verification

To move beyond describing what happened and uncovering how it happened (e.g., what happened to Rose? and how it happened to Rose?), data needed to be checked and verified so that meaningful explanations - plausible reasons for *why* things happened could be supplied (e.g., why did that happen to Rose?). Five tactics were taken in data verification in order that discrete bits of information could be brought together to increase the trustworthiness of outcomes.

Building logical chains of evidence. A logical chain of evidence refers to a series of *if-then* tactics: *If that were true, I should find X. I do find X. Therefore...* (Miles & Huberman 1994). For example, When one potential participant neither agreed nor disagreed to an interview (see 3.2.2), the researcher asked herself two questions and answered as follows:

1. If she had had a teaching position, then she would have agreed to an interview.
Therefore, she might change her mind in time.
2. If she had given up the dream of being a teacher again, then she would probably have not agreed to an interview. Therefore, she might change her mind in time.

If-then tactics were effective in plotting tentative logical relationships, and modifying and refining them into a new explanatory construct. It was, nevertheless, painstaking and time-consuming to build chains of evidence.

Noticing patterns. At one point during the analysis, while the researcher was comparing the written data with interview data, she noticed that some stories she was told did not fit the written documents. This reminded her of what Rathje and Thompson (1981) and Rathje and Murphy (1992) reported that what people say can be wildly different from what they do. She was

alerted to weigh with extreme care what she read and heard in order to ensure that the data were interpreted as accurately and correctly as possible.

Making contrast/comparisons. When data were organized into categories on the basis of similarity in meaning, a constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss 1967) or a method of differences (Miles & Huberman 1994) was utilized to revise, modify, and amend until all data could be placed into an appropriate category.

For example, in identifying factors that appeared to influence the process of the FTTs' integration into the Ontario schools, the researcher initially treated the factor, *cultural knowledge*, as a *shared view* for all 16 informants considered it very important. Later in making a comparison between two sets of data provided by the FTTs and the implementors/facilitators, respectively, she noticed that the same terminology differed in some important aspects. When the FTTs emphasized such knowledge, they were more concerned about what Canadian schools should do in order to offer better educational services to non-mainstream students. On the contrary, when the implementors/facilitators stressed that the FTTs should understand school culture, they were more concerned that in order for FTTs to be accepted within Canadian schools, they should understand North American school culture and students, including various subtleties. Thus, she recategorized it as a *partially shared view* (see Figure 18, in 5.1.3. for more examples).

Triangulation. To improve the quality of the data analysis, consistency of what the PUP participants, PUP implementors, and PUP facilitators said about the same thing over time were checked and perspectives of these informants were also compared. In determining whether FTTs were subject to discriminatory treatment, let us consider the following three answers:

1. The system protects the mainstream. The way they hire teachers, secretive ... (FTT Henry, July 19, 1997).
2. In Canada, nobody is hired because of what colour or what race [they are]. We don't care about that in Canada ... (Implementor Peter, October 3, 1997).
3. Nice talk! Everybody should be hired on their merits alone. Underneath, it's not like that ... (Facilitator Ben, October 29, 1997; Interview transcript, p. 13).

It is evident that the strategy of triangulation paid off. By comparing the data sources and cross-checking the truthfulness of information obtained from different informants, possibly biased conclusions were avoided.

Member checking. To assure dependability and consistency of the interpretation of the data, research progress was regularly communicated with my two thesis supervisors in a form of meetings, electronic mail, and by other means (Glense & Peskin 1992). Feedback from them often forced me to seek additional insights, clarity, intent and reality. Moreover, it was encouraging that one interview transcript read by Ben was quite clean except for very few spelling mistakes. Also, feedback from five implementors, with whom I communicated about the interview data, reflected positively on the process of data collection and analysis.

To summarize, data analysis in the current project was undertaken at three concurrent levels, beginning with data reduction, followed by data exploration and ended with data verification. The entire process of data analysis is presented in the following table.

Table 6: Data analysis process

Level	Techniques	Analytic Task	Analytic Outcomes ¹⁰
Reduction	Summary sheets	What happened?	Seven summary sheets
	Marginal remarks		"Revisiting" the informants
Exploration	Developing categories	How did it happen?	1) Sources 2) Concepts
	Coding themes		1) Major codes 2) Subcodes
	Data display		1) concept matrix 2) summary form 3) checklist
Verification	Building logical chain of evidence	Why did it happen?	Improve reasoning
	Noticing patterns		Avoid discrepancy
	Making contrast/ comparisons		Place data into appropriate categories
	Triangulation		Locate contradiction
	Member checking		Confirm the analysis

10. Only a partial list is given here.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS I - FTTS' EXPERIENCES

Our experience leads us to believe that given the opportunity to upgrade language skills and to familiarize themselves with the Ontario educational system, these foreign-trained professionals will be better equipped to utilize their previously acquired skills and to contribute to Canadian society.

A college language training coordinator March 11, 1994
Written document: Memo to the PUP leader

In today's Ontario schools, we have an urgent need for foreign-trained teachers. In my school, we have students from 34 countries and over 100 ESL students. It is beneficial to these students to have a role model from their own countries in the classroom.

Implementor Jack, cited in Xu 1995, pp. 20-25

Chapter Four reports on the seven FTTS' experiences in their pursuit of careers as teachers in Canadian schools. The chapter begins by presenting documentation on the PUP (source: written documents), followed by the FTTS' individual stories (source: interview data) and ends with the FTTS' collective understanding of their experiences (source: focus group discussion).

4.1 Pre- and in-Program Documentation

This section presents the findings on a) the implementors' attitudes towards the PUP and their evaluation of the FTTS' practica, b) the facilitators' assessments of the FTTS' upgrading performance, c) official (i.e., OMET and the University of Ottawa) decisions concerning the FTTS' academic credentials and professional certification, and d) the FTTS' written reflections on their upgrading experience during the PUP.

4.1.1 Implementors' Evaluation

Initial support for the PUP. When the University of Ottawa's plan for the PUP was made public, during the search for potential partners for implementing it, many organizations showed strong support for the program and offered to be involved in its implementation. One ESL

coordinator from a college which provided ESL instruction for the program, for example, wrote a memo to the PUP project leader:

Our college is pleased to join in partnership with the University of Ottawa in proposing the implementation of the upgrading program...Our experience leads us to believe that given the opportunity to upgrade language skills and to familiarize themselves with the Ontario educational system, these foreign-trained professionals will be better equipped to utilize their previously acquired skills and to contribute to Canadian society...The ESL Department at our college supports the initiative undertaken by the University of Ottawa and looks forward to participating in the project (Faculty of Education 1994a, p. 10).

Superintendents from all the four local school boards wrote letters to the PUP project leader, congratulating her on the initiative of the PUP (e.g., School Board A), expressing interest in becoming involved in one specific area (e.g., School Board B); and providing lists of names, recommending schools and teachers they considered suitable for the various roles that they would play in the program (e.g., School Boards C and D) (for details, see Faculty of Education 1994a, pp. 26-30).

The document analysis reflects school board expressed support to have FTTs in their schools and classrooms. For example, in responding to a question of "why do you support the program?" Jack, a principal from a middle school which accepted three FTTs, explained (Xu 1995, pp. 20-25)

As a principal, I feel inside of me a deep commitment to teachers' professional development. I always welcome all student teachers to my school, no matter who they are, Canadian-trained or foreign-trained. In addition, in Canada, who isn't a foreigner? All of us came from different parts of the world. In a sense, we are all foreigners and I do not see any reason why one would not support this program. And, as a matter of fact, in today's Ontario schools, we have an urgent need for foreign-trained teachers. In my school, we have students from 34 countries and over 100 ESL students. It is beneficial to these students to have a role model from their own countries in the classroom.

When the same question was posed to another principal from a high school, he grinned, saying that he was "selfish":

One day, a student from Turkey had some trouble with two other students. When we tried to solve their "dispute", the students with limited English language skills spoke Turkish and none of us understood him. In the end, we had to call the Turkish Embassy for help and got the problem solved by taking turns talking on the phone.

The principal ended his story with a sigh: "You can imagine the results would not be very satisfying." In addition, he gave some information similar to what Jack described above:

In my school, I have more than 100 students from the world over and I do need foreign-trained teachers to help these students out. Moreover, it would be unfair to deny foreign-trained teachers an opportunity to work in Ontario schools if they are qualified to do so. They left their countries and started a new life in Canada. They deserve an equal opportunity as any Canadian-trained teachers do.

Apparently, along with good will towards maintaining the equality for all Canadians regardless of their diverse backgrounds, the positive response towards the PUP and FTTs' presence in Ontario schools was driven by school personnel's commitment to the development of the teaching profession and the need to address the school reality.

Evaluation of FTTs' practica. School teachers who were willing to be mentors to the FTTs shared some stories of how the perception of these FTTs as role models inspired the students and enhanced student learning in their schools. One mentor spoke quite positively of Barbara's presence in her class:

There are no cultural barriers. The kids (Grade 3/4) have no trouble accepting her. As a matter of fact, being a minority is a positive factor for her because there are many kids from minority groups. The kids are just being very happy to have adults around, helping and working with them (Xu 1995, p. 24).

Pat, Angela's mentor, was very pleased with Angela's performance. "Teacher material"

was her comment on Angela's first day of field experience. Pat was quite sure that Angela would make an excellent teacher in a Canadian classroom. Wilson's mentor, Ellen, sounded absolutely convinced of his potential success in Canadian schools: "He is a very social person and has a very good rapport with the students. However, he may need to take some courses to continue to improve himself". Henry's mentor described him as a teacher who demonstrated a genuine love for the teaching profession and care for his students in spite of his perceived shyness.

In contrast to these encouraging comments, some school personnel were not satisfied with some FTTs' performance and had doubts about their ability. A one-page interim report submitted to Stone by Peter's school described Ted as being unsuitable for teaching:

Ted has had difficulty establishing a workable rapport with the students, a problem which stems, in considerable part, from his difficulty with language. To this point our relationship has not been very productive.

In a similar tone, Adam's mentor obviously questioned his potential to succeed in a Canadian classroom:

I do not know where it will lead him. It seems there is a long way for him to go before he becomes a teacher here in Canada (Xu 1994, p. 58).

The most unfavourable comment was made by Rose's mentor. During an interview with her in the fall of 1994, the mentor said flatly to the researcher:

No one is going to hire her... The whole package of being a teacher is missing in her" (Mawhinney & Xu 1997, p. 637).

Yet oddly enough, despite school personnel's dissatisfaction and negative opinions, their official ratings and written evaluations of these FTTs' practica appeared relatively favourable. Four FTTs were regarded as having met "the teaching standards" set by the school boards and the other three were considered to "need help" (Details will be summarized in 4.1.5 below).

4.1.2 Facilitators' Assessments

FTTs' language skills. To be considered for the PUP, all applicants were required to take the CanTEST (The Canadian Test of English for Scholars and Trainees), an English proficiency test for academic purposes, developed and validated by the Second Language Institute at the University of Ottawa. It measures listening, reading, speaking and writing. Test scores are reported for each of the four skills according to a 5-Level Band System (Appendix H provides a detailed interpretation of test scores).

Before presenting the test results of the seven FTTs, it is necessary to give some information on all PUP candidates who took the CanTEST in order to reflect the competitiveness of the program. During the summer of 1994, 35 FTTs took the CanTEST in two sessions. Ten of the 35 CanTest takers did not submit applications for the program (see Xu 1996) and nine of them failed to obtain a score of 4, the minimum linguistic requirement for the PUP (see below and Appendix H). Of the remaining 16 FTTs who managed to get a score of 4 or above on the CanTEST, 9 did not enter the PUP, either due to not meeting the required OMET certification of experience, or personal financial difficulty (Eapen 1995; Xu 1996). As a result, only the seven FTTs, who were deemed to satisfy the admission requirements and who could finance their upgrading, registered for the PUP.

In addition to the entrance examination on the CanTEST, the seven FTTs were required to take the test again upon graduation from the program. The purpose was to ensure that they had developed sufficient English language readiness for teaching in Canada before issuing them a Canadian university certificate of professional upgrading. Figure 5 presents the results from the pre-test and post-test for these teachers.

Figure 5. Results from the CanTEST pre-test and post-test for the seven FTTs.

Pseudonym	PRE-TEST					POST-TEST				
	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing	Total	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing	Total
Adam	4.5	5	4.5	3.5	4.5	5-	5+	5+	4.5	5
Angela	5+	5	5+	5+	5+	5	5+	5+	5+	5+
Barbara	5+	5	4.5	4	4.5	5+	5	3	4	4*
Henry	4	5	3.5	3.5	4	4.5	5	4	4	4.5
Rose	5+	5	5	5	5	5+	5	5+	5++	5+
Ted	5	4	4.5	5	4.5	5+	5	4.5	5	5
Wilson	5+	5	5	5	5	5+	5	5	4.5	5.*

* Note. The validity of several of Barbara and Wilson's scores have to be questioned as it is not possible that their language skills at the end of the program were worse than beginning of the program. The unexpected scores might be attributable to extreme fatigue experienced by the candidates at the end of the program or possible lack of seriousness during the test.

Figure 5 illustrates that the test scores for speaking ranged from 4 to 5+ in the pre-test, and 4.5 to 5+ in the post-test. In both tests, the average score was approximately 5, a score showing that the test taker understood readily both predictable questions as well as those relating to a variety of topics and only occasionally required clarification. For writing, the scores were between 3.5 and 5+ in the pre-test and 4 to 5++ in the post-test. A score of 4 means that the test taker was a modest writer who was able to express and organize simple ideas without meaning becoming obscured but would require guidance in drafting formal papers. The score of 5++ indicates that testee's writing skill was better than that of an advanced writer (5+) who writes with style, authority and accuracy (Appendix H).

FTTs' overall teaching competence. While in the program, the FTTs took many initiatives in upgrading their professional skills. From the beginning of the program they

showed high motivation and enthusiasm for the daily preparation of lessons required for the field placement and the weekly assignments, including oral presentations required by the university professors. During the 13 week-program, all seven FTTs finished three university courses and two on-site courses in addition to jobs that a few FTTs (e.g., Ted, Adam, and Henry) had to do on weekends in order to support their families. According to Stone, who worked closely with them for the entire duration of the PUP, on average, these FTTs had to work 70 hours a week. Their efforts and achievements earned each of them the respect and confidence from the PUP project team as expressed by Stone:

All the candidates will become the best teachers in our school system. They demonstrated a genuine love for their students and for the teaching profession. What is more important than these qualities for a teacher? (Xu 1995, p. 29).

At the same time, he acknowledged:

It is true that these FTTs still face some barriers, for example, inadequacy of oral language skills. However, it should be understood that it takes some time for any second language speaker to change the way he or she speaks all his or her life.

He further suggested:

School boards, principals and parents should have a little bit more patience with these FTTs because they have a lot to offer.

Upon completion of the PUP, the FTTs' performance was assessed and their portfolios were reviewed by an Assessment Committee. Based on the committee's decision, four of them were given an A-, two a B+ and one a B, that is, ranging from EXCELLENT to VERY GOOD.

4.1.3 Official Decisions

Academic credential recognition. On the basis of the implementors' evaluations, the facilitators' assessment, the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa awarded each of the seven FTTs a Certificate of Professional Upgrading, recognizing their additional academic Canadian training and qualification upon their graduation of the PUP.

Professional certification. Within four to six months after the PUP, all seven FTTs successfully had their upgrading experience and professional qualifications acknowledged by the OMET. Henry and Rose each had his or her Letter of Eligibility replaced with a Letter of Standing. The other five received a Letter of Eligibility. Like their Canadian counterparts, they were legally allowed to teach in Ontario schools since the PUP.

4.1.4 FTTs' Reflection

Appreciation for support. The PUP was an ambitious and resource intensive program. For only seven participating FTTs, the program involved two local school boards, five schools, two designated university professors and other supporting staff. For many of the facilitators and implementors, it was truly a labour of love. All the FTTs, in different forms (e.g., writing letters in their journals and essays and in conversations with the project staff at meetings), expressed their appreciation for the support from Canadian educators and the opportunity to practice teaching in Canadian schools.

Adam was once asked: "What do you think of the program?" He replied with a broad smile on his face: "Absolutely excellent. Without this program, I would be still burying myself in a grocery store all day long, dare not to dream of teaching in a Canadian classroom now." On

another occasion, Adam again expressed his heartfelt thanks to the program leader: "Honestly, I don't know how you can help us more than you have already done for us?" Wilson mentioned that the PUP rekindled his hope of becoming a teacher. Barbara said that the program increased her confidence in teaching and particularly in the area of classroom management.

These teachers were especially grateful to the two designated professors, Stone and Janet. Because of their frequent contact with one another while in the program, they became quite dependent on Stone and Janet for professional advice and moral support. From Stone, they learned a variety of survival skills and techniques for coping with various concerns and problems related to human relations and classroom management. With Janet, they felt comfortable seeking assistance in improving their pronunciation and in understanding small talk and professional sharing within the Canadian educational community. They enjoyed practising English with her, discussing and rehearsing the expressions and idioms that were frequently used in a school environment. As a result of this two-way language learning process, these FTTs developed considerable tact in language use (e.g., what to say, and how to say it) and increased accuracy in pronunciation.

The FTTs' reflection indicates that, in their eyes, Stone and Janet were the official representatives of Canadian educational institutions. Without their support and encouragement, these teachers trained outside Canada would not have been able to complete the PUP (see Coping with Frustration below), let alone obtain their subsequent teaching certification from the OMET.

Developing a sense of hope and belonging. When teaching on site, the FTTs developed a sense of hope and belonging to the teaching profession. They were satisfied with their

language development, their knowledge of local school culture, and their initial connections within the school system. More important, given the fact that they would be legally allowed to teach in Canada after the PUP, some of them began to get supply-teaching assignments and other school-related work. For example, while still in the program, Ted obtained a part-time position as a multicultural liaison officer (MLO) in a local school. Immediately after the program, he became a full-time MLO. According to Ted, he was hired because of the upgrading training he received from the PUP.

In short, these FTTs were proud of their achievements and felt that they were part of the Canadian school system and that they had changed their identity from outsiders to insiders. Their pride could be expressed in Ted's words: "I am now in the system and I am no longer an outsider any more."

Coping with frustration. In spite of their sense of hope, belonging and pride, these teachers experienced many frustrations during the program. One difficult area for all of them was being constantly questioned about their accents in English. One principal claimed: "If these teachers want to be accepted in my school, they must get totally rid of their accents because the students will have trouble understanding them."

Some considered the insistence of school personnel on more Canadian pronunciation a denial of their opportunities in the name of a so-called linguistic deficiency. In the first place, Barbara denied that she had an accent problem: "For God's sake, my English is better than my native language." Angela wondered: "If a strong British accent is acceptable in Canadian schools, why not a non-British accent?" Rose mentioned: "Students do not dislike my accent. It is the school teachers who do not like my accent." Angela indicated with conviction that she did not wish to change her

accent because as an adult it would be impossible to acquire a natively like accent. She argued that she would be neither Canadian nor herself if she ever tried to do so and that her nonnative accent was her identity. Moreover, she felt that there was nothing wrong with that identity.

Frustration also resulted from what might be misunderstanding and distrust. An example was Rose's initial on-site experience. By the 3rd week, her relationship with her mentor became icy. The mentor appeared to disapprove of almost everything Rose did, and Rose thought the mentor simply did not like her. On one occasion the mentor claimed that no one would hire Rose as a teacher. On another occasion, the mentor wrote a comment in an evaluation form, as if she were talking face-to-face with Rose: "????? what would you care to teach next to show your skills??" (October 20, 1994, 4th week of Rose's upgrading experience). All this kind of reactions and remarks from the mentor made Rose extremely nervous and upset: "I always have a good image of myself. Now my associate teacher makes me feel as if I am good for nothing. I do not eat well and sleep well. No matter what I do, she is going to fail me." In the meantime, she contested the way the mentor positioned her and believed that her bad luck had nothing to do with her capacity to teach but resulted from racial discrimination. To prevent the tension between Rose and her mentor from getting even worse, Rose was transferred to another class where she was much happier and more successful.

Ted's and Adam's experiences provided further examples. While on site, they felt that somehow they both ended up in a situation in which they were constantly receiving "finger-pointing" for not doing the right thing. Ted reflected: "I don't even know how to be myself any more. At one time, I am told to do it this way; and at another, I am told not to do this way." Adam summarized his practicum inclusively: "I have been struggling with who I am all the way along."

When Ted and Adam finished the practicum, their mentor teachers initially refused to conduct any official evaluation because they did not want to have the responsibility for recommending Ted and Adam as teachers (Stone's report, 1994).

Not surprisingly, some of the FTTs came to distrust their mentors. They believed that they were subject to discrimination. Some of their typical comments in this regard were: "They don't want us to stay in school. No matter how well we do, they just don't like us"; and "Talk about difference? The only difference is that I am not white" (Mawhinney & Xu 1997, p. 637).

Critique of school practice. Perhaps resulting from their frustrations, a few FTTs became critical of their mentors, principals and some school practice. In one FTT's portfolio, for example, some school phenomena were described in detail, revealing what appeared to be anger, mockery and self-mockery inside this particular individual FTT. Part of the description is given as follows:

The word "immigrant" is associated with bad reputation at this school. One day somebody pulled a false alarm and the school had to be evacuated. One student suggested: "It must have been one of those stupid new immigrants."

The principal seemed to be a well-informed politician. He was trying to be politically correct as much as he could. Once he said: "If you are coming from a culture where you grab whatever you can, and you take whatever you find. It doesn't matter who it belongs to. It is a tremendous temptation to do the same when you see it sitting on the table." The principal was referring to the immigrant students.

But I had no idea where on this planet such culture exists. I realized that people with the best intentions can make the most damaging stereotyping. Next day, I heard that something was stolen from the school. I could guess who the suspects were. Who else? It must have been those people who "grab whatever they can!"

Additionally, these FTTs were disturbed by the discipline problems that were often found in classes where most students and children were from culturally diverse backgrounds. They found, or more precisely they were told, that one of the solutions was an emphasis on the development

of classroom management skills. Based on their own observation and understanding, however, many of them felt that the real issue was not discipline problems per se. Rather it was the negative consequence which highlighted the fact that students were taught by teachers who did not understand the students and often did not care enough about them. The FTTs' typical comment on discipline problems was: "They [i.e., school personnel] are not running a school. They are running a day-care centre. If I were put in charge, there would not be such so-called discipline problems. Academically, these poor kids are not challenged."

Thoughts of regrets. Feeling frustrated, disappointed, and perhaps suppressed to turn a blind eye to problems instead of being allowed to be part of constructive solutions simply for the sake of acceptance in the system, some FTTs began to lose confidence while still in the PUP. "If I had a choice, I would just go back to my country" was mentioned by several of them on many occasions. Such a feeling and attitude was detailed in Henry's reflection:

While I would say that the program is good and at the same time, I do not see what I will gain from it. I have a Letter of Eligibility from the Ministry before the program. Will I get a teaching position when I have finished the program?

Furthermore, I would not take a position if it were offered to me because I am black rather than because I am considered to be qualified for that position. I am not going to take a handout although I love to teach.

In addition, this is a very expensive program. I had to quit my job for it. We all need to work in order to make a living.

4.1.5 Summary

To recapture the main points of the written documents, the scores, grades and certificate that each individual FTT received for his or her upgrading progress are presented in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6. Summary of the FTTs' upgrading performance: Scores, grades and certification

Pseudonym	Teaching effectiveness evaluated by Mentors	Language Skills Tested by Language Experts	Overall Teacher Competence Assessed by Facilitators	The OMET's Decision
Adam	4	5	B+	Ontario Certified Teachers
Angela	4	5+	A-	
Barbara	3.5	4.25	A-	
Henry	3.5	4.25	A-	
Rose	4	5+	B+	
Ted	3.5	5	B	
Wilson	4	4.875	A-	
Definition	3 = Needs help 4 = Meets the standard	4 = Could affect performance 5 = Interacts with confidence 5+ = No language problem	B = Good B+ = Very good A- = Excellent	
Sources	School boards	See Appendix H	Faculty of Education (1994b)	

In addition to the above summary of the FTTs' upgrading performance, a sample summary sheet¹¹ is presented below in Figure 7. It is a representative summary of Rose's¹² performance evaluated by the PUP implementors and facilitators, her own reflection and the researcher's summary comments and questions that surfaced during the early data analysis.

11. A summary sheet was created for each FTT as one of the techniques for analyzing the data in this study (see 3.4.1).

12. Rose is chosen for her distinctive advantages over other FTTs in terms of: a) teaching experience (12 years), b) overall L2 skills (advanced) c) accent (British-like), d) additional qualifications (e.g., French), e) finance (secure). It is thus assumed that it would be relatively easier for her to be accepted by Canadian schools and teachers.

Figure 7. Summary sheet for Rose's field practicum (September 19 - December 16, 1994)

Topic	Main Findings and Points	Source
Performance Evaluation	????? What would you care to teach next to show your skills?? (Comment, written evaluation, October 20, 1994, 4th week) No one is going to hire her. The whole package of being a teacher is missing (Oral comments to the researcher, October 28, 1994, 5th week) Rose has a quiet, non-threatening approach to each student. The students enjoy discussing details with her after class. She has creative ideas that can be effectively used in the classroom. Implementing these ideas to their potential is an area she needs to focus on. Rose is relaxed and enjoys games and physical education activities with the students (Comments, written evaluation, December 19 1994, 12th week). Overall rating: Meets standards Needs to focus on time arrangement Creative ideas Voice inflection: Excellent (Written evaluation by the vice principal, November 28, 1994, 11th week) Oral presentation (ESL, 1-5 rating scale): -Spoke clearly: 5 -Voice was loud enough: 5 -Had good eye contact with audience: 5 -Used understandable language: 4+ -Was well-organized: 5 -Could explain when we were confused: 5 -Comfortable speed-not too fast/slow: 5 -Met the criteria of the task: 5 (Feedback sheet, September 30 1994, 2nd week) Overall language skill: Interacts with confidence (CanTEST post-test) Rose's placement in a grade 4/5 class was the most frustrating. The teacher wanted her to "keep on observing" even after 5 weeks in the class. She was given the responsibility for teaching a poetry lesson on 3 or 4 occasions. Her printing and cursive writing were criticised daily. She was given graph paper to practice these skills because the teacher "did not want the children to learn" their writing skills in the incorrect way. Rose was moved to a grade 3 class at the same school and while she was happier, she experienced difficulty in lesson delivery, pacing and classroom management (Final report, Faculty of Education Dec.94, p. 52)	Mentor A(Weeks 1-6) Mentor B (Weeks 7-13) Brian Janet Ben Stone
Reflection	The children appear friendly. Most of them were curious and came to ask what my mission was. A couple of children made a nice card of welcome and hid it in my purse. The card wasn't Hallmark but the gesture was what really touched my heart. These children did not fit the image the public has of them! I noticed the butterflies were gone too. Something else I noticed about the class was something I hadn't expected at all. Most of these children were not white Canadians. The classroom was a mini United Nations headquarters:It seemed there were children from all over the world. Caucasian children were actually in the minority. My lesson plan on my first day was indeed premature. While most of the pupils are well behaved, a few are troublesome and disruptive (Reflection on the 1st week practicum) It is upsetting to know that my mentor does not trust me (to the researcher, 5th week) I feel much better after talking to Stone and my fellow students. From now on I will focus on improving the relationship with the mentor (at a reflective seminar, 5th week)	Rose
Summary Comments	Initially, it was frustrating for her. Official intervention was essential. Her overall evaluation seemed satisfactory.	Researcher (retrospective document analysis)
Questions	Why was Mentor A so critical of Rose? Why were the two mentors so divided in their evaluations of Rose? What did Rose's experience tell us?	

4.2 Individual Stories

This section presents seven stories of FTTs' experiences over three years (September 1994 to December 1997) as they worked to become teachers in Canada. The stories are based on individual interviews with each one of the seven FTTs between June and December 1997. Each story includes the FTT's career expectations upon completion of the PUP, view of himself or herself as a teacher, retrospective comments on the PUP, ways of dealing with problems, employment and training, self evaluation and future plans.

4.2.1 Adam's Story (Interview, August 25, 1997)

When Adam finished the PUP, he did not expect to get a teaching job immediately. His initial plan was quite modest and straightforward: first getting his name on a supply teacher list within local school boards, then supply teaching, and finally obtaining a teaching position. But when Adam approached schools and school boards, he found the employment prospects within the school system were much more discouraging than he had expected. Simply keeping his name on a supply teacher list would not render him any teaching assignments given the fact that teachers who might sometimes need supply teachers tended to call those whom they knew in person.

To ensure that he would get teaching assignments, Adam quit his job in a grocery store in order to make himself available for volunteer work in schools. He hoped that by staying in schools and being a volunteer, he would make himself known to teachers. Between 1995 and 1996, Adam spent most of his time each week in schools, volunteering or occasionally supply teaching. Gradually he became acquainted with many teachers and principals from different schools. Financially, however, it was a difficult period for him and his family. His wife, relatives and friends kept telling him that he should be working to support his family. The following extract illustrates the financial pressure on him:

Two years' hard work and volunteering, not really making any money, difficult times. My family, my sister, my wife, everybody kept saying that: "There is no chance, you should get into something else." I need money to support my family but I gave up [the grocery job] because I saw the big picture. In the long run, I have to do that. So basically every day, even if I didn't get a call, I was at school. It was difficult, but I never compromised.

Indeed, Adam neither compromised nor became discouraged in the process of his struggle to reestablish his professional life in Canada. When meeting some school personnel who did not want him to volunteer in their schools, his attitude was: "You [I] move on and go to where you are welcomed". When faced with problems that were impossible for him to conquer (e.g., in his words, "Racism is there", and "rejection in the name of so-called language deficiency", so-called because Adam said he had no language problems), his strategy was simply to ignore and avoid potential confrontation. Adam stayed focused on what he could do, for example, working even harder and sacrificing more, "otherwise, you would get nowhere". His determination to reach his goal is clearly depicted below:

... be stubborn and work as hard as you can, maybe sacrifice more. Because you won't get anywhere if you don't sacrifice more. To overcome barriers, you really have to sacrifice more, lots of time, family time, personal time, and emotions as well.

Adam's volunteer work, stubbornness and strategic avoidance of problems gradually paid off. Starting in the fall of 1995, he became a regular supply teacher for a number of schools, with an average of two calls per week. Additionally, he taught a heritage language to high school students on Saturdays, resulting in three-day teaching a week for him for a period of about one year (from the fall of 1995 to the summer of 1996).

While being a volunteer and supply teacher, Adam continued to take courses and training to upgrade his knowledge and skills as a teacher. To him, a competent and good teacher should be someone who had strong academic skills, a good understanding of students and genuine concern for student learning. Shortly after the PUP, he registered for a counselling training program offered by

the Queens' University on how to work with students from diverse backgrounds. His experience in the PUP combined with the training from the counselling program raised Adam's awareness of problems that existed in certain schools and helped him identify a number of urgent needs of students in these schools. Accordingly, Adam submitted a proposal to the local municipal government that a program be developed to provide counselling services within his community¹³. Working together with some schools, a few community agencies and a local police department, Adam was successful in obtaining a large sum (\$100,000) for setting up a new community centre. He was also offered a full-time position as a coordinator between the centre and several schools. When he was interviewed in the summer of 1997, Adam had been the head of the centre for nearly one year. Apart from a full-time work load at the centre, Adam was studying for his master's degree in sociology at Carleton University.

In comparison with what he did before and after the PUP, Adam was extremely happy about what he was able to accomplish. The extract below reveals his feelings of pride and satisfaction with his achievements:

Great, a big time. I am satisfied...It's not the money, actually. It's more a feeling that I have done something for the community. What I have learned in my country, in the university, in high schools has been used. I mean when I worked in the grocery store, doing odd jobs, I never felt useful. I was miserable every morning when I went to these places. I felt worthless, in a sense.

But now I see myself that there is room for me to grow. I am a certified teacher. And I am working as a coordinator, I have more opportunities to go to schools. Besides, I am doing counselling which relates to teaching. I am also trying to move up as I am doing my master's now as a social worker.

Looking back over his experience in Canadian educational institutions and workplace, Adam said that the PUP was the key to his success:

13. Adam came from a rapidly growing, largely refugee community which was new in the region and there was lots of work that needed to be done.

That program [PUP] was the key. That program opened the door for me and I have to work hard to open the rest. But without the program I would not have had the opportunity to open the rest of the doors, depending on how much I am willing to work, to volunteer.

Furthermore, Adam emphasized that good human relations were also crucial. He mentioned that he got along well with people. If a problem occurred, he tried his best to solve it, and if he could not, he would take it as an experience or a lesson and move on.

Adam enjoyed working for his community and planned to try to move even further ahead when he earned a master's degree. He would probably not return to a classroom, teaching, even if a position were offered to him. Adam said that at the centre he had his voice heard and could obtain immediate results but he would not be able to achieve that if working under the leadership of some school principals who did not believe in diversity.

4.2.2 Angela's Story (Interview, June 26, 1997)

One thing that Angela was excited about after the PUP was that she had become a certified teacher in Canada. There was no doubt in her mind that the formal paper would be a ticket into the door for her to work in a classroom. She was confident that she would obtain some form of employment in a school environment, for example, a part-time teaching position or, at least, supply teaching. To get started, Angela contacted all local school boards and got her name placed on their supply teacher lists.

Yet due to the fact that Angela gave birth to a baby girl shortly after the PUP, she was unable to leave home, visit schools and look for teaching work as she planned to do. Thus Angela missed some potential opportunities for teaching in schools during a time which could be a critical period for her teaching career in Canada. In her own words, "It's been a little bit difficult for me because of my family responsibilities."

Consequently, almost three years after the PUP, Angela had not had any supply teaching assignments in public schools except one small assignment in a private school. According to her, "It was a good experience but I would not want to do it again." Driven by financial need, she finally started private tutoring of adults in a heritage language. She was paid for this but much less than what she had got from her previous evening position before the PUP as an L1 instructor for a local school board.

Angela had been strong in her academic work and was evaluated as the most successful PUP graduate. Unlike her fellow FTTs, she was never challenged by others about her language skills. On the contrary, her non-native English accent was somewhat appreciated by her students¹⁴. In her opinion, for FTTs to be successful in Canadian schools, they must have excellent academic qualifications and strong language skills including good pronunciation and a comprehensible accent. FTTs, however, should not be picked on for their non-native accent as long as they have reached a level at which they are comfortable and can lead students to focus on their messages rather than on their language. Moreover, Angela argued that:

Language difficulty can be overcome and it can't be there forever. As a person stays here [Canada] longer, his [her] language skills will get better.

During the interview, when asked how she felt about her post-program experience, Angela at first sounded unconcerned about what she was able or unable to do:

I thought, maybe it would be easier to obtain some sort of teaching... I did make a point that I would be available for any part-time position as a teacher assistant or anything at school. That would suit me. But I am really quite happy with the little bit

14. I observed Angela teaching for 5 and half hours (from 8:30 am to 2:00 pm) during her second week of practicum on October 6, 1994. She was teaching lessons on geography and history of the streets in the Ottawa-Carleton Region. She was well organized and very articulate. The students all looked interested and attentive. At one point, one student tried to "tease" her: "Miss, you sound different, but very nice." Looking at this student and smiling, Angela said: "You are NOT going to talk about my accent. You, behave yourself." The whole class had a good laugh, at the student not at Angela. The class then resumed smoothly without any further interruptions. After the class, her mentor said to me: "Angela is doing really well. She has something in her as a teacher."

of teaching that I have done. I do hope now that my kids are growing, and now I have more time, it will be easier for me [to go to school and teach].

But as the interview went on, Angela appeared to be more open and freer. She changed her tone and became somewhat emotional, indicating she was unhappy when comparing her initial success in the PUP and subsequent experience after the PUP. Her equivocal viewpoint is clear in the following extract:

There is no... Of course, you can understand that not having any security, you know, a job is a security for everybody, of course. So, it has been a little bit, keep up something... Do you know what I mean? Like some sort of full-time position, it is very hard for me to get. Everything, uh, is not easy.

Angela admitted that for some time her parental duties had made it difficult for her to get supply teaching assignments but she also felt that she was subject to some form of discrimination. Moreover, she believed that the major barrier faced by FTTs was the lack of personal connections in the system. She seemed to be puzzled as to why in Canada personal connections had to be the crucial and decisive factor in hiring rather than proper official qualifications and procedures:

Usually immigrants, they don't know anybody in any position. That is very strong here in Canada. And I've found that is extremely funny in any, in any organization in Canada. Whether it's the government, the provincial government or the Ministry of Education. You almost have to know somebody to be able to... [sigh]. And so, to be able to make a breakthrough, make some friends and that's usually how it works, in many other countries, too. But, yeah, I think it's quite strong here, even in private business too, anything, in the school too, of course.

At the same time, Angela appeared to have figured out her puzzle by offering comments on racial issues. In her opinion, racism exists everywhere, including in Canada.

Perhaps being uncertain for her future, Angela did not want to focus too much on her post-program experience during the interview. Instead, she enjoyed talking about her experience and the secret of how to succeed and get along with her mentor while in the PUP:

I did nothing really creative. I just followed the rules in the classroom... Well, the discipline, shouting, just a style of teaching [my mentor]. It's quite difficult, to do

that. Difficult. I tried and I did OK. If I had been equally employed, that is, I had been a teacher there, it would be a different thing, because I would have had a voice. But as a student in practicum, you can't really do what you want.

Looking back over her experience, Angela indicated that continued official support such as the PUP was necessary in order for her to increase her professional opportunities. She described the PUP as a wonderful program and a good investment which "was very expensive and should not be wasted." And her only hope was that she could have an opportunity:

...to continue, learn more, get the experience and get paid. Stop being like this [unemployed]. I think work after education really makes you feel that you are part of the system.

4.2.3 Barbara's Story (Interview, July 12, 1997)

Upon graduation from the PUP, Barbara was convinced that eventually she would be able to secure a full-time teaching position. To reach that goal, she started by volunteering in different schools to make herself known so that she could get supply teaching assignments. According to the following extract, despite her persistent effort, what turned out was disappointing to her because:

I went to different schools and did a lot of volunteering for a year and a half. But the supply, I wasn't getting enough. I talked to different principals and vice principals, asking them how I can improve myself, and they told me what I should do. And I took the courses and did what I could. I gave a lot of volunteer time, but for supply, somebody else got it.

It was then not surprising that when asked whether she was satisfied with her post-program experience in schools, without hesitation, she said: "No, not at all." Her further explanation is given in the following:

You know, because I followed all the principles, all the guidelines, and talked to different people about what was involved. When I took the training, I really studied. I tried to read every book about what was taught in Canadian schools. I went through that, I went through the curriculum, I went through psychology, and I went through everything to upgrade myself. And I went to different schools and started volunteering. And except for volunteering, nobody will call me.

In fact, Barbara did get some supply teaching. Once she was offered an assignment for a few weeks to replace a regular supply teacher who was not available at the time. Barbara recalled that some teachers were pleased with her performance and students accepted her with no reservation. When the other supply teacher came back, Barbara lost her opportunity to teach, which she thought was normal if seniority played a role in this case. But Barbara was told by her head teacher that the other teacher was more English than she was, a comment she interpreted as an insult and an unjustifiable excuse for excluding her when competition was involved. She argued forcefully: "I DON'T think I have any problems with my English... I had done [volunteering] for a year and a half and somebody said that to me, and I stopped completely".

Barbara considered herself as a good, caring and effective teacher who was able to relate well to students. As far as language was concerned, she acknowledged that:

I may have a little bit of accent. That's it. I can't do anything about it. The Prime Minister has an accent, you know, everybody in Canada has an accent because we all come from different countries. I don't have any... When I was in [my country], I studied English, and the French when I came here, I have been trying to improve, and improve myself all the time, you know.

Barbara emphasized that her accent never affected her communication in workplace and during integration into Canadian society because:

I come from a home, it's a multicultural family. Like my sister-in-law, she is French, my nieces are... I really don't have any kind of... my sister-in-law, she has been with us for 26 years and plus the people [mainstream relatives], you know there is no such a problem [communication and integration] at all.

In addition, Barbara mentioned that her knowledge of both official languages (English and French), plus her first language, was her advantage, which made it possible for her to relate better to the kids at school. In her opinion, the major problem faced by FTTs was the obstacles created by the system:

The system has to be more open. People have to know that other people have the same type of quality. Sometimes some people have better outlook [appearance] than their competence, it does not mean they are qualified for a job. In this society, you [we] have to accept people who they are. Immigrants or whatever, they work hard, they take things very seriously. And if I had to learn, I did my best to learn. If I don't know the subject, I go to the university, I go to the library, I build up my knowledge and try to teach well. Okay! But I don't have any problems to achieve that.

They [the system and Canadian employers] should give us more opportunities, okay! I think there should be immigrant teachers in every school where there are students of coloured people, okay! Because we are living in an international community, the kids are coming from different backgrounds. And why there has to be only white teachers in school?

To Barbara, the system was unfair for setting different standards for visible minority immigrant teachers who were expected to be perfect and could not get away with any mistakes which, on the contrary, could be excused and forgotten when it came to teachers from the mainstream. Barbara provided an example to support her comment on the unfairness of the system. Once she had a bad experience in supervising students at lunch time in a school where over 60% were immigrant students. At one point, she thought that some kind of violence was about to occur and she was not sure how to deal with it. Therefore she went to the school principal for assistance. After that the school never called her. But she did not give up and went to the principal for advice, who suggested that she take a classroom management course offered by a school board. Barbara took the course for which she paid \$400. The following is part of her recollection from that course:

I remember, all the teachers in the class had the same problem, discipline, they talked about it in the class, some even worse than I encountered. But they are still there teaching. You tell me, why? Why they don't shut them off? ... Again, they don't let a new person come in, that's the whole story. They don't want us to come.

Barbara implied that she was subject to some form of discrimination. She acknowledged that it was a difficult time for teachers who were faced with possible layoffs but she recalled that even in good times such as in the 1970s and 1980s, it had still been very difficult for immigrants to get professional jobs:

Immigrants are taking the positions which other people don't want, like taxi drivers, cleaning stuff, get minimum wage, and they can't do anything about it.

Barbara's dismay at the system finally drove her out of teaching. In early 1997, she stopped going to schools and began a computer training course. When the interview with her took place in July 1997, Barbara was working in an office, doing what she had done before the PUP. She complained that she had wasted her time, money and energy in taking the PUP and her hard-earned teaching certificate was just a useless piece of paper. The following extract reveals her disappointment with school personnel and her forced decision to quit teaching.

For a long time, the school [where she had a bad experience, mentioned above] did not call me. I went to the principal, I said to him: "If I did something wrong, I need to improve. I am willing to invest money, my time to improve." And he told me to take a classroom management course within the school board. I spent 400 bucks on that course. When I finished that course, nobody called me.

You tell me why? When I was teaching the kids, I got so much good feedback from the kids, they really liked me. They told me that they really, really wanted me to come back. A few kids said to me: "We just want you, not another teacher..." And I don't know whether another teacher heard of something and just really pushed me aside because I was getting recognition because I was able to explain things to them in both languages, English and French.

I said to myself "that's enough". Because I was going away from home, I was wasting too much of my gas... which I don't mind if I could get something in return because I know this was a part of the process. But the fact is you don't even get a little bit out of it. I wasted my time and the teacher certificate is useless. I don't mind [volunteering] if I could get something in return because I know this was a part of the process.

Barbara was direct and straightforward in expressing her belief that: "The system should give us a break" and doing more than just offering courses and issuing certificates. Perhaps, Barbara was indeed more Canadian than she was of her home country for she believed in speaking up rather than in being silent.

Looking back over her experience, Barbara was disappointed and even angry. She wished that she had not wasted her investment and had been employed as a teacher in a school where she would be respected and trusted in spite of her perceived handicap for not being perfect.

4.2.4 Henry's Story (Interview, July 19, 1997)

Among the seven FTTs, Henry probably was the only one who was not very excited about getting a position in a school when he had completed the PUP. It was perhaps due to the fact that he had never had an opportunity to teach in Canada even though he had obtained a teaching certificate before the PUP. Unlike other FTTs who initially did some volunteer work, he had no such plan. His position was clearly stated in the following extract:

I was not very naive about, you know, getting a job right away. I was not pessimistic, either. So you know, I did not have a high hope for an opportunity.

I think the opportunity is still there, but you really have to try hard to get a job. I think if I were going to get a job as a teacher, it's not that simple. I would have to, you know... So I was doing some other work.

Instead, the first thing that Henry did immediately after the PUP was to return to the store where he had worked before the program in order to pay bills, in his own words, "to get some cash" because he was the main earner for himself and his younger brother. At the same time, Henry took on several other jobs as: a) a youth coordinator at a community centre where he tutored math and offered some counselling (like Adam, Henry also took the counselling program offered by the Queens' University), b) a salesman vending products imported from Africa, c) a store helper, and d) an instructor for a credit heritage language course to high school students at an international language school on Saturdays.

Although Henry was simultaneously doing five jobs, he did not make enough to support himself and his brother and they had to live in a government-subsidized apartment which was barely furnished. At the time of the interview in July 1997, Henry was not working but was taking an expensive computer training program for which he paid over \$10,000 that he had borrowed from a bank.

When asked whether he was satisfied with what he had been doing after having received additional Canadian qualifications, Henry made himself sound as if he were lucky for not wasting his time to volunteer in schools:

Well, it could be better. I mean...I am content, you know. I would not be able to answer this question if I had tried to find a job as a teacher. And you know none of us [the 7 FTTs] has got a teaching position so far and I doubt we will.

Henry mentioned that he learned a lot from the PUP in terms of familiarity with the school system and concluded that:

Teaching is universal. It is more or less the same, either in Canada or in my country. The only thing that is different I think is the teaching methods, learner-centered and teacher-centered. I would say that's the only difference.

Also, Henry mentioned that he liked teaching, which was his profession and something he could do without any further investment. However, he did not see the PUP as a ticket leading to a position in the school system, as he explained:

I think the system, as we know, is very protective, protect the mainstream. When we go to school, they say to us: "That's great. We need people like you to be here." But if you tell them I want to find a job as a teacher, they will change their face: "Uh?" So the way it is, much talking about getting to know people of different cultures. In reality, the schools are really not professional.

Regardless of the protective system as Henry described, he surmised that it was still possible for FTTs to be part of the school system if they were willing to let themselves be used or:

To kiss up. I mean, give somebody... you know, to butter up somebody. If you do that, I think, you know you will get a job, I am sure, I am sure.

Henry further explained that he did not suggest that the system or school personnel were bad. Rather it was an obstacle that should be removed, but it could not be removed unless the system was really committed to fairness it promised to achieve.

Speaking of barriers, Henry admitted that language was another major factor which caused

difficulty for FTTs but which "was not the whole story". He provided an example to illustrate his point:

Let's see, spelling, if I made a mistake, not I don't know the word. But I can't correct the mistake, because they say I don't know the word. If you are Canadian, you mistype a word, it's OK.

It is not necessary for a native speaker to know the spelling of every word. But for me, it is the opposite. If I make a mistake, then they will say: "Hey, what's that?" Nobody says that is a mistake, asks me questions about it. Just for me, "I don't know it, that means that I am stupid"

So, that's the problem. You can't get away from even a mistyping. You can't get away with that. You have to know everything, more than anybody else. That's it. Or you know nothing.

You are expected to be perfect. And you can't get away with any mistakes.

Henry's impression of the Canadian school system came from his experience as a student teacher as well as a student of both Canadian and immigrant teachers. He stressed repeatedly that demands on immigrants to be perfect were not uncommon but were rather the reality in Canada:

I have two teachers in the college where I am taking the computer course. One is Canadian and the other is an immigrant. The Canadian teacher could bring a whole page of misspelled words, even grammar, everything, and that's no problem. But for the other teacher, even the students will beat him up, even if the teacher knows the system [computer system] better. Even a little, because of your accent. So that's the reality there.

While witnessing what had happened to his immigrant teacher in his computer course, Henry said to himself: "I could be him. I could be this immigrant teacher."

Additionally, ESL students' experience influenced the way how Henry assessed his potential within the system. He provided an example of teaching a class while still in the PUP. One day he was teaching a class which had about four or five ESL students either from Africa or Asia. One ESL student asked a question which Henry thought:

...a very, very good question. I was actually...that was the point I was going to discuss. You know, it was very good when students ask you questions which you want to cover in a lesson. So I said to the class that it is a good question, and let's discuss.

But his mentor later said to Henry that he should not have focused on a question raised by an ESL student:

You see, Miss Canner [ESL kid], when she asked you the question, you should not have ordered the class to discuss because the kid is an ESL student.

Henry did not cause any tension, because his instinct told him that he had to follow what books say about how to be a student teacher. He said to the mentor: "Okay, this, this I will take into consideration". But in his mind, he said to himself:

This is an important question and what's wrong with an ESL student asking questions?

And he made another conclusion from this lesson:

The problem is that we have to please them with everything. So we became very inflexible for the rules. Intentionally, that teacher was prejudiced of ESL students and such students are expected to ask simple questions only.

In terms of accent, Henry said he was not in the position to judge how much it would affect communication because his major was not in linguistics. He had no doubt that it was difficult to understand any strong accent but in Canada accents seemed to be assigned value according to where speakers came from:

People assume that because you have an accent, then you won't be able to teach. So sometimes, you have the knowledge and skills, but you have an accent, then you can't teach. Actually, sometimes there are some Canadian teachers who really have difficult accents, but they are still there to teach the students. And some teachers who are not good teachers, but happen to know the English.

Depending on what accent you have. If you have an European accent, Polish or whatever, that's ok. But if you have an African or Asian accent, you will have barriers. So, it really depends on what accents you have. It's difficult to understand any strong accent, but people assume that it's ok with European accents.

To Henry, such an attitude on the part of the Canadians from the mainstream could hardly be changed. Consequently, it was almost impossible for FTTs to integrate into the school system. He insisted that if FTTs really wanted to get into teaching, they must be "willing to be used".

With regard to his own future, Henry sounded quite happy: "A year from now, I will be in hi-tech". However, he did not exclude the possibility of returning to teaching. He implied that after he completed the in-depth computer training program, he would take advantage of his teaching certificate and teach the subject himself when he was needed:

I know the system, the classroom. I know what they are doing there and I know how they are doing it. I know how it works. I am not scared to teach.

Henry, however, probably would not take a position in a school where he did not feel as equal and trusted because he wanted to:

Work in a school where I don't feel that I have to know more than other teachers. I just want to be an ordinary math teacher, invisible. What I mean is that, where I work, all the teachers are simply teachers. Nobody cares about where you are from. People know what you can do and you are evaluated on your ability as a teacher, not something else. It should be irrelevant whether you are coloured or not, whether you have an accent or not. So this is a place where I want to work.

4.2.5 Rose's Story (Interview, October 18, 1997)

Rose had obtained a teaching certificate before the PUP. In her view, there was not much difference between Canadian teaching requirements and her teaching qualification/experience because she had been educated under a British school system and she had taught for 12 years before coming to Canada. In addition to her knowledge of L1 and English (L2), she was able to teach in French (L3). Rose considered herself a competent and experienced teacher. In her own words, "I am a qualified teacher. Even without that program [PUP], I can teach."

In spite of her glowing qualifications and possession of legal papers, Rose had never taught in a Canadian classroom during her six-year residency in Canada until the PUP was offered in 1994.

The PUP made it possible for her to see what was going on in a Canadian classroom without her approaching school authorities to apply for an opportunity. Rose felt that the official support from the PUP had made it possible for her to return to the teaching profession in Canada.

After the PUP, Rose started to volunteer in different schools and gradually she got some supply teaching. During my interview with her, Rose gave me a copy of an evaluation report on her supply teaching by a large local school board. The report read: "We are very pleased with Rose's performance at our schools and we recommend her for continued supply teaching assignments (dated July 1, 1995, about seven months after the PUP).

In the meantime, Rose continued taking university courses to acquire additional qualifications in order to ensure that she could be "better" than Canadian teachers. As she understood it, in Canadian society it was impossible for immigrants to get their desired positions if they were only as good as their Canadian counterparts. To her, only when FTTs were better than Canadian-trained teachers, was it possible for them to be considered for a position. By the fall of 1997, Rose had obtained certificates in teaching ESL, FSL and special education; and she had been a supply teacher for three local school boards, teaching all subjects, but mainly FSL.

Despite her continued training, good evaluation for her teaching performance and increased teaching opportunities, Rose did not like the question: "Are you satisfied with what you have done so far?" But, she answered after the rhetorical question:

Satisfaction? Well, let's be realistic, university education gives you the qualification but does not necessarily guarantee you an opportunity to teach. We just have to be objective and realistic. It is the school boards, the principals who decide whether to hire you or not. It really depends on so many factors (August 16, 1997)¹⁵.

In the second interview, however, Rose gave a straight answer:

15. I had two interviews with Rose (see 3.2.1)

I am satisfied with myself because I believe in putting my best in everything. I went back to teaching because I thought there was a need for it. I thought there was a need for black teachers in the classroom. I felt I need to reinforce what my husband and I have been teaching my children about ..., yeah, being as good as everybody else, or even better in lots of ways. So, it's what I want to do and I know I have put my best efforts to make it happen. So I feel happy with what I have done (October 18, 1997).

Rose stressed that she gained some satisfaction from her own efforts and the support from her family. She also mentioned that she was accepted by most principals and school children who were happy to see her in their classroom, teaching.

In the primary school, they [students] know that you are the teacher. They accept you. Your accent is different. So? They may ask: "Excuse me, Ms... do you speak another language?" "Yes, I do". And from then on, they accept you as a teacher. That's [what] most children do.

Based on her supply teaching as well as volunteer work, Rose felt that the barriers that she was faced with mainly came from school teachers who had a hard time accepting FTTs as their colleagues:

I mean, they [schools] have all this written in the curriculum. When you go to some schools, you see the posters on the wall. This is us, Canada - they have faces - black faces, Chinese faces. They are laughing together, they are posting us. But the teachers are not laughing with you when you go into the staff room. So where is education supposed to start from?

Like you go into a coffee room [staff room] they ...I have feeling, it's a feeling like: "Here? Who are these people they bring in? These people are going to take away our jobs and there aren't enough jobs around. How come they bring in these people from other places to take our jobs." The feeling, you are a threat, you are a threat to them. That's the impression I got.

In term of accent, Rose emphasized repeatedly that in the first place, she did not have such a problem. More importantly, it should not be treated as a problem because accent symbolises an individual's identity. She explained:

To me, it's not a problem. Your accent marks who you are. I mean statistics show that unless you go to another culture, study another language at a certain young age,

you are never, never going to be able to get a native accent. And the fact that you don't have a native accent doesn't mean you speak a bad English.

I think the system is very very unfair to the children, to all the children in Canada. We have the responsibility to teach all the children, whatever their colour is. Everybody is equal. So if we say everybody is equal but you make such a big deal over accent... Are we worse than others because we cannot speak like you? Are you saying we don't speak English with an original one, British accent is quite English¹⁶. Where does Canada come up with her own accent? What gives them the right to say their accent is the most beautiful part of the English spoken in the whole world?

In spite of the barriers that she felt she was faced with, Rose was not going to give up hope.

She explained that "to quit" was not an option on her agenda because:

If I really want this [teaching], I am going to have to stick with it. Otherwise, I won't. To me, it's like, that's what the system is hoping you to do. It frustrates you and make you feel unable to do the job, and then back off and start looking at yourself as a failure. I am not a failure. I am going to stick with it.

Rose also mentioned that her persistence and hope was sustained by a strong religious belief:

I pray a lot. And I tell God if I have some concerns, I have to live up with my personal dreams. I mean that I have a work life, I have a grown family. But I keep telling myself, there are children in the classroom, and the school needs role models. And Canadian society is not complete, just having white teachers in the classroom. The children, our children, black children, Asian children need to know there are people [like them] who are as capable as white teachers, too.

So eventually, [if] I don't get a full-time job, I know I have done my share of putting my face, a black face on the map, the teaching map of Ontario. And you see this is where it goes and comes because some days I get so frustrated and get home from, maybe supply teaching, a particularly difficult class, I go downstairs, get down on my knees, and I tell God: "God, I keep doing this for you."

I found sometimes I was really frustrated and disappointed and you [I] want to give up, I ask myself: "Why am I doing this anyway? I can easily become a bilingual secretary or do something else with the rest of my life. Why am I doing this?" And then you remember that things can't continue like this. So I go down and tell God: "Please give me the strength to go on, give me the strength not to give up, give me the strength not to quit." Then you don't, you don't give up. And that's where I get my strength from.

16. Rose was educated under a British school system and she spoke with a British-like accent.

Looking back over her experience, Rose concluded that what she had been through was very much the same as any other immigrant professionals trying to integrate into Canadian workplace. "Unless God gives these people a job, they would not get one". Because of her understanding of immigrant professionals' experience in Canada, Rose questioned Canadian immigration policy, an issue that I had had no intention of discussing with her during the interview:

Canada is looking upon immigrants as: "Hey, we've brought you in." Up to recently, they bring in people who are professionals and then they won't give immigrants tickets unless they have been domestic help for two years. Oh, I mean who are you keeping in here? This is like slavery. Although this has been abolished, it is still in practice. What's going on? They don't think anybody can do the job as the white, the white Canadians.

If you have brought your whole family to Canada on the qualification of the parents, to me, it's like a contract: "We bring you into this country and we will take care of you." But you bring them into a country that denies them human rights, the right to work. That I think is very, very unfair. So what happens is the whole family goes down because of something that the government refuses to do.

In Rose's view, if the Ministry really wanted to nurture what it claimed to cherish and assist FTTs into the system, it should legislate appropriate hiring practices. She said:

The University [of Ottawa] is doing its best to help us, trying to put people back into their chosen profession. The problem is with the employment section and the society, the problem is with the schools, with the boards. The University cannot hire people, the Ministry does not employ.

Unless it becomes a plan of the government, constantly there will be people who are at the door but never be able to enter it. I am not saying the Ministry should employ people who are not qualified. If people are qualified, the Ministry should help. People who are qualified to teach and who are willing to change should be allowed to teach.

4.2.6 Ted's Story (Interview, July 9, 1997)

Unlike Henry, Ted had a high expectation for getting a teaching position. Upon completion of the PUP, he was filled with excitement and enthusiasm, believing that with his additional Canadian training and qualifications, he was ready to compete equally with others in the Canadian job market:

I was really very enthusiastic, I am, you know. I expected that you have a dream, and you can pursue your career, you can do something, follow your career and find your professional identity. I was filled with enthusiasm.

When I came to Canada, and I think that too, with many immigrants as well, they find it's difficult to follow their professional identity because of many obstacles. Employers always ask if you have Canadian experience and sometimes make you worry where to get this kind of Canadian experience.

This program [PUP] was an opportunity for us to get Canadian experience. And now we go out and say: "Yes, we are here with qualification, with Canadian experience". It gives us hope that we can make it. Yes, we can be with everyone and we can claim that we have Canadian experience and there is no reason why we can't get a job.

Speaking of employment opportunities (not necessarily for teaching per se but school-related), the PUP was an important steppingstone for Ted. Before the program, he did not have the courage to visit schools and to tell people that he was there because he wanted to apply for a teaching position. After the PUP, Ted was hired as a full-time MLO¹⁷ in a school where he had built an initial network, making it possible for him to get occasional teaching assignments from teachers who knew him in person.

While working full-time as an MLO, Ted continued upgrading his skills and knowledge by taking university courses. Like Adam and Henry, Ted also took the counselling program offered by the Queen's University. By the time when he was interviewed in July 1997, Ted had been an MLO for nearly three years, completed the second training program, and earned a master's degree from the University of Ottawa. Ted was very pleased with his academic achievements and grateful for the support that he had received from the PUP and other universities. As a result, he shed the image of not having Canadian experience and increased his confidence to succeed in Canada. He felt that he had developed sufficient skills and ability to teach as well as other Canadian teachers. Expressed in his words, "I believe I am a competent teacher."

17. Ted was offered this job (part-time) while still in the program.

Ted was happy to have a job which allowed him to sustain his family life but disappointed about not working in a classroom where he thought he belonged and where he could put his knowledge and skills fully into use. His disappointment is described in the extract below:

I would say... I am not happy as far as my career expectations are concerned because my objective is to get a job as a teacher. And I am not working as a teacher. So that is the reason why I am not happy. I wish I could get a job as a teacher.

Ted was aware of the fact that the competition for teaching positions was intense because there appeared to be a gap between supply and demand for teachers in the existing school system. Teachers who were in the system might face layoffs. However, based on his experience with the school system, it was not the major factor that prevented him from getting a teaching position. When Ted submitted applications to principals, he was told that it was school boards that made decisions in hiring teachers. When he contacted the school boards, he was told that he should approach principals. He felt frustrated but he gradually found out that immigrant teachers and student teachers from the mainstream did not have equal employment opportunities. The school system was structured in a way that made it virtually impossible for FTTs to enter it:

The system does not allow us into it... structured in a way that makes it very difficult for people like [us] to get into the system... Teachers get retired, and the person who will replace the position knows that he or she will be hired in a year to two. And maybe this person [has been] supply teaching for that teacher and they all know each other and know the principal. So there is no way you [we] can get into the system.

Ted described how school personnel defended their hiring practice by offering various explanations such as competence and accent which, in his view, were mostly lame excuses:

When asked why they are not hiring immigrant teachers, they will say that: "we are not sure this person will live up to our standards." So there is always an excuse, these people [FTTs] are not up to the job, and you can't hire them. You can't hire them because parents will not like these teachers. So, it's a system that excludes people.

I don't want anybody to use competence as a scapegoat. So don't go around just saying that these people [FTTs] are not competent. So I don't buy it. I simply don't buy it at all.

The claim is made that the person [FTTs] speaks with an accent. We all have an accent, you know I don't have to tell you that. So the claim is simply an excuse to exclude people from getting into the mainstream teaching position. They should point out that this is a problem. Suppose if I can teach math, I can teach science, so what level of fluency do they want me to...?

When recalling his practicum experience three years before and his search for a teaching position three years later, Ted seemed to have figured out his earlier journal entry that he got "too much criticism from these teachers [his mentors]" which made him no longer know "who I am". The answer was that he was not considered as a Canadian. Ted said that on paper, qualifications such as Canadian training, a degree and citizenship made him a Canadian, but in terms of opportunities for getting jobs, he was not treated as a Canadian.

In spite of his disappointment with school hiring practice, Ted believed that the system would be better because there were people who were determined to make it better. Additionally, many employers would like to hire people who had relevant experience and for that reason he had an edge over many others since he was already within a system which he believed that he knew inside and out. More importantly, he felt strongly that he was needed by many students who did not get the attention and opportunity they deserved. According to him, each time he walked into a classroom, when supply teaching, he was surrounded by students, asking him questions and looking very proud of him. Ted said that these students needed a role model and that simply his presence as a black teacher in the classroom would help students, both black and white. For the former, they could dream of becoming as successful as Ted; and for the later, they could dissolve the myth that only a white person could be a teacher. He said:

I've seen many such examples on a weekly basis, if not on a daily basis. Because I work with them [students] and they are always happy to see me there. They always come to see me, asking questions.

To reach his ultimate goal, Ted planned to remain where he was as an MLO until an opportunity came up for him to work as a classroom teacher. However, in his view that might not happen without policy changes in hiring practice within the school system and establishment of an agency which could monitor the policy implementation. Ted was convinced that only in this way would he be able to work in place where:

All teachers, the principal and vice principals work as a team, not singling out anybody, where I am not subject to any kind of discrimination, where my contributions and suggestions are taken into consideration, where I can feel that I am a contributing member rather than just to perform something and then leave. I need to be in a school where I feel I am part of it, you know I am one of the team who runs the school rather than an external person who does something and then leaves.

4.2.7 Wilson's Story (Interview, December 15, 1997)

Like all other FTTs, Wilson did not expect a position immediately after the PUP. But he had an ambitious and well-thought out plan to secure a position either as a teacher or as a school administrator. To reach his goal, he thought that he needed sufficient practical experience as well as a good understanding of the meaning of such experience so that he could develop workable strategies in dealing with potential problems that he might encounter.

As a priority after the PUP, Wilson approached the teacher and the principal of the school where he had practicum and told them that he would like to remain there as a volunteer and supply teacher. To his dismay, he was told that there was not much for him to do. Wilson could not believe that he was rejected for being a volunteer in a school where he was judged by the principal as a sociable person who would fit in, and rated by his mentor as a candidate who had the potential to do well in Canadian schools. In addition, he knew that students in this school came from 34 countries and there was much for him to do. Wilson was puzzled and suspected that the school did not want

non-mainstream teachers working there. Wilson was hurt but not discouraged and moved on from there. He contacted other schools and school boards in the region and had his name placed on supply teacher lists in various schools. Between 1995 and 1997, Wilson was involved in 10 schools, volunteering. Gradually, he got calls for supply teaching by two schools within one school board. In the spring of 1997, Wilson managed to obtain a part-time position as an MLO in a school and a few months later, he was offered a second part-time MLO position in another school. Simultaneously, Wilson continued receiving Canadian education and training. When interviewed in December 1997, he was studying part time in a graduate program at the University of Ottawa, in addition to completion of the counselling program which Adam, Henry and Ted had also completed.

Similar to Adam's view, Wilson emphasized the fact that the PUP opened the door for him to move up. The following extract describes, in his words, the benefit he gained from the PUP and the impact of the program on his subsequent training and job search:

I am not working as a teacher now, but I am in a school context. And I am sure one of the reasons I got this job was because I had school experience, that practicum [PUP]. So some of the questions I was asked at the interview for the position [MLO] were related to the school context, how the school works. The experience with the course [PUP] helped me to answer those questions, especially questions about the Ontario educational system and things like that.

My background of this course [PUP] also helped me to get into another program, the counselling program. That was a very useful experience, again because I went back to school as a counsellor [MLO] now. So, it was a good start as a foreign-trained teacher.

In comparison with his career expectations upon completion of the PUP, Wilson was quite happy with what he had achieved. His feelings about his post-program experience are shown below:

I think I am satisfied. Not only [I have improved] teaching skills, but I get to know people. And I've met teachers, principals, and the whole school context. Before the program, I had no idea what was going on.

Most significant for Wilson was his confidence in his future success. He was not worried about whether or not he would get a position in a classroom. Rather he contemplated how to get a higher position within the school system. The following extract illustrates his ambitions and confidence in achieving his long-term goal:

For my long-term goal, I want to get a permanent position as a teacher or at least as a school official, like a school administrator or something. That's why I am doing my master's. Immediately after I finish the program, I will move up.

And now I know a lot of people and I am not worried about getting a job. When a position shows up, I will probably grab it. I am working in the school, I think one day I will end up getting a permanent position. But I know there are difficulties.

In terms of difficulties, Wilson mentioned that he had first to face the accent issue. According to him, although hiring decisions were claimed to be made on the basis of merits, there were hidden criteria which were used to exclude people from non-mainstream groups, and one such hidden criterion was accent. Accent became a problem for him because it was created by some employers in the system, which itself did not expect FTTs to be there. As far as communication was concerned, Wilson said:

When we define communication, to me, [it is about] how much you want to say and how much you get it across, okay? But in the reality, in the Canadian context, communication includes accent, especially African accent.

During my interview with Wilson, he repeatedly brought up the topic of accent because it had been the cause of a bad experience not only for him but also for non-mainstream students in schools:

The reason why I am repeating this is because I am in the school system now and I see the comments from the teachers. I can see the comments, they do make on the students. And they try to change students' accent.

...like the comments, for example, they would say: "This child will not succeed in the Canadian society because he has an accent, because he is not developing the language the way [he should], it was like the English language." That's what they would say.

Wilson did not want to act as a disadvantaged individual or victim. In fact, he referred to a fair competition and supported the meritocracy system which he thought, in a way, could give him a better chance to win if the meritocracy system aimed to achieve what it claimed to. Wilson felt that he was better than Canadian trained teachers for he had two kinds of experience, both inside and outside Canada:

That's how I feel. I feel that I have more experience than Canadian-born teachers. I have two perspectives, at least two perspectives, if it's not more than that, you know. It's like.. when students come to us, I will not see just from one angle. I will see it from other angles. So I have something else to offer. And that helps, any extra things will always help in teaching in a Canadian school.

But his experience in schools made him question what was really behind the meritocracy system:

Some people say: "Okay, we take people because of their qualification not because of who they are or where they are from. I think that's not true. It's on the contrary to that, people are taken into the system because of where they are from.

And so many times, and since now I am in the system, I see newcomers, newcomers who are teachers. Where are they from? From England. They still have a very strong accent, British accent. They are very new. Like in one of the schools where I am working, someone who has been here just for two years is a teacher, teaching.

Wilson felt that it was very difficult to get into the system, not to mention to succeed within the system. Therefore, when asked what factors could lead to success, he said:

It's difficult for me to answer that question because I am trying to integrate. But each time, I, I am going forward and I am not... There are barriers.

Being aware of the rough road ahead, Wilson did not want to waste his time, wondering how to make a breakthrough (perhaps he did not believe that the barriers could be removed). He focused on improving himself by contacting people who understood him and avoiding those who did not:

Why bother to go to schools where you are not wanted? Go to somewhere else because there are some places where people will understand.

Wilson was somewhat worried about losing his teaching skills for he had no opportunity to use them. Nevertheless, he was confident that he would eventually end up in a place where he could use them, if not within Canada, then internationally. No matter what would happen, Wilson was sure that he would be employed somewhere, for example, working for UNECO (United Nations for Education and Culture Organization) where:

I can be very creative and I can be very open. I will be able to use all my creativity and my knowledge and skills and... where I will feel safe... and I want them to include me in the process as one of them even if I am new.

4.2.8 Summary

To summarize, this section has described the seven FTTs' retrospective views during their 13-week experience in the PUP in the fall of 1994, and during their 3-year post-PUP experience between January 1995 and December 1997. These FTTs had common career expectations which were realistic and relatively reasonable upon completion of the PUP in December 1994. None of them had presumed that they would get a teaching position immediately after the program as they realized that it would a long and gradual process to reach their ultimate goals.

Remarkably, they appeared to share a similar view of what it meant to be a good teacher. Most FTTs believed that a good teacher must be very strong in academic subject areas and genuinely care about students and their learning. In their view, teaching was more than a job for teachers who worked to rule, teaching for a certain number of hours a day, getting paid, heading for home and forgetting about students. Teachers were "the engineers of the soul of students" who learned knowledge as well as values from teachers in schools. As non-native speakers of English, all FTTs admitted that they must develop adequate L2 abilities in order to function effectively in an English setting.

Because of each individual's uniqueness in terms of family responsibility, financial ability, understanding of what they saw, read and heard and their personal choices, the FTTs had different priorities which were constantly changing as time went by, resulting in different career paths. While most of them continued their training and obtained some counselling positions in schools, some changed career and concentrated on working to fulfil parental duties and support a family life.

Accordingly, the process of reconstructing a professional identity within the Canadian school system was gradually encouraging and satisfying for most of them. As well, all had to endure some disheartening moments. When faced with demanding and extreme challenges, some of the FTTs responded strategically and effectively, others were more or less indifferent and simply changed career directions if the struggle became too much for them to bear, and still others got disappointed and angry. Yet, despite their different feelings, choices and career paths, they all longed for a workplace where they could have a meaningful career and simultaneously be accepted for who they were.

Figure 8 below is a summary of the FTTs' collective post-program experiences in terms of their career expectations, views of being a good teacher, employment, training, strategies, feelings, ideal workplace and future plans by regrouping the seven FTT individual stories (interviews).

Figure 8. Summary of FTTs' post-program experience.

Points Explored	Results
Career expectations upon completion of the PUP	Initially as a supply teacher Gradually as a part-time teacher Finally as a regular teacher Let nature take its course
Views of being a good teacher	Be strong in academic subject areas Care about students Have adequate L2 skills
Employment at time of interviews	Coordinator (full-time) Two multicultural liaison officers (full-time) Supply teacher (regular) Office worker (contract) Language tutor (private, occasional)
Courses taken/ taking at time of interviews	4 FTTs had completed a counselling training 1 FTT had earned a master's degree in history 2 FTTs were graduate students in sociology & educational administration (part-time) 1 FTT had earned certificates in ESL, FSL & special education 1 FTT had completed a classroom management course and computer training 1 FTT was taking hi-tech training
Basis of success to date	Persistence Willingness to sacrifice Good human relations Continuous upgrading Strong religious belief Career change
Feelings when being interviewed	Satisfied and optimistic Content but wished that it could have been better Somewhat disappointed but still hopeful Disappointed Disappointed and angry
Future plans	Continue upgrading Still waiting Remain where they were until a better opportunity came Have no clear direction
Ideal workplace	Where they would be useful Where they could have their voice heard, be allowed to be creative and open Where they would be respected and accepted for who they were Where nobody cares about where you are from. Where they would be evaluated on their teaching ability Where their visible difference were irrelative to their ability Where they would be allowed to teach if qualified to teach and willing to change. Where they were not subject to any kind of discrimination Where their contributions and suggestions were taken into consideration Where they could feel safe

Finally, regardless of their mixed feelings about their experiences, all FTTs affirmatively acknowledged that the official support in the form of the PUP had a major influence on their reconstruction of a professional identity as teachers and their building of a career in Canada. When comparing their employment opportunities before the program with those after the program (see the table below), it is clear that six FTTs significantly increased their employment opportunities. Unfortunately, one FTT, Angela, had not experienced a career advance and in fact had lost her previous part-time teaching position. And Barbara, although she managed to be employed, remained at her previous level, returning to where she was before the PUP.

Table 7. FTTs' employment before and after the PUP

Pseudonym	Employment Before the PUP	Employment After the PUP
Adam	Grocery clerk	Coordinator at a community centre* Supply teacher Volunteer Language (L1) instructor
Angela	Language teacher (regular part-time position)	Language (L1) tutor (private, occasional)
Barbara	Office worker (contract)	Office worker (contract)* Occasional supply teacher Volunteer
Henry	Store helper	Counsellor (part-time) Math tutor Store helper Salesman Language (L1) instructor
Rose	Looking for a (teaching) position	Regular supply teacher for three school boards * Volunteer
Ted	Odd jobs	Multicultural liaison officer* Occasional supply teacher Volunteer
Wilson	Looking for a job	Multicultural liaison officer* Occasional supply teacher Volunteer

* Current employment at the time of interview.

4.3 A Collective Story

This section reports on how the FTTs collectively conceptualized their experience in reestablishing their teaching career in Canada in a focus group session which took place on January 18, 1998. The group discussion lasted for two and a half hours, with five FTTs present: Adam, Barbara, Rose, Ted and Wilson. Although Angela did not participate in the group discussion, she provided a copy of her written answers to the questions posed for discussion. Therefore throughout the section we will hear six voices, articulating a personal philosophy and debating with each other on the discussion questions (see below) generated from the analysis of the earlier interview data provided by the 16 informants for the study.

It should also be noted that these questions were, in large part, developed on the basis of the researcher's "subjective choices" (Lincoln & Guba 1985) that guided her to include/exclude what would be asked for the focus group discussion. For instance, it was her understanding of the data on perceptions and effectiveness provided and elaborated by some outsiders that helped her to formulate the fourth question (see below) which aimed at raising the FTTs' awareness of its impact on their careers in Canadian schools, and at eliciting sufficient and good data in order to answer Research Question Four (see 2.5 or 5.4). These questions are given as follows.

1. What is the role of cultural knowledge in your teaching in Ontario schools?
2. What is the impact of a nonnative English accent on your professional opportunity?
And why?
3. According to some implementors and facilitators, one of the barriers faced by FTTs was that some of them were judgemental about what was happening within the school system while they were trying to become part of it. It is advised that FTTs

should put such feelings aside otherwise it would be very hard for them to become integrated. Would you accept this advice? And why?

4. In Canadian society, someone perceived as different (e.g., accents and appearance) is often thought to be less effective. It is thus suggested by some outsiders (see 5.1.2.2.) that FTTs should try to be less different in order to increase their opportunities of being accepted. Please respond to: a) What is your understanding of this perception? And b) How did you manage your perceived differences in schools?
5. Based on your experience over the past three years in Ontario schools, please respond to: a) How do you define your professional identity in Canada? And b) What would make you feel that you have been successful in reestablishing your professional career in Canada?

Corresponding to these questions, the focus group data are presented under five headings:

a) cultural knowledge in teaching, b) accent, race and opportunity, c) critique and acceptance, d) perception and effectiveness, and e) success indicators. A summary of this section is also provided.

4.3.1 Cultural Knowledge in Teaching

All the FTTs expressed their view that cultural knowledge played an important role in teaching students from diverse backgrounds. According to Wilson, cultural knowledge in a Canadian context was about differences and about problem solving, and it governed the way teachers would interact with students, assess their learning and what teaching methods they would adopt. In the following extract, he commented that because of the multicultural nature of the student population in Canadian schools, knowledge and understanding of student cultures should be part of job descriptions for all teachers, regardless of where they were trained.

Extract 1 (Wilson):

As a teacher, whether you are trained outside or inside Canada, he or she must be aware of cultural differences and must have knowledge of the culture, the culture of the students we are teaching. And in the context of teaching, it's about difference, it's about problem solving. For example, different people assess children differently.

Teachers have to be aware of those things, those differences, so they can tie it to their teaching strategies in the classroom. Since we are living in a multicultural society, sensitivity and understanding of world culture must be part of the job description.

Both Adam and Barbara said that cultural knowledge would assist teachers in accurately identifying student needs and deciding on suitable teaching methods. To support this view, Adam shared with his fellow FTTs his experience of observing a lesson by a Canadian teacher to a group of African students, most of whom did not understand what was required of them to do.

Extract 2 (Adam):

Once a teacher did a demonstration in my class and I found lots of African students did not understand at all. If the teacher had understood the students and given them a different assignment, the students could have done better. ...[the teacher showed] not only a lack of the cultural knowledge, but was also insensitive.

I think, cultural knowledge definitely plays a role in teaching. You can't teach students without knowing their culture, without knowing where they come from. I mean you can teach them but you can't teach them effectively. Without knowing their value system, and how they view things, you can't teach effectively.

Barbara described a lesson on sex education given by a school teacher to validate Adam's story. She concluded that cultural knowledge would help teachers to decide what and when would be appropriate for teaching certain content.

Extract 3 (Barbara):

I had an experience [at an elementary school], watching a teacher doing a lesson on sex education. And lots of immigrant kids just got lost. They seemed to be shocked, especially when they are new to this country. Eventually they will start to realize [that] sex education is important, but [when] they are new to the country, it's too much for them. They need time to adjust to the same level as Canadian kids. So teachers should be aware of that.

According to Rose, Canadian students were very sensitive about teachers' stances toward their cultures. If teachers were not careful about the comments they made, students would think that teachers took sides and that they would never be successful in teaching or precisely working with them. She described an incident that happened in a school, which she thought could have been dealt with differently.

Extract 4 (Rose):

I have witnessed a big fight in a school where I went for supply teaching. A principal and a vice principal were outraged because a child was wearing something, you know, over her head. But it is okay in the country where she came from, I mean, the Muslim culture. To me, it seems okay.

Ted even tried to quantify the weight of cultural knowledge in teaching. To him, culture was a basis for teachers to expand their knowledge and continuously enhance their teaching skills. If teachers did not understand students' cultural backgrounds, perhaps 50% of their teaching in class was lost.

Extract 5 (Ted):

I think, culture is very important in teaching. For any teachers to be effective, they have to understand the culture of their students. If they don't understand their culture, they have nothing to build on in lesson planning...I would say, then their teaching efficiency is lost, maybe 50%. Just like you are talking to a stranger about something, you often waste 50% of time before getting to what it is really about.

Angela wrote that teachers, if not very knowledgeable, should at least know the most important facts about students' cultural backgrounds and their value system.

The FTTs provided some anecdotes of misinterpretation of students behaviour due to lack of cultural knowledge. For example, some school teachers complained about immigrant students being impolite because they did not look at the teachers who were talking to them. But according to Barbara and Wilson, these kids were simply being shy or polite. Wilson also found that misunderstanding often occurred between teachers and the parents of immigrant students. Many

teachers who came from Western Europe complained about those parents for not getting involved in their children's education and but they forgot that these parents had language barriers and they could not communicate with each other. Instead of searching for alternatives, these teachers would stick to their traditional teacher-parent interview methods, while parents expected the teachers to do their job in schools.

Extract 6 (Wilson):

Many parents are new to this culture and they can't communicate with this system [because] they have language barriers. At the same time, most of the teachers in the schools are immigrants from Western Europe and they do not look for alternatives, they just stick to their traditional ways of communicating with parents. Then there is a breakdown in communication.

So, the teachers complain about parents for not getting involved in their children's education. And that is true with minority children, it's not something new.

So the culture, the way - they are using the traditional ways of doing things, are always Western, or the European...kind of things. In my opinion, with parents from the Middle East, from Asia, from China, it should be the teachers who have to understand how to deal with children and their parents.

In conclusion, Wilson expressed his conviction that Canadian teachers, when teaching a large group of immigrant children from Eastern societies, should make the changes in order to meet the needs of their students. Teachers should not try to impose their personal values onto students.

Extract 7 (Wilson):

The teacher has to be open-minded and be flexible. I think, the basic principle has to be reinforced - don't dictate over anybody else. Teachers who go out and find out what the children's needs are and solve problems in different ways will succeed in their teaching.

The next extract shows that Ted shared exactly the same view as Wilson. He said that no culture was superior to any other culture and in Canadian schools all cultures should be validated

and respected. For him, the issue was about the quality of education that students received from the schools rather than protecting any culture or race per se.

Extract 8 (Ted):

Since our schools are becoming more and more diverse than ever before, understanding different cultures should be part of the curriculum. Not only for immigrant teachers, it should be for all teachers. Teachers have to be sensitive to the students, to their parents. They really should understand that to teach, to validate different cultures will enhance our educational system. You [we] are talking about races, talking about understanding different cultures but it is not really about race and culture. To me, it is an issue of quality education for the students.

According to some implementors, FTTs should take courses and be given workshops on Canadian culture. But during the focus group session, the FTTs sounded quite convinced that as far as immigrant students were concerned, many Canadian teachers did not understand them and some teachers did not care about their learning. Speaking of cultural knowledge, some FTTs felt that they were in an advantaged position. In Barbara's words, "That's [cultural knowledge] part of us, that's why we are there. If you don't know your students' culture, you can't teach well." These FTTs did not say much about teaching Canadian-born students perhaps because of the fact that the many classes that they had taught were mostly composed of immigrant students and a few white students.

4.3.2 Accent, Race and Opportunity

Accent had surfaced repeatedly as an issue in most of my interviews with the informants. In their view, this was because in Canadian society, a native English accent was deemed by many as the standard accent and thus it became one of the criterion, although unwritten, for assessing an FTT's competence. Therefore from a purely linguistic perspective, the seven FTTs under study were thought to be somehow "handicapped." In Barbara's words "That's something we have already acquired. I will never be able to change my accent."

Nevertheless, these FTTs agreed that accent should be taken into consideration within reasonable restrictions, but as long as their accent did not interfere with their communication with students, their teacher qualifications should not be discounted. Barbara said that although she had an accent, she had never had problems communicating with Canadians either at work or in the community during her over 20 years' residence in Canada. She asked why her accent should affect her opportunity to work as a classroom teacher.

Wilson reminded her of race, which was implicated in accent. In his opinion, whether accent had a positive or negative impact on FTTs' career, it largely depended on where they came from. In fact, the so-called accent criterion in his view was not really about accent per se. It was about race and social status which were reflected in the form of the opportunity structure in Canadian society.

Extract 9 (Wilson):

Accent is about where you are from. If you are from Western Europe, you have no problems; if [you are] from Eastern Europe, you will have some problems. But if you are from Africa or Asia, you will have a lot more problems.

So, that's the problem. With FTTs from Western Europe, accent doesn't affect them. Nobody asks about their accent. If someone comes from Germany and he wants to teach here in Canada and probably he has an accent and that's okay and he will get a position.

But with someone, an FTT comes from Africa or Asia, then you [he/she] will have a lot more problems. Because there is racism, hidden in it. And that racism may be based on white supremacy or it could be just a fear, a fear of the unknown, of a FTT coming from a country other than from Europe, and it could be a threat to them or maybe a fear by the system here. That's why they always hire a person from Europe first, even if the person has a strong accent.

So, I think the problem is not only just about accent, rather than something they don't talk about it, like discrimination, racism, or fear, or whatever you call.

Ted supported Wilson by concluding: "It is a big truth in the society, that's it." Rose noted that in Canada human beings became "objects" which were measured as different classes on the basis of

their accents, looks and customs, and these measures were then used in making hiring decisions.

Rose described such a reality as "unfortunate" and Barbara saw it as "a hard truth."

Extract 10 (Barbara):

It's true, that's a hard truth. If two persons apply for a job, one white person and the other is non-white, I mean obviously you [the non-white] have to be super, super, super good in order to get that job. I mean you have to accept that. I can tell you I have seen so many such examples [because] I have been here for 27 years.

If you go for high positions, go for professional positions. I know someone who has everything, you name it, he has got all the papers, done various jobs, but why he is not put in the position he applies for? Because of his colour and race.

To further establish their argument, these FTTs compared their teacher qualifications obtained through training opportunities with employment opportunities available to them. Wilson said that opportunities such as the PUP, the counselling training and graduate studies provided by Canadian universities had significant symbolic meanings for his professional career.

Extract 11 (Wilson):

The Ministry of Education and Training has facilitated our opportunity by providing us with a teacher certificate. That's Number One. And then that led to some other opportunities, for example, the certificate allows me to apply for a teaching position.

Adam spoke highly of the PUP and was grateful for the Ministry's initiative to assist FTTs like him to get into the school system.

Extract 12 (Adam):

For me, before the program I was working in a store. Now although I am not working as a teacher, I work as a manager in a community centre. But without the program at the university, without the teacher certificate, I would not have had the courage to apply for this position. So this program gave me the confidence and I knew after the program where I was heading.

Adam reiterated the point that the program was a cornerstone which had had a significant impact on his professional career in Canada. He mentioned that being a Canadian certified teacher

and working as a coordinator at a school-related community centre was an indication that his qualifications were acknowledged, at least symbolically. He believed that he was regarded as a professional during his interactions with his colleagues, immigrants and non-immigrants.

Unfortunately, these FTTs' material benefits were not comparable to the symbolic recognition they had received. Although they were Canadian certified teachers and some had earned Canadian graduate degrees, their employment opportunities for teaching were still very limited. Barbara repeated that she had wasted time, money and energy. Ted pointed out that there were opportunities for upgrading and taking courses but when it came down to getting jobs, it was totally a different story. For him, there was not much value for having Canadian degrees without holding a position for which he was trained for.

Extract 13 (Ted):

The upgrading program helped me a lot in terms of understanding the system and in terms of my competence as teacher and Canadian degrees. And I am making some connections in the system. But that doesn't mean you are valued even if you are in the system. You see, I don't get a teaching job.

When Rose, who had taught most as a supply teacher among the seven FTTs since the PUP, was asked whether she had got material benefits for her continuous upgrading, Rose replied: "Not getting rich yet" and the whole group burst into laughter. Adam and Wilson, although both working full-time in a school-related environment, felt that their symbolic social status was disassociated from their access to material benefits. For Wilson, it was not worth mentioning material benefits.

Extract 14 (Wilson):

I just want to add, in terms of making money, that's an insignificant contribution to my daily life. So, it's very insignificant and something you can't even mention it.

Angela expressed briefly but explicitly in her written answer that symbolically, she gained recognition as a certified teacher but materially, she lost.

From these example, it is clear that except for some symbolic recognition, the FTTs did not gain much materially, and they felt that their qualifications were discounted - perhaps because of their non-native English accents which reflected their ethnicity or were associated with their race.

Rose warned her fellow FTTs that they should be careful when coupling "race" with accent. In her opinion, in some cases accent was indeed an intentionally-created barrier and racism did exist. But she believed that all human beings were more or less "racist" and thus the most important for FTTs was learning how to overcome the barriers and still be successful.

Extract 15 (Rose):

...whether we are in Canada or in England or in Africa, we all want to think of our race as supreme. At home [in Africa], if I am in a position to give a job to someone, to a white man or a black man. I will probably choose somebody I know we will be on a familiar ground, culturally, especially I am going to work with this person, in the same capacity. I want to give a job to somebody I can really relate to every ground. So I wouldn't want, we are accusing all white people as racists. It's so easy to do [that]...I want us to look at this in a more charitable way. We would probably do the same if we were in their position.

...The point is how do we as foreign-trained teachers go around this? Are we going around this barrier by putting the barrier between us and the jobs? By consciously putting this barrier there? Or are we going to say: "Yes, this barrier is there. But it's not going to be a barrier to me" So I think this is a kind of mind over body philosophy.

If you think that because you are black or because you are Eastern European, nobody is going to hire you, you are probably going to the staff room, shaking, during the lunch hour if you supply teach at school. If it's your first day or first week, and you don't know anybody in the staffroom if you already have that kind of feeling in your mind: "They are thinking my accent is not good enough, they are not going to like me because I am black." Then you go in there, whether you like it or not, it is going to show in your eyes, it's going to show on your face and you are going to sit by yourself for lunch.

Whereas if you go into the staff room, believing "Yes, I am a different colour from this group. Thank God we are all the same, we are human beings." Then when you are going there, you see yourself as a human being, they are human beings. Nobody is better than anybody else. And then you will start talking to people.

As soon as Rose finished her long speech, Wilson responded that he disagreed with Rose about her "mind over body" philosophy and that "racism was human nature". To him, racism was a by-product of colonization which was invented because of struggles for power.

Extract 16 (Wilson):

I will not agree to what my colleague has just said about racism and white supremacy. I believe that I am not a supremacist and I don't think that racism is human nature. It's something that was invented, sometime during colonization. It was not something anywhere in the world until colonization happened. Racism has nothing to do with psychology, nothing to do with a person, his personality.

To me, it is about power, it's about power and relations. If you are in power, you have the power to give or not to give me a job. It doesn't matter how aggressive, how talented, how I see myself. So this is a problem for employers. For me, accent is not a barrier but the barrier is there, okay? And I am not the person who put it there.

Adam agreed that accent was a barrier and supported Rose's position that they should accept the reality and try to get around this barrier and move on.

Extract 17 (Adam):

I think accent, of course, is a barrier but the issue is how we get around this. When we speak with native speakers of English, we can say: "Okay, I have a non-native accent. But do you understand me? If we can understand each other, why bother about accent? Language is a means for us to communicate." So, I think that's it.

Adam felt that in essence accent had nothing to do with their teacher qualifications. Accent would not have become an issue, had there been more teaching positions than teachers.

Extract 18 (Adam):

We always have to deal with this accent issue. But I think it is the time, it's a difficult time for most of us to get a job. It has nothing to do with your [our] qualification, your accent or race, because you see the teachers in the system are bumped out.

Adam continued in an empathetic and generous manner, even trying to persuade his fellow FTTs that they should learn to appreciate their rejection because sometimes defeats could be more triumphant than victories.

Extract 19 (Adam):

Now they have jobs but it's okay, they need to make a living. And I also see some principals looking for people who speak African languages because they have so many African students in their schools. You know, when there is a need, they will call you.

Ted believed that accent was a barrier which was used in the name of competence to exclude people like FTTs, which had significant consequences for many FTTs. Nevertheless, he said to his fellow FTTs: "We have to face it and try to overcome it."

4.3.3 Critique versus Acceptance

As will be reported in Chapter Five, some implementors and facilitators had mentioned that FTTs had a tendency to make judgements about the Canadian school system and criticised students, saying: "This is not right" and "that is not right." According to these implementors and facilitators, it would be unwise for FTTs to criticise the school system at the same time that they were trying to become part of it. Their judgements about the school practice and student behaviour could become a barrier against themselves for they might be seen as holding a negative attitude toward the system.

Surprisingly, most FTTs did not see themselves as being critical of the system, perhaps because of their past experience which might affect the way in which they assessed themselves and their surroundings. Adam argued that being critical did not mean that FTTs had a negative attitude. Like all other Canadians and Canadian teachers, they had the right to assess the system just as any other individual teacher in the system, and to share perspectives based on their knowledge and experience.

Extract 20 (Adam):

I could assess the system. Everybody has the right to assess the system. That's okay. Most of us, I mean, I try to be positive and not to blame anybody. I don't think I have

created problems for myself. If there is a problem, we definitely should try to correct it. Just try to stay positive. That's it.

In support for Adam's position, Wilson used the example of the Ontario teachers' strike to protest Bill 160 that took place in the fall of 1998. He pointed out that if an FTT was critical of the system, his or her intention was to improve the system.

Extract 21 (Wilson):

I would say an FTT might be as judgemental about the system as any other Ontario school teachers. Teachers are also criticizing the system, everybody does. So why not us? It depends on what you are talking about. What kind of issue you are talking about. For example, a few weeks ago, there was a teachers' strike, they criticized the system, the government that was trying to impose on schools and teachers with Bill 160.

So, it's not because I am an FTT, being judgemental. I am like any other teachers. I could be judgemental of certain things about you: "This is not good, it is injustice. It has to be improved".

Furthermore, Wilson said that being judgemental had some symbolic meaning that he was an educated, highly trained individual who was concerned about the development of the system. In his view, only devoted and committed teachers who truly cared about student learning would take the "risk" of being "judgemental."

Extract 22 (Wilson):

I could be judgemental. That has something to do with my training, my understanding and my experience. I will not take something that is not good for education and say: "Oh, that's okay" because I want to get that job so I just ignore this problem. Even in an interview, I will probably say what I believe in.

So, basically, I am saying there is no connection between being judgemental and getting a job.

Angela and Barbara expressed a similar view that FTTs might sometimes be judgemental but simultaneously they were able to integrate well. They also said that their experience in the PUP and after the PUP indicated clearly that FTTs had virtually no voice at all in the system and they could hardly think of being critical or afford to be like that.

Rose questioned why FTTs were constantly criticized and faced unreasonable demands while at the same time they were not even allowed to see anything wrong with the system.

Extract 23 (Rose):

This is interesting, hey? It's okay for them to criticize us. But it is not okay for us to see anything wrong with it.

4.3.4 Perception & Effectiveness

According to some facilitators (see Chapter Five below), perception of the FTTs by others was one of big factors that influenced the process of their integration into the system. In their view, perception as widely held, although not voiced, was often reflected in the opportunities provided and the relationships formed. FTTs had been advised during the PUP to be aware of the implications of this perception during their practica and to try to act less differently so that they could increase their opportunities to be accepted by those in the system.

The FTTs realized the impact of such perceptions, but their reactions towards the advice was emotionally strong. When asked how they managed their differences in schools, Rose said to the group: "Look at me", as if saying that she was black and she could not change her dark skin. The following extract shows that Adam was really upset about it.

Extract 24 (Adam):

How am I supposed to be less different? I can't do anything about that.

I am different because that's obvious, different culture, different religion and different colour. Different? Probably, from the mainstream value system.

Okay, I am different. But the point is how much is that difference, uh... not accepted? My difference should not affect my students' learning.

Barbara said that she was just as the same as anybody else at the workplace and in the society

except for her appearance which was impossible to change. To her, the best strategy to survive any kind of ethnic related perceptions was to ignore them and focus on improving her qualifications and skills.

Extract 25 (Barbara):

I have been here for so long [over 27 years] that I have completely, almost forgotten what I was before. So, I am more and more Canadian now. I don't see myself different...I am the same as anybody else, in the staffroom, anywhere. When they see me as different, the only thing is the colour, my appearance, that's it.

For me, I just try to learn, learn more, upgrade myself, make adjustments and try to be like other teachers.

Wilson disagreed with Barbara. He said that he would never try to change himself for the sake of perception. To survive such a perception, Wilson emphasized that he must be himself. In his opinion, if he was perceived to be different from the mainstream teachers, then they looked different to him, too.

Extract 26 (Barbara):

I disagree with my colleague. I would say that I must be myself. I am different but at the same time, I am just like anybody else. If they see me as different, then they should be the people who need to be changed and make adjustment because there are different to me, too.

I am different and I am not going to change that. I am not going to change myself just to accommodate their perception.

So what I do in my job as a teacher is to make sure students learn something positive each day in school.

Rose said that she would make an effort to meet the requirements by being an effective teacher while remaining who she was if she was perceived as different because of lack of Canadian teaching experience. However, if she was required to change because of her physical appearance, she would try to be more different.

Extract 27 (Rose):

To me, it's very, very important to have Canadian experience, because the people who are going to offer you the job would like to see that you have that.

If I am perceived as being less effective because I am different, I am going to go about this by not diminishing my difference. I am not going to try it in any way. I will try to be more than myself.

My accent, I can change it only to a certain degree. But I do know that, if I am going out for a job, competing with a white person, I know I have to work double hard in order to get the job. So now, I start out from being effective, I know I am effective.

You are looking at me, [suppose] you are the interviewer, looking at me: "Oh, who is she? She is black and she is not going to get the job. She talks differently and she looks different... Well, pretending that you [talking to an FTT] are white and I am black and we both are going to practice teach for one day at school. At the end of the day, only one of us will get the job and I know since you are white, you will have a definite advantage over me.

But I am going to go out there, not pretending that I am white or blue eyed or brown. But I am going to go out there, yes, I am black, I have the accent, but I am going to do the best job I can.

After Rose's long speech, Adam continued with a powerful comment that whoever thought of FTTs as less effective based on their appearance were racists and would never offer any jobs to FTTs. Wilson concluded that there was no connection between being different and being effective and it was skills that mattered. For Angela, she preferred to explain her actions and habits to students and other school teachers if misunderstanding occurred because of perceptions.

For Ted, since racially visible FTTs could not change the way they were perceived, the most sensible thing they should do was to find out what the criteria were for getting into the system and learn to negotiate with it because negotiation was one basic human survival skill.

Extract 28 (Ted):

I think the system is here and you [we] are perceived this way, there is not much you can do about it. So the problem is how do you negotiate this. You are facing the

system, and you are assessing your positions, okay. If things are wrong with the system, then you have to find ways to deal with it.

So, you know, whether you are trying to understand the system and trying to reduce your differences, or to increase your dignity or anything, try to find out what the criteria are for getting into the system. I mean whatever you call it, it's a problem you have to get around.

Adam described negotiation as a useful tool for him to solve problems and get recognition within the system.

Extract 29 (Adam):

I think that negotiation works if misunderstanding occurs, you should speak up and make things clear. For example, in an interview for a job, selling yourself, you need to negotiate in order to be hired.

Some other FTTs felt that in theory it might sound acceptable but in reality it did not apply to their experience. On the contrary, it could worsen a situation in which they were insecure and unprotected mainly because of discrimination.

Extract 30 (Wilson):

That [negotiation] doesn't apply to my experience because getting a teaching position in Ontario or in Canada has nothing to do with self-assertiveness or even knowledge of the system. It's more complex than that. Like discrimination, uh... discrimination is based on knowing who you know.

Responding to Wilson, Ted said even though they were subject to discrimination, they should try to negotiate with themselves and those in the system rather than getting discouraged and losing hope.

Extract 31 (Ted):

You [we] have to be realistic. People sometimes get defeated and you can't always get what you expect. Then the next thing you should do is to try other strategies. Suppose the system is closed, suppose the system is not really sensitive to people like us, you have to try to do as best as you can or do whatever it takes in order to get what you expect. You can't just give it up so easily, saying: "They are a bunch of racists out there and I am not going out to try." Then you get nowhere.

4.3.5 Success Indicators

These FTTs considered themselves as professionally trained teachers although they were not perfect. For example, Rose described herself as a competent and experienced teacher; Wilson regarded himself as a teacher and an educator; Barbara believed that she was extremely good with kids; Ted said that he had been well prepared for teaching in Canadian schools; Adam had been very successful at a community centre; and Angela believed that most FTTs would have integrated well into the system if equal opportunities had been provided. In addition, all of them believed that most students accepted them as teachers equal to their Canadian colleagues. Nevertheless, they found that in the eyes of some teachers and principals, they were not teachers.

Extract 32 (Ted):

Most of the time, students see me as a teacher right away as soon as I walk into their classroom, but not some teachers.

In 4.2.6., we heard Ted proudly assign a new identity for himself: "I am now in the system and no longer an outsider any more" upon completion of the PUP three years ago. Interestingly, the extract below shows that three years after the PUP Ted had regained his lost identity as an outsider.

Extract 33 (Ted):

I consider myself as an outsider to the system. Although I am now working within the system, I feel like an outsider. I want to [feel like an insider], but I feel like an outsider all the time. It seems a long way to go ...

According to Ted, one of the reasons why FTTs were not accepted by some school teachers was that the PUP was seen as unequal to a regular teacher program. Some teachers regarded it as a politically motivated program and a shortcut for FTTs.

Extract 34 (Ted):

Some teachers think this program [the PUP] is a shorter way for us to get into the system. They don't like it. And they don't support it and they suspect that it's very inefficient and maybe politically motivated. They don't think it's a good program.

Angela found it hard to define her professional identity because she had neither worked as a teacher nor in any other school-related positions since completion of the PUP.

When asked what would make them feel that they were successful in reconstructing their professional identity in Canada, the FTTs provided different answers with the same meaning:

Ted:	Getting a job, a teaching position.
Rose:	That's it, getting a job.
Barbara:	Of course, getting a job.
Adam:	I think getting a job, that's the bottom line.
Wilson:	To land a permanent teaching position in the Ontario educational system.
Angela:	Employment with benefits and joyful working experience. Work after education makes you feel that you are really part of the system.

Perhaps due to their disappointment for still being under- or unemployed after the PUP, some FTTs felt the universities should stop offering training programs like the PUP. After the training, there were still no jobs for them and they remained where they were, which would generate more frustrations for them. But Wilson said that regardless of existing barriers, programs like the PUP should be continued.

Extract 35 (Wilson):

To me, there is a point to taking such a program, [it is] useful. This program is about improving your skills and sharpening your sword so that it cuts well in the ice of racism in this society... And of course, the program should increase the active participation of the school principals. That would be very useful and productive.

4.3.6 Summary

In this section, we have listened to the FTTs' collective reflections on their experiences in Ontario schools. These FTTs shared and argued with each other on various complex issues such as accent, race, opportunity, academic qualifications, symbolic meaning and material value, perception, and teacher effectiveness. Given below are the main points expressed by the focus group discussants.

1. Cultural knowledge in teaching
 - 1) Cultural knowledge was part of their existence and that was the reason why they were encouraged and recruited by the PUP for additional training in order to diversify the Ontario teaching force.
 - 2) Cultural knowledge (i.e., the cultural backgrounds of non-native students as opposed to student subcultures) was an issue related to the quality of education for all students.
 - 3) Cultural knowledge should be included in the job description for all teachers.
2. Accent, race and opportunity
 - 1) Accent was a barrier for some FTTs but not for all FTTs, depending on where they came from.
 - 2) Race was implicated in accent, which could be just out of prejudice or a fear of the unknown
 - 3) The real issue was not about accent. Rather it was about power and relations among human beings.
 - 4) The PUP had provided the FTTs with an opportunity to obtain practical teaching experience in Canadian classrooms, which brought them some symbolic recognition from the system at the Ministry level (i.e., they all became certified teachers)
 - 5) FTTs' qualifications were discounted because of their non-native English accents. Thus the symbolic value to FTTs' qualification was devalued by the system, often at the school level.

- 6) The return on the FTTs' investment in professional upgrading in terms of material benefits was too insignificant to be mentioned because there were very limited benefits for them.

3. Being judgemental

- 1) Everyone was entitled to assess the system and the environment.
- 2) Connection should not be made between being judgemental and getting a job.
- 3) Being able to make judgements was related to one's training and education.

4. Perceived difference, teacher effectiveness and negotiation

- 1) Physical difference was a fact but that should not be a criterion for judging one's competence.
- 2) The FTTs must be themselves, and at the same time try to find out what the criteria were for getting into the system.
- 3) Teacher effectiveness should not be judged on the basis of perceived difference (mainly physical appearance).
- 4) Negotiation with those in the system was a tool for clearing up misunderstanding and removing potential barriers.
- 5) As long as there was discriminatory practice in employment decisions, negotiation might not have any positive impact on FTTs' career development.
- 6) Even if the system was largely closed to FTTs, they should never give up their hope and effort. Otherwise they would get nowhere.

5. Success indicators

- 1) The FTTs considered themselves as professionals and they believed that most students accepted them without reservation. Unfortunately, some school teachers did not treat them as colleagues.
- 2) The FTTs' success could only be measured by the fact of being treated fairly in terms of equal employment opportunities. In Angela's words: "Work after education makes you feel that you are really part of the system."

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS II - CO-CONSTRUCTION OF EXPERIENCES

People through finding something beautiful think something else unbeautiful: Through finding one man fit, judge another unfit. Life and death, though stemming from each other, seem to conflict as stages of change - difficult and easy as phases of achievement, long and short as measures of contrast, high and low as degrees of relation.

Lao Tzu, *The Way of Life*

It was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way - in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*

This chapter is divided into six sections. In the first five sections, sequences and segments from seven *insiders'* stories presented in Chapter Four are reconstructed, combined with data collected from individual interviews with nine *outsiders* (see 1.5) to address similar issues and ideas in relevance to the five research subquestions of the study. In the final section, the informants' collective suggestions on how to better facilitate successful reconstruction of FTTs' professional identity in Ontario schools are reported. The data to be included in this chapter are summarized in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Summary of data to be referenced and reported in Chapter Five.

	Data Sources	Events Described	Timeline
Data reported in Chapter Four	Written documentation on the PUP	PUP preparation & implementation	03-12/1994
	Seven insiders (i.e., FTTs)	In-PUP experience	09-12/1994
		Post-PUP experience	01/1995-01/98
Data to be reported in Chapter Five	Nine outsiders (retrospective views)	Implementation and facilitation of the PUP	09-12/1994

5.1 Research Question One

What personal and environmental factors appear to influence the process of FTTs' reconstruction of a professional identity within an Ontario school system, positively or negatively?

The presentation of the data in this section will highlight the position taken for the present study that identity represents an "I-you" relationship in a context within which an individual constructs and develops a given identity through interactions with others (Erikson 1968; Ochs 1993; He 1995). From this point of view, two broad themes are identified and developed: personal and environmental factors. Through these two perspectives, the process of reconstructing a professional identity by FTTs in a Canadian school system is illuminated and better understood.

Identified factors are reported in order of importance, according to the number of informants mentioning them. Figure 10 presents the frequency of 21 factors (13 personal and 9 environmental) in a descending order of frequency.

Figure 10: Frequency of personal and environmental factors identified by 16 informants.

<i>f</i>	Personal Factors	<i>f</i>	Environmental Factors
16	English language proficiency	15	Student needs
16	Cultural knowledge	12	Economic reality
10	Knowledge of subject matter	7	Official support
9	Teaching methodology	7	Power<-race<- accent
9	Family responsibility	4	Public perception
9	Financial ability	3	Discrimination
7	Care for student learning	3	Political considerations
4	Commitment	3	Misleading information
3	Judgementality		
3	Unrealistic expectations		
2	Human relations		
1	Self-perception		
1	Personal image		

A view, whether strongly expressed or briefly mentioned, is considered as one count. The overall frequency will be taken into account when identified factors are described according to group (i.e., insiders and outsiders), compared according to relative generalizability (termed as shared and non-shared views), and evaluated according to their influence (i.e., positive and negative).

5.1.1 Personal Factors

Personal factors focus on the individual characteristics that seven FTTs brought to bear on their identity formation.

5.1.1.1 Insiders' Views

The FTTs' stories reveal eight individual competencies, qualities and/or difficulties that they understood as having an impact on their professional identity formation in Ontario schools. These include: a) knowledge of subject matter, b) care for student learning, c) English language proficiency, d) cultural knowledge, e) commitment, f) human relations, g) family responsibilities, and h) financial ability.

Knowledge of subject matter. All seven FTTs considered knowledge of subject matter as the core element that constituted what teaching was about. Most of them felt that they were qualified teachers. Barbara, for instance, described herself as a good and effective teacher. Henry viewed teaching as something that he could do without any further investment. To him, the only difference between Canadian teaching and his previous teaching was style and method. "Teaching is universal" was his belief. Rose said that "I am a qualified teacher. Even without that program [PUP], I can teach." In some ways, she regarded herself as a better teacher than some Canadian teachers working in classrooms. Similarly, Wilson felt that "I have more experience than Canadian-born teachers. I have two perspectives, at least two perspectives, if it's not more than that."

Care for student learning. For most FTTs, a good teacher was someone who demonstrated a genuine concern for student learning. Some FTTs suggested that immigrant students were more likely to be ignored educationally at school, and that occasionally some students were even humiliated and/or insulted. For instance, Henry found that the word, "*immigrant*", was associated with a bad reputation at the school where he had his practicum. Henry was certain that his mentor was prejudiced toward ESL students, and did not consider their questions worthy of her attention. He also thought that the principal of the school looked down upon immigrant students. Whatever bad things happened at schools, immigrant students were first targeted as suspects (see 4.1.4). Henry's observation of the treatment of immigrant students and his own experience in job hunting made him question the sincerity of school personnel with "much talking about getting to know people of different cultures. In reality, the schools are really not professional."

English language proficiency. As non-native speakers of English, the FTTs understood the importance of English language skills because language was an essential vehicle for teaching. Perhaps they felt that they were often judged on their accents during their job search for teaching positions, they elaborated much more on accents than on other aspects of language skills when interviewed. In their view, accent should not be a hiring criterion (a hidden criterion) if their accents did not interfere with communication in class.

Angela said that FTTs should have good pronunciation and a comprehensible accent but they should not be criticised for having non-native accents. Adam and Barbara mentioned that their non-native English accents never affected their communication at the workplace and in the community. Rose wondered what kind of accent she was expected to have since her British-like accent was very English. Furthermore, she argued, "Accent is your identity and marks who you are. And the fact that

you don't have a native accent doesn't mean you speak a bad English". Ted felt that the accent requirement was simply an excuse used by some school personnel to exclude FTTs from being hired. He wondered, "If I can teach math, I can teach science, so what level of fluency do they want me to have?" Henry commented that it was difficult to understand strong accents, but in Canada it was assumed that "it's okay with European accents", with values assigned to accents according to regions.

Wilson shared this view with Henry and said at the group session that accent was the key factor which served as an effective barrier preventing FTTs from getting teaching positions. To illustrate, it is better to consider again what he said (see Extract 9 in 4.3.2):

Accent is about where you are from. If you are from Western Europe, you have no problems; if [you are] from Eastern Europe, you will have some problems. But if you are from Africa or Asia, you will have a lot more problems.

Wilson further explained that accent was a cover-up behind which there was a truth that "they don't want to talk about, like discrimination, racism, fear, or whatever you call it." Other FTTs supported his view - "a big and hard truth" as concluded by Ted and Barbara, and "unfortunate" as described by Rose.

Cultural knowledge. Some FTTs saw that it was to their credit if cultural knowledge was part of the job description for teachers. By comparing how some culture-related incidents were handled in schools with how they would do if they were put in charge, some FTTs felt that they understood students better than some Canadian teachers whom they had contact with.

Adam mentioned that during one of his classroom observations, a Canadian teacher gave an assignment to a group of African students, and yet most of the students did not know what the teacher wanted them to do. In his view, the failure of the lesson was due to the teacher's lack of understanding of the students' culture. Barbara recalled a lesson on sex education given by a

Canadian teacher to a group of new immigrant students who were shocked and lost. In her view, the teacher's bad timing was the cause of the failure because these students needed some time to adjust to a new school environment. Rose described a fight between a school principal and a vice principal with a child who was wearing a veil over her head in the school, which she thought should have been handled better.

Commitment. Some FTTs emphasized that to succeed in Canada, they must be committed to and engaged in significant activities directed toward their becoming teachers in Canadian schools. The stories told in Chapter Four indicate that the FTTs' commitment was reflected in volunteering, continued learning and willingness to make sacrifices. Take volunteering for example. Adam gave up his job to become a full-time volunteer, and Wilson had been involved in 10 different schools, doing volunteer work. Rose mentioned that she had visited and volunteered in so many schools in the region that she could not even remember how many times she had shaken hands with school principals.

Human relations. Adam's experience was satisfactory and encouraging because he got along well with others. He emphasized that good human relations were crucial for his success. Barbara said that she was able to relate well to people at work and in the community. Barbara's mentor once also acknowledged her ability of reaching out to students, "There are no cultural barriers; and the kids have no trouble accepting her" (see 4.1.1).

Family responsibilities. In addition to the above six personal competencies, most FTTs had to cope with heavy family responsibilities. Angela's story provides a good example of how these affected her potentially promising teaching career in Canada. Being the most successful PUP graduate, Angela was expected by many to be the first FTT candidate to obtain a teaching position.

But "because of my family responsibility, it has been a little bit difficult for me" to volunteer and network in schools, and to continue training at universities. Three years later, her initial network established while in the PUP had grown weaker and her visibility had gradually diminished. The worst effect was that her acquired skills appeared to be slipping away.

Contrary to Angela, Wilson was burden-free in terms of family life, probably thanks to his bachelorhood. This may explain why he was devoted to volunteering and networking in as many as 10 different schools. Adam had a big family, including his wife, sisters and other relatives who took on family responsibilities to free him to be a committed volunteer.

Financial ability. Rose's professional growth highlights the significance of financial ability. According to her, she was lucky not to have to worry about paying bills, and her financial ability allowed her to obtain the competence level she wanted to achieve. This may be one of the reasons why she did not pursue other employment opportunities and was determined to wait for a teaching position. When interviewed, Rose was the only one of the seven who was working as a teacher, although as an occasional back-up teacher.

Unlike Rose and Adam, Henry had neither financial security nor a family to lean on. Instead, he had to act as a "parent" for his younger brother. He needed to work, to pay bills and to make sure that his brother would have a good education. It would have been difficult for him and his brother to get by, had he not been working. Financial need may have been the essential factor that resulted in Henry's decision to switch to a new career.

5.1.1.2 Outsiders' Views

From the interview data with five PUP implementors and four facilitators emerged ten personal factors which, in their views, influenced the FTTs' professional integration into Ontario

schools. These factors are: a) teaching methodology, b) cultural knowledge, c) English language proficiency, d) knowledge of subject matter, e) judgementality, f) unrealistic expectations, g) family responsibilities, h) financial ability, i) self-perception, and j) image problems. While these largely appear to mirror FTT-identified factors, there are some critical differences as will be described below.

Teaching methodology was thought by some implementors to be the most critical skill that FTTs needed, a factor most FTTs appeared to ignore except for Henry who concluded that "how to teach" was the only difference between Canadian teaching and his previous teaching. Important components included the abilities to maintain students' interest through varied techniques, and to set lesson objectives suitable for students at a certain grade level. They felt strongly that unless FTTs were seen to have some kind of "acting" ability that would interest and motivate Canadian students, they would not be accepted as teachers in their schools. Extract 1, drawn from the interview with Brian, explained what such teaching-and-acting ability meant and why he considered it important.

Extract 1 (Brian):

You [teachers] have to entertain the children more to keep their attention. They can't sit and listen very long. They are not interested in doing that because you are competing with television, you are competing with videos. You have to learn the tricks of the trade necessary to catch their attention. And if you don't do that, your lessons are not going to be successful.

In the next extract, Peter expressed a similar opinion, noting that even in high schools a crucial element for being a good teacher was to know how to entertain-teach.

Extract 2 (Peter):

Whether this [entertaining] is good, whether this is bad, I am not passing any value judgements on it. But this is a fact because we are living in a mass-media world. I am competing every time I walk into the classroom. Kids are very much involved in various games. They know far more about movies, computer games, television than I can ever dream of.

And as soon as I open my mouth, they want to be entertained. Because if not, they will say I am boring and they turn me off, and that's it. That doesn't mean that I have to be Jim Carey and you have to stand up doing a full fledged, you know, Hollywood production. But you have to have a certain acting ability to be able to connect with the students.

As a result of this student culture and mentality, each day or even each class period, Canadian teachers rack their brains to vary their teaching methods and maintain an acting-teaching style which will keep students interested and entertained while managing to fulfil curriculum requirements. The common methods that they use include the discovery method, cooperative small group learning, student-centered learning and teacher-centered instruction.

When the implementers observed FTTs' teaching performance and noted that some FTTs taught in a way which was very different from what they would like them to do, they became uncertain, wondering whether the FTTs were really trained teachers as they were said to be. The following extract conveys such a message, suggesting that Adam and Ted were overly authoritarian.

Extract 3 (Peter):

I found that from the interaction with the students they [Adam and Ted] were very limited in their teaching ability. They basically came from a society which was extremely autocratic in such a way that the students were expected to respect them almost in a military fashion that addressed soldiers, which meant that the lecturing technique was the only technique that they basically used.

Peter also noted that Adam and Ted were very weak in assessing student learning when compared with teachers trained in Canada.

Extract 4 (Peter):

I found that most of the time the type of questions that these student teachers asked were strictly recall questions. In Ontario, in teacher training, the student teachers are very much aware of these teaching methods, from recall moves to an application, uh... into a synthesis. You know it is absolutely crucial that student teachers know a variety of the assessment, evaluation techniques, from how to design questions, to move with the students through recall questions to applications, synthesis. And to be

able to create a variety of assessment instruments, diagnostic, formative and summative.

In addition to instructional methods/style and assessment skills, a crucial area of teaching methodology is classroom management. Barbara's bad experience in handling student behaviour described in 4.2.3 cost her a potential opportunity for continued supply teaching assignments. Brian told a similar story, explaining why he did not want Rose as a supply teacher in his school even though he was impressed with her professionalism and her motivation to succeed in Canadian schools.

Extract 5 (Brian):

I was actually impressed with the teacher [Rose], very professional, very motivated, very anxious to succeed. If I remember correctly, I believe the class that she had had some children... very challenging in terms of behaviour. I think it was very frustrating for her, you know, to deal with this kind of situation.

I suppose it varies from country to country and how you control children's behaviour. And, this didn't work very well. She didn't fit in. She had some concerns about that too.

Then I was moved to another school. I noticed that she came and applied to teach there. That school was particularly difficult and I was, you know, not able to use her because I was just afraid that it would be a bad experience for her, for me, also for the children.

In terms of teaching methodology, the facilitators shared some similar views with the implementors. In the following extract, Ben made a fundamental distinction between Canadian teaching methodology (i.e., Western) and that normally adopted in non-Western countries.

Extract 6 (Ben):

Methodology is quite important. Here [in Canada], it's not the direct transmission method, rather it's a discovery method. Students are encouraged to try things out and to see if it works. We use a discovery method... a problem-solving method in science whereas in some other contexts [Eastern societies] it is the transmission of knowledge.

Accordingly, Ben specified a number of skills that were required of the FTTs who chose to teach in high schools. For example, FTTs should have the ability to correctly interpret the classroom atmosphere and assess what they could expect from students in terms of behaviour, homework and discipline.

Extract 7 (Ben):

I think teachers have to realize when they go into the classroom that the students challenge them. It's not because the students don't respect them; in some cases, they might. But students are also encouraged to challenge [teachers]. They are encouraged to do this. Very often [Canadian] teachers make some kind of very provocative remarks, hoping the students will react and challenge them.

Speaking of teaching methodology, Stone saw a big gap that FTTs needed to bridge. He described some specific teaching techniques that FTTs coming from Third World countries did not have. He said repeatedly, however, that his views should be not generalized.

Extract 8 (Stone):

What I feel is that they [FTTs] need to read about different types of methodology we are expecting here. What teachers are able to use, to teach here, [is] completely different [from what FTTs used to do]. So it's a big gap they really have to fill in, things like setting objectives, things like lesson presentation skills, questioning skills, you know, the levels of questions, classroom management, processing strategies, discipline strategies. I found that in some elementary schools, they were not able to deal with some of these things. And again, I am not using one big brush, you know, to paint everybody.

...in some of the Third World countries, based on what some of these students [FTTs] said during the course, is that when they walked into the classroom, the students [FTTs' students in their countries] were all eyes and ears. You know, they were all listening, they were all keen. But here, it's a different situation, you know. You have to motivate them [Canadian students], stimulate them.

Stone also noticed that a few FTTs tended to set unrealistic objectives in lesson planning and often expected students to accomplish more than they were normally able to do. They were, therefore, seen as having little knowledge of student development and as lacking skills in assessing student learning. An impression was created that they were ineffective teachers.

Janet noted that for FTTs to be accepted by students, they had to be open and creative in terms of teaching methods. She was convinced that "if there is a lecturing format all the time, then Canadian classrooms are going to make them very unhappy."

Sandra pointed out that FTTs should be aware of the differences between Canadian teaching methods and their previous teaching methods.

Extract 9 (Sandra):

In terms of classroom management and instructions which may be slightly different from what they [FTTs] experienced in their own countries, maybe because of the class size itself, the method of presenting materials, planning and so on, they probably need some kind of orientation, [e.g.] to visit some schools, to see what is happening in the school itself.

Cultural knowledge. By cultural knowledge, unlike the FTTs who emphasized the importance of understanding the cultures of students from different minority groups in schools, some implementors and facilitators appeared to focus more on the understanding of the mainstream student culture, Canadian school culture as a whole and the norms and values of the larger society.

Contrary to Peter's view on FTTs' methodology, the next extract, drawn from the interview with Pat, seems to confirm that in general the FTTs selected for the PUP training were familiar with Canadian teaching methods and understood "the tricks of the trade." In her view, what FTTs really needed was how to become comfortable with Canadian school culture and student culture.

Extract 10 (Pat):

They [FTTs] are getting teaching methodology through the university and the classroom. They are becoming familiar with that and, they basically just have to be very at home with the culture here. But how to do that? I don't know. I guess they need exposure.

From Pat's point of view, the key for FTTs to succeed in a Canadian school was to become comfortable with its culture by "living in it." Based on her observation and assessment of FTTs'

teaching performance, when misunderstanding occurred between FTTs and Canadian students, it was often culturally-based although in some cases it could be the result of their unfamiliar accent. However, Pat realized that the requirement for FTTs to "live with" a school culture was problematic when they were actually living a life outside of a school culture environment.

Brian assumed that if FTTs had knowledge of various cultures of students who came from different countries, they should be able to teach effectively. He suggested that FTTs volunteer in schools, supply teach and consult regular teachers to gain such knowledge.

Peter emphasized that FTTs must take courses on the sociology of the classroom in order to be able to understand the cultural nuances of Canadian students, and proposed that FTTs be given workshops on Canadian student culture. In the next extract, Peter described the consequence of lack of such knowledge to highlight its significance in teaching.

Extract 11 (Peter):

When they [Adam and Ted] are treating the students as if they were really in Grade Two instead of being in Grade Twelve and they can't understand why they are being resented, then, there is a problem.

Ellen stressed that FTTs with different cultural backgrounds expecting to teach in a Canadian school must understand Canadian educational psychology on child development. In her opinion, Canadian teachers knew a lot more about Canadian students in terms of their total development as individuals.

Extract 12 (Ellen):

They [Henry and Wilson] have to understand that their [Canadian students'] dress is casual, but respectfully casual. There is not the authoritarian person here, who is the teacher, the leader, the instructor. It's more of a facilitator. I think we know a lot more about our students in terms of their development, and also in terms of their family life, their peers, and what's happening to them as, you know, the total individual.

In terms of what was acceptable and unacceptable for students and for teachers within a Canadian school environment, Ben provided an example of having a snack to illustrate "who can do what and when" in a classroom.

Extract 13 (Ben):

Is it okay for a teacher or students to bring a cup of coffee into the classroom? When I started teaching, [the answer was] no, but right now, it's okay. I know some teachers who snack during [class], you know. If they are in a class for 3 hours in a row, they may grab a piece of banana or something, but students cannot do this. But students do it when they get to Grade 13. Some teachers would allow students to drink coffee during class. So, there is a whole area of school culture.

Moreover, Ben offered some insights on the need for, and the benefits of, having cultural knowledge of Canadian schools and the society as a whole.

Extract 14 (Ben):

If somebody's language was a little bit questionable, but they had excellent subject knowledge, they were very good in the classroom management, really knew how the schools function, you [they] could get away with a language problem.

When you get up to Grade 13, you are teaching OAC, students expect you to have certain knowledge. If you go to the classroom, they may ask you something about certain bills in the government, or how the government functions. If you don't know anything about it, even if your language is perfect, they will not have any respect for you.

Sandra believed that FTTs should be aware of any additional school-related culture and sub-culture(s) because there was an advantage in knowing about it. She emphasized repeatedly, however, that the FTTs whom she knew had been in possession of the primary professional qualifications and competence for teaching.

Extract 15 (Sandra):

I think the first thing that these teachers [FTTs] would require is some kind of idea of Ontario teaching itself. Probably [they could have it by] watching some videos, things like that, [to see] what could be a typical classroom situation. Get a video

shown to them and an experienced teacher can pick up from there. I don't think that's a major issue at all. In terms of teaching experience itself and the qualifications, most of them [FTTs] have the professional qualifications.

English language proficiency was seen by some facilitators and a few implementors as the most important factor. They emphasized that to be able to function effectively and successfully in Canadian classrooms, FTTs must develop their English language competence to a level which would allow them to communicate comfortably with students, including fluent oral skills, easily understood pronunciation, and mastery of relevant subject matter terminology. The extract below describes in general terms what such a level meant.

Extract 16 (Ben):

They [FTTs] need to reach a level of language competence that will allow them to focus on the transmission of their message. In other words, they will not always be in search of words, wondering like, one line ahead of students. They have to obtain a certain level so that they can transmit their content quite coherently.

Stone understood language skills from the perspective of how teachers would interact with students in classrooms.

Extract 17 (Stone):

Language competency is the key, both written and oral, comprehension as well as expression, the ability to express concepts, to respond to the needs of the students, to the questions, to be able to use the vocabulary suitable to the students. Familiarity with local dialect, local expressions, things that are native, ability to clarify information, to identify problems, and then to resolve the issues.

Based on her experience as an ESL instructor, Janet addressed the issue of accent. Accent, in her view, became a problem only when it came to a point of interfering with students' understanding. She said, however, that it was not a good idea to try to reduce a non-native speaker's accent.

Extract 18 (Janet):

...not accent reduction any more, because that's not relevant [to one's competence]. Canada is a country of accents. But if a person has an accent in the language that is going to interfere with communication, then that will be a problem.

From Jack's point of view, it was self-evident that as non-native speakers of English, FTTs had to develop sufficient skills in English to be able to function in a linguistically effective manner.

Extract 19 (Jack):

Language is a basic talent, so that a teacher coming to the schools to teach basically English children, should have a good knowledge of the language of instruction. So I think that's almost a given.

Pat emphasized that oral fluency was essential for all teachers. "Basically, they [FTTs] have to be extremely fluent in the English language. Without that, they can't do the job. But the student I had [Angela] was extremely fluent".

Peter offered his insights on the language issue from the perspective of his students. As illustrated in the following extract, although his students were a group of tolerant individuals, they had been upset about having Adam and Ted as their teachers because the students had a difficult time understanding them.

Extract 20 (Peter):

Canadian students, being a part of the multicultural heritage of Canada, are far more tolerant of people standing in front of them, talking to them in a foreign tongue. Having somebody from a different culture, a different race, whether they are Caucasian or Oriental, or whatever, it means nothing to an average Canadian student. What they [Canadian students] get very upset about it is that they cannot understand what the person is saying. They come down to pure rock diction: "I cannot understand your word. I honestly don't understand the word you are pronouncing."

Brian raised the point that language ability was important because in any given classroom in the capital region teachers might end up with having children from as least 20 different countries.

Teaching was becoming increasingly challenging for all teachers and presumably would be even more challenging for FTTs whose first language was not English. Thus, he could not see a real advantage of having FTTs in the class unless there was a match between an FTT's language and a student's language.

Extract 21 (Brian):

Language is very important. If you take someone for example, ah, from, say, okay, from Germany who is here in Canada as a teacher, and you put them into a class where children are, say, from Africa, you know, there is no real advantage to that... You have to have somebody who has training in, say Ethiopia, to deal with that kind of class. That, I think, would have a very positive match because they understand each other. That's something we have to do as Canadian teachers.

However, Brian acknowledged that FTT Rose who had her practicum in his school had no language problem: "This person [Rose], I felt her language was very strong."

Ellen identified two kinds of language skills that FTTs needed for teaching in Canada. The first was proficiency in the language of instruction (i.e., English) and the second was the proficiency in the language of the subject (e.g., terminology in a subject matter).

Drawing from her own teaching experience as a non-native speaker of English in Canada, Sandra agreed that accent could be a problem for a few FTTs but it had never been the major issue for them as a group to be accepted in Canadian schools.

Extract 22 (Sandra):

I am a teacher myself. I have taught at a university and I have taught at a college in early child education and I have also taught in the evenings at the college. And I have found in all these cases, well, I think, accent is a problem I don't disagree on that, but it's not a major issue.

As long as you are able to deliver the subject, as long as you keep the students interested, which I found they are. ...particularly when we come from different cultures, and we are very strong in our subject and course content itself. So once they [students] feel that you [FTTs] are able to deliver the goods to them in a package in

which they can easily assimilate, they are very happy with that. So accent is not a major factor at all.

In Sandra's view, the most critical need for FTTs was to expand their English vocabulary and pick up certain common phrases and terminology related to the subjects that they taught.

Extract 23 (Sandra):

Language proficiency is extremely important [for a teacher]. The course content, most of them [FTTs] are in fact very qualified. They have a lot of information, but probably [lack] certain terminologies, maybe in terms of certain equipment and certain skills they need to develop in certain areas. But that's not a major issue.

Ben agreed with Sandra but felt that her description of language proficiency was more appropriate for teaching students at high levels. In the meantime, he pointed out that an individual with excellent knowledge and skills in teaching could get away with some language problems. Conversely, if an individual had good language skills but was weak in knowledge, he or she would not be effective in the classroom. This leads to the fourth factor, knowledge of subject matter.

Knowledge of subject matter. Stone said that, according to some school teachers, some FTTs in the PUP did not have an adequate knowledge base to teach at certain levels even though they had had the OMET's teaching certification.

Extract 24 (Stone):

One of the biggest problems was the lack of knowledge base, especially for those [FTTs] who are at a high school level. They do not seem to have the skills to teach the lessons, the history, the biology or whatever they have.

...yes, they have some certification saying that they could teach in those areas. But in the schools, talking with the [Canadian] teachers [I was told that] [the FTTs] were not up to the standard that was expected.

Similarly, Janet mentioned that "Most of them [FTTs] felt that they had enough [knowledge]. But teachers in the schools really didn't feel that they had the in-depth knowledge required to teach in Canadian schools".

Drawing from her own research on immigrant professional women in Canada and on the FTTs in the PUP, Sandra seemed to disagree with Janet's comments regarding FTTs' knowledge base. In her view, the most critical skill that FTTs should develop was to work at how to teach in Canada.

Extract 25 (Sandra):

What I found is [that] most of the foreign-trained teachers are qualified. They have the knowledge [and] they have tremendous teaching experience. When they come into the Canadian [school] system, the Ontario [school] system, or any other province's, what they require is basically an orientation to the educational system in Canada.

In addition to the above factors which were directly related to the FTTs' teacher qualifications, the outsiders identified other personal factors that were likely to affect FTTs' acceptance in schools in a negative way, as described below.

Judgementality. Ellen pointed out that FTTs must appreciate Canadian culture, be willing to assimilate into Canadian society and be non-judgemental about what was happening in Canadian schools. Passing judgements, for example, about students' dress, would make it more difficult for FTTs to be accepted in Canadian schools.

Extract 26 (Ellen):

They [referring to Wilson] should be non-judgemental about it [student behaviour, dress], so they can accept what they see around them as the way it is here. I think we allow a lot more freedom to our teenagers to express themselves. And again FTTs have to understand what the teenager animal is and be non-judgemental about them.

Janet recalled that during the PUP some FTTs were critical of Canadian schools and students. She commented that FTTs should try not to be judgemental, "Well, this isn't right and that isn't right." To become part of the system, FTTs had to put that kind feeling aside; otherwise it would be very hard for them to integrate into the system.

Stone also implied that FTTs faced a self-created barrier - being judgemental. Some may find that, "Hey, 'I am better than they are'; you know, 'they don't like me', things like that. They have to put these things behind them. They definitely do. If they allow these things to cloud their vision, they will not see the right path."

Unrealistic expectations. Ben felt that unrealistic expectations could lead to FTTs' disappointment. He emphasized that it was important that "when people started this training [PUP], they should make it very, very clear to them [FTTs] that taking the training is not equal to getting a job." Therefore, FTTs wishing to gain additional qualifications from Canadian institutions could set realistic expectations before the training and avoid possible frustration after the training.

Family responsibilities. Stone and Sandra who had had similar experiences to the FTTs, mentioned that most FTTs had major family responsibilities, largely resulting from immigration- and resettlement-related extra "burdens". In addition to taking care of family members, most FTTs had to work and take training or retraining. Stone sighed that it was difficult to achieve both.

Extract 27 (Stone):

Some of them during the program, they couldn't devote 100% of the time to the program because they had to take care of the needs of the family, too. You know, they had to go on working and so they couldn't give the program the full amount of the time. And it's hard.

Sandra reported that several FTTs had to give up part-time jobs in order to be able to take the PUP. After the PUP, they were neither able to find a new job nor get back the old job. It was devastating for their families, resulting in more frustration and even hopelessness for them.

Financial ability. Both Stone and Sandra were aware of the FTTs' lack of financial ability. Stone advised that FTTs focus on improving themselves, be competent and be committed to the profession. But at the same time, he felt that his advice became problematic because some FTTs simply did not have the necessary resources to improve their qualifications.

Extract 28 (Stone):

We had some students in the program: they did not have all necessary materials, the financial difficulty and family commitment, to purchase textbooks, to attend courses, and things like that.

It's difficult to improve their qualifications. This is because many of them do not have the resources to attend school full-time, to upgrade themselves.

It should be pointed out that FTTs' financial inability was not merely an individual matter. It had a wide range of social, cultural, political and economic implications because it is often related to their forced under- or unemployment in Canada (see political considerations in 5.1.2.1 below).

Self-perception. Ellen felt that sometimes FTTs' own self-perception discouraged them. She said that some barriers could simply be FTTs' own perception, described in her words as "perceived barriers".

Extract 29 (Ellen)¹⁸:

Perceived barriers could be their own perception, maybe being discriminated against. You know, the comment about Wilson [see above, Wilson]¹⁹, that he felt rejected because he was not welcomed to volunteer here. I don't know whether that's really, really true, or whether that was really perceived.

Image problem. Peter implied that some FTTs had an image problem that interfered with their being accepted by students and other teachers. These ranged from small things like personal hygiene and dress to more serious issues such as the way FTTs spoke, how they acted and how they looked. The following extract explains what he meant.

Extract 30 (Peter):

I think, there are a million problems out there. They even come down to personal hygiene. In one particular case, I know, one particular individual had a very strong bad odour.

18. Ellen indicated that she was not comfortable in talking about barriers.

19. In May 1995 and in December 1997, Wilson told the researcher twice that he was rejected for being a volunteer by Ellen who evaluated him as someone who had the potential to succeed in Canadian schools. When asked about the incident during the interview, Ellen made this comment.

And I mean this happens. In their particular culture, the odour is considered to be normal. But it became very offensive to the point that the students mentioned that to me... You know, that put me in a difficult position. How am I going to approach that person? I may make myself appear rude or pushy, you know.

Also, perhaps, in terms of their presentation, their dress. I think that's important because adolescents, they label people, they label people. So why [FTTs] make it more difficult for yourself? If there is a teacher from the British system and dressed in a way that nobody is dressed like, that will immediately be labelled so. Even before they open their mouths they are labelled.

Particularly since they are of a different race, they stick out anyway. You see, the same as I would be if I were teaching in an African society. Because I am such a foreign and white person and so different from them, they are going to look at me anyway as being different and they are going to be focusing on the physical as well as aspects of my presentation.

5.1.2 Environmental Factors

Environmental factors are contextual in that they involve the facilitative roles of the school system and society in the FTTs' identity formation.

5.1.2.1 Insiders' Views

From the FTTs' perspective, there were five environmental factors that determined whether they could be successful or unsuccessful in Canadian schools. These consist of: a) official support, b) student needs, c) power<-race<-accent, d) economic reality, and e) political considerations.

Official support. The significance of official support is highlighted in the form of the PUP which was acknowledged by almost all FTTs. It was the most powerful and effective assistance they received from Canadian educators. While still in the PUP, they already expressed their appreciation for such support (see 4.1.4. FTTs' reflections). After the PUP, the labour of love shown by the PUP project team was not forgotten.

Adam said, for example, that the PUP was the key, opening the door for him to start a career which was meaningful to him. Both Ted and Wilson appreciated the fact that the PUP gave them the opportunity to gain Canadian experience critical for any new immigrants to get started in Canada. Although Rose emphasized that without the PUP training she was still a qualified teacher, she acknowledged the PUP support that motivated her to reconsider a teaching career in Canada. Angela had a strong desire for continued official support similar to the PUP in order to put into use her expensive investment in upgrading training. In fact, when they needed it after the PUP, most FTTs wished to still have a place to turn to for assistance from people like Janet, helping improve their language skills, and like Stone, offering them social and moral support.

Student needs. On the basis of some FTTs' observation, some local schools had an urgent need for teachers like them²⁰. One of the reasons that encouraged Rose to "stick to her plan" of getting a teaching position was that "there are children in the classroom, and the school needs role models. And Canadian society is not complete, just having white teachers in the classroom. The children, our children, black children, Asian children need to know there are people like them who are as capable as white teachers". Ted felt strongly that he was needed by many students who did not get the attention and opportunity they deserved.

Power<-race<-accent. Discrimination is a sensitive and uncomfortable issue which, like official support, exerted a powerful influence on FTTs' acceptance within the school system. However, unlike the PUP, its influence was negative, and destructive to the human spirit. While

²⁰ . For example, one elementary school located in the southeast had a student population of over 80% from non-mainstream groups and most of whom came from one African country; another school in the downtown area was full of children from Asia; still another in the downtown housed children from all possible backgrounds. One high school was almost like an institution only for African-Canadian students.

other factors were mentioned by some FTTs as important, unequal power distribution, intricately tied with race and accent, and other ethnicity-related issues within the school system and in the larger society were constantly brought up by all FTTs. Consider some of their comments below as evidence.

Wilson spoke with a strong conviction that his non-European race and accent were treated as a problem by those in power to restrain him from becoming a classroom teacher even though he was capable of teaching effectively. To him, "race is about power and relations" and "if you [the employer] are in power, you have the power to give or not to give me a job. It doesn't matter how talented I am and how I see myself."

According to Angela, discrimination exists everywhere. She politely mentioned that "it is extremely funny that in Canada personal connections have become the crucial and decisive factor in hiring rather than proper official qualifications and procedures." Both Barbara and Henry found that FTTs were often judged more than necessary. To Barbara, the major barrier was that "minority immigrant teachers are expected to be perfect and cannot get away with any mistakes." In Henry's words, "the problem is that we have to please them with everything". Henry and Wilson believed that embedded in accent was an issue related to race, signalling that non-European accents were less worthy, and so were immigrants coming from non-European regions. Rose thought that it was unfair for the system to make such a big deal over accent if "everybody is equal" as claimed to be. Ted described a local school system structured in such a way that nepotism was practised in making hiring decisions. "They all know each other so there is no way we [FTTs] can get into the system."

Adam put all the above into three words, "Racism is there", which Wilson described as "something that was invented because of struggles for power sometime during colonization."

Economic reality. When the FTTs graduated from the PUP, funding cuts directed towards education were substantial because of an educational reform that took place in Ontario in 1995²¹. Adam discovered that the employment prospects within the school system were much more discouraging than he had expected and that many employed teachers "in the system are bumped out." Ted admitted that competition for teaching positions was intense at the time when he and his fellow FTTs graduated. There was no doubt that the slow economy and funding cuts jeopardized the job security of some Canadian teachers and limited FTTs' potential opportunities to enter the system.

Political considerations are related to issues both within schools and with respects to immigration. Based on his experience as a student teacher in the PUP and as an MLO for a local school board, Ted found that the PUP was seen by some Canadian teachers as a politically motivated program and thus FTTs were perceived as unqualified to be hired as teachers. Rose appeared to suggest that Canadian immigration policy was politically motivated with vested interests. To her, it was not fair for Canada to recruit foreign professionals and their children into this country and then to deny their rights to work. It was particularly unfair to the children of these families because parents' unemployment often dragged a whole family down into something unpleasant.

For instance, due to parents' unemployment, their children may have neither decent food nor proper learning supplies. Over time, unemployment and poverty, followed by poverty-aftermath, will result in a series of serious problems in these families which are part of a given community and the larger society.

²¹.

The reform continued and its impact was still felt at the time this thesis was being written.

5.1.2.2 Outsiders' Views

The nine outsiders also reported five environmental factors that would affect the FTTs' acceptance or rejection within a Canadian school system. They are: a) student needs, b) economic reality, c) public perception, d) discrimination, and e) misleading information.

Student needs. Janet reported that in one local school, immigrant children came from all possible backgrounds. Student needs in such schools indicated an urgent need for recruiting teachers from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Extract 31 (Janet):

I heard a radio interview the other day, discussing exactly the topic that in the school: 80% of the [student] population was made of every possible combination that's coming to Canada. There were two teachers who were visible, from the visible groups. And the students long for those role models, you know.

I think that these people [FTTs and immigrant teachers] bring their broader perspective of the world. They would teach through their actions, they would teach through their attitudes. And that's very, very important.

Janet's data were consistent with Jack's assessment that the recruitment of teachers who shared non-mainstream students' culture and language was necessary if schools were committed to providing quality educational services to all students (see 4.1.1).

Economic reality. Based on Brian's experience as a vice principal who had power to hire teachers, the poor economy was the major barrier which prevented FTTs from getting teaching positions. Even for a single supply teaching assignment, there was intense competition because there were simply too many good and competent candidates waiting for the very few positions that might be available. Presumably, FTTs were not competitive enough to be called upon to supply teach.

Extract 32 (Brian):

There are too many candidates for a few jobs. You know we have 350 names on the

supply teacher list and if I need a supply teacher for tomorrow, I am going to get one from that list and there will be 349 disappointed people.

You [FTTs] are competing for a few jobs with many candidates. And if you can convince the vice principal that you are a good, strong candidate for a position, you've got a good chance.

Pat believed that the major barrier faced by all student teachers was that the current teacher supply was greater than the demand in the school system. But she pointed out that within the system there might be some potential criteria in hiring practice which were unknown to the public. In her view, the best possible way for any individual wishing to get a teaching position was to be a committed volunteer and supply teacher and have faith in the system, hoping that he or she would eventually be hired.

Extract 33 (Pat):

I think any young person regardless of cultural background is having a very difficult time getting into the system right now. Look at all the cutbacks and everything else. It's a very hard profession to get into at the moment. I am sure that is a factor. And beyond that I think they may hire teachers but probably you would not know.

The only way you seem to get a job nowadays regardless of who you are or whatever, you should go into the school, you do volunteer work, you get on the supply teacher list, and are eventually picked up by the system if there is a vacancy. I think that is standard for anybody.

Ben pointed out that the slow economy, educational reform in Ontario and funding cuts had an impact on all people looking for teaching opportunities.

Extract 34 (Ben):

People should be aware of the fact that right now only 15% of the people who graduated from the Faculty of Education last year found full-time jobs. A lot of students who finished the Faculty of Education have never taught because there are no jobs. And they've gone to Korea, and they've gone elsewhere but they don't find any jobs because there is no room in the [school] system.

Stone assented that it was really a tough time and there were many unemployed teachers. When FTTs came to compete against them for very few positions, their chances of getting teaching jobs were not good.

Extract 35 (Stone):

There are thousands of unemployed teachers, you know. in the province. And I know of people who have been teachers in the Canadian system: they took time off to raise children. And they want to come back to teaching, and it's difficult. They can't.

Janet shared a similar view with Ben and Stone that a bad economic situation with cutbacks and layoffs made it difficult for these FTTs to get a position.

Public perception. According to Jack, one of the barriers faced by the FTTs may be related to Canadian-trained teachers' resistance. He surmised that some school teachers might not consider FTTs as equal to them. They may say that, "Well, I think I may know more about our system... teaching strategies, than this person [an FTT]." In addition to resistance from school teachers, Jack suspected that there could be some concerned parents who might think that FTTs did not know enough about a Canadian school system to teach their children. Nevertheless, he cautioned that these were only possible, but not necessarily true barriers preventing FTTs from being accepted by the school system.

Extract 36 (Jack):

I am not suggesting that these barriers are there all the time. I am just thinking that if there are barriers, these are what the barriers could be.

Stone advised that given their apparent difference from mainstream teachers (e.g., their looks, accents), FTTs should try to be less different, because in Canadian society when someone was perceived as different, he or she was thought to be less effective and therefore would be less likely to be accepted.

Extract 37 (Stone):

Someone perceived as different is thought to be less effective. So perception is a very big factor, unfortunately. Perception may not be voiced but it is reflected in the opportunities provided and the relationships formed.

Such perceptions may have resulted in employers' fearing to hire FTTs. Janet explained that FTTs were an unknown quantity and some employers were reluctant to take chances on hiring them. It was possible that such employers were afraid that they would get blamed if the FTTs they hired did not do well in the system.

Extract 38 (Janet):

I think the biggest barrier is the fear from the employer, the perspective of the employer. Honestly, I think, and I am not sure I understand it fully. Perhaps, they [employers] are afraid they might make mistakes in hiring this individual [an FTT], and then it's going to look really bad. So they are afraid to take chances. I think in lots of places, they should be ready to take that chance, and yet...

These students [FTTs] that have come through the system [Canadian school system] are an unknown quantity to the employer. In spite of having done the upgrading [in Canada], they are still unknown to a lot of people.

Like Janet, Sandra seemed to have also sensed such a fear among employers, as implied in the following extract.

Extract 39 (Sandra):

School principals should be willing to accept them [FTTs]. Instead of saying, "Well, they [FTTs] are going to destroy our educational system," they should have some faith in FTTs and say: "Let me try this foreign-trained teacher" and give them an opportunity to demonstrate their skills and then assess their performance.

Discrimination. Several of the facilitators mentioned discrimination, although it was not considered as a factor by the implementors. From Sandra's point of view, one of the major barriers that affected FTTs' acceptance in school was racial discrimination.

Extract 40 (Sandra):

...they [FTTs] are really frustrated because after they have gone through getting all the things, all the equivalencies, their academic and professional qualifications have been accepted as qualified Canadian teachers, yet they are not able to enter the system.

They feel that all their effort, the money, the time has been wasted. And they think they are just like going against the brick wall. Nobody seems to listen to them.

They want to enter the mainstream, and they want to be with the mainstream, because they believe that they are well equipped and they have established themselves as a qualified teacher, and they will bring in a lot more. Yet they don't get the chance to do so.

Entering the system is very, very difficult. I have never come across a single person with all the qualifications entering the system so far.

Unless some effort is made, they will continue like that because they definitely mentioned the factor of racial discrimination. They brought up that [topic] over and over again. They said: "It's not because we are not qualified."

Ben sounded certain that nothing would change the fact that there were unwritten criteria (e.g., accent) for employers who simply did not want to hire people from other cultures. Even if there was room for new teachers, an individual's educational qualifications would not be the major factor for hiring decisions.

Extract 41 (Ben):

When times are tough, and we don't have a large access for teachers and somebody comes from other cultures, looking for a job, it's hard. And that's why I think accent plays an important role. If somebody has an accent and somebody doesn't have an accent, then they probably take in the person who doesn't have an accent. I mean I don't think there is much doubt about that. Nobody has ever put that down in paper. But there are rules to play with.

Even if there is an access for teachers within the system, the people who control the system want to make sure that native-born Canadians are given the first choice. It's not hard to do. It's not hard to do at all. They just get lost in the administration shuffle; we change the criteria. We say that they don't have enough training; we ask them to do something else. I don't have to explain all this to you, okay, you know that. It's called institutionalized discrimination, systemic, okay? Systemic discrimination.

During the interview with Brian, the researcher passed along an opinion shared by most FTTs that the local school system was closed to them. His reaction was a forceful defence of the school system.

Extract 42 (Brian):

Our school is NOT closed to foreign-trained teachers. In my own experience, definitely it is not. Knowing the rest of the vice principals, I don't think the system is closed in any way.

My goal [as a vice principal] is to provide our students with the most effective supply teachers available.

To get teaching assignments in schools, they must be seen to be as effective as the supply teachers they are competing against. I think each vice principal is going to call the person that they think will do the best job for that class.

In identifying factors that might prevent FTTs from getting into a Canadian school system, Peter said that he had to be very careful because the issue was extremely political and he did not want to be accused of being a racist, which he was not.

Extract 43 (Peter):

I think we have to be very careful as how to react to these individuals (FTTs) because we could also be charged as racists. And we may also be charged as not being very tolerant.

So, I guess what I am saying is a bit of .. it's a delicate political statement. But I am doing it purposefully because I think a lot of these particular individuals, maybe have been accepted in the past, not on pedagogical [considerations] .. uh, but on the fact that they are a different race, a different culture. And this is because Canada is very politically sensitive, a multicultural nation and we are absolutely appalled by all kinds of racism, and of course, I am as well.

But I think sometimes we may be saying: "Well, that candidate really does not have what it takes to be a teacher." If I say that candidate has failed I have to be very careful because I do not want to be interpreted as saying: "Well, why do I feel that particular person as a failure?" It's a politically sensitive issue.

Nevertheless, as cautious as he wanted to be, Peter had the courage to speak his mind. In his opinion, external barriers, if there were any, would not be as critical as internal barriers for whatever negative experiences FTTs might have had within a Canadian school system and in the larger society.

Extract 44 (Peter):

I don't want to be judgemental. But I think one of the beauties of Canada over our neighbour to the South is that we are not a melting pot, we are a mosaic.

Culture dictates the fact that we are fostering ethnicity and we like to think of people retaining their ethnicity, rather than joining the mainstream culture like our friends in the South being a melting pot. They want people to submerge their ethnicity and become the mainstream. In terms of Canada, the distinctive advantage that I think for immigrants to come to Canada is the fact that we are known worldwide as a relatively tolerant society. It doesn't mean that we are perfect. We have some regrets and things like racism which we don't like.

So in Canada, nobody is hired because of what colour or what race [they are]. We don't care about that in Canada. We are a multicultural nation. What we are concerned about is whether this person has the skill.

But when talking to another outsider, the researcher was given a response which strongly contradicted Peter's conclusion.

Extract 45 (Ben):

Nice talk! Everybody should be hired on their merits alone. Underneath, it's not like that. The people who control the system want to make sure that native-born Canadians are given the first choice. It's not hard to do, it's not hard to do at all. They just get lost in the administration shuffle. They change the criteria. We say that they don't have enough training, we ask them to do something else.

Misleading information. Brian, who was aware of competition for supply teaching and hiring practice within a local system, had predicted FTTs' disappointment in having no opportunities to teach, which he interpreted as a result of FTTs' lack of teaching competence.

Like Ben who mentioned in 5.1.1.2. that unrealistic expectations could lead to FTTs' disappointment, Brian claimed that FTTs had false expectations which were created by the training program.

Extract 46 (Brian):

I think, you know, I am going to be very outspoken. I think they [FTTs or possibly the university] are out of touch with what's going on. And of any criticism I could level at the program, I think that it creates false expectations.

In a very subtle manner, Jack appeared to share a similar feeling to Brian's. He suggested in the following extract that FTTs deserved honest feedback from Canadian institutions regarding their academic studies and professional performance so that they could set a clear and realistic direction for their career reestablishment in a Canadian context.

Extract 47 (Jack):

...ah, making things happen, putting things in practice and providing some feedback for these individuals, to say, good, honest feedback. To say, this is what we feel should happen. Or, you were successful in the following areas, and in these areas you may need to work on a little bit more. It could be the art of communicating or could be taking other courses... uh... could be, for example, special education courses, or ESL courses to understand what the children are going through. So I think it's a two-way street.

Like Rose, Brian also considered it valid to question the practice of recruiting immigrant professionals into Canada without giving them accurate information in terms of employment opportunities they wanted to pursue in Canada. In his view, such a practice was misleading and resulted in considerable frustration for both immigrant professionals and Canadian employers, as well as misunderstanding between them.

In this regard, Sandra felt that FTTs should be provided with honest and accurate information on immigration and employment related issues because much of such information was either

unavailable or misleading. This not only created a bad image of the government but also had a negative impact on many adult immigrants and particularly on their children. During the interview with Ben, the researcher passed along Rose's comment, "Canada has victimized foreign-trained professionals by recruiting them to Canada then denying them the opportunity to work in their trained profession. Why don't they make this kind of information public before these people come here?" Without hesitation, Ben responded, "This is certainly the case."

Sandra noted that there was a tendency on the part of Canadian administrators and teachers to undervalue FTTs' past experience and credentials but to overstate their weaknesses. She concluded with some sadness and disappointment that "FTTs' previous experience and their additional Canadian qualifications have all been wasted." When asked why none of the seven FTTs had been hired as a regular, or even as a part-time regular, teacher three years later after the PUP, Stone, looking at the researcher, was thinking and searching for words. Then he slowly said, "That's really sad."

5.1.3 Synthesis

In 5.1.1. the insiders acknowledged eight personal factors and the outsiders identified ten. In 5.1.2. the insiders described five environmental factors, and the outsiders identified a similar number. The following figure presents a summary of these factors by group, in descending order of the number of members of each group who mentioned them. This is taken as a rough indicator of the relative importance of the factors and serves to represent all informants' views. A view listed in a given column does not necessarily mean that it represented all the informants within the group.

Figure 11: Summary of personal and environmental factors by group.

Insiders' Views			Outsiders' Views		
Personal Factors	1)	Knowledge of subject matter	1)	Teaching methodology	
	2)	Care for student learning	2)	Cultural knowledge	
	3)	English language proficiency	3)	English language proficiency	
	4)	Cultural knowledge	4)	Knowledge of subject matter	
	5)	Commitment	5)	Judgementality	
	6)	Human relations	6)	Unrealistic expectations	
	7)	Family responsibilities	7)	Family responsibilities	
	8)	Financial ability	8)	Financial ability	
Environmental Factors			9)	Self-perception	
			10)	Image problems	
	1)	Official support	1)	Student needs	
	2)	Student needs	2)	Economic reality	
	3)	Power<-race<-accent	3)	Public perception	
	4)	Economic reality	4)	Discrimination	
	5)	Political considerations	5)	Misleading information	

It is interesting to note that both groups acknowledged more personal factors than environmental factors (8:5 for insiders; and 10:5 for outsiders). Moreover, the outsiders appeared to weigh personal factors as more significant than environmental factors.

But the subtle yet more important difference is that even if a factor was acknowledged by all informants, its relative *importance* could vary. For instance, when asked to describe what the most important teaching competence was, the FTTs placed knowledge of subject matter on the top of their list as shown in Column 2. By contrast, the same factor occupies the fourth rank in Column 3. Instead, teaching methodology is placed at the top. According to the outsiders, mostly implementors, the FTTs must be seen to be comfortable with Canadian teaching methodology before they were accepted by their schools. Among the outsiders, the facilitators appeared to be more concerned about FTTs' English language proficiency.

Another example is about economic reality. The outsiders emphasized that funding cuts in education were the major barrier preventing the FTTs from getting teaching positions. On the

contrary, the insiders considered it much less influential. As Barbara argued, even during good times, say, in the 1970s, it was still very difficult for visible minority immigrants to get professional positions which they were trained for.

The same terminology sometimes, however, refers to different *meanings*, depending on the informants. To illustrate, let us consider English language proficiency. When asked to specify which English language skills were needed for them to be linguistically effective in classrooms, the FTTs described them in general terms. Collectively, they appeared to share a view that "of course, language is important. But the purpose of language is for communication and I don't have problems communicating with people. If misunderstanding does occur, I can try to express myself in another way to clarify what I have said." Yet, they had much to say about the meanings of accent, using various complex and sensitive terms such as race, power, colonialism, white supremacy and so forth. The outsiders tended to specify language skills in terms of the FTTs' pronunciation, accent, oral fluency, use of vocabulary suitable to students, and terminology in subject matter.

Another example is cultural knowledge. When the insiders emphasized such knowledge, they were more concerned about what Canadian schools should do in order to offer better educational services to non-mainstream students. On the contrary, when the outsiders stressed that the FTTs should understand school culture, they were more concerned that in order for FTTs to be accepted within Canadian schools, they should understand North American school culture and students, including various subtleties. Such cultural subtleties, in Pat's view, "are difficult to achieve without living such a life."

Also of interest is that different terminologies sometimes allude to the same meaning. The topic of discrimination is an excellent example in this regard.

The FTTs repeatedly brought up the issue of accent, suggesting that they were not given equal treatment in looking for teaching positions due to unequal power distribution within the school system which was inclined to under-evaluate their qualifications on the basis of their ethnicity and accent. One outsider suspected that some teachers might perceive FTTs as not equal to them. Another outsider pinpointed the influence of perception which "may not be voiced but it is reflected in the opportunities provided and the relationships formed." Two other outsiders reported that some employers had a fear of making mistakes in hiring FTTs and such a fear resulted from perception.

These informants, whether insiders or outsiders, were careful in choosing their words. They used *accent, perception and fear* to convey a message that the FTTs were subject to some forms of discriminatory treatment in schools. If these carefully-described but ethnicity- and race-related factors were labelled as discrimination, its frequency would be much higher. Whether open or vague, one outsider summarized it all that "nothing would change the fact that there were unwritten criteria for employers who simply did not want to hire people from other cultures."

Another notable phenomenon is that the influence of family responsibilities and financial ability appeared to be recognized by both groups. In fact, only the insiders plus two facilitators, Sandra and Stone, who were themselves visible minority teachers, understood the pressure of coping with these problems in FTTs' struggle for a professional career in Canada. They were therefore not shared views between the insiders and the outsiders, but rather between established and non-established teachers from the non-mainstream group.

Furthermore, *contradictions* also surfaced between the two groups and/or within the same group. For instance, three outsiders implied that the FTTs had unrealistic expectations and one criticized the PUP for creating false expectations for the FTTs. However, some FTTs, including a

few outsiders, disagreed and argued that in some local schools, there was an urgent need for teachers from the non-mainstream group.

A good example of contradiction would be discriminatory practices. An insider criticized a local school board for hiring teachers on the basis of home region and ethnicity rather than qualifications as he observed, "People are taken into the system because of where they come from." But an outsider rejected the criticism and said, "In Canada, nobody is hired because of what colour or what race. We are a multicultural nation and what we are concerned about is whether this person has the skill." Yet, another outsider contradicted this outsider, "Nice talk! Everybody should be hired on their merits alone. Underneath, it's not like that."

Finally, given incidents described by the informants appeared to reveal tensions among them during the implementation of the PUP. Such tensions could cloud their views, and led to *bias* in providing data. Self-perception, for example, was seen as a problem by one outsider who, according to Wilson, rejected him for volunteer work while recommending that FTTs could gain experience by doing volunteer work in schools. The same outsider also perceived Wilson as being judgemental about Canadian students' behaviours, which could create a problem for him. Wilson, however, argued at the focus group session that FTTs, like any other Canadian teachers, were entitled to express their opinions of given phenomena and that he would choose to confront issues and take actions to correct problems. To him, this was a manifestation of his professional training and of being a responsible teacher.

Another outsider, whose school initially refused to conduct any official evaluations of Adam and Ted's practica because the school did not want to recommend them as teachers, appeared to disapprove of everything Adam and Ted did in his school and classroom, ranging from their teaching

methods, English language use and cultural knowledge to personal image (e.g., dress and use of perfume). To respond to the negative evaluation from his mentor, Ted said, "There is always an excuse that we are not up to the job."

Despite the negative evaluations of their practica and rejections from their mentors, Adam, Ted and Wilson proved to be the most successful if they were compared with other four FTTs in terms of employment opportunities and graduate studies (see 4.2).

To summarize this section, various personal and environmental factors were identified. The significance of similar factors and the meanings of the same terminology were discussed. Shared and non-shared views including differences in their interpretations by different informants were examined. Possible bias and contradictions were observed. Figure 12 presents a comparison between the insiders' and the outsiders' views on the various factors.

Figure 12: Comparison between the views on factors reported by the insiders (I) and the outsiders (O), with frequency given in bracket.

		Personal Factors		Environmental Factors	
Shared Views	Truly shared	1)	Knowledge of subject matter (10)	1)	Student needs (15)
	Partially shared	2)	English language proficiency (16)	2)	Economic reality (12)
		3)	Cultural knowledge (16)		
		4)	Family responsibilities (9)		
		5)	Financial ability (9)		
Non-Shared Views	Truly non-shared	1)	Teaching methodology (O. 9)	1)	Official support (I. 7)
		2)	Care for student learning (I. 7)	2)	Political considerations (I. 3)
		3)	Commitment (I. 4)		
		4)	Judgementality (O. 3)	3)	Misleading information (O. 3)
		5)	Unrealistic expectations (O. 3)		
		6)	Human relations (I. 2)		
		7)	Self-perception (O. 1)		
		8)	Image problems (O. 1)		
	Partially non-shared			4)	Power<-race<-accent (I. 7)
				5)	Public perception (O. 4)
				6)	Discrimination (O. 3)

The comparison figure summarizes two types of views among the informants: shared and non-shared views. A shared view indicates a view that was accepted by both groups. Of all the identified factors, there were seven common factors (5 personal and 2 environmental). For instance, both groups (15 informants) felt strongly that Ontario schools must search for ways to respond to the needs of students who came from diverse backgrounds.

A non-shared view means that members of only one group reported the influence of a given factor. Six factors described by the insiders (3 personal and 3 environmental) were not mentioned by outsiders. Similarly, eight factors identified by the outsiders (5 personal and 3 environmental) were not mentioned by the insiders. For example, the insiders felt a need for official support. This was not mentioned at all by the outsiders although they were involved in designing and implementing the PUP and clearly felt the necessity of such official support for FTTs. In a similar vein, the outsiders stressed that teaching methodology was crucial for the insiders' success, but it was hardly mentioned by the insiders except for Henry who felt the only difference would be teaching methods.

To reflect the subtle but important meanings of given factors, shared and non-shared views are each further classified as truly and partially shared and non-shared views. A truly shared view indicates that there was no difference between the two groups and a partially shared view suggests that the same terminology may have some hidden meanings. Conversely, a truly non-shared view was a view only held by one group and a partially non-shared view implies that some seemingly dissimilar factors may convey similar meanings.

Finally, in response to Research Question One, the above data indicate that the process of the FTTs' reconstruction of a professional identity in an Ontario school system was positively influenced

by some factors and negatively influenced by other factors. Figure 13 presents a summary of these factors, according to the nature of influence.

Figure 13: Summary of personal and environmental factors according to their relative influence.

Positive Influence			Negative Influence		
Personal Factors	1)	English language proficiency	1)	Family responsibilities	
	2)	Cultural knowledge	2)	Financial ability	
	3)	Knowledge of subject matter	3)	Judgementality	
	4)	Teaching methodology	4)	Unrealistic expectations	
	5)	Care for student learning	5)	Self-perception	
	6)	Commitment	6)	Image problems	
	7)	Human relations			
Environmental Factors	1)	Student needs	1)	Economic reality	
	2)	Official support	2)	Power<-race<-accent	
			3)	Public perception	
			4)	Discrimination	
			5)	Political considerations	
			6)	Misleading information	

The results indicate that a stronger positive than negative influence (7:6) was generated by personal factors but it appears that a much stronger negative than positive influence was created by environmental factors (6:2). The results also reveal that overall the negative influence seemed to be stronger than the positive influence (12:9).

5.2 Research Question Two

What opportunities appear to increase FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice?

5.2.1 Insiders' Views

The FTTs' post-PUP experience reported in Chapter Four indicate that their opportunities for participation in Ontario educational practice following the PUP can be best described in terms of their training and employment.

Training. With respect to training, the first opportunity available to the FTTs following the PUP was to volunteer. As advised upon completion of the PUP, five FTTs worked as volunteers in schools in order to become more familiar and comfortable with the school environment. By volunteering, they increased their visibility and potential employment opportunities in schools.

More significantly, the FTTs were successful in getting opportunities to obtain additional qualifications, to earn advanced degrees, and even to change careers. For instance, Adam, Henry, Ted and Wilson completed a counselling training program; Ted also earned a master's degree in his major; Rose obtained certificates in teaching ESL, FSL and special education; and Adam and Wilson were each studying towards a master's degree.

Barbara, motivated by a desire to prove that she was willing to improve her skills after her disaster in supervising students at lunch time in a school, paid \$400 dollars for an in-house training course on classroom management which was offered free to regular school teachers. When Barbara became increasingly impatient with the limited opportunities for supply teaching, she decided to change her career. Without much effort, she was offered an opportunity for a computer training course. Similarly, Henry found an alternative to a teaching career by investing in a computer training program when driven, perhaps, by his financial need and loss of faith in the school system.

Employment. In regard to employment, Ted and Wilson were hired by a large local school board as multicultural liaison officers to work in different schools. Their main responsibility was to help students who might experience difficulty in learning and/or need emotional support. Adam's official title was that of a manager at a community centre, but his actual work was to provide counselling to students from his community. Henry had played a similar role briefly before he gave it up to become a full-time student in the hi-tech field.

Rose had some opportunities to supply teach. Initially, she was an occasional teacher for one school board. At the time of interview, Rose had become a regular supply teacher for three school boards, impressive progress given the fact that there were only four school boards in the region at that time.

On one occasion, Adam and Henry were both hired to teach a heritage language (L1) as a high school credit course. They taught three hours every Saturday morning for about a year (about 40 weeks) until the course was cancelled due to budget cuts.

In addition to counselling, supply teaching and L1 teaching, outside-school work was available to them. During the three years after the PUP, Henry had done various kinds of work before he finally changed his career. Barbara switched back to a clerical position which she had held before the PUP.

5.2.2 Outsiders' Views

When interviewed, each outsider was asked to describe in what way, if any, FTTs could contribute to Ontario education. All responded in general terms that, given the multicultural nature of Canadian society and its schools in particular, FTTs had a lot to offer to Canadian students. When probed for details, some outsiders specified three aspects out of which, in their view, opportunities could be created for FTTs to work in schools.

Role modelling. The first potential opportunity seemed to be the result of the outsiders' prediction that FTTs would be role models for minority immigrant students. Drawing from his experience with teachers from the non-mainstream group, Jack was quite convinced of FTTs' positive impact in schools.

Extract 1 (Jack):

These teachers [FTTs] can be excellent role models for many of the kids in the class who may see themselves, not born in Canada, but saying: "Well, here is a teacher that's not born in Canada either, and an excellent role model, so I feel motivated."

I can speak from personal experience. For example, there was a situation, a student from a particular country in our school had a problem, and we tried all kinds of strategies but couldn't reach that particular child until a person from the same country as the child said to me: "I think I understand the situation and would you mind if I were to help you intervene?" which, of course, we did. And the person spoke exactly the same language, was able to get right through the child and resolved the issue for us. So I think it could work both ways.

Ellen believed that anyone who wanted to contribute in multicultural Canadian schools could and should be allowed to do so regardless of where and how they were trained. She felt that FTTs could share their desire to succeed as role models to both ESL and non-ESL students and help develop/tap human potentials and resources in these students. Otherwise, FTTs' expertise would be wasted and the potentials of many students to become competent adults in society could also be diminished.

Ben noted that given the unique aspects of FTTs' experience, they could offer insights into how to facilitate schooling for many students whose background was culturally and linguistically similar to theirs.

Extract 2 (Ben):

I would think given the multicultural nature of Canadian society that these people [FTTs] have an important contribution to make. I think, they can build bridges between what they had in their country of origin and what they have in the Canadian context and offer deep insights into how to facilitate the learning of immigrant students, in some sense that transfers from a style of education in which they were educated in their own country and the educational system in Canada.

According to Sandra, there was a long list of things that FTTs could do for Canadian schools. In addition to a simple matter of fairness for FTTs' own professional development, Sandra pointed

out that the most important of these was that a culturally and racially diverse teaching force would allow schools to offer better services to students.

Extract 3 (Sandra):

I think a culturally and racially diverse teaching force is very important because what happens is that it provides students with role models, which is very important. When young students come to a school, they are looking for these role models.

I think students would be very happy to see that kind of representation [of FTTs] among the teaching staff. This would give them confidence and they would feel they are part of the society and that is an excellent step for them.

And students may find that they have this kind of role models who reflect the student population. Students may also feel that when they have special problems and special needs, they will have these teachers [FTTs] to help them.

So a culturally and racially diverse teaching force is very important because in most of the schools you go in today, you will find a lot of students coming from different cultures and who have special needs. And this can be very easily understood, predicted and satisfied by these teachers [FTTs].

When asked the same question about FTTs' contributions, Stone responded as if he were engaged in a conversation with Sandra who saw FTTs' potential contributions from the perspective of Canadian students, mostly immigrant students whom FTTs could understand better.

Extract 4 (Stone):

Exactly. And I believe [what Sandra said] too. And that's what I have been saying all along.

Because they [FTTs] can relate themselves to the students in a number of ways, because they have experienced the same cultural shock as the students coming from the Third World . If they see someone of that kind of background, they will be able to understand the trauma that person has undergone through.

They are able to deal with issues and problems that students have in the school, like the transition between the country from which they came and the expectations and standards here.

These are the things I feel are important. We need to have these people in the schools. It doesn't matter whether he or she is from Europe, India, or Somalia. The point is that these people understand students about the trauma from moving from one culture to another culture.

While highlighting FTTs potential to better serve certain groups of students in schools, Stone repeated that he had no intention of undermining Canadian teachers' efforts in dealing with such students. Rather he was trying to point out that certain cultural traits and qualities that grew inside an individual would not be easily replaced by others.

Extract 5 (Stone):

I am not selling people who are born here short, I am not selling them short. They try their best, I know there are teachers who give their 100% to deal with these kinds of problems at school. But there are some kinds of problems that are inside you and these people [FTTs] are better in relating to the students and their customs, you know, when you are talking to some Muslim people, their customs, fasting, various things like that. They are aware of that. You got to have someone to say: "Okay, all right. I understand where you are coming from."

Among the nine outsiders, Janet was the one who expressed some kind of emotion in discussing FTTs' potential contributions. Perhaps her daily contact and experience with immigrant students as an ESL instructor provided her with a better understanding of immigrant students, including FTTs. In her opinion, FTTs' potential contributions as role models could not be measured for they were able to teach through their actions. To her knowledge, in some local schools students were "crying out" for FTTs. She emphasized that if she were in a position to make hiring decisions, she would save a number of places for FTTs to teach in such schools.

Extract 6 (Janet):

I think FTTs can make tremendous contributions to our schools. And if I were involved in the administration in education, in spite of public criticism, I would save a number of places for FTTs, visible minorities, where they are really needed and schools are crying out for them. I think their contribution as role models can't be measured.

I heard a radio interview the other day, discussing exactly the topic that in the school, 80% of the [student] population was made of every possible combination that's coming to Canada. There were two teachers who were visible, from the visible groups. And the students long for those role models, you know.

I think that these people [FTTs and immigrant teachers] bring their broader perspective of the world. They would teach through their actions, they would teach through their attitudes. And that's very, very important.

Enriching school programs. The second potential opportunity was that some of FTTs' experience would allow them to help enrich school programs. Brian said that if close matches were to be found between students and FTTs in terms of their culture and language, FTTs would have something unique to offer.

Extract 7 (Brian):

In our school here, we have a lot of Oriental children. And if we have a person from a country you know where the children come from, that would be a plus because they have a sort of culture, common factor, to work and build on.

Peter emphasized that once FTTs had developed necessary teaching skills, they would be able to help Canadian schools in teaching the geography and history of the countries where they came from. In addition, he thought that FTTs might be suitable for teaching math and science.

Extract 8 (Peter):

I think they can only make contributions to Canadian education once they have mastered teaching skills.

I think they can help in teaching courses like travel and tourism, geography and history about their countries. Yes, I think they will have something very valuable to offer.

In terms of math and science, yes, I think that could also be a possible topic because one of the things we are very much aware of in the Ontario system is that in the area of science and mathematics, other cultures are very much far ahead of us. We can't argue about that²².

²² . In many developed countries, there has been a growing shortage of teachers who can attract students to these subjects since 1970s (Combs 1985).

Similarly, Ben mentioned that FTTs would be better prepared to teach science and mathematics than to teach social science.

Extract 9 (Ben):

...if their area is mathematics, or maybe sciences, the natural sciences, they have more preparation and they are better prepared to step into the classroom. But if somebody comes in with the specialization, say, in history, in English, or in some other areas where the content they studied was not at all parallel to what exists in the Canadian system, then I think it does pose problems.

Promoting social harmony. The third opportunity was FTTs' potential of helping promote social harmony. Ellen felt that FTTs' presence in Canadian schools could help foster respect for diversity and individual differences in Canada. She said that it would be more constructive to Canadian schools and society if Canadians chose to talk about similarities rather than to focus on differences.

Extract 10 (Ellen):

In our school, in our society, we need to get beyond some of these differences. And the only way we would do that is if we can look at the similarities rather the differences. So the contribution they [FTTs] can make is to break down some of the barriers that exist.

Pat shared a similar view that FTTs' experience and their presence in Canadian schools could promote better cross-cultural understanding among staff and students. In particular, they would be of more help to new immigrant students in schools.

Extract 11 (Pat):

I think we all learn from everybody else from different ethnic backgrounds. And I think this is extremely valuable. If our teachers represent some of our students' culture, that will have a positive impact on our students. Particularly, our new students will feel much more at home.

5.2.3 Synthesis

This section has identified the opportunities which tend to increase FTTs' participation in Ontario school practice.

Overall, the FTTs had easy access to learning opportunities offered by Canadian educational institutions, ranging from one-course training and fast-track programs to graduate studies. In terms of their participation in actual school operations, FTTs were more likely to be hired as MLOs to help students solve problems than as teachers. In addition to advisory positions (MLOs), there were some opportunities for them to teach certain subjects such as science, mathematics, and heritage languages as substitute teachers.

Responses to Research Question Two are presented in the following figure which summarizes the interviewees' views on opportunities for FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice.

Figure 14: Opportunities for FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice.

Insiders' Views		Outsiders' Views	
Training		Employment	
1)	Volunteering	1)	Helping students
2)	Counselling	2)	Supply teaching
3)	Graduate studies	3)	Teaching L1
4)	ESL/FSL/Special education	4)	Outside-school work
5)	Classroom management course		
6)	Computer course		
7)	Hi-tech program		

The results indicate that there were diverse training opportunities for the FTTs to improve their qualifications. In terms of employment, however, the opportunities offered or created were based more on the FTTs' perceived counselling skills to help minority students and their ability to enrich existing school programs as a whole than on their qualifications as teachers. The

understanding of the potential of FTTs' presence in schools as role models for students and for promoting social harmony held by the outsiders could be translated into opportunities to engage them in Ontario educational practice; however, there was little evidence that this was happening.

5.3 Research Question Three

To what degree does Ontario educational practice promote FTTs' acceptance as competent teachers in Ontario schools?

5.3.1 Insiders' Views

When asked to describe whether their training and employment in schools promoted their acceptance as professionally trained teachers, most FTTs responded that by and large their recognition in Ontario schools was symbolic. After they had become certified teachers in Ontario, and some even had earned Canadian degrees, their employment opportunities for teaching in schools were still very limited.

Adam and Wilson reported that training opportunities such as the PUP, the counselling program and graduate studies provided by Canadian universities had significant symbolic meanings for their professional careers in Canada. They also commented that when compared to their symbolic gains, their material benefits were too insignificant to be mentioned.

Ted did not consider himself as being employed although in fact he was employed. He said, "My degree helped me a lot in terms of understanding the system and my competence as a teacher. And I am making some connections in the system, but I don't get a job [as a teacher]." According to him and to Wilson, working as MLOs, they were paid almost 50% less than they would be paid if working as teachers. This led Ted to question the symbolic value of his Canadian degree because to him, "there is no symbolic value" when what he was doing was irrelevant to his training.

Rose reported that her income earned from supply teaching could only cover her tuition fees for taking university courses. Barbara said that she even did not make enough for tuition fees since her opportunity for supply teaching was limited. She said, "I have wasted my time, money and energy."

Angela mentioned without any elaboration that "symbolically, I gained recognition as a certified teacher. But materially, I lost." Angela was probably right if her employment before and after the PUP were compared. Before the PUP, she had held a regular part-time position as an L1 instructor (5 hours a week) for a large school board for five and a half years and at the same time she had raised two young kids. After the PUP, she hardly had any opportunity to work, which, she emphasized several times, was not the result of her taking care of a new baby at home.

5.3.2 Outsiders' Views

When probed with the question of the degree to which FTTs would be acknowledged as professionally trained teachers in Ontario schools, Peter said that FTTs would be accepted if they mastered necessary teaching skills. Brian implied that a match between students and FTTs in terms of their culture and language would determine the degree of their acceptance by a given school.

Pat and Stone commented that FTTs were professional if they had been through teacher training. When opportunities became available, they would be hired to teach.

Janet, who seemed to find it hard to answer this question, surmised that FTTs who were seen to fit in would be accepted, regardless of their qualifications.

Extract 1 (Janet):

I would think that a master's degree certainly will be as far as you [they] have to go. ... It's very hard for me to judge. I am not involved in the criteria for choosing teachers to fill in the gaps. My guess is that the candidate who has the highest possibility to fit in will be accepted sooner.

Ben noted that FTTs could be accepted as professionals but unfortunately, to be treated as equal, they seemed to be expected to be better than average.

Extract 2 (Ben):

...yes, they [FTTs] can be accepted, I think. In some cases, it's almost like..., they have to be better than an average to be accepted as an equal. They are professionals, but...in name only.

Sandra observed that after the FTTs had gone through getting all the equivalencies and their academic and professional qualifications had been accepted as qualified Canadian teachers, they were still not able to enter the system. She thus reached the following conclusion.

Extract 3 (Sandra):

All their [FTTs'] effort, the money, the time has been wasted. They are just like going against a brick wall. Nobody seems to listen to them.

5.3.3 Synthesis

This section has examined the degree to which the FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice promotes their acceptance as competent teachers by Ontario schools.

As a result of the FTTs' training in Canada, some FTTs were accepted as role models through employment as counsellors in schools and as supply teachers in classrooms. Most of them felt, however, that their recognition was symbolic, and did not contribute to material gains at a reasonable level. Some outsiders agreed with these FTTs that on paper FTTs might be acknowledged as professionals but in reality, they were still largely excluded from the school system.

To answer Research Question Three, the following figure summarizes the degree of FTTs' acceptance as competent teachers in Ontario schools in terms of symbolic recognition and material reward.

Figure 15: Degree of FTTs' acceptance as competent teachers in Ontario schools.

Insiders' Views			Outsiders' Views	
Symbolic recognition	1)	Significant acceptance	1)	Professional even if not teaching
	2)	Some gain	2)	Professional in name only
	3)	No value		
Material reward	1)	Insignificant gain	1)	Waste of effort, money and time
	2)	About 50% less than teaching		
	3)	Enough for tuition fees		
	4)	Not enough for tuition fees		
	5)	No gain		
	6)	Waste of time, money, and energy		
Other*			FTTs would be accepted if they:	
			1)	Mastered necessary teaching skills
			2)	Were really needed
			3)	Fit in
			4)	Were better than average

* This category is added because some data, although relevant, do not quite fit in the first two categories.

The results illustrate that the insiders were certain that their acceptance in the school system was limited and symbolic. These results also indicate that among the outsiders, there was a feeling that FTTs' legitimate status as teachers was not fully acknowledged. Some of them, however, implied that had these FTTs satisfied the four conditions listed in the last row of the figure, they would probably have secured their professional status in Ontario schools. In terms of material reward, the outsiders offered little information except for Sandra, who shared the view with some FTTs that their previous experience and additional Canadian training appeared to have been wasted.

5.4 Research Question Four

In what way do FTTs' negotiate their professional identities internally and externally?

This question is informed by the concept that identity acquirers are subject to constant negotiations due to changing contextual elements (Thiessen et al. 1996; Duff & County 1997). Also,

the question is posed by the concern about how the FTTs managed to establish credibility as teachers within an opportunity structure of an Ontario school system which might mitigate against them.

5.4.1 Insiders' Views²³

Two broad themes, internal and external negotiations, are used to explore the decision-making processes in which the FTTs negotiated for their professional identity when confronted with barriers and potential tensions or even conflicts.

Internal negotiations. The FTTs described four tools in their internal negotiations of being and becoming teachers. The first tool refers to *learning* which represented a large part of their experience over the three years after the PUP. Partly because they needed more training, and partly because for various reasons they were not accepted as teachers, they turned to universities for intellectual enrichment. Learning was rewarding for it gave them some sense of fulfilment, and a better understanding of what was happening, or had happened, to them and why it happened.

Adam truly believed that he was hired because of his ability to do the job rather than an assumption that he was a black teacher suitable for the position he was assigned to. According to him, his employer listened to his ideas, which had grown out of his continuous learning at universities.

Rose was convinced that learning would give her more qualifications so that she could be "better" than CTTs. In turn, she would be able to secure a teaching position when it became available. She said that in case she did not succeed in having a career in a Canadian classroom, she understood the underlying reasons for her unsuccessful attempt thanks to her learning that took place

²³. There is no *Outsiders' Views* subsection since there were no relevant data available to the question examined.

in university classrooms where she shared with, and listened to, others describing similar events and expressing their concerns and ideas.

Ted and Wilson also relied on their identity as learners in preparation to negotiate their entitlement for participation in school activities by having completed and doing graduate studies. Similarly, Barbara and Henry searched for alternatives to their careers by taking computer training.

The second tool is *persistence and patience*. "Where there is a will, there is a way" and "patience is a virtue." These two mottoes gave some FTTs strength and fortitude to fight against their own vulnerability and trepidation when under pressure.

Adam's decision to quit his job in order to devote his time to being a full-time volunteer was not easy. He fought hard to endure the financial pressure and kept telling himself, "I am not going to give up." Furthermore, he believed that many Canadian professionals were searching for ways to help FTTs like himself.

While Adam was persistent in being a volunteer, Rose was persistent in being a good learner. She invested heavily in education to make sure that she would get all the qualifications that CTTs would have. She constantly reminded herself, "I am not going to quit. I have to stick to it."

Unlike Adam who was persistent and patient because he had some faith in the system, Rose was motivated in a way by her determination to prove that the system was wrong in hiring only white Canadian people as teachers. In her view, the system would not be willing to accept non-white teachers unless it was proved to be wrong or "guilty."

Regardless of the different sources of their strength, persistence and patience paid off. At the time of interview, Adam had successfully "occupied" a place where he felt useful and happy; and Rose had become a regular supply teacher, the only one among the seven FTTs.

The third tool means *accepting the reality*. Under a given circumstance and during a given period of time it was always a good strategy to accept a reality, regardless of its nature.

For example, Henry described the school system as being unprofessional because it was too protective of the mainstream group. To him, it was a losing battle to fight against the system and thus he made no effort to pursue a teaching position. Knowing that some of his fellow FTTs were disappointed, frustrated and even angry, Henry felt that he was lucky for being realistic and not wasting his time and energy in looking for a teaching position. As he said, he would not have been content if "I had tried to look for a job as a teacher... None of us [the 7 FTTs] has got a teaching position so far and I doubt we will."

Like Henry, Ted noted that FTTs had to be realistic because no one would always get what he or she expected. In his view, it was sensible for FTTs to accept the reality, and in the meantime to try to learn how to negotiate effectively with the system in order to achieve what they could do under given circumstances.

The last tool is *holding onto a religious belief*. This served as an important support system for Rose. If she got home from supply teaching, feeling really discouraged and frustrated, she would go to the basement of her home and get down on her knees, turning to God for strength.

According to Rose, she could easily find an office job, say, as a bilingual secretary and have some sense of job security. But when being exposed to a few local schools she found "a new majority student population" (Bascia 1996) mainly composed of immigrant children mixed with some poor white children whose needs were not met largely because of low expectations for them. Such a reality was not what she had previously expected. Inspired by her religious belief, she was determined to do her share to help disadvantaged students by becoming a teacher.

Rose's identity as a church person granted her strength and promoted her willingness to endure adversity in order to earn the opportunity to work as a classroom teacher.

External negotiations. With respect to external negotiation, the FTTs adopted four strategies in their interactions with significant others who could either facilitate or stymie their reconstruction of a professional career in Ontario schools.

On top of their strategy list is *networking*. Volunteering was the initial and primary strategy for the FTTs' entry into the school system. During the process of volunteering, they gradually established a network including those with whom they had had some contact. In exchange, they were rewarded with some recognition in schools, such as MLO portions offered to Ted and Wilson and calls for Rose to supply teach.

However, Ted's and Wilson's efforts to network at the workplace was not as effective as their volunteering experience. After working within the system for a period of time, their networks did not expand but their feelings changed. Ted felt like an outsider all the time, and Wilson felt unsafe, because each time he tried to mingle with CTTs, he felt he moved backward instead of forward.

The change in their feelings indicates that there were limits within which Ted and Wilson were unable to move from an immigrant teacher-immigrant student relationship in their MLO positions to a CTT-FTT relationship in a larger school setting. In other words, either Ted and Wilson failed to attain CTTs' collaboration in constructing an identity as CTTs' colleagues; or CTTs rejected collaboration in Ted's and Wilson's identity construction as their colleagues.

The second strategy is *sacrifice*. Volunteering was essentially a form of sacrifice which signified their commitment to the profession they had chosen. Most FTTs gave willingly their time, knowledge, skills, energy and other resources to help students in schools, with a hope for acceptance from the system.

The third strategy is to *compromise*. One of the major factors leading to Angela's success in her practicum was her ability and willingness to "go with the flow". Although she was not always comfortable with what Pat, her mentor, wanted her to do, for instance, shouting at students as a solution to discipline problems, she followed Pat's style anyway. As a result of her compromise, Pat assigned her an identity as "teacher material" (4.1).

Henry was also a good compromiser whose mentor reminded him of how to be a student teacher in a Canadian context. As mentioned in 4.1.4., Henry accepted his mentor's feedback that he should not have started a discussion based on a question from an ESL student. He yielded sufficiently to avoid building tensions between the mentor and himself although he was not at all happy with the feedback. As he said to the researcher, "What's wrong with an ESL student asking questions? The problem is that we [FTTs] have to please them [CTTs] with everything."

The last strategy is *silence*. To cope with unfamiliarity, a lack of support, and perhaps even humiliation, most FTTs chose to watch, listen and not to talk. They interacted with others very carefully.

During her practicum, Angela felt that as a student teacher, she had no voice. The best strategy for her to survive and to succeed in a new school system was not to voice her opinions but to act upon others' decisions.

Rose was once stopped from teaching halfway through a lesson by her first mentor who did not like the way Rose handled the class. It was a humiliating moment. Given her strong and unique personality, one might think that Rose would confront with the mentor. In fact, she acted upon the mentor's order without saying a word and avoided further humiliation.

5.4.2 Summary

This section has discussed the tools and strategies that FTTs used in making decisions on how they managed potential conflicts to survive different and difficult situations during their negotiations of being and becoming teachers in Ontario schools.

It was found that internally, learning was an essential tool for the FTTs to negotiate for entitlement. Some believed in patience and persistence and others had the ability to live with "fate". An FTT, the only one among the seven who had the opportunity to supply teach drew strength from her religious faith. Externally in their contact with significant others in schools, most FTTs relied on volunteering and supply teaching and some were willing to make sacrifices in exchange for acceptance. A few of them tried to compromise to avoid potential conflicts. Additionally, some FTTs found that silence was an effective strategy.

5.5 Research Question Five

How does the process of professional upgrading and subsequent experiences change FTTs' long-term professional aspirations in Canada?

This question seeks to assess the FTTs' over three-year experience in reconstructing a professional identity as teachers in Ontario schools and examine its impact on their long-term career goals in Canada.

5.5.1 Insiders' Views²⁴

The FTTs mentioned that their three-year experiences in Ontario schools were rewarding in that they understood what teaching meant in Canada; but also disappointing in that they had a real

²⁴ Similar to the presentation in 5.4., there is no *Outsiders' Views* subsection since there were no relevant data available to the question addressed.

taste of what it meant to be a (racial minority) immigrant teacher in Canadian schools. Consequently, their experiences had both positive and negative impacts on them.

Positive impact. The positive impact was evidenced in their feelings towards those who had assisted them and their future plans.

The first positive impact is FTTs' *appreciation* for the support that they received from Canadian educators and school teachers in their reconstruction of a professional identity in Ontario schools.

Adam owed his success to the PUP which he described as an important cornerstone for his professional career in Canada. Angela, Barbara and Wilson acknowledged that the PUP had created an opportunity for them to gain actual Canadian teaching experience which led to their teaching certification. To Ted, the most significant gain from the PUP was that he had attained some Canadian working experience upon which he built confidence to compete for jobs with CTTs. The meaningful benefit for Henry and Rose, who had been certified teachers but never taught before the PUP, was the opportunity to experience what it meant to be a teacher in Canada.

The second impact is that most FTTs developed some sense of *satisfaction* with their accomplishments after they had received additional Canadian training and gained actual teaching experiences in Ontario schools.

Adam had a strong feeling of satisfaction in his career advancement. Wilson was satisfied with the fact that the PUP assisted him in becoming an Ontario certified teacher when he had been in Canada for only about two years. In addition, Angela enjoyed her success in the PUP; Henry was content with what he could get; Rose was satisfied with her own effort; and Ted was pleased with the fact that he had a job.

The third impact is the fact that some FTTs were *actively waiting* for teaching positions for they had some faith that perhaps one day they could end up in teaching in classrooms within a Canadian school system.

Ted had been employed by a school board for three years. He hoped that as time went by he would become more and more familiar with the system, which could lead to a teaching position for him.

Rose had some real advantages. To begin with, she was financially burden-free, and could afford to wait for a teaching position without doing odd jobs. Additionally, she was certified in teaching English and French and had gained adequate experience through supply teaching since the PUP. Most importantly, she was acknowledged by the MET and confirmed by a large local school board that she was, indeed, a competent and effective teacher. Rose was waiting, persistently, patiently and actively because she had faith in God and in herself.

Wilson expected to be employed as a classroom teacher or a school administrator after he finished his graduate studies. In case he failed to succeed in obtaining either position, he would stop working in the MLO position which he regarded as a dead-end job. Instead, he would seek to work for an internationally-based educational organization.

The fourth impact refers to a *multiple career path* that some FTTs took. Given the limited opportunities for teaching, most FTTs looked for alternatives. For example, at the time of the interview, Adam and Wilson, who had majored in biology, had acquired some counselling skills and were doing graduate studies in sociology and educational administration, respectively. Henry, whose specialization was mathematics, had developed some skills in counselling and was taking computer training. Ted, who had degrees in English and history, had earned a master's degree in history, a certificate in teaching ESL, and some training in counselling.

Negative impact. The first one can be described as inactive waiting. In contrast with those who had some hope and were waiting actively for an opportunity to work in classrooms, Angela was also waiting, but inactively. Due to her diminishing connections within the system, her career was at stake. She hoped that there would be something for her to do in schools, for instance, working as a teachers' aid. Certified teachers were, unfortunately, not allowed to work as teachers' aids in Ontario schools. Angela did not have a specific plan as what to do and how to make a breakthrough to improve her situation.

Furthermore, contrary to their feelings of satisfaction, all FTTs had some *disappointment*. Barbara was very disappointed. According to her, she was accepted by her students but rejected by some teachers in the name of her accent. She said that these teachers were actually jealous of her and felt threatened by her recognition from students. She was no longer called for supply teaching after her one-time setback in supervising kids at a lunch time in a school.

Barbara obviously felt that she was discriminated against because of her race. She regretted taking the PUP because her certificate was useless; she regretted volunteering because she had wasted one year and lots of gas. In other words, she regretted investing in the PUP and she was angry, demanding that, "The system should give us a break and do more than just offer courses and issue certificates."

Other FTTs shared Barbara's disappointment, but not as intensely as she did. Ted was disappointed because he was not employed as a teacher, and Wilson felt suppressed because he was not allowed to be open and creative. Rose did not want to talk about satisfaction. When pressed with the question if she was, in any way, pleased with what she had achieved, her answer was that "I am satisfied with my own effort."

Angela displayed her vulnerability, wishing that she had not wasted her investment because "work after education really makes you feel that you are part of the system". She also wished that she were able to get back her previous evening teaching position. Henry believed that the outcomes of the PUP could have been better for the FTTs if obstacles had been removed.

Analogous to disappointments is a feeling of *powerlessness*. In spite of having received additional training in Canada, FTTs were still unknown and many employers were unwilling to hire them. As Sandra observed, "They [FTTs] are just like going against a brick wall. Nobody seems to listen to them"; and as Ben concluded, "They [FTTs] are not going to get into the system if they are on their own."

These barriers nursed a profound sense of powerlessness, a feeling created by the outside but felt inside by some FTTs. Angela felt hopeless for being unable to break the ice and start anew. Henry felt that he had no choice but to invest in a new career with his limited resources. Rose, who seemed to be strong, when asked about her ideal workplace, refused to answer the question. Instead, she questioned, "Do I have a choice?"

The FTTs' disappointment and powerlessness generated some *distrust and cynicism*. It was not because FTTs had not achieved what they had expected and started to blame those who had the power to hire them but failed to do so. For example, during the group session when the discussion focused on race, Rose cautioned her fellow FTTs, "I wouldn't want us to accuse white people as racists. It's so easy to do [that]...I want us to look at this in a more charitable way." In expressing his view that some teachers had a prejudice against FTTs and ESL students, Henry made it clear, "I am not saying these teachers are bad but it is a barrier that the system should make a start to remove it."

Angela and Wilson did not have full confidence in the school system which claimed to hire teachers on merits and principles but in reality appeared to use other criteria. Adam, although relatively successful, did not dare to trade his current position within his community with a teaching position in a school even if he was offered one. He did not want to take the chance of working under the leadership of a principal who might distrust people like him. Working for his community, a "safe nest", freed him from having to endure potential racial- and ethnic-related burdens.

Ted was uncertain whether he was the "problem" or the school system was the "barrier". Sometimes he felt that if he had learned how to negotiate with the system effectively, he would get a teaching position, and therefore he was actively waiting. But sometimes, he felt that "There is no way we [FTTs] can get in because they [principals, retiring teachers and supply CTTs] all know each other."

Henry distrusted the school system because it welcomed immigrant students to its schools but rejected immigrant teachers to work there. Rose did not trust the school system because of its superficiality, for example, when school personnel talked about multiculturalism and put posters on school walls, "This is us, Canada - with different faces - black faces, Chinese faces. They are laughing together, they are posting us. But the teachers are not laughing with you [us]."

Henry was cynical. In his view, the value system in some Ontario schools was saturated with the notion that "we [the white] are superior and they [the non-white] are inferior." Unless FTTs were willing to be used or to butter up those in power, they would not have a chance to be employed in the school system. Henry also suggested that acceptance of a few individual FTTs was just a symbolic gesture on the condition that they were seen to be like the white persons. It did not mean at all that FTTs as a group were valued.

This may help explain why Rose sounded very cynical when the focus group was arguing on whether *to be or not to be judgemental about Ontario school practices*. She said, "This is interesting, hey? It's okay for them [CTTs] to criticize us. But it is not okay for us to see anything wrong with it [school system]." What she said implied that while everything was probably allowed for CTTs, the same thing could be sharply condemned if FTTs were involved. It was like an old problem of different meanings for the same expression which left the FTTs feeling hopeless²⁵.

5.5.2 Summary

This section has explored the impact of the FTTs' three-year experience in an Ontario school system on their long-term professional aspirations in Canada.

All FTTs expressed their appreciation for the support from Canadian educators and some school teachers. They were also satisfied with their academic achievements, teaching certification and actual Canadian teaching experience. These positive experiences gave some FTTs confidence to continue their investment in improving their academic qualifications and professional development. They were actively waiting for an opportunity to have a career in Canadian classrooms.

While some FTTs enjoyed their experiences and were confident of eventually achieving career plans, some others were disappointed because of their negative experiences. Consequently, these FTTs felt that they had wasted their time and energy and regretted taking the PUP. Some had lost faith in the system and were critical of or even cynical of the initiatives taken by the system with the good intention of helping them become established in Canada.

²⁵ When the focus group was held, teachers across the Province of Ontario were on strike, the largest ever in North America. Wilson did not understand while CTTs were unconcerned about student learning and walked out of classrooms to fight for their own contracts, salary increase and benefits, they accused him of being judgemental when he showed genuine concerns for student behaviour and for their learning.

5.6 Suggestions for Future Initiatives

This section reports on the suggestions offered by the informants about what should be done to better facilitate FTTs' integration into Ontario school systems.

5.6.1 Insiders' Views

Reflecting on their experience in Ontario schools, the FTTs made a few general suggestions on how to be successful in pursuing a professional career in Canadian classrooms.

To begin with, most FTTs emphasized that they must satisfy Canadian *competence* requirements by being strong in teaching, proficient in English (L2), and committed to the teaching profession. A few FTTs also proposed that FTTs must develop skills in *networking*. Due to their isolation and lack of support from a school milieu, it became critical that an organization should be established where they could turn to for advice and support when they needed. As Barbara explained, "The whole game is about networking, about whom you know because what's happening in schools is that every teacher has a supply teacher as a backup."

In addition to teaching competence and networking, all FTTs recommended strongly that it was absolutely essential that *support* from the OMET, school boards and school principals be provided to ensure FTTs' success in Ontario schools. Given the various barriers (as described in 5.1), "there must be policy changes in hiring practice within the school system, and an independent agency should monitor the implementation of policies" (Ted). Otherwise, "constantly there will be people [FTTs] who are at the door but never be able to enter it" (Rose).

5.6.2 Outsiders' Views

Looking back over their experience with the FTTs in their classrooms, schools, and on the university campus, the outsiders offered four sets of suggestions.

To begin with, some outsiders were concerned about FTTs' *training*. Jack pointed out that it was important for FTTs to keep themselves informed about Canadian curricula and educational innovations. To become teachers in Canadian schools, they should become competent and knowledgeable by taking courses, subscribing to a professional journal, and by volunteering and supply teaching in schools. Most importantly, they should never give up but keep going until they reached their career goals.

Brian indicated that university education faculties should identify accurately what FTTs' needs were and integrate their needs into the training program it offered. According to Peter, FTTs needed a "complete package" of retraining in teacher education. He suggested that they be given a series of very rigorous training sessions and workshops on basic pedagogical and assessment skills acceptable in the North American teaching environment. As well, they must have a good understanding of Canadian education, and of North American sociology on the characteristics and needs of the early, middle and late adolescent. Finally, they should learn how to create a professional persona as a teacher.

To assist FTTs in competing on an equal playing field with Canadian candidates, Peter also advised that FTTs be given workshops on how to write professional portfolios and prepare for job interviews. In conclusion, Peter felt that if FTTs fully satisfied these Canadian teaching criteria, there would be no reason why they would not be hired for teaching in Canadian schools.

Extract 1 (Peter):

If they can't obtain a position, then my question is: "Are they in fact equal to other student teachers? Can they teach?" If not, then we don't want them.

By contrast, Sandra disagreed with Peter's assessment of the FTTs' teaching qualifications. When asked what Canadian universities could do to help FTTs upgrade their skills, Sandra repeated that FTTs did not need to go through a regular teacher training program.

Extract 2 (Sandra):

What I want to emphasize is that foreign-trained teachers do not need to go through what regular students should go through. So they should be given condensed courses, weekend courses that can help them get familiar with the system here. They don't need to take B.Ed. here and they don't need the whole package of teacher education.

Pat appeared to agree with Sandra. She commented that the PUP was a well-designed program but it could have been longer so that these FTTs could have gained more practical experience. In her opinion, the PUP was successful overall, and the FTTs she knew met the basic requirements as teachers in Canada except that they needed to continue enhancing and refining their language skills.

Extract 3 (Pat):

I like the program Angela went through. I like the fact she was in the classroom for four days, for a sustained period of time, maybe longer.

They are getting teaching methodology through the university and the classroom. They are becoming familiar with that. However, their language must be absolutely fluent. It's the tool we work with. Without language, how do we teach? If you are the best teacher in the world but you don't speak the language, then we would have a major problem.

Janet indicated that it was a valid complaint about FTTs' language skills if they interfered with communication. However, language educators should take up the challenge and try to find ways to help improve their language skills, for example, by offering individualized language training.

In addition to training, almost all the outsiders emphasized the need of *sustainable support* for FTTs. Both Janet and Brian suggested that a mentoring system between school teachers and FTTs be set up so that in case of unfamiliar situations, FTTs could always turn to their mentors and ask for advice before they responded and acted.

Extract 4 (Janet):

I think it would be a big help if they [FTTs] would see a number of classes with different teachers in different situations at different levels. And there should be some compensation or recognition for the teachers for being mentors. Well, I am expecting that more money may be necessary.

Extract 5 (Brian):

They [FTTs] should get to know the teachers and students, get to know how they deal with the situations that they are facing in their classes. And get comfortable with those situations by being prepared for them.

[In fact] they have a lot of new ideas they picked up from the university, a lot of ideas that may grow from their background, from their previous experience. These are all valuable tools and they need show that they have all these valuable tools.

The outsiders pointed out that the most critical support needed was, however, *government policy*. As Ben explained, training provided to foreign professionals would not have much positive impact unless it were legislated by government policy and supported by a sufficient number of non-mainstream people already working in the system. According to him, nothing would change the fact that there were unwritten criteria for employers who simply did not want to hire people from other cultures. "Nobody has ever put that down in paper. But there are rules to play with" (Ben).

Extract 6 (Ben):

I think that if these teachers [FTTs] want to get some kind of teaching positions in the system, there has to be some kind of affirmative action policy, it has to be supported by the government legislation. The idea of offering the PUP was to assist their [FTTs'] entry into the system. But once they [FTTs] graduate from the program and saying that: "Now you are on your own", they are not going to get in.

Like Ben, Sandra firmly believed that it was the school system and its decision makers that determined whether qualified FTTs could be employed as teachers in Canadian schools, because most of the FTTs under study were accepted by Canadian students.

Extract 7 (Sandra):

It is with the Ministry of Education, it's with teacher education, and most importantly, it's with the school itself.

In a way, Brian agreed with Sandra that the OMET should also have some policies that would ensure those who did not want to be teachers should leave the profession so that qualified teachers, regardless of where they were trained, could fill in the positions that were made available.

Extract 8 (Brian):

People who don't want to be there, and who are there because it is a job and don't have other options should be packing.

Similarly, Ellen suggested that the Ministry should have policies to make sure that qualified and competent FTTs could be equally hired within the system.

Extract 9 (Ellen):

They have to establish some policies. Maybe they have to say: "We have a hiring quota and the next four to be hired have to be foreign-trained teachers". I mean that's what happens with an affirmative action program.

Sandra also said that school principals must be willing to accept FTTs. Instead of saying: "Well, they [FTTs] are going to destroy our educational system," they [principals] should have some faith in FTTs and say: "Let me try this foreign-trained teacher" and give them an opportunity to demonstrate their skills and then assess their performance.

Extract 10 (Sandra):

Sometimes what happens is initially there is a barrier that foreign-trained teachers are nervous and they may not be able to do well in the first or second sessions. But given time, they will integrate beautifully because they come with a lot of experience and their knowledge is very good.

According to some of the teachers [FTTs] who have gone to the schools, supply teaching, they have been very well accepted, as far as students are concerned. Students are very happy with them. In fact, some of them [FTTs] say that students

love them because they see a different way of teaching and they find that more interesting and brings them a lot more than their regular [teacher or teaching]. Also, students see a teacher from a different culture and they are able to see themselves reflected in schools. They are happy. These teachers [FTTs] say that students are the easiest part. It is mainly other teachers or some principals [whom] they find hard to get close to...

The principal and school boards should make it mandatory that principals should encourage foreign-trained teachers to be able to demonstrate their skills in the classroom, and then assess them. The mentor teachers can assess them. If they [FTTs] are successful, they [principals] should make a commitment to take them when the next opportunity arises in the school.

Janet summarized all the others' viewpoints. She said that the first thing that needed to be done was to put forward the mandate that schools and the school boards start considering FTTs for possible positions in order to mirror the student population in the teaching population. School employers should learn to take the responsibility for possible complaints and get rid of their fear. Further, the OMET could help improve the situation by introducing a legislated policy. But she emphasized that schools and school boards were the key players because changes had to happen at the local level.

Furthermore, some outsiders proposed to establish a uniform system for assessing foreign credentials across Canada in order to provide honest and accurate *information* on immigration and employment related issues because much of such information was either unavailable or misleading. This not only created a bad image of the government but also had a negative impact on many adult immigrants and their children.

When interviewed, Brian learned about that Rose had never stopped taking university courses after the PUP, Brian responded in a sympathetic tone.

Extract 11 (Brian):

I'd like to say that she has invested her time, energy and money in education and

nothing would make me happier than to see her name on the list, getting regular calls [for supply teaching].

Perhaps after being made aware of Rose's continued effort in improving her teacher skills, there was a change in his view of Rose as a teacher. Brian said that it was unfortunate that there was no room for people like Rose because she was an intelligent individual who could be very positive role model for many immigrant students in our schools.

Finally, some outsiders noted the need for *education* of the general public. During the interview with Jack, when he learned about that Angela had had no opportunity to teach at all after the PUP, Jack looked disturbed. In his mind Angela was indeed a good teacher who had her foot already in the door of the school system upon completion of the PUP.

Extract 12 (Jack):

That's too bad! It really is! Because she was a very good, dedicated teacher. Not even going for occasional teaching? My goodness, there should be something out there for her. To my way of thinking, her foot was in the door.

Jack felt that it was necessary that the general public be educated through a partnership between teacher educators and school boards. Furthermore, the OMET should take the lead in exploring practical and constructive ways to facilitate FTTs' search for employment if they fulfilled Canadian requirements but were still unable to get into the system.

Extract 13 (Jack):

Once these people [FTTs] do get their degrees, but they are finding their doors are shut, then we should go to the next level. So, from the board level, go up to the next higher level, and ask: "With whom can we speak at the Ministry level?" How can you facilitate the process of finding employment?

In conclusion, Stone articulated that for FTTs to successfully integrate into Ontario school systems, training programs such as the PUP should provide orientation to educators at all levels.

Extract 14 (Stone):

We need to do some orientations with principals, unions, some education for these people because we just directly send those people [FTTs], jumping in the line, saying these people are in the foreign-trained program, it's not going to work. We need a mentoring system, networking and that kind of thing. It is a big education, big education for all.

5.6.3 Synthesis

In this section, suggestions on future initiatives to better assist FTTs' reestablishment of a professional career in Canadian schools are reported.

From the insiders' perspective, to be successful, they must first meet Canadian teaching requirements and establish a network which would assist their entry into the school system. But for them, the most important element determining FTTs' success was government policies which supported their willingness and efforts to integrate into Canadian school systems. Without concrete, constructive and sustainable government support, FTTs would only be able to reach the door of the school system but never be able to actually enter it.

From the outsiders' perspective, FTTs wishing to teach in Canadian schools should keep themselves informed about Canadian curricula and educational innovations. Some outsiders pointed out that training programs offered to FTTs should identify accurately FTTs' needs. Like the insiders, almost all outsiders emphasized the importance of government support for FTTs. A few outsiders felt that information and feedback provided to immigrant professionals must be accurate and honest. Some also proposed that education on the issue be given to the general public.

In conclusion, it was recommended that genuine initiatives must be taken to facilitate the process of finding jobs to ensure that qualified FTTs would be equally employed. Figure 16 provides a summary of the above points.

Figure 16: Suggestions for future initiatives to ensure that FTTs may successfully integrate into Canadian school systems.

Insiders' Views		Outsiders' Views	
1)	FTTs' competence	1)	Training offered to FTTs
2)	Need for networking	2)	Support from the government
3)	Support from the government	3)	Information provided to FTTs
		4)	Education to the public

5.7 Chapter Five Summarized

In this chapter, research data related to the five questions are presented. Informants' suggestions for future initiatives to better assist FTTs are reported.

In 5.1., various personal and environmental factors that influence the process of the FTTs' reconstruction of a professional identity are identified and positive and negative influences are distinguished. In 5.2., training and employment opportunities for the FTTs to participate in Ontario educational practices are examined. In 5.3., it is found that FTTs' acceptance in Ontario schools is largely symbolic. In 5.4., tools and strategies that FTTs used in their negotiations of being and becoming teachers in Ontario schools are described. In 5.5., the impact of the FTTs' three-year experience in Ontario schools on their long-term professional aspirations in Canada is explored. In 5.6., it is concluded that genuine initiatives must be taken and serious policy efforts must be made in order to ensure that programs similar to the PUP will be truly successful.

Figure 17 presents a summary of the data reported above, which will serve as a basis for the discussion in the chapter that follows.

Figure 17: Summary of results related to the five research questions and suggestions for future initiatives.

Questions	Findings	
What personal and environmental factors appear to influence this process, positively or negatively?	Personal factors & positive influence:	Environmental factors & positive influence:
	1) English language proficiency 2) Cultural knowledge 3) Knowledge of subject matter 4) Teaching methodology 5) Care for student learning 6) Commitment 7) Human relations	1) Student needs 2) Official support
	Personal factors & negative influence:	Environmental factors & negative influence:
	8) Family responsibility 9) Financial ability 10) Judgementality 11) Unrealistic expectations 12) Self-perception 13) Personal image	3) Economic reality 4) Power <-race <accent 5) Public perception 6) Discrimination 7) Political considerations 8) Misleading information
What opportunities appear to increase FTTs' participation in Ontario educational practice?	Training opportunities:	Employment opportunities:
	1) Volunteering 2) Counselling 3) Graduate studies 4) ESL FSL Special education 5) Classroom management course 6) Computer course 7) Hi-tech program	1) Helping students (i.e., counselling) 2) Supply teaching 3) Teaching L1 4) Outside-school work
To what degree does Ontario educational practice promote FTTs' acceptance as competent teachers in Ontario schools?	Symbolic recognition:	Material reward:
	1) Significant acceptance 2) Some gain 3) No value 4) Professional even if not teaching 5) Professional in name only	1) Insignificant gain 2) About 50% less than CTTs 3) Enough for tuition fees 4) Not enough for tuition fees 5) No gain 6) Waste of effort, money & time
In what way do FTTs' negotiate their professional identities, internally and externally?	Internal negotiations:	External negotiations:
	1) Learning 2) Persistence and patience 3) Accepting the reality 4) Holding onto a religious belief	1) Networking 2) Sacrifice 3) Compromise 4) Silence
How does this process of professional upgrading & subsequent experiences change FTTs' long-term professional aspirations in Canada?	Positive impact:	Negative impact:
	1) Appreciation 2) Satisfaction 3) Active waiting 4) Multiple career path	1) Inactive waiting 2) Disappointment 3) Powerlessness 4) Distrust & cynicism
Suggestions for future initiatives	Internal (FTTs' own) initiatives:	External supporting initiatives:
	1) Be competent in teaching 2) Be proficient in English 3) Be committed to teaching 4) Be capable of networking	1) Offer relevant training 2) Ensure government support 3) Give accurate information & honest feedback 4) Educate the public

Chapter Six: Discussion

Effective integration for a newcomer to Canada means the ability to contribute, free of barriers, to every dimension of Canadian life - economic, cultural and political.

Citizenship & Immigration Canada, June 1, 1998, p. 1.

The Taoists claimed that the comedy of life could be made more interesting if everyone would preserve the unities. To keep the proportion of things and give place to others without losing one's own was the secret of success in the mundane drama. We must know the whole play in order to properly act our parts: the conception of totality must never be lost in that of the individual.

Kakuzo Okakura, 1997, p. 57.

It was hypothesized in Chapter Two that the process of FTTs' professional identity reconstruction would be regulated by three elements: competency, opportunity and negotiation. It was further suggested that three success indicators be utilized to determine whether during this process FTTs could acquire membership (i.e., an identity as professionally-trained teachers) within the larger Canadian school system and the Ontario teaching force, and concurrently be able to maintain their own individuality, that is, being teachers in their own right.

In Chapter Four, documentation on the PUP, the seven FTTs' individual stories and a collective account of their experiences in Ontario schools were presented. In Chapter Five, five research subquestions were examined from the perspectives of both the insiders (i.e., FTTs) and the outsiders (i.e., PUP implementors and facilitators). Informants' suggestions for future initiatives were also reported.

In this chapter, underlying meanings of these findings are explored and the main research question is addressed. The chapter is divided into seven sections. In 6.1., the PUP mission is reviewed and assessed, and FTTs' teacher competence is examined. In 6.2., the larger social context influencing FTTs' entry into the Ontario teaching profession is explored, and in 6.3., identity

formation theory is revisited. In 6.4., the main research question is addressed, and then the conceptual framework is revisited. In the last three sections, limitations to the study are acknowledged, and implications of the findings and conclusions of the study are considered.

6.1 The PUP and the FTTs

A discussion of the PUP mission and the FTTs' teacher competence becomes necessary in that the PUP was the basis upon which FTTs began their journey of being and/or becoming teachers in Ontario. It also becomes necessary to address the FTTs' teacher competence given the criticism by some outsiders that the PUP overlooked pedagogical aspects in selecting and training for FTTs. Subsequently, the assessment of foreign credentials, mainly from non-European countries, is discussed.

6.1.1 The PUP Mission: Accomplished or Not?

It was stated in the PUP proposal that the rationale of the PUP was to:

Provide FTTs with opportunities to upgrade their skills and training in order to better qualify for an Ontario Teacher Certificate (Mawhinney 1994, p. 1, see Appendix A).

It was reported in 4.1.3. that the seven FTTs' additional Canadian training and professional qualifications were recognized by both the University of Ottawa and the OMET. Like any Ontario certified teachers, these FTTs are certified to teach in Ontario schools. Beyond doubt, the major objective of the PUP was achieved.

But some of the PUP's six additional objectives (also see 1.2 and Appendix A) were not or were only partially accomplished. In comparison with the FTTs' three-year post-PUP experience, these expected outcomes are explained as follows.

The first was that the PUP was expected to facilitate school boards' compliance with the Education Act, specifically, the equity policy (see Appendix A). By and large, the FTTs' stories, particularly their descriptions of an ideal workplace (see Figure 8) suggest that they were not always treated equally and fairly and they were left wishing to work in a place "where nobody cares about where I come from" (Henry), "where I am respected for who I am" (Barbara) and "where I could feel safe" (Wilson).

The second and third expected outcomes were to recognize FTTs' prior learning, to develop their teaching competencies for Ontario school contexts, and to enhance their understanding of the educational, social and cultural dimensions within the Ontario school system. It is unarguable that the Ontario Teaching Certification of the seven FTTs was an acknowledgement of their learning and experience. It is also true that these FTTs became increasingly familiar with different dimensions of the Ontario school system through continuous learning at Canadian universities, working in the Ontario schools, and living in the Province of Ontario.

The fourth expected outcome was to develop the skills of classroom teachers and professors working with the FTTs. No specific data were collected to assess this objective. The nine outsiders' retrospective views on their experience with the FTTs, nevertheless, imply that they became more aware of the complexity and challenges of working with student teachers like FTTs. Such an awareness is valuable for future initiatives.

The fifth expected outcome was to facilitate job entry opportunities for FTTs. In terms of working in schools, the PUP made it possible for Adam, Ted and Wilson to work as MLOs but in terms of teaching, there were few opportunities for them. Needless to say, it is very unlikely that these FTTs will be teaching in the future because "it is not going to work to let the FTTs be on their

own seeking teaching positions" (Ben). It seems clear that sustainable official support must be provided to ensure that FTTs can contribute in Ontario classrooms "free of barriers" (CIC, 1998).

The last expected outcome was the development of transferable materials, programs and methodologies so as to better serve teacher trainees like the seven FTTs from under-represented groups. In this regard, it is hoped that documentation on the PUP and the current study will provide some positive and constructive insights.

In conclusion, the PUP successfully accomplished its primary mission but it was less successful in achieving some of the other expected outcomes. In particular, the equity policy appeared not to have been complied with and the FTTs' job entry opportunities for teaching, the major concern for the FTTs and the primary success indicator for their professional identity reconstruction, remained largely unchanged. A number of questions then arise: Why were these objectives not achieved? What went wrong? And should the PUP be held responsible for the FTTs' unsuccessful efforts in obtaining teaching positions?

According to the FTTs, the PUP should not be blamed for its unaccomplished objectives. Adam made it clear, "Honestly, I don't know how you [the PUP leader] can help us more than you have already done for us." (4.1.4). Even Rose, the critical FTT, said, "The University [of Ottawa] is doing its best to help us, trying to put people back into their chosen professions. Universities cannot hire people [i.e., school teachers], the Ministry [i.e., OMET] does not employ [school teachers]" (4.2.5). Overall, the FTTs felt that the problem was with the employment section (i.e., schools, school boards and employers, see 4.2). Other informants with exception of one implementor also felt that it was the absence of policy efforts in the school system that made it difficult to achieve the outcomes sought by the PUP (see 5.6).

6.1.2 FTTs' Teacher Competence

In this section, the FTTs' teacher competence is reexamined in terms of their self-assessed and perceived competence. The former is important because understanding how the FTTs saw themselves as teachers could help other people understand why these FTTs acted or reacted in given ways. The latter is even more critical because the FTTs' professional status was in large measure shaped by significant others in their environment. If they were perceived not to meet the Ontario teaching requirements by those who had power or influence in making hiring decisions, they would not be accepted as teachers regardless of how they thought about themselves. It is their perceived competence that counts.

Data reported in 4.1.4 indicate that upon completion of the PUP, the FTTs dared to hope that they would have opportunities to teach in Ontario schools. After having become certified teachers, they began to believe that they belonged to the Ontario teaching profession. As Ted claimed with confidence and excitement, "I am no longer an outsider."

Data presented in 4.2 show that three years later the FTTs were still convinced that they were qualified and good teachers despite the fact that none of them was employed as a teacher except Rose working as a back-up teacher. A few of them even considered themselves better teachers than some of those currently teaching in classrooms. The following remarks taken from 4.2. (i.e., FTTs' individual stories) summarize their self-assessed teacher competence:

1. I am qualified to teach. Even without the PUP, I was still qualified to teach (Rose).
2. I have to be better than Canadian teachers in order to get a teaching position (Rose).
3. I know what's happening here in schools. I know what to teach and how to teach (Adam).

4. I am not scared to teach. Teaching is something that I don't need to reinvest in (Henry).
5. If I teach math, how much English do they want me to have? (Ted).
6. I have more experience than Canadian-born teachers. I have two perspectives, at least two perspectives, if it's not more than that (Wilson).
7. I know English, French and my native language, which puts me in an advantage position and I relate well with kids from different backgrounds (Barbara).

Without doubt, the FTTs were positive that they had developed sufficient professional readiness to teach in Ontario. Was the FTTs' self-assessed teacher competence, however, compatible with their perceived teacher competence? As we will see, the answer is "No".

Contrary to the FTTs' self-assessment, many of the outsiders, primarily PUP implementors, did not think that the FTTs were qualified and ready to teach in their schools. The following comments taken from 5.1.1.2 are a summary of their perceptions and assessment of the FTTs' teacher competence:

1. They [i.e., Adam and Ted] are very limited in teaching ability and they treat students in an extremely autocratic way (Peter).
2. I have concerns, and she [i.e., Rose] too, about controlling children's behaviour (Brian).
3. They have to know how to motivate Canadian students (Brian).
4. They [Adam and Ted] have to understand Canadian culture, the nuances of our school culture (Peter).
5. They [Henry and Wilson] have to understand Canadian educational psychology on child development (Ellen).

6. Our students may not be used to their [FTTs in general] accent (Jack).
7. They [FTTs in general] must be extremely fluent in English (Pat).

According to one implementor, the list could be extensive because "there are a million problems out there. They even come down to personal hygiene." A vice principal who had the power to offer FTTs some teaching opportunities never called a single FTT for supply teaching. He said, by way of explanation, "My goal is to provide our students with the most effective supply teachers available," implying that the FTTs were not as effective as others available to teach in his school. Even though he acknowledged that Rose was professional, fluent in English, motivated and anxious to succeed, he refused to call her for supply teaching and let her improve and demonstrate her knowledge and skills.

It is evident that there was a big gap between the FTTs' self-assessed teacher competence and their perceived teacher competence. While the FTTs, full of confidence and energy, felt ready to act and perform on stage, they were seen to be unready to do so.

6.1.3 Summary Comments: The Essential Issues

The contradictions between the accomplishment of the PUP primary mission and the difference in FTTs' self and perceived teacher competence suggests that there was a tendency on the part of at least some Canadian educators to underestimate the FTTs' strengths and to overstate their weaknesses. The fact that the seven FTTs out of 35 candidates had gone through six screening processes before the PUP, completed the PUP, and finally had become certified teachers is a guarantee that they were *trained* teachers, whether measured by Canadian, non-Canadian and/or international standards. It is quite possible that some of them were good and very good teachers.

Otherwise, it would be very difficult to explain in the first place why they had passed six screening processes before the training by a group of Canadian educators, community representatives and settlement experts. It would also be very difficult to explain subsequently why the OMET certified them after the training.

A comparison of the teacher qualifications of the FTTs and of Canadian teachers will confirm that the former were not any less qualified in terms of training than the latter. On average, Canadian teachers have a university degree, and 10% of 10-12/OAC teachers and only 3 percent of K-3 teachers have masters of education degrees (CTF 1992, p. 22). Like Canadian teachers, all the seven FTTs had university degrees. In addition to upgrading and other special training, three of them had either completed or were doing graduate studies.

It is true that some FTTs were weak in handling discipline problems, some were not creative in teaching methodology, and none of them completely understood school culture. These weaknesses, however, can not be overcome by getting more *qualifications* from universities. What the FTTs needed most was to be given opportunities to gain practical *experience* by doing the job, which is to teach and "to live with the school culture" (Pat). Gradually, they would be able to, consciously and subconsciously, develop methods and styles suitable to Ontario teaching contexts and to understand the nuances of the Canadian school culture.

According to the CTF (1992), there are stages in the teaching career. Normally, it takes about three to five years (first one or two year(s) as probationary year(s), followed by two to four years' independent teaching in class) for beginning teachers to build their expertise and become more relaxed in classrooms, gym, guidance office and lab (p. 33). If Canadian-born/trained student teachers are allowed several years (approximately *150 to 250 weeks*) to become experienced and

relaxed in classrooms after their formal training in teacher education, it is unreasonable and unrealistic to reject FTTs who had less than *13-weeks* exposure to Ontario classrooms during the PUP implementation.

Stone, speaking from his own experience as a racial minority immigrant teacher and as a vice principal, and from his contact with the FTTs, once pointed out that the FTTs should be given time and opportunities to demonstrate their competence. He felt that "School boards, principals and teachers should have a little bit more patience with these FTTs because they have a lot to offer. They demonstrate a genuine love for their students and for the teaching profession." He wondered, "What is more important than these qualities for a teacher?" (see 4.1.2).

In conclusion, the FTTs' teacher competence tended to be undervalued and their shortcomings were exaggerated by administrators and their counterparts in the school system. When the FTTs' initial access to Ontario schools was barely achieved, underestimation of their strengths and overstatement of their weaknesses could only further restrain their opportunities for teaching. An important question must be asked: Why were the FTTs assessed the way they were? To be able to understand the issues involved, it is necessary to examine the larger social context within which they were perceived, evaluated and judged.

6.2 Larger Social Context for FTTs' Entry into the Ontario Teaching Profession

This section explores the larger social context between January 1995 and January 1998, a period during which, and beyond, the seven FTTs' search for teaching opportunities in Ontario schools took place. The discussion focuses on: a) the public (mis)perceptions, a persistent obstacle faced by the FTTs, b) the school system, a structural barrier/contradiction constraining the FTTs'

access to schools while making efforts to ensure unity and diversity, c) the FTTs' perceptions of school personnel and the education system, a problem which complicated the process of their becoming teachers, and d) a summary of essential issues and consequences.

6.2.1 Public Perceptions

Two kinds of public perceptions are examined. The first is the widespread public dissatisfaction with Canadian education, a problem faced by the Ontario school system (and to a certain extent an internal problem if FTTs are considered as outsiders). The second is the social misperception of immigrants which is a persistent barrier faced by the FTTs in the larger world. Taken together, these perceptions became a strong negative force for the FTTs to deal with in building a new professional identity.

Canadians place a high value on schooling and the work of teachers but in recent years, the general public has become increasingly dissatisfied with Canadian education. As a result, some people have begun to describe schools as "day-care centers" and teachers as "babysitters" (see 2.2.3). Some educators urge that our society face the unarguable fact that Canadian schools are not only producing but also graduating functionally illiterate young adults (Jones 1991). Even some school teachers themselves felt that schools must "get serious about what teachers do in classroom" (see 2.2.3). What is discouraging is that this lack of attention is not incidental. It is found in classrooms where students from Grade 1 to Grade 13 are thought to learn and become educated (see 2.2.3.3) but also in classrooms where adults expect to learn and enhance their knowledge and skills. For example, a Canadian teacher teaching adult immigrants ESL has recently called for stopping the fooling around in classrooms (Goodchild 1999, p. 35):

I have often been thanked by students who have finally learned how to put a sentence together without looking like the proverbial "dumb immigrants". Some of these people have spent 10 or more years with teachers who have merely patronized them, treating them like overgrown children, humiliating them with endless arbitrary "communication games."...If these students want to get English-language higher education, or if they want high-level jobs, they do not need a "patron."

Stories of patronizing or even humiliating adult immigrants are also found in the studies by Peirce (1994) and Goldstein (1997), respectively. Not surprisingly, many concerned Canadians demand that it is time that our society must start increasing its sense of responsibility. We Canadians can no longer afford to live in an environment that demands rewards even for minimal efforts. Otherwise, we will soon be left in the wake of a developed, educated and motivated world that has passed us by, and we will not have the ability to figure out why Canada faces 24% of functionally illiterate persons in its society, including one in six Canadians in the labour force (see Canadian students in 2.2.3.3.; also see Jones 1991; Lewington and Orpwood 1993; Laibman 1996; Pratt 1995; Wagner 1996).

Perhaps due to public dissatisfaction, the current provincial government launched an educational reform in Ontario when it took office in 1995. The government claimed to take responsibility for Canadian students, demanding discipline and accountability from schools and teachers. Substantial funding cuts in education, perhaps more motivated by climbing government debt and deficit, were some of the initial steps taken by the government, which generated excitement, fear, resentment, and other mixed feelings among people in Ontario. In particular, staff reduction and school closures brought about "chaotic" and confusing situations in schools and staff members became worried about their jobs.

Whether the educational reform is good or bad is beyond the discussion here but the impact of different reactions and emotions it created among the public must be referenced to the FTTs' job

search for teaching in Ontario schools. Findings presented in 5.1 show that the bad economy in the province, few job openings, and demoralization and disarray in the schools were seen by most informants as some of the major barriers that the FTTs had to deal with during their search for teaching positions.

In addition to these transitory problems resulting from the educational reform and funding cuts in particular, the FTTs had to deal with a persistent barrier, public misperception. As a multicultural society, Canada's largest cities and towns make neighbours of people of diverse creeds and colours, and Canadians are proud of being the most tolerant people in the world. By and large, this feeling is genuine and true. Unfortunately, biased attitudes towards certain groups of people do exist in Canadian society.

It has been well established in the literature that the public has a misperception of immigrants in general and, racially different immigrants in particular. In educational settings, negative views and attitudes are often manifested in teacher expectations. Teachers may prejudge students based on their membership in a specific cultural, racial, ethnic, linguistic, or other minority community. Teachers' biases and prejudices are often subtly (and sometimes not so subtly) communicated to students. For example, a Canadian professor, based on his superficial observation of a non-white student's physical characteristics, questioned her ability to learn French in his class (see 2.3.4).

The present study has found similar biases against immigrant students and the FTTs themselves. Henry was once criticised by his mentor for leading a discussion in class based on a question raised by an ESL student. Wilson found that some teachers used accent as a criterion to predict the future of students at Grade 1 to Grade 6. Instead of searching for ways to help young pupils to acquire "a proper accent", the teachers claimed that these kids were doomed to failure in

Canadian society (see 4.2.7). Similarly, accent played a critical and negative role in the FTTs' search for teaching positions (see 2.3 above and 6.2.4 below).

Thus, the FTTs came to the conclusion that the word, "immigrants", was associated with a bad reputation in Ontario schools. When something bad happened, immigrant students were often targeted as first suspects (see 4.1.4, 4.2.1 above and 6.4.3. below). Immigrant teachers, like the FTTs, were treated in a similar fashion. They were often perceived as less effective teachers because of their physical difference (i.e., non-white) (see Thiessen et al. 1996). Stone was correct in pointing out that "Perception is a big factor. It may not be voiced but it is reflected in the opportunities provided and the relationships formed."

6.2.2 Structural Barriers/Contradictions

All Canadian school systems state that their mandate is to provide the best education to Canadian students (see 2.2.3.1). In reality, ambitious goals remain a beacon which will never be fully achieved. On the contrary, maintaining the status quo often becomes the priority of those who manage school operations. Consider the school structure as an example. While school officials come and go, the industrial model of today's schools dates back over one hundred years. All people inhabit schools based on educational and management principles of the 19th century (i.e., school boards as owners, superintendents as managers, principals as foremen, teachers as workers and students as products), yet are heading into the work world of the 21st century. With the new millennium approaching, our schools continue to treat students as products, sending them home to harvest every summer for three months. According to Cordeior, Reagan and Martinez (1994), no research has ever been conducted to examine whether such an academic calendar year maximizes student learning.

The structure of the current school system is not only a barrier to student learning, it restricts teachers' initiatives in teaching. Much of their work is buried in administrative paper work and interrupted by constant instructions from the main offices in schools, leaving little time for teachers to do what they need to do in their classrooms. Some teachers are very frustrated. As one of them said, "we just have to be given the support to do our job and then left alone to get on with it" (see 2.2.3.3).

While the public may picture Canadian teachers as getting fat cheques by babysitting, they may fail to realize that many Canadian teachers are in fact fed up of being forced by the realities in the contemporary society to play diverse roles as mother, psychologist, social worker, disciplinarian and entertainer. As one teacher puts it hopelessly, "I am neither qualified nor energetic enough to fulfil all these roles for those kids. For my sanity, and that of the students, it's time to leave and find something else" (CTF 1992, p. 123). Canadian teachers are impeded by the traditional societal structures from solving problems and making changes.

The irony is that while the current bureaucratic structure of the industrial model clearly posits an incompatible position about how today's schools should be operated, it effectively cuts off new blood that might introduce new ideas that may be seen to threaten the status quo.

Ted's unsuccessful efforts in having his job application accepted is a good example. When Ted submitted applications to principals, he was told that it was school boards that made decisions in hiring teachers. When he contacted the school boards, he was told that he should approach principals (see 4.2.6). The reality is that both human resource units and principals accept job applications and make hiring decisions. Why did neither of them at least accept Ted's application? It is quite possible that Ted was perceived as "an ineffective teacher" or "a potential source of

problems," leading to his feeling virtually kicked around like a ball up and down within the hierarchical school system, from the school board down to different schools and then back up to the school board. Most unfortunate is that while Ted was the hapless victim of the traditional hierarchy, those in authority not only refused to accept his application but also painted him as a stranger who did not know how Canadian schools operated (i.e., knocking at the wrong doors), placing the responsibility upon him for his unsuccessful attempt of submitting a job application.

Within this edu-culture where the repetitive cycle of school life and the reproduction of structures are sustained and enhanced by the persistent practices of hierarchical control, even Canadian teachers, who are financially secure, morally and socially supported by their unions, are given few opportunities to participate. By comparison, newcomers like the FTTs, who lack financial security, moral and social support, would need exceptional strengths to make a breakthrough in order to obtain access to the school system.

6.2.3 FTTs' Perceptions

Similar to the ways in which the FTTs were perceived by others, some FTTs developed their (mis)perceptions of Canadian schools and teachers. Those (see 6.1.2 FTTs' perceived teacher competence) who judged the FTTs unqualified for teaching were described by the FTTs as unconcerned and irresponsible in their work. Perhaps like the public, some FTTs failed to understand the complexity of teaching Canadian students and described some schools as day-care centers where teachers babysit students. The following summarizes typical comments they made about some teachers and schools:

1. My mentor was prejudiced against ESL students (Henry).
2. The teacher was insensitive to the students' culture (Adam).

3. The teacher has to be open-minded and be flexible. The basic principle has to be reinforced - don't dictate over anybody else (Wilson).
4. Discipline problems? They are running a day-care centre and students are not challenged academically (4.1).
5. Some teachers who are not good teachers happen to know English (Henry).
6. The schools are posting us, and everybody is laughing in the picture, but the teachers are not laughing with us (Rose).
7. The principal seemed to be a well-informed politician (Henry).
8. There is always an excuse that we do not live up to the standards. The system does not allow us to get in (Ted).
9. The schools are really not professional (Henry).
10. The system should give us a break (Barbara).

As is apparent, these comments reflect various kinds of FTTs' frustrations. What seems unfortunate is that the FTTs who felt that they were judged unfairly tended to have more negative views - probably both due to the influence of their negative experience and of their inability to deal with them constructively. It should be pointed out that the FTTs did not have these frustrations upon completion of the PUP. Their frustrations were built out of the negative treatment that they experienced in some schools. As Peirce (1994) points out in her study, immigrant women who were made to feel inferior while living in Canada did not feel "inferior" upon their arrival in Canada.

It is not a coincidence, however, that the last four comments reveal FTTs' frustrations similar to those of other teachers, indicating that a major issue faced by them all was the bureaucratic school system itself.

6.2.4 Summary Comments: The Essential Issues

Underlying the public dissatisfaction with Canadian education, different perceptions of one another and structural barriers are embedded in some important issues and consequences.

Job security. Jobs and job security are important for all human beings because the job is an important part of how one sees himself or herself and how he or she is seen by others; in other words, what he or she does makes who he or she is (Kanter 1979; Ochs 1993). This essential point of human existence is shared by the most distinguished advocate, Adam Smith (1723-90), and the most distinguished critic, Karl Marx (1818-83), of modern capitalism. As the former said, "The understanding of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments" and the latter agreed, "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."

The public dissatisfaction with Canadian schools and funding cuts in education have generated concerns and fear among school employees during the past few years. While the concern among teachers and other staff about issues such as the curriculum reform is genuine, their fear of losing their jobs is also real. It is an undeniable fact that the Ontario teachers' strike in the fall of 1997 was in large part triggered by teachers' fear of losing their jobs, mixed with their differences with the provincial government, including the OMET, about who should run schools, and how.

Given teachers' regular workload, along with the recent educational reforms and a variety of related issues such as strikes and work-to-rule, much of what went on inside the school system during the FTTs' post-PUP period seemed to be upside-down, full of tensions and dilemmas. When school officials were pressured to lay off staff and close schools, it was unrealistic to expect them to consider hiring FTTs even if they should. When teachers were worried about how to protect their

positions, it was understandable that they did not welcome new candidates to come in and "take away their jobs". Rose reported that when she went to schools, supply teaching, other teachers would stare at her as if they were saying, "Why are you here? There are no jobs here" (4.2.5).

Stereotypes and prejudices. Public misperception of immigrants in general, and racially different immigrants in particular, shows that although the Canadian population is becoming increasingly diverse, Canadians still do not understand each other. When dealing with the so-called unknown in their daily lives and at work, many tend to use stereotypes about other groups in a variety of ways. Stereotypes and prejudice may not be instantly dangerous, but in time they are intrinsically harmful and potentially dangerous.

For instance, Henry's mentor's prejudice toward ESL students was not dangerous to the students physically. The real issue is, however, that prejudice of this nature can become a rationale for justifying low expectations of ESL students. Some researchers have taken the position that teachers with these attitudes toward ESL students may simply let them play games and fool around in class (Goodchild 1999). According to Glesne and Peshkin (1992), it is regrettably common to find this kind of irresponsible teaching practice that takes place in classrooms where:

...generally minorities, whom I [Peshkin] observed getting nowhere in their classrooms. They were being taught by teachers who had not learned enough, often did not care enough, to make a difference in their students' lives. Class time for both students and teachers was an occasion for little more than marking time until the bell released both from their meaningless engagement. This circumstance, regrettably common, disturbed me more than I had ever been disturbed by the ineffective teachers I had observed at other schools (p. 105).

In a study conducted in a working-class school in Britain, Sharp and Green (1975) observed that "whilst teachers display a moral concern that every child matters, in practice there is a subtle process of sponsorship developing where opportunity is being offered to some and closed off to others" (p. 218).

If minority and ESL students continue to be "taught" by this kind of teachers, in the long run, these students may become incompetent and unskilful when they enter adulthood. Henry's mentor's prejudice had an additional negative impact on Henry who not only disdained the mentor's attitude but also grew to distrust the school system, which might have helped to form his prejudice and stereotypes against others (see 6.2.3. above).

Why do people stereotype? According to Bennett (1990), individuals' inability, ignorance and unwillingness to work harder to figure out and understand what is happening in their her environment leads to stereotypes and prejudice. As he explains:

We stereotype because it is impossible for the human brain to employ all the information present in man's environment. Furthermore, there is a natural tendency to simplify our problems and to solve them as easily as possible. A "pet formula" such as "Mexicans are lazy" makes it possible for an Anglo employer to eliminate much of his mental effort by simply not considering Mexicans for jobs in his firm. If he were to check on each applicant and to understand the causes of his behaviour, he would have to work much harder (p. 18).

It is important to realize that prejudice is not entirely an individual matter. It derives from, and is supported by, a wide range of social, cultural, political, and economic forces. According to Cordeiro et al. (1994), prejudice has to do with individuals' *attitude*, but its implications for *actions* taken by institutions and *behaviour* exhibited by decision makers, should be taken seriously.

Suppose, for example, that when a white teacher, acting on his or her own part, chooses to discriminate against an FTT who appears "different" from his or her instilled perceptions of an "ideal teacher image," individual discrimination takes place. This particular individual's attitude does not in itself constitute any harmful action. If supported by his or her principal who also chooses to reject an FTT for the same reason, however, his or her actions will indeed have some significant negative implications.

It is policy makers, not any given individual, who determine what actions to take and what behaviour is acceptable because their actions are supported by established laws, customs, and practices that reflect and reproduce institutional actions. When this type of action is prejudiced, institutional discrimination occurs and inequalities are created. It is the institutional discrimination that in many ways poses the greatest threat for us all.

In a study which examines the patterns of teachers' control over students, Mawhinney (1998) offers a similar conclusion that to change teachers' attitude towards and control over students, the taken-for-granted quality of institutional practices and their reproduction of structures that constrain teachers efforts must be first challenged and examined. With this in mind, let us turn to the next issue, the most fundamental of all.

Institutional discrimination "is something that people don't want to talk about" (Wilson) because it involves policies or practices which appear to be neutral in their effect on minority individuals or groups but which in reality have a disproportionately negative impact upon them.

Indeed, most Canadians, politicians and ordinary citizens alike, feel uncomfortable discussing this subject. Often, they do not (or refuse to) believe in the existence of institutionalized discrimination in Canadian society, noting Canada's five-year perch atop the UN list of the best place to live in the world. Unfortunately, institutional bias and discrimination do exist in Canada. In *The 51% Minority*, Anderson (1991) documents discriminatory practices that take place in the social context:

In any Canadian election, the public will probably be hammered numb with talk of the economy, energy and other current issues. But there will always be some far more startling topics that no one will talk about at all.

No one is going to say to all new Canadians: "Look, we're going through some

tough times. Three out of four of you had better face the fact that you're always going to be poor. At 65 more than likely you'll be living below the poverty level."

As for blacks: "Because of the colour of your skin, you're going to be paid less than the white person next to you who is doing exactly the same job. It is tough, but that's the way it is".

A shocking example of this nature was publicized in December 1998 when Canadian officials were asked by the UN committee at the Geneva Convention to explain why the residents of Indian reserves in Canada lived on a 63rd-place par with jungle dwellers in Thailand, why the unemployment rate on the Reserves was 70%, why one-third of the native people had no running water at home, and why young aboriginal men were the most likely to commit suicide of any country in the world. The answer, according to Switzer (1998), has to do with the effect of Canada's institutional colonial approach to aboriginal issues. A truly non-discriminatory institution or society should ensure that democracy and equality are reflected in fair distribution of material benefits among its members or citizens regardless of their race or other characteristics. Money is fertilizer. When scattered in all directions, it helps plants to grow. When gathered in one spot, it reeks.

In the school context, institutional bias tends to be manifested under the guise of educational equality. The idea of providing all students with the same, high-quality educational experience is one that has a great deal of initial superficial merit. The problem is that such a goal fails to take into account the cultural, social, economic backgrounds of racially different and other minority student populations. When it comes to hiring, all institutions use a similar statement in public that they adopt equal employment policy - women, visible minorities and disabled people are particularly encouraged to apply. In reality, final decisions may more often than not be made behind closed doors in secrecy, on the basis of power relations, personal connections, individual perceptions of so-called candidates' "fit-in" characteristics (i.e., Anglo-

Canadian characteristics and norms), and ethnicity, including accent and acts (Porter 1965; Young 1982; Mills & Simmons 1995; Newman 1998; Angela, Barbara, Ben, Henry, Janet, Rose, Sandra, Stone, Ted and Wilson).

The "fit-in" requirement appears dynamic but illogical. Consider the FTTs' entry into the Ontario school system. They were required to be seen and involved in school activities, yet *structurally* they were not allowed to integrate into the school system. Henry observed, "the school does not let us know other teachers"; and Ted concluded, "the schools are structured in such a way that we can't get in." When the FTTs were denied opportunities to work and to mingle with school teachers, demands on them to understand the Canadian school culture became self-contradictory. When the FTTs were later denied opportunities to learn on the job (e.g., supply teach and volunteer), demands on them to improve their performance became problematic because there was no further way to learn through experience in the system.

Personal prejudice and individual discriminatory behaviour is one part of the problem, which may never be fully eliminated in this or any society. But what needs to be dealt with is institutional bias/discrimination. To some extent a focus on personal and individual issues can mask the underlying, and arguably more serious, threats posed by institutional bias.

Disillusion and cynicism. It is a position taken in this thesis that a professional identity must be co-constructed by the FTTs and by significant others through their interactions in relevant educational and social contexts. A due recognition from other people fosters dignity and pride. On the contrary, an undue rejection leads to disappointment which can be worsened by individuals' inability to effectively cope with rejections. The changes in the FTTs' feelings upon completion of the PUP and at the time of the interviews reveal disappointment and anger as well as disillusion

and cynicism. These feelings were primarily the product of their circumstances. If they were not fully caused by prejudice, stereotypes, and institutional bias/discrimination, they were at least influenced by them.

Adam was proud of his success but in order to avoid racism, he would not venture any further. As he said, he would not have been successful if working under the leadership of some school principals who did not believe in diversity (4.2.1). Angela, being the most successful FTT in the PUP, could hardly bear the reflection on her post-PUP experience. While she restrained herself from complaining, she failed to conceal her disappointment and disillusion. Barbara definitely had had enough taste of what it meant to be a racially different immigrant in Canada. Her disappointment mixed with some anger appeared to be out of control. Henry developed "humour": "To kiss up, to butter up somebody... you will get a job, I am sure, I am sure." Rose, when advised not to be critical of Canadian schools for their own sake, spoke in a mocking voice, "Strange, hey! It's okay for them to criticize us and it's not okay for us to see something wrong with them." As the most experienced and successful FTT in terms of employment as a teacher, Rose was disappointed from what she had gone through. She distrusted the system and believed only in God and herself. Ted was confused. To keep employed, he had to keep his outsider identity inside a system which he was working for. Wilson had neither high hopes nor disappointment. He was simply doing his best to get ready to go wherever he felt safe and happy.

These feelings were an indication of FTTs' weak coping skills and had their own implications because they could cause conflicts and lead to poor human relations. Nevertheless, such feelings were to some extent inevitable if the FTTs felt rejected by the system regardless of their willingness to improve. In other words, the FTTs' negative feelings and attitudes were at least

to some extent generated and reinforced by what they had been through in Ontario schools. When people feel hopeless, with no solutions at their disposal, there is a danger that they may become desperate and lose control. Everything has its limits.

In conclusion, the hope for a better future for Ontario schools requires bringing in new ideas, new attitudes, and a new vision which will ensure that all human beings are treated with dignity and equality in order to reconcile tensions among a diverse population. If human problems are to be solved, the school system needs a serious reexamination of power and power relations (see 6.3.5. below) as these shape the organization at all levels. Problems and solutions do not lie in the hands of individuals alone.

6.3 Identity Formation Theory Revisited and FTTs' Identity

One key concept that was highlighted in 2.3. is the role of opportunity and identity formation. Opportunity is seductive. It is tied closely to career progress because individuals cannot ever achieve their career goals without opportunities to learn to grow professionally/occupationally competent on the job. For instance, experienced teachers, after having completed principal training courses at universities, will not become principals if no senior administrators of the school board are willing to place them in positions as vice-principals for training (Thiessen et al. 1996, p. 102-122). Beginning teachers will not become experienced and relaxed without opportunities to learn to teach for 150 to 250 weeks (CTF 1992, pp. 33-41). Analogous to these two examples, FTTs will not be able to integrate into the Ontario teaching force unless principals are willing to let them learn and gain Canadian teaching experience in classrooms.

In what follows, four significant characteristics of the FTTs' experiences are examined, with a focus on the role of opportunity (as reviewed in Chapter Two). In 6.3.1., Ochs' (1993) notion of

identity construction is used to illustrate how FTTs' identity is collaboratively and collectively created. In 6.3.2., immigrant teachers' stories documented in Thiessen et al (1996) are referenced to show how the FTTs' professional identity is manifested ethnically and linguistically. In 6.3.3., the concept of negotiation for identity (Thiessen et al. 1996) is applied to demonstrate that the FTTs' identity is multiple and conflictual (Peirce 1995; Cummins 1996; Duff and County 1997). In 6.3.4., dimensions of time are considered to explain that FTTs' identity is time-bound (He 1995). Finally in 6.3.5., opportunity and power arrangements (Cherryholme 1988; Peirce 1994) which helped shape the FTTs' identity are analyzed, summarizing the essential issues dealt with in this section.

6.3.1 Collaborative and Collective

Ochs (1974, 1993) has used the classic example of the relationship between a mother and her child to establish and validate the concept that a given identity is achieved through displays and ramifications of social acts and stances. According to her, children come to associate certain actions and stances with the structuring of their own and others' identities, say, as mother, father, sibling, stranger and so forth. They do this by demonstrating actions such as touching, reaching and manipulating and by taking stances such as reacting to objects, either approaching or avoiding them.

From this perspective, one can best understand FTTs' professional identity as a collaborative and collective effort by the FTTs and others (e.g., school boards and principals) in their environment. The FTTs had only a certain degree of control over their success in reconstructing their professional identity in Canada, while others played an equally significant role. Without others' ratification of the FTTs' evolving competence and skills, the FTTs' individual efforts could not succeed.

The implementation of the PUP itself is an excellent example which manifests identity formation as a process of collaboration. Given official support, Adam, Angela, Barbara, Ted and

Wilson acquired additional Canadian training to qualify for Ontario teaching certification. With the availability of official support in the form of the PUP, Henry and Rose (including all other FTTs) had an opportunity to demonstrate their teacher competence or stances (e.g., knowledge of mathematics, biology, ESL and FSL) and their skills in teaching (e.g., lesson planning, instructing and explaining). Otherwise, they would not have had opportunities to experience what it meant to teach in Canadian schools because before the PUP, no schools had endorsed their teacher competence, nor were they considered certified.

The FTTs' stories (i.e., the outcomes and the impact of the PUP), successful or otherwise, further reinforced the significance of the collaboration played out between the FTTs' individual efforts and facilitative role on the part of other people within the school system. Consider Adam's success as an example. The PUP and his subsequent learning had prepared and motivated him to make a career breakthrough. Based on his knowledge and understanding of a local community, he submitted a proposal to a local government, suggesting to set up a new centre to help build a better and healthier community, and his proposal was accepted. The needs of the community, his ability to identify these needs, and the government's acknowledgement of his identification of the community needs fulfilled all the necessary conditions which allowed Adam's identity to emerge as a professional within this community.

Conversely, it is also true that a given identity cannot be established when collaboration is absent. For instance, some implementors were extremely critical of the FTTs' English language use which, in their view, was not suitable in a school context. But one cannot expect FTTs to acquire an identity as fluent speakers in a school context if they do not have opportunities to use the language in a teaching context, talking to and interacting with colleagues and students in schools. After the

FTTs had developed functional competence in L2 from university classrooms, they needed to move from their learning site to a doing site (i.e., school classrooms) to develop fluent competence and to further enhance their overall L2 competence. To succeed in doing so, a joint effort between the FTTs and school personnel was essential. To put it another way, what the FTTs needed was learning (i.e., teaching) on the job in the classroom.

The research literature has acknowledged the importance of on-the-job learning for graduates to become employed as opposed to learning acquired primarily from books (e.g., Hall 1987). In particular, its importance has been highlighted in L2 learning and acquisition. As early as in 1972, Hymes noted that ability for L2 use was important in determining language proficiency. In 1992, Wesche called for attention to what the learner can do in a second language as opposed to the conventional interest in what the learner knows about the language. In 1994, Peirce reported that immigrant women failed to acquire an identity as good speakers of English due to a restricted opportunity to practice oral English at home, at the workplace and in the larger society. In 1996, the CIC recognized the need for creating situational classroom contexts to ensure that adult immigrants develop fluent competence in English. MacFarlane (1997) has recently reported that Canadian immersion students who have learned an L2 to a high functional level still need exposure to native speakers and contexts for L2 use in order to acquire a higher level of socially appropriate L2 competence. More recently, Wang (1999) has reported that 27 out of 30 (90%) Chinese women immigrants who participated in her doctoral study on language acquisition in adults expressed great disappointment at their lack of opportunity to learn and practice oral English in Canada.

Language use is not entirely an individual matter. Language is used for doing things. People use it in everyday conversation for transacting business, informing the public, persuading the

audience, instructing students, debating politics, entertaining and gossiping. In all these instances of language use, a joint action is carried out by a couple or a group of people acting in coordination with each other. Language use, therefore, embodies both individual and social processes. Speakers and listeners must carry out actions as individuals if they are to succeed in their use of language. But they must also work together as participants in social units.

Angela's story of her 13-week experience in the PUP and 150-week experience after the PUP is another example which reveals two aspects of co-construction of a professional identity. While in the PUP, Angela and Pat (her mentor) collaborated well. Although she was not always comfortable in following Pat's style, she did her best to "copy" it. The *13-week presence* of their joint efforts provided Angela with an outsider's assessment of "good teacher material". After the PUP, Angela had no opportunity to display her knowledge and skills because of her parental duties. Her invisibility in schools made it virtually impossible for others to further facilitate her entry into the teaching force. The *150-week absence* of a joint effort blocked - at least temporarily - Angela's potential of constructing an identity as a classroom teacher.

6.3.2 Ethnic and Linguistic

Thiessen et al. (1996) have asserted that the professional identity of racial minority immigrant teachers must be understood within the perception of "difference" and "otherness." Because of their perceived differences, they are often reminded that they are "not Canadians." For instance, a black teacher who was constantly followed by policemen at night concluded, "I don't feel like a Canadian because people won't let me" (p. 163).

But the worst is that non-white teachers, whether born inside or outside Canada, are often perceived as less effective than white teachers. Hence, they are prejudicedly offered specific

opportunities and positions which are deemed less important or not wanted by white teachers. For instance, Thiessen et al (1996) describe how a Canadian FSL teacher who had an Asian-looking appearance was burdened with responsibilities beyond her ability and job description in an Ontario school. The principal kept sending her ESL students with emotional problems although she was not qualified to provide any kind of counselling services, for she had grown up in Canada and was not trained for counselling. Even her co-workers (i.e., white teachers) would complain to her about so-called ESL problems, "It's time to have a talk with this kid, he really has bad b.o., don't they use deodorant where they come from?" (p. 35; also see Abram & Hogg 1990; He 1995; Peirce 1994).

The FTTs' stories are poignant in a strikingly similar way, in that they were put into the inescapable position of having to manage their difference in accents, looks and acts. The implication of their difference-managing process is that FTTs' professional identity and their activities in schools were at least to some extent ethnically and linguistically determined.

The FTTs' ethnicity was treated as one of the major criteria, or some kind of identity, during their search for teaching opportunities within a school system. A local school board offered Ted and Wilson each a position as an MLO but did not endorse their application for teaching positions in spite of the fact that their training and actual experience in teaching (both had over 48 months plus some practical experience) was much more significant than that in counselling (only 4 months with zero experience). Comparatively, Ted and Wilson were more qualified to be teachers in classrooms than to be MLOs in schools. If Wilson were to teach a lesson on biology to a diverse student population, his lesson plan in content would be more or less the same as that of a Canadian-born teacher except for some pedagogical differences. However, as an MLO, Wilson had to be at least familiar with a wide range of cultural, linguistic, social-economic, and particularly, psychological

knowledge in order to be effective in counselling a diverse student population. For Wilson, counselling was more challenging than teaching, for it was his new profession in which he had to invest a great deal before becoming competent, while teaching was his trained profession upon which he had rebuilt. This view was shared by other FTTs. As Henry pointed out, he could walk into a classroom with confidence to teach math, but he had to invest heavily before becoming comfortable with a new profession. Regardless of their lack of professional preparation, Ted's and Wilson's ethnicity led to their employment in counselling. One might think that they should feel lucky if they were in need of employment.

But according to the constructive and critical advances in social identity theory written by Abram and Hogg (1990), (see the ethnicity section, pp. 215-221), the reality is that the concept of ethnicity is often regarded as deviant because the mainstream group tends not to be conceived of in terms of ethnicity in spite of some cases in which the so-called mainstream group is in fact numerically the minority group (e.g., see Rose's reflection in Figure 7; Bascia 1996). The deviation is particularly striking when language (i.e., how one sounds) is held to be inherently linked to ethnicity. This is because it can then symbolize dominance and oppression, if these characterize the relevant ethnic group relations. It is such social dominance and oppression that obliges people to accept a given identity which they do not necessarily want, for example, if school authorities employ language features to evaluate FTTs on an ethnic basis. Wilson repeatedly mentioned that accent was a major barrier created by the system and it could prevent him from getting a teaching position. Data presented in 4.2 (individual stories) and 4.3 (a collective story) suggest that accent was employed as a hidden criterion for assessing the FTTs' competence, which "legitimately" made them seem "handicapped" and "disqualified".

While none of the FTTs considered an incomprehensible accent which impeded classroom communication acceptable, they found that whether accent was an issue or not depended on where an FTT came from. According to most FTTs, an FTT who spoke with a strong and difficult accent but came from European regions had an easier entry into a Canadian school system than an FTT who spoke with a British-like accent but was a visible minority coming from Africa. By way of example, let us consider the following data. It compares the language skills of Angela and Rose based on their pre and post-PUP CanTest results (see Figure 5 in 4.1.2. for details).

Figure 18: Comparison of results from the CanTEST pre-test and post-test between Angela and Rose.

PSEUDONYM	PRE-TEST					POST-TEST				
	SPEAKING	LISTENING	READING	WRITING	TOTAL	SPEAKING	LISTENING	READING	WRITING	TOTAL
Angela	5-	5	5-	5-	5-	5	5-	5-	5-	5-
Rose	5-	5	5	5	5	5-	5	5-	5--	5-

As the figure shows, Angela and Rose were equally strong in their overall language proficiency. In fact, the post-test results show that Rose made more progress than Angela during the PUP training. In terms of their accents, Angela had an Eastern European accent while Rose who was educated under a British school system in Africa had a British-like accent. Both Angela and Rose were judged by their professors to be competent teachers, and in addition Rose had an L3, French, as a distinct advantage over Angela. But Angela's experience in the PUP was far more enjoyable and her accent never posed a problem for her. On the contrary, Rose's first mentor, without much knowledge of Rose, claimed that "no one is going to hire her because the whole package of being a teacher is missing [in Rose]", discounting Rose's teacher competence. In the meantime while still in the PUP, Rose was encouraged to take an "accent reduction" course, hoping that a "Canadian-

English" accent would increase her chance of getting a teaching position after the PUP. Three years later when she recalled her experience with her mentor, she realized that her accent was not the issue but her ethnicity was. She concluded that her mentor judged her because she was a black person.

A conclusion can be drawn from the above cases that by and large FTTs' teaching opportunities were not determined solely by their qualifications, experience and skills but also probably by their ethnicity which was treated as inferior. Therefore they were entitled only to specific opportunities. In the case of Wilson and Ted, although their accents were considered "unacceptable", their ethnicity was considered useful for MLO positions which could not be easily filled, or would possibly be refused, by members of the mainstream group within the system (see the similar findings obtained by Jupp et al., 1982). In the case of Rose, her accent could not be challenged as "unacceptable" but it appears that her ethnicity was the underlying issue. In either case, ethnicity was a determinant of whether an FTT was either embraced or rejected for given opportunities in some Ontario schools.

6.3.3 Multiple and Conflictual

Peirce (1995), on the basis of the findings from her study on immigrant women in Canada, concluded that social identity is produced on the basis of subjectivity at different social sites. These social sites are structured by relations of power in which a person takes up different subject positions (e.g., as a student, a teacher, or a colleague), some of which may be in conflict with others. A person positioned in a particular way at a given site within a given time, however, might resist the subject position or even set up a counterdiscourse which positions the person in a relatively powerful rather than marginalized subject position.

Rose's experience in the PUP (see 4.1) and after the PUP (see 4.2.5) supports Peirce's findings and highlights that identity is multiple and contradictory. During the initial stage of her practicum, Rose was assigned a "non-teacher" identity by her first mentor's subjectivity. Despite her feelings of powerlessness, she believed that she was mitigated against because of her race. The complex interaction process between Rose and the mentor created a conflictual relationship.

Rose's identity was, however, not fixed. In the eyes of her second mentor, Rose was a teacher who had many creative ideas and a non-threatening way of teaching. The contrast between the mentors was quite clear, showing that Rose's reconstruction of a professional identity as a teacher was mediated by two mentors, across multiple sites in the relationships played out in two different classrooms within one school. The multiple sites of identity formation explains that "power is created with others" (Cummins 1996, p. 15) which was significantly evidenced in Rose's disempowerment with her first mentor and empowerment with her second mentor.

As in Peirce's (1995) observations, Rose also set up a counterdiscourse when placed in a marginalized position. When she was designated as "non-teacher", she fought back with strong determination, "If I really want this [teaching], I will stick to it". It came as no surprise that Rose was the only FTT teaching three years after the end of the PUP. If Rose was perceived as less effective because of her physical difference, then "I am going to go about this by not diminishing my difference. I am not going to try it in any way. I will try to be more than myself [more different than she actually was]. I start out by being effective. I know I am effective."

Furthermore, an extension of Rose's identity as multiple and contradictory was the question of "who I am" posed by Ted and Adam (4.1.4), which confirms Peirce's (1994) conclusion that identity formation was a site of struggle. While on site, Ted and Adam were subjected to constant

negotiations due to the changing expectations of their mentors and other possible contextual elements such as the classroom/school culture, instructional materials and the reactions from others. Regardless of their best efforts in improving their skills, they failed to win trust from their mentors, including Peter.

From a constructivist position taken in this study that an individual's identity is co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed over interactional time, it can thus be assumed that Ted and Adam were unable to establish an identity they desired, at least partially due to a lack of collaboration from the external forces within the school environment where they had their practica. It can also be assumed that Ted and Adam built identities which "perhaps have no label, blended identities, even blurred identities" (Ochs 1993, p. 298) for they acquired neither "a teacher identity" (in the eyes of their mentors) nor maintained their own previous identity, part of which was lost, in Ted's terms, "I don't know who I am." Indeed, according to Stone, Adam and Ted "were treated badly" in the school where they had their practica.

6.3.4 Temporary and Changing

He (1995) suggests that research on identity should be situated with specific activities and examined along temporal dimensions and the relevance to the context of the local culture.

When the FTTs mainly relied on their identity as learners (see 5.4.1), and when their identity was understood as multiple and unfixed (see the above) in their being and becoming teachers in Ontario schools during a period of over three years after the PUP, it took on a dynamic connotation of something moving forward, developing in time from the past, to the present and to the future, which could not be defined at static points. As He (1995) points out, "time is a distinctive dimension of identity" (p. 219). In this sense, the FTTs' identity should be understood not only on the basis of

their past as what they had been but also on the basis of what they were becoming then, and what they would be in the future. In other words, their identity was associated with their past experience, present work and future goals. To illustrate, let us consider some examples below.

Angela's identity of "good teacher material" that she acquired at a school setting in 1994 was gradually lost as she consolidated her identity as a mother at home over a period of three years. Her future goal was unclear except for that she appeared to be prepared to live with whatever would allow her identity to emerge.

Barbara was initially seen as "fitting in" the eyes of her mentor and other school staff (see 4.1.1). She became a supply teacher after being a volunteer for a period of time. According to her (see 4.2.3), her future goal of becoming a regular classroom teacher was ruined by her one-time mishap in classroom management. She tried to change others' view of her as a "weak" organizer by taking a course on classroom management for which she paid \$400 (but which was free for employed teachers). When the employment situation did not improve as she expected, she lost patience and changed her career. Her "fit-in" identity as a teacher disappeared piece-by-piece, initially forced upon her and gradually given up willingly.

Time is a striking dimension in the change of Ted's identity. Before Ted was offered the MLO position, he described himself as an outsider. When he became an MLO, he claimed with excitement that, "I am no longer an outsider." Three years later, although he was physically still occupying a position inside a school board, he felt "like an outsider all the time."

These cases demonstrate that the FTTs' identities were time-bound and were constantly changing across a variety of school settings. Their identities were context-specific, locally produced and managed moment-by-moment.

6.3.5 Summary Comments: The Essential Issues

One of the main ideas that ran through 6.3.1. is the contradictory position which the FTTs experienced. On the one hand, they were required to take responsibility for improving their competence but on the other, they were denied opportunities to enhance such competence. Take language use for example. While it was critical for the FTTs to acquire fluent competence in English, teaching in classrooms was inaccessible to them. Perdue (1984) noticed this dilemma faced by adult L2 learners over a decade ago, "An adult learner has, paradoxically, to learn in order to communicate, and to communicate in order to learn" (p. 68). Ten years later, Peirce (1994) extended Perdue's argument:

On the one hand, they [immigrant women] need access to anglophone social networks in order to practice and improve their English; on the other hand, they have difficulty gaining access to these networks because common language is a priori condition of entry into them (p. 78).

Furthermore, Peirce has claimed that in order to help L2 learners to be successful in gaining access to such networks, "structural contradiction" has to be resolved. By structural contradiction, she means that the social opportunity structure is maintained and sustained by unequally constructed social relations of power which automatically and "legitimately" determine one's social identity (see 6.2.2. above). For instance, social relations of power limited the five immigrant women, who participated in Peirce's study, to certain job categories such as "working for first ten years as a dishwasher [or cleaning lady] in Canada" (p. 176), and determined when they could speak, how much they could speak, and what they could speak about at work regardless of their education levels which ranged from a high school diploma to graduate degrees. Unequal power relations depreciated their qualifications and brought them limited material resources that could barely sustain their daily lives and accordingly shaped their low-class identity in Canadian society.

Cherryholmes (1988), in *Power and Criticism*, wrote that like any social practices, opportunities are supported by power which operates visibly and invisibly. Power operates visibly through formal, public criteria that must be satisfied. Power also operates invisibly, where potential abuse of power occurs. When official decision-making prerogatives reward one group of people and deny another, their ideology infiltrates their thinking and actions. In other words, power relations and opportunity are value-loaded, and sometimes they connote moral choices that powerful people should make.

Peirce's examination of power relations and Cherryholme's description of power operations are theoretically useful in understanding the FTTs' stories; in particular, why their identity is ethnically and linguistically manifested, and why it is conflictually multiple, and constantly changing (see 6.3.2., 6.3.3. and 6.3.4). In what follows, four central themes that emerged from the FTTs' stories are analyzed to illustrate how power operates invisibly, largely on the basis of misperceptions, and how power relations determined what the FTTs could get, how much they could get, where, when and why.

Integratability. The rejection of Ted's job application by a school board and principals, and the shocked look a school principal gave Henry when he said that he was not a student but a candidate looking for a teaching position, appeared to them to rest on the perception that they did not "fit" the "ideal teacher image" that these school personnel held in their minds. Ted and Henry experienced discrimination, intentional or not, from these individuals and perceived that school personnel did not realize that black persons could also be as good teachers as white persons. These employers might have feared that they would make mistakes in hiring Ted and Henry if they did not perform well once employed, in which case, the employers would "look bad" (see 5.1, Extract 38 Janet). Due to the "responsibility-avoidance" attitude of these powerful individuals and their

unwillingness to work harder to check on Ted and Henry to understand who they really were (see 6.2.4. above), Ted's and Henry's skin colour appeared to have become a criterion for assessing their potential "fit-in" quality with given school staffs.

The quality of FTTs being able or not to fit in is not due to their personality traits per se but must also be understood as reflecting specific socially constituted relationships of power that determine hiring in schools where mainstream teachers dominate the profession. Pre-judgement about whether a candidate will fit in shows how power, operating invisibly on the basis of misperceptions, can turn proper qualifications into a low-source of opportunities for the individual FTTs involved. In addition, it shows how bureaucratic function may be sustained by fear of failure. One of the big flaws is that the school system appears to be geared to the worst-case scenarios in dealing with the "UNKNOWN" like the FTTs. For this reason, those in authority may be inclined to ignore, criticize and reject FTTs because of their perceived differences from those of the mainstream group.

Judgementality. The advice that FTTs should not be judgmental about Ontario school practices probably reflects good intentions of school teachers trying to help FTTs become integrated into the school system. A careful examination of what the FTTs' were critical about, however, indicates that the criticism of FTTs' being judgemental was sometimes not useful for it only showed some relatively trivial differences from what the Canadian staff themselves believed in.

For example, while Wilson was still in the PUP, the researcher visited the school where he was having his practicum and observed his teaching performance in his class. At one point, Wilson criticized some students for being unkempt in class. Right after his class, the researcher interviewed his mentor who commented that Wilson had a tendency to make judgements of her students, which could be a self-created barrier for him being accepted. Three years later when the researcher

interviewed her again, the mentor made the same remark and again used the dress incident as an example, emphasizing that Canadian students' dress was casual but respectfully casual.

Perhaps, it might be inappropriate to speculate why this incident created such a deep impression on the mentor, but it is necessary to clarify whether Wilson was really judgemental. As known to the general public, there has been some debate recently in Ontario, and perhaps in other parts of North America, on whether students should wear school uniforms, an indication that Wilson's "judgemental" comment might not be unjustified. In fact, this incident reveals that Wilson was a decent and responsible young man who had genuine concern for students. Unfortunately, being perceived as "judgemental" may have become an opportunity limiting barrier for Wilson. Upon completion of the PUP, he was rejected for volunteer work at this school despite a good evaluation of his practicum (see Figure 6), and his favourable, sociable and outgoing personality.

Of course, there might be cases in which the FTTs and CTTs were in real conflict with each other in terms of student behaviour and teacher expectations. These differences should be taken seriously, for they would affect the quality of teaching and learning. But it must also be remembered that social practices are supported by power which is, for the most part, in the hands of the members of the mainstream group. What is more, the reality is that "this power has been used to prevent people of colour from securing the prestige, power, and privilege held by whites" (Gollnick and Chinn 1990, p. 34). Hence, it appeared to some FTTs like Wilson, Rose and Henry, that the advice to them to be less judgemental signalled that the members of the mainstream group were trying to exercise their power by telling the FTTs to accept the status quo of schools, right or wrong, as "normal" and beyond critique.

It is possible that the FTTs were sometimes wrong but it is not possible that they were always wrong. It is also possible that some FTTs were wrong but it is not possible that all FTTs were wrong.

That was why some FTTs reacted strongly, when they were said to be "judgemental" about some school practices. In their own view, FTTs needed to make changes in order to adapt to the needs of Ontario schools and students. Likewise, the school system should also make necessary changes to ensure that unity and diversity in schools could be developed and maintained simultaneously. The complacent "we-know-best attitude" is unacceptable for the simple reason that it is not in the best interests of Canadian students.

Non-native English accent. Because of their non-native English accents, the FTTs were constantly questioned about their "legitimacy as teachers." To some FTTs, the issue was not about accent but rather about where they came from.

Henry and Wilson found that in their search for teaching positions in Canadian schools, FTTs who came from Western Europe had no problem, those who came from Eastern Europe had some problems, but FTTs who came from Africa or Asia had a lot of problems. Henry was extremely articulate about one point that it was difficult to understand any strong accent but people assumed that it was okay with European accents but not okay with African or Asian accents. Henry concluded, "That's the problem", meaning that racially visible FTTs were subject to discrimination within the school system.

Wilson, although employed by a school system, was unable to expand his network as he had expected to do upon his acceptance of the job offer as an MLO. People become "powerful" because of their visibility through participation in activities. For FTTs to increase opportunities for teaching, they had to be visible and to attract the attention from other people. Wilson felt that it was his accent that determined his denial of access to powerful social networks that would further enhance his visibility.

Figure 19 below presents a summary of Henry's and Wilson's observation and analysis, suggesting that their professional opportunities as teachers were at least to some extent determined in order of accent "superiority" or "inferiority" on the grounds of ethnicity²⁶.

Figure 19: FTTs' accent, opportunity and subsequent consequences

Accent (race)	Opportunity	Experience in Job Search	Visibility in Schools
Western European	Many	No problem	Visible
Eastern European	Some	Some problems	Moderate
African or Asian	Little	Many problems	Invisible

The figure reflects these FTTs' perceptions that accent and race/ethnicity played a determining role in what experience the FTTs would be able to get and how much the system would reward them in the form of visibility in schools (i.e., how often they would teach). A Western European accent would mean many sources of opportunity for FTTs. They would have no problem in their job search and surely they would be employed as teachers, becoming permanently visible in schools. FTTs with an Eastern European accent might have some sources of opportunity. They might have some problems in their job search but they still could have some hope of being hired as teachers. Their visibility in schools might be moderate. FTTs with an African or Asian accent would, however, have few opportunities. They would face many problems, and as a consequence, might be permanently invisible in schools (see 4.2.4. Henry; and Extract 9 [Wilson] in 4.3.2). In this case, the FTTs saw themselves as placed in another contradictory position that little opportunity means invisibility and invisibility means little opportunity.

²⁶ According to Badwin (1997) who has extensively studied race and racism, placing things in an hierarchical order is racist in nature. As he notes, "One of dilemmas of racism is that we want to be *rational* and therefore not racist; but we want to still place things in *hierarchy*, with "our" on top, which is racist (p. 28, [emphasis original]).

In fact, Henry's and Wilson's observation and analysis were not something they invented but identical to the results of an extensive examination of the opportunity structure in Canadian society by John Porter between 1955 and 1965 (1965)²⁷. Based on Porter's analysis, ethnicity played an important role in determining Canadians' occupational and socioeconomic status and class positions in Canadian society. At the high end of the social class spectrum were people from middle and upper classes of British origin, followed by French-Canadian elites. The subsequent positions were assigned to immigrants from European regions; the closer their ethnicity was to the British origin, the higher their ranks would be. At the bottom end of the spectrum were racially visible immigrants mainly from Africa and Asia. These hierarchical relationships allowed Porter to portray Canada as a "vertical mosaic", denoting a structure designed from the top (i.e. the most powerful) to the bottom (i.e. the least powerful). In Porter's view, the historical legacy of ethnic stratification contributed to the low rates of social mobility and to the lack of genuine equality of opportunity in Canadian society. It appears that these data from almost half a century ago still have relevance today.

Porter's illustration of the class stratification on the basis of ethnicity helps us better understand the influence of their accents on the FTTs' opportunities for teaching. It is important to recognize that a vicious cycle begins where different accents become indices of the social positions of groups and individuals, based on ethnicity. By setting this criterion, or using it as a weapon, some people from given ethnic groups can "legitimately" exploit the system of differences (i.e., different accent, presumably a "superior" accent) to their advantage.

²⁷ According to Mills and Simmons (1995), many Canadian scholars turned their backs on John Porter when he completed his book entitled *The Vertical Mosaic*. But in recent years, there is a growing renewed interest in his extraordinary and outstanding analysis of Canadian society.

Forms of recognition. It should be understood that identity formation relates to desires for recognition, for security and for safety. According to West (1992), such desires cannot be separated from the distribution of material resources in society. In reference to these FTTs' experience, their acceptance level within a Canadian school system certainly did not lead to the security and safety they desired and believed they deserved.

We must still remember what jobs were available to these FTTs before the PUP (see Table 7 in 4.2), why on average some of the FTTs worked 70 hours a week while taking the PUP training, and why Ted took a job when still in the program²⁸. According to Henry, the answer was simple, "We all have to make a living", whether a Westerner or a Easterner and whether a black person or a white person.

These data suggest that the FTTs' symbolic recognition (i.e. being certified teachers) should have been reflected in some form of access to material benefits. It was their access to material resources that defined for them the terms on which they could articulate their desires. Their identity shifted in accordance with changing economic relations, many of which may be inequitably structured in Canadian society. By extension, economic security relates to a fundamental issue, that is, human rights, which are the natural outgrowth of people becoming culturally and economically secure. One measure of determining whether a society is democratic or non-democratic is to find out how minority people are treated socially and economically.

It appears then that the requirement that FTTs should sound more English and should get rid of their accent was not only a linguistic concern but possibly discriminatory practice, intentional or

²⁸ Ted was criticized for lack of commitment to training by his mentors, who were then described as being insensitive by a university professor.

otherwise, directed at FTTs' search for teaching positions. Due to the unequal social power relations in the school system and larger society, the PUP training was unable to assist the FTTs in achieving their ultimate goal as teachers. In fact, unequal social power relations are found to be held largely responsible for failures or undesirable outcomes of many training programs similar to the PUP offered to immigrants. For instance, Goldstein (1997) has recently claimed that formal English classes to prepare immigrants for higher-level jobs seem largely superfluous. Researchers such as Peirce (1994; 1995; 1997), Goldstein (1997), Hunter (1998) and Wang (1999) have all pointed out that there is a new urgency that research should address the tensions between the meanings of marginalized people's everyday lives and the broader economic and institutional powers that shape those lives and account for the ways in which these powers initiate, maintain, and exploit subordination of others.

According to Hunter (1998), if educators "strive to uphold social justice equality in an era when all marginalized populations are now in danger of even greater exclusion" (p. 305), they should study the opportunity structures portrayed by Henry and Wilson, which, according to Cherryholmes (1988), should be destructured. Indeed, Canadian schools can no longer afford multiculturalism policies which acknowledge the legitimacy of cultural diversity but fail to offer a structural framework through which it can be implemented. If not impossible, it is at least very difficult to maintain the Anglo-Canadian value system and to have a multicultural population to work for and live within it simultaneously.

6.4 Conceptualizing FTTs' Identity Formation

In this section, three themes are identified to address the guiding research question: What is the process by which the seven FTTs who had received additional Canadian training and

qualification strove to establish and have themselves acknowledged as professionals in the Ontario educational milieu over a period of three years. These themes entail: a) continuous learning, b) managing differences and c) constant struggle. After the response to the main research question, summary comments are offered by revisiting the conceptual framework (see Figure 1).

6.4.1 Continuous Learning

The FTTs' decision to pursue a career in Ontario schools created an opportunity for them to learn, to relearn and to unlearn.

To learn means a process during which the FTTs discovered and developed new skills. At the top of the list was networking skills. Most FTTs mentioned that when it came to hiring, they were somehow at a loss as to how to make themselves known to prospective employers. They felt that they were weak and ineffective in networking and making connections with powerful people who could help to enhance their visibility in schools.

Furthermore, the FTTs were initially "shocked" by the seriousness of discipline problems in some classrooms. In their previous teaching contexts, the FTTs had never been through this kind of challenge. However, as the FTTs became aware of and familiar with the school culture, most of them developed some strategies for coping with discipline problems. They learned how to be firm with students and at the same time not to hurt their feelings. Angela mentioned that one of the "tricks" that she used in discipline was to keep students busy because: "An idle mind is the devil's playground." Most FTTs reported that students behaved much better when they focused on academic learning.

In addition, the FTTs felt that some Canadian teachers varied their teaching techniques to an extent they had not previously experienced. By reading books on teaching methodology and

observing how experienced CTTs taught, the FTTs discovered, accumulated and invented some effective teaching techniques and strategies. As a result, they became more open, creative and flexible than they used to be. Nevertheless, most FTTs came to a sobering conclusion that impressive methods and varied techniques were necessary but only secondary because the principles of good teaching should be instilling a love for learning and producing good citizens through concern for student learning²⁹.

To relearn suggests that the FTTs needed to enhance their existing skills (i.e., upgrading their existing skills, the main objective of the PUP). Relearning became crucial for those who had had no opportunities to teach in classrooms where they could apply, test and improve their skills in practice before and even after the PUP. They worried about losing their skills by having no opportunities to use them in relevant contexts. Wilson, for example, saw his only solution as taking courses and reading books to maintain and upgrade his skills.

Another area for FTTs to relearn was their language skills. Although most of them did reasonably well on the CanTest at the end of the PUP, and felt that they had no problems in communication, there was still much room for improvement, particularly in oral fluency.

To unlearn required FTTs to get rid of the skills or methods which were irrelevant to and unsuitable for the Ontario teaching context. Such skills might include some FTTs' lecturing style and their overly open and direct approaches to problem solving in terms of student behaviour. In many countries where the FTTs came from, students - for a variety of reasons - had seemed more respectful

²⁹. Wheeler (1999), an American university professor who has been teaching in many countries in different continents, has recently compared ideas of good teaching from three great minds from vastly different times and cultures (Confucius 5th century BC; Saint Augustine 5th century; and Ibn Khaldoun 14th century). His conclusions include that "many essential aspects of good teaching have not changed in all of history" (p. 73) and that "The essence of good teaching is independent of time and place" (p. 75).

to teachers and motivated to learn. As soon as the teacher entered the classroom, class would begin. When the teacher talked, students would listen attentively. In Canada, teachers often have to search for ways to keep students interested and motivated. Because of this fundamental difference, Canadian teachers and FTTs taught differently, and responded differently to student behaviour. Thus, whether right or wrong, some FTTs' lecturing style and approaches to problems generated criticism from some Canadian teachers. As the FTTs gained more knowledge about how the Ontario school system functioned, they became more able to use the methods acceptable to Canadian students.

In short, the process of FTTs' continuous learning is characterized by learning new skills, relearning existing skills, and unlearning irrelevant skills. More meaningfully, learning was rewarding and rendered them strength which might turn into possible opportunities for increasing their visibility in schools.

6.4.2 Managing Differences

One might assume that since the population in Ontario schools as well as in Canadian society is becoming increasingly diverse, Canadians would view "difference" as normal. Unfortunately, the present findings suggest that the process of these FTTs' reconstructing a professional identity involved the FTTs having to "manage their difference" due to others' reactions to their perceived difference.

For instance, let us first look into the difference in accent. For a consideration of teaching, the FTTs were advised by some school personnel to get rid of their accents and to sound "more English." Although the FTTs did not disagree that accent was extremely important for non-native speakers of English to teach in an English-speaking setting, their reactions towards such a linguistic

requirement were somehow emotional. To them, the issue was not about accent and but an attempt to demean their identity as "who I am", and to deny their opportunity to teach in Ontario classrooms because of "who I am." Some FTTs maintained that even if they wanted to change their accents, "physically, it is almost impossible for any adults to obtain a native accent." As Barbara said, "I will never be able to change my accent."

Adam and Barbara argued that in communication, people rarely care about the accents of interlocutors involved. They listen to each other's ideas and focus on the meaning of the messages that they conveyed. Barbara used the current Prime Minister of Canada and the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration of Canada as examples to support her position. These two politicians speak with very strong francophone accents and yet when they make public speeches, millions of Canadians, including new Canadians from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds understand and/or try to understand them by acknowledging their competence in presenting and confirming their political views and government policies. Canadians do not reject the Prime Minister and the Minister because of their accents except for possible jokes and insignificant remarks. Collaboratively and jointly, competent politicians and the Canadian people co-construct the identities of the leaders of the country.

Angela's successful practicum was another example that supported Barbara's argument. While on site, Angela did her best to meet the demands of her mentor regarding lesson planning and delivering. She was rewarded by her mentor's seeing her as "good teacher material." Her reputation of being good teacher material, however, did not mean that Angela would bow to whatever was required of her. She detested the idea that she should change her accent and acquire a Canadian English accent simply for the sake of being accepted in Ontario schools. In her opinion, if a strong

British accent was acceptable, then any other non-Canadian accents should be treated as equal, for her teaching performance was not affected by the way she sounded to her students. Angela indicated clearly that she would not invest her time and energy in changing her accent. For her, anyone who attempted to do so would in the end not only fail to acquire a Canadian identity but also lose his or her original ethnic identity. The essential point for Angela was that her accent was her identity and there was nothing wrong with that identity.

The FTTs' reaction to the accent challenge depicts their determination to be good teachers on equal terms with others, and their strong desire of maintaining their established identities - that is - to be who they were. Maintaining their accents was, in a sense, a protection of who they were.

It should be pointed out that no FTTs denied that accent was a valid issue for a teacher whose speech was incomprehensible to students. Nevertheless, that might not be the case with all these FTTs. *The accent of retrained FTTs cannot be so difficult or so different that they cannot be understood.* This conclusion is in fact supported by a recent study by Munro and Derwing (1999) on foreign accent (Cantonese, Japanese, Polish and Spanish), comprehensibility and intelligibility in the speech of second language learners. According to them, "an accent itself does not necessarily act as a communicative barrier...even heavily accented speech is sometimes perfectly intelligible (p. 285).

Those who insist that FTTs must get rid of their accents, and speak like them have probably forgotten what is unique about Canada. As a nation largely comprised of immigrants coming from all parts of the world, linguistic changes in Canadian English will continue. The Loyalists who arrived in Canada as refugees from the American Revolution in the 18th century (1776) did not

sound like Shakespeare³⁰. The current Anglo-Canadians who were the descendants of immigrants from Britain and Ireland in the 19th and 20th centuries do not sound like the Loyalists. Canadian-born children grow up speaking not like their parents but like their schoolmates and playmates.

Now that Canada has become post-colonial both historically and spiritually, a great many linguistic changes are expected. In the living language there is a reflection of where Canadians have been and where they are likely to go next. What seems impossible today becomes a reality tomorrow. Particularly, in the rapid rise of the current globalization and commodification of education and business, English is seen internationally to "belong to the people who speak it, whether native or nonnative, whether ESL or EFL, whether standard or nonstandard" (Norton 1997, p. 427).

Now let us consider the difference in looks and acts. Unlike the accent which, to a certain degree, can be changed and improved through training, racial difference (i.e., physical appearance and certain customary acts or behaviour) cannot be negotiated through learning. The written documents (4.1) and interview data presented in 4.2. show that some FTTs brought much unwanted attention and scrutiny on themselves. In the eyes of some school staff, racially visible FTTs did not have the ideal "teacher image" for the "reasons" below:

1. Some came from countries where "a bad smell was part of their culture" (Peter's explicit comment on Adam and Ted).
2. Some others did not act like teachers and they "were marching like soldiers" while teaching in a classroom because they came from "an authoritarian culture" (Peter's

³⁰ In an 18-year study of *The English History of African American English* conducted by an Ottawa linguist (Poplack 1981-1999, in press), it is reported that black people have been drilled to think that their language is inferior while in fact, Black English was transplanted from a common British source - from Scotland and Ireland as well as England when slaves were exported by slave traders between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Some linguistic features of Black English have not completely disappeared in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

explicit comment on either Adam or Ted; and Ellen's implicit comment on either Wilson or Henry).

3. Still others were treated as students when approaching schools and school boards to apply for a teaching position; school personnel, without thinking, would take them as students, assuming that they were there either registering for or taking courses. But if FTTs told them that: "I want to find a job as a teacher", these people would change their expression, looking shocked: "Uh?" (Job search experience of Henry and Ted).

None of the above remarks or reactions was directly referenced to the word, "race". It was evident, nevertheless, that they conveyed a message, questioning FTTs' legitimacy to be teachers. They imposed burdens on the FTTs who were ridiculed, who listened to, and who witnessed the scene in which such offensive remarks were made.

In addition, some FTTs witnessed that immigrant students or even established immigrant teachers underwent a similar treatment in Canadian schools. Each one of these FTTs had stories of this nature to tell. Adam was once asked by his principal to investigate which minority student had damaged her car parked in a school parking lot. He asked the researcher during the interview what made the principal think that her car was damaged by an immigrant student, without any evidence. Once Rose witnessed an argument involving a principal and a vice principal with an immigrant child who wore a veil over her head. She said to herself, "Why such a big fuss about it? There are better ways to handle it." Wilson reported reading comments on immigrant children made by Canadian teachers, which prejudged these kids as failures because they had an accent. He then came to realize its potential negative impact on his own teaching opportunities. On one occasion, Henry felt extremely insulted, listening to his principal describing immigrant students as coming from a culture

"where they grab whatever they can, and they take whatever they find." On another occasion, Henry witnessed his fellow students giving a hard time to his own racially visible minority teacher at a college where he took computer training.

Confronted with prejudice and racial remarks, some FTTs spoke with vulnerability, some with anger, some with reason, some with avoidance and some with resistance. But none chose to directly challenge racially offensive individuals in schools, for in their view, some discriminatory practices were, although hidden, entrenched values in the school system, creating "systemic racism" (Ben; Sandra) that made individual acts of discrimination acceptable (Thiessen et al. 1996).

At the focus group session, when asked how they managed their difference in order to survive and succeed in the school system, Barbara said that she would simply try to "do as the Canadians do." Adam who always focused on improving himself almost screamed, "I am different, that's obvious. Different culture, different colour. How am I supposed to be less different? I am different but I do a good job." Wilson would continue to "be myself" because he did not want to act upon others' perceptions. Rose said she would give a tit-for-tat, "if they judge me as less effective, I am going to be more different than myself" (see Extract 27 in 4.3.4). Henry said he might not be bothered at all because he saw through it anyway. Ted felt that the best way would be to learn to "negotiate with the system, find out what the criteria are and act accordingly." To him, complaining would not solve their problems and confrontation would lead them nowhere.

6.4.3 Constant Struggle

During the process of the FTTs' learning, relearning, and unlearning, and of difference-managing, they struggled continuously against various adversities.

To begin with, most FTTs had to deal with financial problems which were mainly the consequence of their unemployment and/or underemployment. As Angela said, "Not having any security... A job is security for everybody...It's very hard, not easy [to get into the system]." Thus, they often ended up doing odds jobs, working long hours and just managing to get by.

Many felt that their struggle to overcome financial difficulties was not fully understood. While in fact their empty wallets carried a heavy heart, some FTTs even felt humiliated for having "image problems" because they did not dress the way the Canadians dress. Some others were questioned about their commitment to the teaching profession because they did not buy textbooks or were not available for volunteering. These FTTs in fact understood the basic but universal standards of what teacher image was although they came from countries poorer than Canada. In addition, they were aware of some Canadian distinctiveness, since they were offered orientation sessions on Canadian culture in general and school culture in particular at the initial stage of the PUP.

Nevertheless, the most trying and enduring problem for most FTTs was not the financial difficulty but the struggle of coping with a fear of making mistakes, of being misunderstood, of being suppressed, of being subjected to discrimination, and of being isolated. In a word, they felt sometimes unsafe in some Ontario schools, not physically but mentally, and not among students but among teachers. Despite their willingness and effort to integrate with other teachers, eating lunch together and sharing ideas as Peter suggested, most FTTs found themselves to be often misunderstood and treated as outsiders and second class citizens. As a result, they were very careful in their interactions and conversations with other teachers. Otherwise, they might get unwanted attention. They were frustrated and tired of having to be constantly on guard.

Instead of a speculative analysis of why these FTTs felt frustrated or unsafe, let us consider how they responded to an interview question that if they had a choice, where they would like to work. Their responses are summarized in 4.2.8 (Figure 8).

1. Where I could have my voice heard.
2. Where I am allowed to be creative and open.
3. Where I don't have to be "perfect".
4. Where I am respected and accepted for who I am.
5. Where nobody cares about where I came from.
6. Where teachers are evaluated on their teaching ability only.
7. Where I am not subject to any kind of discrimination.
8. Where I can feel safe.

6.4.4 Summary Comments: Revisit to the Conceptual Framework

The reconstruction of a professional identity by seven FTTs in a Canadian school context, a goal which to them involved their ultimate acceptance as classroom teachers, is characterised by their continuous learning in developing new skills, upgrading existing skills, and not using irrelevant skills. Furthermore, it depicts the FTTs' efforts in managing their perceived differences as related to how they spoke, how they looked, and how they acted. More inclusively, the FTTs' experience in building a new professional identity exemplifies the FTTs' constant struggle during which they had to deal with a variety of impediments and challenges.

In spite of the difficulties they faced, the FTTs were nevertheless successful in gaining some opportunities to participate in certain school activities. No matter how limited these opportunities might seem when compared to their original plans and/or ultimate goals, the FTTs' presence in a school environment did have an impact where they worked. For instance, their presence in schools helped foster some recognition of individual differences and respect for diversity among students and staff. Such a contribution might be token, brief and occasional, but did reflect positively on the system even if temporarily.

In Chapter Two, several studies on identity formation were reviewed. In 2.1., the Canadian teaching profession was described and in 2.2., linguistic and professional requirements of FTTs were identified and Canadian educational systems, basic values, goals, school practice and student culture were discussed. In 2.3., it was proposed that FTTs could achieve their professional identity by demonstrating relevant competencies and by seeking opportunities to build a network through negotiations and interactions with others. In 2.4., a conceptual framework was suggested, which hypothesized that in order for FTTs to achieve the goal of reconstructing a professional identity in Canada, they must satisfy three conditions: a) they should be competent teachers, b) they should be given opportunities to demonstrate their competencies, and c) they should be strategic negotiators in interacting with significant others in their environment and in dealing with tasks and problems. In order to be able to evaluate the extent of the FTTs' goal-achievement, three success indicators were included in the framework: a) they should participate like all others, b) they should act like some others, and c) they should be themselves like no others (see Figure 1 and below). In what follows, the conceptual framework is revisited, examining each element with reference to the FTTs' stories (see 4.2).

The goal. The overriding goal of the seven FTTs was to have a career in Ontario schools, working as teachers. "Getting a job, a teaching position" (see 4.3.5) motivated them to apply for the PUP in the summer of 1994, complete the training in December 1994 and continue their journey since then in order to fulfil the necessary conditions (see below).

Beyond this, most FTTs expressed a view that it was important to them not only to work as teachers but also to be treated as teachers. Ted did not enjoy being called to supply teach, get paid and then disappear. Wilson dreamed of working in schools where he was allowed to be creative and

open. Henry said he would not take a teaching position if it was offered to him on the basis of his race - he was black. In his view, to ensure equal treatment in schools, his qualifications must be acknowledged first. In short, the FTTs hoped that they could teach in schools where they were respected and treated equally. These comments indicate that the FTTs' goal was manifest in both physically occupying a teaching position and psychologically receiving equal respect and treatment.

Conditions. In order to achieve the above goal, three conditions - competencies, opportunities and negotiations - had to be fulfilled. Under the first condition, FTTs were evidently expected to have strong English language skills, solid teaching competencies and good knowledge of Canadian educational standards and practices including knowledge of school culture. It was found from the data that this supposition in principle was supported by all the informants although there was somewhat different weight given to individual items (see 5.1). For instance, while the FTTs considered knowledge of subject matter as the most important skill that they needed to upgrade, most implementors felt that teaching skills were the most crucial area in which FTTs had to improve. In the eyes of the facilitators, English language skills were the priority for most FTTs. In addition, some informants, most of the FTTs and a couple of facilitators, felt that accent - which might not necessarily affect comprehension - was sometimes used as the only criterion to hire or not to hire an FTT for teaching.

Under the second condition, FTTs expected to be provided with opportunities to demonstrate their competencies. It was assumed that opportunities would generate two kinds of outcomes. The first was a recognition of FTTs' academic qualifications and professional experience, which would endow them with symbolic value/status. The second expected outcome was material gain for the FTTs as a result of having opportunities to offer their services to students with their acquired and trained skills.

In 4.1.3., it was reported that the FTTs were successful in gaining an initial recognition for their academic qualifications from Canadian universities and professional certification from the OMET. Their symbolic recognition was, however, not reflected in material benefits that they expected to acquire (see 4.2., 4.3., and Table 7). In other words, when it came to opportunities for employment, the FTTs' qualifications and experience were not seen as sufficient and thus their desire for security in the form of material resources was denied. Other additional factors were also apparently at play (see 5.1., and 6.2).

Under the third condition, negotiation is considered as an important and useful tool for entitlement. According to the study conducted by Thiessen et al. (1996) (see 2.3.4), racial minority immigrant teachers' actions and activities and their roles as teachers in Canadian schools are profoundly the products of ongoing negotiation with others in their environment.

It was found from the interviews described in 4.2. and from the focus group session discussed in 4.3. that most FTTs felt that negotiation was necessary in terms of self-reflection on how to deal with barriers, overcome difficulties, restore trust and so forth. In terms of their negotiations with others, including personnel in the school system, they often ended up being compromisers, yielding to whatever was required of them (see seven stories in 4.2). Furthermore, if an FTT did have the courage to voice his or her opinion and if it was critical, he or she would be seen as being "judgemental" (e.g., Wilson).

Probably, a major difficulty for the FTTs in negotiating more openly and comfortably for entitlement lies in the fact that the FTTs were not regular employees. Their temporary appearance in schools, for example, as supply teachers, would disappear permanently if they ventured to negotiate with the system for entitlement and/or to argue and disagree with regular staff members. In contrast, the participants in the study by Thiessen et al (1996) were regular employees who

could not be fired easily; thus they were able to use the tool more effectively than the FTTs in the present study.

Success indicators. Three success indicators were established to determine the extent to which the FTTs succeeded in reconstructing a professional identity. These indicators were drawn on Levita's (1965) concept that "every individual, concurrently is like all other men, some other men, and no other man" (p. 74).

The first indicator, "participate like all others", measures the extent to which the FTTs by the end of the study had (had been given) opportunities to participate in educational practice like all others in a school system (i.e., a school board). The second indicator, "act like some others", verifies whether the FTTs were like other teachers in schools, complying with Canadian teaching standards and practice. The third indicator, "be oneself like no other", evaluates whether the FTTs were respected for who they were in that among all other teachers they each also occupied a place where they were accepted as equal and for their uniqueness.

It was reported in 4.2. and discussed in 6.3. that like all employees working for a local school board, most FTTs actively participated in various kinds of activities in their designated positions after the PUP, such as role modelling, helping students and promoting social harmony from one school to another (e.g., Ted and Wilson as MLOs, travelling across the city to different schools) and from one classroom to another (e.g., Rose as a supply teacher teaching in different classrooms). Like other school teachers, most FTTs were diligent learners who strove to improve their teaching skills and enhance their understanding of Canadian education and standards. As a result of their continuous learning, some FTTs were employed as counsellors and back-up teachers. Additionally, FTT Rose became a regular supply teacher who occasionally occupied a classroom where she taught "like no other."

Thus, the FTTs' success can be expressed in terms of their increased visibility in the Ontario educational milieu on the basis of the FTTs' employment and their understanding of what success meant (see 4.3.8 and the goal above). Their stories show that they were most successful in being members within a school system and less successful within a school(s), and that they could hardly succeed in becoming teachers in a classroom(s). To put it another way, these FTTs' success or acceptance in this Canadian school system can be defined and characterized as follows:

1. It was possible for the FTTs to be permanently visible within a school system.
2. It was possible for the FTTs to be symbolically visible in schools.
3. It was possible for the FTTs to be permanently invisible in classrooms.

This characterization is necessary and useful. Without addressing what is possible and what is not possible for FTTs to achieve, their puzzles of "accent and acceptance", "teacher versus non-teacher" and "who I am" cannot be fully worked out.

In conclusion, the FTTs' experiences in reconstructing a professional identity in Ontario schools demonstrate what they became was the product of an interplay between individual talents, desires, life circumstances, choices, and social and institutional contexts, which determined their opportunities, (see the middle box in Figure 1), which in turn constrained what was possible for them to achieve.

Final comments. At its simplest, the basic assumption of the conceptual framework is that FTTs' professional identity was co-constructed by themselves and by significant others within given social contexts. The framework proposes the reconstruction of FTTs' professional identity as the central goal which directs and monitors the process. The goal requires FTTs to fulfil the three conditions, and a starting point for FTTs to begin the process of the identity reconstruction. Three success indicators are added as an evaluative tool to determine whether the outcome of an FTT's

identity construction was desirable - to fulfil their career expectations and those of the PUP facilitators.

It should be noted that this framework is not a theory of identity. It is built on several pieces of work on identity formation (see Chapter Two), featuring a philosophical view of an "I-you" relationship ("I" refers to the first condition - FTTs' competence; and "you" refers to the second condition - school personnel or schools, school boards etc). Negotiation, a relatively new concept (Thiessen et al. 1996; Duff and County 1997), is considered as a useful tool which allows a researcher to examine an identity acquirer's activities in managing situations in which there is a lack of collaboration from the other party (i.e., "you").

The utility of the framework rests in the opportunity which it affords to demonstrate relevant competencies, to determine if there are obstacles blocking the process, and to assess the significance of its outcomes. Thus, it becomes possible to capture the overall process of FTT's integration into a Canadian school system.

6.5 Limitations to the Study

The present study has the following limitations. The project has explored the process of professional identity formation of a small group of participants whose backgrounds were linguistically, culturally and ideologically specific. The outcomes of the study, therefore, may not be generalizable beyond these particular participants and their context. However, such a study may generate insights which contribute to a better understanding of the careers and the work lives of immigrant professionals in Canada, especially those from non-European regions.

The study also reflects disadvantages as well as advantages of mixed research methods, which included consultation of written documents, interviewing and focus group discussions.

Written documents which grounded the context for the current research helped the researcher uncover meanings, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research program; consistency, was, nevertheless, not guaranteed. As was found out, there were discrepancies in written data and interview data regarding the evaluation of some FTTs' upgrading performance.

In considerations of internal validity, the use of personal data (i.e., FTTs' stories) connected with the public data (i.e., the insights of the PUP implementors and facilitators) poses a peculiar class of problems. Some aspects of the study such as job security, racial relations and human rights were sensitive and political and they emerged to a greater intensity than expected. Informants' possible unwillingness or avoidance in telling the truth might have led to some misstatement of facts. In addition, informants were asked to provide retrospective views which could be subject to some distortion. Ideally, interviews with the seven FTTs' students and the parents of their students would strengthen the study since the researcher was dependent on the limited data sources to interpret these FTTs' experiences. It was unfortunately not possible to gain access to this group of potential informants.

In addition to the above limitations, the researcher might not be fully objective in interpreting the data. Occupying a similar marginality as the subjects under study, she was challenged to search for a way of understanding identity formation not as stable or single but as continuous/multiple and conflictual. It is from this marginal and contradictory location that she listened and observed, she spoke, she wrote, and she put forward the analysis in this thesis. Therefore, there could be a sceptical attitude on the part of readers who occupy other locations toward the explanations of the ideas and facts expressed in this writing.

In spite of possible bias, the researcher made an effort to tame her subjectivity, while recognizing it as the basis for allowing her to see and to tell the stories of others. It was a strength

on which she built. It made her who she was, equipping her with the perspectives and insights that validated and shaped all that she did as a researcher, from the selection of the topic through the gaining of informants' confidence to the emphases in the analysis and writing. All in all, "Seen as virtuous, subjectivity is something to capitalize on rather than exorcise" (Gelsne & Peshkin 1992, p. 104).

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, interested readers are once again advised to keep in mind that the purpose of this thesis was to offer them much to consider but little to fear or hope for.

6.6 Implications of the Study

The study has provided some compelling evidence supporting the position that FTTs' identity formation is a process of collaboration between the FTTs and the people and social/ institutional structures in their environment, with the former as the driving force, but the latter in an essential - facilitative role. These findings may have implications in the following areas.

6.6.1 Career Adjustment

Foreign trained professionals who choose Canada may draw insights from the study and become aware that Canada is the best country in the world in a relative sense only. Canada is neither heaven nor hell. It is like a battlefield for those from elsewhere who must be competent, determined and strategic in order to have a meaningful and successful career here.

To begin with, foreign-trained professionals must take responsibility for their own career adjustment in the Canadian context. To be successful in Canada, they should be highly trained and have the skills that are needed in the Canadian job market. If they are non-native speakers of English, they must be aware that both professional identity formation and the perception of others have a linguistic dimension. Furthermore, they should be willing and able to cope with new standards of

accepted behaviour, habits, and customs instead of attaching themselves stiffly to old and irrelevant ones. Ultimately, the key to success is knowing how to proactively "play the game" in the Canadian workplace.

Above all, foreign-trained professionals should be prepared for a process of a career adjustment that is complex, slow, and sometimes very painful. It goes far beyond a simple matter of competence, skills and job opportunities. Immigrants, recruited or otherwise, come to Canada expecting, and expected, to contribute to the development of this nation. In return, they desire some benefits from their contribution, touching the most sensitive issue, job security, which Canadians are also extremely concerned about. Immigrants should be aware of the existing "opportunity structure" which regulates employment opportunities and controls the distribution of social wealth, and be able to determine what their share could be and, accordingly, what they should do.

In short, it is important for foreign-trained professionals to realize that individuals are the change agents. A good change agent is someone who knows how to demonstrate his or her strengths despite his or her weaknesses, perceived or real. Those who wish to have a meaningful career within Canadian society have to figure out themselves how to make that happen.

Nevertheless, from the co-constructive position taken for the study, individual efforts cannot succeed unless sustainable social and institutional support is provided. As Jackman and Crane (1986) note in a study of their best friends who are black, even if minority groups' attitudes are more positive, dominant culture members still like to maintain political and economic power. Moreover, given that perception is often a hidden but major factor in making employment decisions in the top ranks of some organizations, focusing change efforts on the individual level might only reinforce institutional discrimination. With this in mind, let us turn to the next topic, policy efforts, the most important of all.

6.6.2 Policy Efforts

A professor, on the first day of the school year, says to his students, "Let us do a little quiz on logic today." He begins to fill a big glass bottle which is on his desk with big stones until it appears full.

The professor then asks the class, "Is the bottle full?" "Yes," answer the class in **chorus**. "Really?" As the professor questions the students, he produces from under his desk a pail of shredded stones and pours them into the bottle. "Is it full now?" "Perhaps, not," reply the students cautiously this time. "Good", the professor nods his head and takes out a pail of sand and pours it into the bottle. "Is it full now?" "No," the students chant loudly with confidence. "Very good," says the professor, and then takes out a pail of water and pours it into the bottle until the water runs out of the bottle. The bottle is full now.

The professor sets everything aside and turns to the class, "What does this tell us?" A heated discussion starts among the students who come up with different answers but none of them seems right. The professor writes on the blackboard, "Can the big stones be put into the bottle if sand and shredded stones are poured into it first?"

What is the big stone identified in this thesis? The discussion in 6.2.4. made it very clear that unless institutional bias/discrimination is acknowledged and addressed, the structural barrier is removed and the we-know-best attitude is changed, issues such as unequal power relations, opportunity distributions, tensions, prejudices cannot be resolved and settled.

The FTTs' experience of "being professional students" without professional employment is a collectively created social phenomenon. Their cry for "work after education" implies that Canada faces a series of apparent contradictions in the development of effective employment policies for immigrant professionals, particularly those from racial minority groups.

Individual efforts are insufficient because institutions direct and control individuals' choices. As presented in Chapter Four and discussed above, the sharp contrast between the success that FTTs achieved during 13-week training in the PUP and their unsuccessful efforts during a period of over 150 weeks after the PUP is a simple but powerful example which emphasizes that collective as well as individual efforts are needed to enact change. If the FTTs were to achieve their goal of becoming classroom teachers, collaboration between them and the school system must be present. Sustainable

official support can not only facilitate FTTs' integration into the system and also add much to the development of the system itself. The relationship between an individual's efforts and a system support is similar to that between environmental conditions and the growth of a seed. Unless the seed encounters the right conditions - humidity, rain, soil nutrients, temperature, and so on, it cannot grow healthy and strong.

The FTTs believed that what they wanted was very simple and just - to work in the field in which they were trained. How could anything so sensible be so difficult for them to accomplish in Canada? John Kennedy once said, "Anyone who is honestly seeking a job and can't find it, deserves the attention of the United States government." If immigrant-related policies are to illustrate sincere concern for allowing professionally trained immigrants to contribute "free of barriers, to every dimension of Canadian life" (CIC 1998), it is imperative that Canadian policy makers first come to terms with abundant evidence that immigrant professionals like FTTs experience discriminatory treatment in their search for employment. Then it is possible that they will seriously consider how to implement the policies that they have made. It is important to realize that a policy without being properly implemented is a sugar-coated policy which does more harm than good, for it has a backlash on those the policies intended to help.

Immigrant recruitment policies cannot just target talented individuals from under-developed countries into Canada without ensuring opportunities for them to work in their areas of expertise. It is a huge waste of human resources for trained professionals such as doctors and teachers to deliver pizza and sweep floors. Even less unacceptable is that after these individuals have obtained Canadian qualifications, they are still evaluated as not qualified. Then, it appears as if these policies were satiated with vested interests, resulting in creating members of a poor, disillusioned and humiliated

immigrant lower class who have lost faith in this country and who will perhaps be forced to use their skills in abusing the system (see Rose 4.2. and 4.3.; also see Sohail 1998; Miller 1998; Ottawa Weekend 1997; 1998; May 1998).

Furthermore, educational policies should acknowledge that there is a need for flexibility in the delivery of upgrading training programs for L2 professionals. For programs similar to the PUP to be effective and sustainable, on-going mentorship programs between schools, school boards and universities should be developed to ensure the continued success of participants after they have received additional training required by Canadian standards.

Finally, there is a need for education on cross-cultural understanding for people at all levels of the school system. Ioannou (1999), the TESL Ontario representative on the TESL Canada Board, recommends "training principals/managers about these matters as there is a definite lack of understanding and a great deal of ignorance towards these issues" [personal communication]. If leaders do not understand the importance of a given policy, the policy will be thrown out window when it comes to its implementation. As well, while a school is for students, a university is definitely for teachers. Schools cannot be excellent without continuously exposing teachers to new ideas, practices and opportunities to reflect on themselves and their programs. And last but not least is the need to educate the general public. Canadians have to be aware that the strength of this country lies in the willingness of all Canadian-born and immigrant Canadians to respect one another. Despite their superficial differences, they have at least one thing in common, that is, they are all human beings who deserve the same respect and treatment.

Perhaps, the notion of "appreciation" should be promoted instead of that of "tolerance" in a society as multicultural as Canada. Appreciation enhances an understanding of majority/minorities

and leads to harmony among them. On the contrary, underlying the concept of tolerance, there is a potentially negative force which can result in conflicts when members from different groups no longer show tolerance towards each other.

In a word, what is needed is "*a big education, a big education for all*", as concluded by Stone.

6.6.3 Language Training

The FTTs' experience of being constantly questioned about their language ability, particularly about their accents in English, implies that language training programs should be more flexible and relevant to the needs of L2 professionals.

According to a recent study on the needs of immigrants undertaken by the Canadian Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA, 1998), the most urgent needs of L2 learners are not identified in the current language training curricula. In spite of the insistent emphasis on communicative competence since the early 1980s, it appears that much L2 instruction has failed to help L2 learners acquire such competence (e.g., Peirce 1994; Wang 1999).

It should be realized that the current adult L2 learner population is changing and that traditional instructional methods might not as effective as they used to be. For example, playing games in class is seen by many L2 Asian adult learners who are highly educated as a waste of their time, and talking about travel is not of much interest to them. In fact, some recent studies have already begun to examine this issue. Goodchild (1999), a Canadian ESL instructor, reports that some adult immigrants who have spent ten or more years with their ESL teachers keep saying, "*I do my work good, but my boss he no like me*" (p. 35) because their teachers have been humiliating them

with endless arbitrary communication games in class. It is not surprising that Goldstein (1997), a researcher from OISE, asserted in her doctoral study that formal English training for immigrants was largely superfluous.

In sum, learners' professional and other L2 needs should be identified accurately and then translated into lesson planning. Instruction should focus on "what the person can do in the L2" (Wesche 1992) in order to ensure that L2 learners achieve fluent competence (CLB 1996). In addition, efforts and creativity may be necessary to help adult L2 learners to acquire a native-like accent. We should, nevertheless, keep in mind that "a strong foreign accent does not necessarily cause L2 speech to be low in comprehensibility or intelligibility" (Munro & Derwing 1999, p. 305).

6.6.4 Research

This study and its findings have implications for future research. To begin with, the use of personal data connected to the public data has methodological implications. While raising special problems (see 6.5), it has simultaneously illustrated some advantages due to the openness of qualitative inquiry and strengthened the design of the thesis. The three-stage interviewing technique (see Table 5 in 3.3) allowed the researcher to engage in a series of interrelated activities. For example, during the interview with Brian, the researcher presented to him as a problem the claim voiced by some FTTs that the school system discriminated against FTTs. Brian, from a PUP implementor's perspective, thus gained an opportunity to express his view on this issue (see Extract 42 in 5.1.2.2). As a result, the researcher gathered authentic data and was also able to establish conformability of the data (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Similar to the manner in which a detective works (Eisner 1991), the researcher was able to compile bits and pieces of evidence to formulate a "compelling whole".

Furthermore, in 4.1.3., it was reported that on the basis of their upgrading performance, each of the seven FTTs was awarded a Certificate of Professional Upgrading recognizing his or her additional Canadian training and qualifications, and thus became an Ontario certified teacher. In 4.2. and 4.3., it was found that the FTTs' qualifications were nevertheless questioned when it comes to employment. In 6.1. and 6.3., it was asserted that FTTs' professional opportunities were sometimes determined on the grounds of ethnicity as reflected in accent, uncovering a new aspect of the unequal opportunity structure in Canadian society. These findings provide some potential future research topics.

First, the assessment of foreign-trained credentials deserves serious research attention. Globalization trends and the need for immigrants make the portability of occupational and educational credentials increasingly important. Although CICIC (1997) has established guidelines, they are directed at assessing credentials brought from European countries. The current reality is that increasing numbers of non-European immigrants are recruited and apply for immigration to Canada. Yet, very often these immigrants' academic qualifications are undervalued and their professional experiences are overlooked in Canada due to a lack of knowledge of, and/or potential prejudice against, non-European educational systems.

Information on non-European educational systems can be gathered and compared with Canadian standards. Accordingly, regulations can be established to ensure that non-European immigrants' credentials are evaluated without any form of racial and political discrimination.

The FTTs' accent dilemma suggests another possible research topic on race and accent in relation to one's ability to carry out professional duties. Challenge or criticism of the FTTs' communication problems cannot be fully understood on the basis of a simple view of a "language deficiency" expressed in the phrase "non-native accents". If communication problems only arose

from a "language deficiency", an increased ability in English would be matched by increased communication and social power. A focus on the linguistic ability of an L2 user does not sufficiently explain why FTTs like Rose were not fully accepted by the system. In Canadian society, linguistic issues are often related to ethnicity and reflected in the struggle for both symbolic power and material gains. The FTTs' accent dilemma is not only a linguistic issue, but also an ethnic-racial-social-and-political issue. As Munro and Derwing (1999) explain, "native-speaker listeners tend to downgrade nonnative speakers simply because of foreign accent" (p. 287). In addition, neither of the two models of communicative language ability as reviewed in 2.2.1 (Bachman 1990; CLB 1996) addresses the importance of accent in communication, which implies a potential need for research on communicative language ability to broaden its scope and revise its definition.

Finally, the topic of human rights was repeatedly brought up by some FTTs. According to Rose, recruiting professionally trained immigrants into this country when there is not a reasonable opportunity for them to work in their field, thus leading to leading them to live in poverty, was a violation of human rights (4.2.1.). Pondering over her comments reverberates Ghandi's assertion that poverty is the worst kind of violence. Poverty is a callous dungeon located on the bottom of the civilized society.

In Canada, poverty often results from unemployment. If unemployment is the only option of individuals who have relevant skills and are willing to work, but are deprived of opportunities to work because of who they are, then poverty is indeed a violation of human rights. Poverty destroys human beings physically, mentally and spiritually. It is an unnecessary and immoral violence.

Some FTTs felt strongly that they were treated as second class citizens. While their voices were silenced, whatever was valued by some members from the mainstream group was imposed upon them (4.2.3., 4.2.5, 4.2.7). Such feelings of being suppressed are echoed in the penetrating

criticism of human rights violations by Lu Xun³¹ (1881-1936), "The most horrible thing is not a government that stages public executions, but a government that secretly disposes of its victims" (cited by Warren 1998). Lu Xun was right because one of the worst things about life is not how nasty the nasty people are. We know that already. It is how nasty the nice people can be.

Many people have a deepseated belief that immigrants from "non-democratic" countries do not understand what democracy means and must feel lucky to enjoy equal opportunities and freedom of speech in Canada. But Warren, a Canadian, (1998) suggests that those in the West who are inclined to criticise those in the East for violating human rights should hold on their criticism because: "It is we in the West who need to know. It is we who haven't a clue about democracy."

The feelings, the comments and the ideas described above demonstrate clearly that creative thinking and good ideas occur everywhere, in the West and also in the East. Important lessons can, and should, be drawn from other cultures to enhance our understanding of human rights and to promote democracy accountability.

Last but not least implication is that of the conceptual framework (see Figure 1) which guided the present study. The outcomes of the study indicate that the framework might be usable for other similar studies if certain terminology is rephrased. For example, if a study were undertaken on foreign-trained doctors who wish to pursue a professional career in a Canadian hospital context, the phrases, *teacher competence* and *knowledge of education* (see the competencies box in Figure 1) could be changed to *medical training* and *knowledge of health science* and so forth.

³¹ Lu Xun was one of the greatest Chinese writers and thinkers in the modern Chinese literature. Recently, a panel of 14 Chinese scholars, including from the mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and other parts of the world, have rated his novel (1926), *"Na Han"*, meaning *A Passionate Appeal*, as the best of 100 Chinese novels of the 20th century (Canadian China News, June 18, 1999).

6.7 Conclusions

Wolcott (1990b) asks the question of how one should conclude a qualitative study, and then gives the answer, "You don't" (p. 55). Having accompanied the gestation of the PUP and the process of the seven FTTs' reconstruction of a professional identity in Ontario schools over the past five years, the researcher has slowly come to realize that bringing about fundamental changes is going to take much longer than some people have left in a lifetime. Understanding the problems herself, and explaining them as clearly as she could, which she naively believed was all she had to do, certainly is only a *beginning*.

It is clear that progress for FTTs, and for those belonging to a racial minority group, has been impeded, and will continue to be impeded, as long as:

1. There is a system managed by those whose mandate is to maintain the status quo, treating "new blood" as a source of "problems" rather than as strength for improvement. FTTs, as outsiders, find it difficult to penetrate such a system.
2. There is a long tradition within which mainstream networks have been extremely powerful. FTTs, as non-mainstreamers, find it difficult to become known.
3. There is a perception that unemployment among FTTs is not even considered as a problem. FTTs, as the "less-worthy", find it difficult to manage to get by.
4. The basic inequality between the powerful and the powerless remains unchallenged. FTTs, as among the marginalized, find it difficult to be treated fairly.
5. Members of the mainstream group continue to challenge the way FTTs talk and act, possibly including how they should look, while FTTs, as the visibly different, find themselves to be neither Canadian nor what they were before, struggling with "who I am", a sad phenomenon in human history created by immigration.

In short, pilot programs similar to the PUP will fail, or perhaps have failed, to significantly change anybody's status and possibilities as long as politicians continue to talk to *minority groups* about how much money has been spent in settlement services offered to them while no one would dream of telling all new Canadians that *three out of four* of them are always going to be poor.

So where do we go from here? Let us first make sure that the assessment of foreign credentials is performed fairly and reasonably, without any form of discrimination. Then let us ensure that racial minority immigrant teachers are not treated like second-class citizens. And finally let us make it possible for qualified foreign-trained teachers to have an equal opportunity to do what they are trained to do, *which is to teach*. The day will come because:

1. People of diverse creeds and colours from around the world keep coming to Canada, but in another sense, Canada has first reached out to embrace them for "there is consensus, from one end of the country to the other, that immigration constitutes an economic and social force - one that is essential for the continued prosperity of Canada" (Robillard, Minister of CIC, 1997, p. 1).
2. Canadian society is a mosaic which, among its stated values, promotes respect for diversity and "what is honoured in a country will be cultivated there" (Plato).
3. Lam, whose experience in Canada was described at the beginning of the thesis, is now enjoying her career in a Canadian classroom, *teaching*.

In a nutshell, the strength of Canadian schools has to rely on the willingness of all professionals (i.e., CTTs and FTTs alike) to collaborate with one another and to sacrifice for the common good, which is to meet the needs of all Canadian students. Positively, it is time, as Ho put it (1992), for "*Both Sides Now*" to work together toward this end.

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APPENDIX A

Proposal for an Pilot Upgrading Program by Hanne Mawhinney
(Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, March 16, 1994).

Rationale

Many immigrants living in Eastern Ontario were employed as certified teachers in their respective countries. They have found, however, that their foreign credentials do not fully satisfy the requirements for certification in Ontario. Some immigrant teachers have been counselled to return to school to upgrade their credentials. These teachers should not have to compete for regular admission into Faculties of Education. What they need is a professional development program that will sensitize them into the Ontario educational context and at the same time recognize their rich work and life experiences. These teachers should be provided opportunities to upgrade their skills and training in order to better qualify for an Ontario Teacher Certificate.

Aims and Objectives

In collaboration with the partners in the Eastern Ontario Advisory Council on Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education, the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa will design and implement an upgrading program for teachers trained outside Canada who seek qualifications in a second division in order to gain Ontario certification. The proposed program is distinguished by its emphasis on the implementation of an approach to assessing and making use of the prior learning and academic qualifications for foreign trained teachers. The program builds upon and implements a framework for assessing prior learning developed by the Access to Professionals and Trades Demonstration Project funded by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship. The aim of the program will be to achieve six sets of outcomes:

1. To facilitate school board compliance with the recent amendments to the Educational Act.
2. To recognize prior learning and develop competencies by the candidates in: a) oral and written English, b) teaching methodologies for all students, c) classroom organization and management, and d) curriculum planning and pupil evaluation.
3. To develop understanding by the candidates in: a) the political and legal dimensions of teaching in Ontario, b) child or adolescent development, c) the social and philosophical foundations of education in Ontario, and d) of Canadian history, geography, and multicultural policies.
4. To develop in classroom teachers and professors: a) skills in working with candidates from under-represented groups, b) understanding of concerns of these groups, c) a pool of expertise on issues of antiracism and ethnocultural equity that can be disseminated in and among boards.
5. To facilitate mentoring and job entry opportunities for candidates by: a) providing an on-site practicum as a means gaining familiarity with the needs of children/adolescents, and school board policies and practices, and b) identifying a network of teacher-mentors for under-represented groups.
6. To develop transferable materials, programs and methodologies to: a) evaluate the candidate applications, b) facilitate teaching relevant skills and knowledge to candidates, c) assist candidates overcome language or academic difficulties associated with upgrading, d) develop a handbook for candidates from under-represented groups, and e) develop candidate profiles in order to provide appropriate supports.

Target Groups

Aboriginal peoples, racial minorities, members of ethnocultural groups under-represented in Ontario's teaching force.

Design of the Program

The Faculty of Education will work with representatives of community groups, school boards, universities and colleges, teachers federations, and ministries in the Eastern Ontario Advisory Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education in developing, implementing and evaluating a pilot upgrading program. The upgrading program will be offered as a thirteen week, full-time professional development program over a single semester with entry points in September or January. It will be primarily field-based with a one day a week on-campus component offered in partnership with Algonquin College.

Community Involvement

The Eastern Ontario Advisory Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education was recently formed from representatives of community groups, the federal government, teachers' federations, school boards, post secondary institutions and professional associations. The Council will provide input on the design, development, implementation and evaluation of the pilot program on professional upgrading. Subcommittees of the Council will assist the Faculty of Education in: a) selecting candidates, b) identifying classroom teacher-mentors for the candidates, c) developing teaching, learning, and student prior learning evaluation materials, and d) identifying funding sources for students.

Partnerships

The Pilot Upgrading Program proposed here will establish a number of links with community stakeholders, school boards and other post secondary institutions: a) Eastern Ontario Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education will act as an advisory group; b) partnership with Algonquin College in providing an integrated Canadian studies/ESL course, in consultation with Carleton University; c) partnership with Queens' University in evaluation of program; d) collaboration with school boards in the Eastern Ontario region to establish a network of school advisors for Candidates; e) collaboration with community stakeholders to provide an orientation program; f) collaboration with community stakeholders such as Multicultural Council of Professional Women (Dr. Sucy Eapen to assess evaluation of competencies by teachers to assist in defining professional portfolio criteria); g) Ontario Association of Teachers-in-Settlement to establish a network of school advisors; and h) collaboration with Multicultural Council of Profession Women to prepare a database of academic credentials and prior learning of foreign trained teachers.

Candidate Selection Criteria

Consistent with the approach to the Preservice Teacher Education Program at the University of Ottawa, candidate selection will be based on five criteria: a) an evaluation of the Ministry of Education and Training indicating divisional training requirements to obtain an Ontario Teaching Certificate; b) oral and written competency in English sufficient to work effectively in an Ontario classroom; c) a letter by the candidate outlining the background and goals of the candidate that relate to becoming a teacher in Ontario; d) letters of support for the candidate's admittance from under-represented Ontario community groups; and e) transcripts indicating successful completion of an undergraduate degree.

Language Competency Testing

Students will be required to take a language competency test (CanTest) administered by the University of Ottawa Second Language Institute to indicate level of English language facility prior to admittance into the program. The results of the test will form part of the candidates' application.

Many foreign trained teachers need English language training in order to work effectively in a Canadian classroom. Consequently, the upgrading program to be offered in the Faculty of Education will be articulated with language training programs offered by school boards, by Algonquin College and in consultation with Carleton University. The Faculty recognize that many foreign trained teachers require unique evaluations to determine whether their facility in English is adequate to ensure their success in this intensive four month upgrading program. The intention of the articulation arrangement with Algonquin is to provide a means for those teachers who require intensive language training prior to entering the upgrading program to obtain this assistance within a linked arrangement.

Candidate Selection Process

A Candidate Selection Working Group formed of five representatives of the Eastern Ontario Advisory Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education will evaluate Candidate files, and may conduct interviews with the candidates. The group will rank files based on the above criteria and other factors the group agrees upon. Candidates will be offered admittance or placed on a waiting list as demand for the program dictates. Ten candidates will be selected for each semester. The program will accommodate 10 students each of three pilot sessions offered in 1994 and 1995. A total of 30 students will benefit from this pilot upgrading program during the next two academic years.

School Advisors

The Faculty will work with school boards, teachers federations and the Ontario Association of Teachers in Settlement (OATS) in identifying a pool of school advisors from the Eastern Ontario region school boards familiar with the unique needs of teachers trained in foreign countries. The intention is to provide opportunities for the involvement of candidates and school boards from a broad geographical area. School advisors will be responsible developing with the candidate a program of practicum experiences suited to that individual's unique needs. School advisors will facilitate opportunities for the candidates to observe other classrooms, and to become involved in school and professional activities. The school advisor will be responsible for cultural and professional support and for recommending that the candidate receive a Certificate of Upgrading upon completion of the program, or recommending that the candidate take other training or withdraw.

Faculty Advisor and Program Coordinator

A Faculty of Education Advisor will coordinate student placements, will be responsible for conducting weekly Reflective Seminars with candidates focused on issues of particular concern to them, and will maintain ongoing contact with school advisors and candidates. The Faculty Advisor will be responsible for recommending that the candidate receive a Certificate of Upgrading after compiling and assessing the recommendations from other components of the program.

Mediation Committee

A Mediation Committee will be formed to evaluate and recommend withdrawal, and to hear appeals regarding recommended withdrawals. Membership: representation from: a) community groups, b) faculty, c) federations, and d) school boards.

Program Components

1. Orientation: Candidates and School Advisors will be given the opportunity to participate in a two evening orientation session two weeks prior to the beginning of each session. One session will provide an overview of the program. A second session will address issues of diversity in the context of Canada's policies on Multiculturalism. This session will be conducted by representatives from the Eastern Ontario Advisory Council on Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education.
2. On-Site Practicum: Students will be placed with selected school advisors in school boards in the Eastern Ontario region for the duration of the 13 week program. Involvement in the classroom will be determined by the School Advisor in consultation with the appropriate school board officials, the student and the Faculty Advisor. It would include the following: a) initial period of observation, b) gradual assumption of increasing responsibilities for the classroom, c) opportunities to observe other classes, d) participation in school and board professionals development activities, and e) involvement in school extracurricular activities.

The School Advisor and the Candidate will review prior learning and experiences of the Candidate and develop requirements for the professional development portfolio. They may agree that the Candidate needs to prepare certain materials, become skilled in certain teaching strategies, or other tasks for the professional development portfolio. This portfolio will be reviewed upon completion of the program by an assessment committee.

3. On Campus Component: In order to provide the candidates with opportunity to gain an understanding of the social, political, pedagogical and philosophical frameworks for Ontario education; and to increase competency in the English language and understanding of Canadian history, politics and geography, three components of the program will be delivered on campus, one day per week. Three courses will be delivered: a) Reflective Seminar: This one and one-half hour weekly seminar will be guided by the Faculty Advisor, and will allow students to reflect on the implications of their experiences in the classroom for their understanding of education in Ontario; b) Integrated Methods/Foundations Course: Candidates will have the opportunity to gain understanding of core aspects of teacher expertise: Social and Philosophical Foundations; Professional and Legal Foundations including the amendment to the Educational Act: Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards; Curriculum and Psychology. In total 13, three hour sessions will be conducted during the program (39 hrs). Faculty instructors will be responsible for facilitating these seminars and will assist candidates in defining appropriate indicators of professional upgrading related to this component of the program for each Candidate's professional portfolio; c) Integrated Canadian Studies/ESL Course: Candidates will be given the opportunity to gain understanding the Canadian history, literature, politics, geography as a vehicle for increasing competency in the English language. The Faculty of Education has formed a partnership with Algonquin College to provide the students with this three hour per week session on the University of Ottawa campus. Carleton University will also be called upon as needed.
4. Language Assistance: Candidates will be able to use the facilities and services of the University of Ottawa's Second Language Centre. The centre operates a student resource centre with the following services: conversation groups, consultations, computer based programs, video and audio programs, and individual practice labs.
5. Assessment of Candidate Upgrading: a) Professional Portfolio: Upon completion of the course students will be required to present a portfolio of work prepared for courses and during the field experience illustrating the outcome competencies of the program: oral and written English, teaching methodologies and management, curriculum planning and evaluation, understanding political and legal dimensions of teaching in Ontario, knowledge of child or adolescent development, understanding the social and philosophical foundations of education in Ontario, including the amendment to the Education Act; b) Portfolio Assessment Interview: The

Reflective Seminar advisor and an appropriate divisional representative of the Ontario Teachers Federation will review the portfolio with the student in an interview. Recommendations will be made based on demonstrated competencies during this process; and c) Certificate: Students will receive a Certificate of Professional Upgrading from the Faculty upon completion of the course.

6. Internal Program Evaluation: Internal evaluations of the implementation of the pilot professional upgrading initiatives described here will occur in December 1994, April, 1995 and December 1995. Data will be collected using quantitative and qualitative methods. Results will be used to make improvements in the upgrading initiatives.
7. External Program Evaluation/Program Dissemination: Queen's University representatives on the Eastern Ontario Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education will be invited to conduct external process and outcome evaluations in order to provide the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa with input on future program direction. This will allow Queen's to gain understanding of this model of a professional upgrading. The members of the Eastern Ontario Council for Antiracism Initiatives in Teacher Education will be kept informed.
8. Tracking System for Determining Candidates Success and Barriers: A tracking system will be developed to provide data on the number of candidates to complete the program, the length of time it takes for them to obtain employment in education-related fields, and the kind of barriers they encounter during this process. This tracking system will facilitate the development of a mentoring network for future students of the program.
9. Materials and Methodologies Development: The pilot phases of this program will require the development of a number of assessment methodologies and learning materials. These materials can be disseminated to other programs: a) case studies, b) independent learning packages, c) integrated Canadian students/ESL learning materials, d) English language competency testing methods to screen for readiness for classroom, e) further development of prior learning assessment methods, and f) further development of essential competencies for foreign trained teachers.
10. Other program components include: a) funding requests, b) cost effectiveness of the program, c) assumption of ongoing operating costs, and d) budget (note: details are omitted).

APPENDIX B

List of Reports on the Pilot Upgrading Program (1994-1996)

1. Pilot Upgrading Program for Foreign-Trained Teachers (Faculty of Education 1994). This report offers the following information:
 - a) The project proposal (Mawhinney, 1994).
 - b) Correspondence and memos between the project leaders and two local school boards, school sites, Algonquin College and members of Eastern Ontario Advisory Council.
 - c) L2 ability evaluation of the candidates (Courchéne, 1994).
 - d) Report on profiles of the candidates (Eapen, January 1995).
 - e) ESL Training for the candidates (Thompson, December 1994).
 - f) Canadian educational foundation course and reflective seminar for the candidates (Persad, December 1994).
2. Investigating the selection criteria and procedures concerning the English language readiness of foreign-trained teachers in a professional upgrading program: An ethnographic validity study (Xu, December 1994).
3. An evaluation of foreign-trained teachers' integration into the Ontario school system: progress, problems, and prospects (Xu, June 1995).
4. A summary on the upgrading pilot program for foreign-trained teachers in Ontario: September 1994-June 1996 (Xu, June 1996).

APPENDIX C

Additional Information about the FTTs and Their Mentors
Who Participated (and Not) in the Current Study

FTTs & Their Current Work		Insiders' Past Prediction of & Comments on Given FTTs		Researcher's Notes & Comments (Also see 4.2 & 5.1)
Adam	Coordinator (full-time) & graduate student (part-time)	Stone (see Appendix B, Item 1, F)	His (Peter's) school refused to conduct any official evaluation because it did not want to take any responsibility for recommending Adam and Ted as teachers	The school was critical of the PUP. It appears, however, that Adam and Ted turned out to be relatively more successful than their fellow FTTs
Ted	MLO (full-time) & earned a master's degree			
Angela	Passively waiting	Jack: (Oct. 1 1997)	I thought that she would do well.	Both Jack and Pat were disappointed that Angela had not taught at all since the PUP
		Pat: (Oct. 6, 1994)	She is a teacher material.	
Henry	Full-time training in hi-tech	Ellen: (Apr. 12, 1995)	Henry was suffering from a cultural shock	According to Stone (see Appendix B, Item 1, F), Henry was the most intelligent among these teachers. During my contact with him, Henry appeared to be quite articulate, eloquent, funny and humorous.
Wilson	MLO (full-time) & graduate student (part-time)		Wilson's practicum was successful. He had the potential to succeed in Canadian schools.	Discrepancies were found between Ellen's story & Wilson's story
Rose	Supply teacher for 3 school boards & taking university courses	See Figure 7	No one is going to hire her. The whole package of being a teacher is missing.	Evident discrepancies were found between what was predicted of Rose during the PUP and what she was able to achieve after the PUP.
		Brian: (Oct. 7, 1997)	Rose was weak in classroom management. Their (FTTs') disappointment seems to be the result of the false expectation created by the university.	
Barbara	Taking a computer training course.	See 4.1.1	Barbara was willing to accept criticism and made effort to improve her teaching skills	Barbara's post-PUP experience was somehow disappointing to her.

APPENDIX D

Letter and Consent Form to Participants

Letter

May 17, 1997

Dear Participant:

I am conducting a study of foreign-trained teachers' professional upgrading experience in a Canadian context. The purpose is to achieve a deeper understanding of the dynamics and complexity of their integration into the Canadian educational system through an exploration of the experience of the group which participated in the Pilot Upgrading Program at the University of Ottawa and in Ontario schools (1994-1995). Project findings should provide useful information for L2 professionals who wish to pursue employment opportunities in an English-speaking setting, for L2 teaching and assessment for academic and professional purposes, and possibly for policy-making relating to the career adjustments of foreign-trained professionals in Canada. I am writing to request your agreement to an interview, as you were involved in the implementation of the pilote upgrading program and your viewpoints will be valuable to the present follow-up study.

Research data will be collected by means of: 1) written document analysis pertaining to foreign-trained teachers' upgrading experience; 2) individual interviews with the program participants (foreign-trained teachers), the program implementors (school teachers and principals), and the program facilitators (university professors and a community representative); and 3) group interviews with the program participants. Data will be analyzed, triangulated and validated by experts with related expertise.

In conformity with the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, 1989, individual privacy will be protected throughout the study. When interviews are transcribed into printed form for analysis, all personal and place names and any other means of identifying you or any other participants will be deleted or replaced with code names known only to the researcher. Likewise no person's name will be associated with the study or used in any publication by the researcher reporting this research. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, in which case any data you have previously provided will not be used.

This research has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education (HRECFE). You can request information on the ethical conduct of the research from the Secretary of the HRECFE, Room 305, Lamoureux Hall or by calling at (613) 562-5800, ext. 4057. A summary report of findings will be made available to interested persons after the study is completed. Your contribution to the project will be fully acknowledged.

I will appreciate your completing the attached consent form and returning it to me in the pre-addressed, stamped envelop.

Thank you for your support and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Fengying Xu, Researcher

Participant Consent Form

May 17, 1997

When a human research project is undertaken by a member of the University of Ottawa, the Ethics Committee of the University requires the written consent of the participants. The intention is simply to assure the respect and the confidentiality of the individuals concerned.

This project is part of doctoral research which deals with the integration into the Ontario educational system of the foreign-trained teachers who participated in the Pilot Upgrading Program offered by the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. For more details on the study, please see the attached letter.

As one of participants in the Upgrading Pilot Program, you are asked to agree to an individual interview which will be tape-recorded and will take about an hour (see the attached questions). If you agree, please sign this form in the space provided below and initial it at the bottom to indicate that you received a copy of the form for your own records. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all personal and place names as well as any other information which might serve to identify participants in the study will be edited out of the transcripts. You have the right to withdraw from this project **at any time**.

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I willingly agree to participate in this study on the understanding that my answers will remain strictly confidential and that I will not be identifiable in the presentation of the results.

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

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Dissertation Director: Dr. Marjorie Wesche Second Language Institute & Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Dissertation Co-director: Dr. Hanne Mawhinney, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa (613) 562-5800

Please initial to indicate that you received a copy of the form to keep _____.

APPENDIX E

A Chronological Summary of the Process of Negotiating the Access to the Informants

Date	Event
(May 1997 - January 1998)	
May 1, 1997	A thesis proposal was submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa.
May 15, 1997	A research application was submitted to the Regional Research Advisory Committee.
May 16, 1997	A Certificate of Ethical Approval was issued by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa.
May 17 - August 20, 1997	Participant consent forms and letters were sent out, inviting seven selected FTTs and five were signed and returned.
May 27, 1997	As requested, a list of the names of 10 implementors was submitted to the Regional Research Advisory Committee.
June 19, 1997	A letter was received from the Regional Research Advisory Committee, requesting interview questions for the 10 potential implementors.
August 20, 1997	Six copies of three interview questions for implementors were (see Appendix G) sent to the Regional Research Advisory Committee.
September 23, 1997	The Regional Research Advisory Committee approved the research proposal.
September 24 - October 8 1997	Participant consent forms and letters (see Appendix D) were sent out to 10 selected implementors. Two declined to participate in the study. Two were not located. One principal had retired and no further effort was made to look for him.
October 15 - November 11, 1997	Participant consent forms and letters were sent out to four facilitators and all agreed to an interview.
October 18, 1997	Consent was obtained from Rose.
December 15, 1997	Consent was obtained from Wilson.
December 20, 1997 - January 18, 1998	Arrangements were begun for a focus group session which finally took place on January 18, 1998. This concluded data collection from informants.

APPENDIX F

Interview Questions for FTTs

1. What were your career expectations upon the completion of the upgrading program?
2. What have you been doing since the completion of the program?
3. Are you satisfied with what you have been doing (or achieved) when taking your career expectations into consideration? Why?
4. What is your understanding of teacher competence?
5. What internal and external factors contribute to FTTs' successful integration into the Ontario school system? What barriers impede this process?
6. What is your response to the claim that barriers faced by FTTs largely result from their own deficiency in English?

7. What aspects of language skills are crucial for FTTs in order to function in a linguistically effective way?
8. In what way can such skills be improved (or developed)?
9. How should such language skills be measured?
10. To what extent does the upgrading program promote your opportunities to integrate into the Ontario school system?
11. In addition to the upgrading program, are there any other opportunities for you to teach?
12. How do you react to any unfavourable feedback from those already in the system?
13. How do you keep a balance between what you want to do what you are expected to do?
14. Could you describe to me a situation in which you had to make a decision and you were sure that you did the right thing but you were completely misunderstood?
15. What were you reactions to the misunderstanding? Were there any consequences?
16. What strategies do you use in dealing with the complexity and difficulty in the process of building a new professional identity within the new system?
17. Looking back over what you have been through in Canadian schools, what experiences have been truly important to you? Why?
18. Can you picture a school where you would like to work (or continue working) or you would like to quit?
19. Where do you go from here? Are you optimistic or pessimistic about your professional life in Canada? Why?
20. What would you recommend so that FTTs could integrate into the Canadian school system more successfully and less difficult (e.g., What practices should be promoted)?

APPENDIX G

Interview Questions for the Implementors and Facilitators

1. Based on your experience with the FTT(s) in your class (school or at the university), what special competence do you think FTTs must acquire in order to obtain a position in the teaching profession in Ontario?
2. In what way, if any, do you think that FTTs can contribute to Ontario education?
3. Looking back over your experience with the FTT(s) in your class (school or at the university), what would you recommend so that FTTs could integrate into the Canadian school system more successfully?

APPENDIX H

Description of CanTest Band Scores (3 - 5+) by the CanTest Project Office (Second Language Institute of the University of Ottawa, 1994).

- [5+] Level of proficiency as demonstrated by test performance indicates no language problems that would impede academic success. An exceptional score awarded when candidate exceeds the minimum for Band 5 in all skills tested.
- [5] Level of proficiency considered adequate for full time academic study. Processes texts at a rate adequate for most academic purposes and with a high degree of comprehension. Interacts with confidence in area of expertise. Copes adequately in a range of situations.
- [4] Level of proficiency in skill area evidences weaknesses which could affect performance in an academic program. Some remedial language tuition would be helpful to improve speed and overall accuracy. Interacts effectively in area of expertise. Language use problems only occasionally impede communication. Proficiency adequate for professional exchange and/or study program not leading to a university degree.
- [3] Level of proficiency in skill area permits independent operation in moderate language situations and in interactions with a sympathetic native speaker. Difficult or unfamiliar situations will reduce effectiveness markedly. Requires additional language tuition before being considered for a Canadian assignment if skill area is one crucial for successful performance.

Note: Levels [2] and [1] are omitted here.