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The Relationship between Federal Citizenship and Immigration Policies and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a way to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA), this instrumental case study explores the relationships between citizenship and immigration (CI) policies and the internationalization of Canadian higher education. By utilizing a critical-sociomaterial approach, the research exposes actors and actor-networks that are otherwise overlooked in these policy areas. Moreover, this lens underscores the impacts and consequences of policy and how the enrollment and/or exclusion of actors in actor-networks enables certain actors to exert control, power, and primacy over others.

While most research on internationalization identifies the academy as the site for internationalization policy enactment, this research notes that the policy topology is spread across various levels of governance and transcends the university into both provincial and federal spaces. The findings suggest that Canada's CI policies, along with its regulations make it difficult for university administrators to internationalize their institutions, with respect to recruiting, supporting, and retaining international students. International students, who want to immigrate to Canada post-graduation, highlighted that they found federal CI legislation confusing. They experienced both emotional and financial stress because of systemic barriers within the government-sponsored pathways to Canadian permanent residency. They see Canada as a less attractive place to study, expressed that they feel unwelcome, warned that restrictive CI legislation will hinder Canada's ability to attract prospective international students, and also retain Canadian-trained talent.

The analysis reveals three complex, interconnected, and at times, competing assemblages of human and non-human actors enrolled in Canada's CI and internationalization

policies. Through their connections, these actor-networks help the government emerge as a powerful actor in Canadian public policy. By redefining its relationship with provinces and universities, the federal government enrolls the academy in technocratic ways to regulate the flow of international students.

This research also highlights the powerful role that special interest groups (SIGs) play in these policy assemblages and their role in connecting CI and internationalization policies. Moreover, the study underscores interdepartmental policy misalignments within the federal government with respect to CI, internationalization, and labour policies. These controversies highlight competing narratives of what is important for the Canadian economy and the value of international students.

Keywords: Higher Education, Internationalization, Citizenship and Immigration, Canada, Ontario, Policy Studies, Critical Policy Analysis, Actor-Network Theory

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Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to

My grandmothers

Majeda Begum and Majeda Khatoon

&

My grandfathers

Mohammed Shamsul Haque and Rafiqur Rahman

Your strength, courage, and resolve in the face of obstacles has been an inspiration over the past four year.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Acronym/Abbreviation	Full Form	Notes
AGS	Association of Graduate Students	
ANT	Actor-Network Theory	
AUCC	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada	
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation	
CBIE	Canadian Bureau of International Education	
CI	Citizenship and Immigration	
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada	Currently known as “Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada” or IRCC
CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education-Canada	
COF	Council of the Federation	
CPA	Critical Policy Analysis	
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade	
DFATD	Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development	Currently known as Global Affairs Canada
DLI#	Designated Learning Institution Number	
ESDC	Employment and Social Development Canada	
FSWP	Federal Skilled Worker Program	
GSO	Graduate Studies Office	
ICCRC	Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council	

IRCC	Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada	
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act	
LMIA	Labour Market Impact Assessment	
MAESD	Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development	
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	
OINP	Ontario Immigration Nominee Program	
PMO	Prime Minister's Office	
PNP	Provincial Nominee Program	
RISIA	Regulated International Student Immigration Advisors	Referred to in thesis as "immigration consultants"
SIGs	Special Interest Groups	
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	
US	United States of America	

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 A Scenario

Imagine Rahul, an international student from India pursuing a PhD in engineering at one of Canada's leading universities. He plans to settle in Canada as a Canadian citizen after completing his PhD and is exactly the kind of highly skilled student and potential migrant Canada needs – someone young, bright and who has the potential to contribute to Canada's future prosperity. But upon realizing the various restrictions and barriers hindering access to employment, permanent residency, and ultimately Canadian citizenship, Rahul decides to seek greener pastures elsewhere, where he can live, work, and prosper, leaving Canada at a loss. This scenario may seem farfetched but is not far from reality. Immigration policies that limit a potential international student's ability to transition into a Canadian permanent resident and citizen ultimately impacts the student, the university, deprives Canada of a potential skilled migrant, and hampers Canada's position on the world's stage as a welcoming country. Thus, my doctoral research seeks to explore and understand the complex relationship between Canada's federal policies on citizenship and immigration (CI) and the internationalization of higher education in Canada, vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention.

1.2 Research Context and Problem

The purpose this research is to examine the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada using a critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis. Canada provided a unique place to conduct my study, where education is a provincial responsibility and citizenship and

immigration is a federal mandate. In 2014, the Canadian federal government released its *International Education Strategy* (Government of Canada, 2014) highlighting the importance of international education. Because historically there has been no concrete federal policy specifically governing the internationalization of Canadian universities, individual institutions had been tasked with creating their own internationalization strategies (Jones, 2009; Trilokekar, 2009). The discrepancy and mismatch between national, provincial and institutional policies thwarts university efforts to recruit international students (Hénard et al., 2012), retain them post-graduation, ultimately derail institutional internationalization efforts, and make Canada lose its competitive edge in today's knowledge-economy.

According to the Canadian federal government, "international education is critical to Canada's success" and "is at the heart of [Canada's] future prosperity" (Government of Canada, 2014, p. 4). Canada's *International Education Strategy* seeks to create a more "prosperous, more innovative, and more competitive Canada," in a "highly competitive, knowledge-based economy" (Government of Canada, 2014, p. 4). However, some fear that changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies through the assent of *Bill C-24* (2014) and barriers in the pathways to permanent residency through the Express Entry system impacts the steady flow of international students to Canada who ultimately want to pursue permanent residence and attain Canadian citizenship (Adams, Macklin, & Omidvar, 2014; Arthur, 2007; Arthur & Flynn, 2011; 2013). As the first update to citizenship laws in a generation, *Bill C-24* was one of the most contested Bills to be made into law. As part of the 2014's update to Canada's

Citizenship Act, the Bill was intended to address many of the problems facing the Canadian immigration system (The Globe and Mail, 2014; Wingrove, 2014a). However, the revised law made it difficult for international students studying in Canada to gain immigration and ultimately Canadian citizenship (Adams, Macklin, & Omidvar, 2014). No longer did time spent in Canada prior to obtaining permanent residency count towards the residency requirement (Bécharde et al., 2014), lengthening the time it took for foreign students to gain Canadian citizenship. Even though citizenship plays an important role in facilitating one's full integration into Canadian economy and society (Environics Institute, 2012), there were fears that the revised *Citizenship Act* made Canadian citizenship more difficult to gain and easier to lose (Meurrens, 2014).

Universities rely on international students, a unique group of migrants, to advance the university internationalization agenda (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, [AUCC], 2007). Therefore, the changes to citizenship and immigration laws can impact future international students from choosing to study in Canada, encourage existing international students to seek opportunities in other countries after gaining Canadian credentials, hinder universities' internationalization strategies, and ultimately impede Canada's goals of become a strong competitor in today's interconnected and evolving global economy.

Adding to the complexity and the political context of this research was the 2015 Canadian federal elections that installed Justin Trudeau and his Liberal government in power after nine year of Conservative rule led by Stephen Harper. The policies that were ushered in during the Harper-era in 2014 are now once again under review and reform,

adding to the discourse around how citizenship, immigration, and international education are intrinsically tied together.

1.3 Rationale for Research

The scholarly work on the internationalization of higher education is saturated with literature that defines internationalization, examines it under various national and international contexts, and examines the importance of international student mobility in advancing one of the many goals of higher education internationalization. However, there is sparse scholarly work done on the relationship between citizenship and immigration laws on the internationalization of higher education. While studies have shown that tightening visa controls have led to a steep decline in the number of international students (Choudaha, 2011), some scholars fear that anti-immigration policies may decrease international student mobility (de Wit, Ferencz, & Rumbley, 2013) and ultimately may lower the number of international students coming to study. For example, since the establishment of stricter immigration laws in the UK, the number of international students in their country has fallen, with many Indian students choosing to go elsewhere to undertake studies in science and technology (House of Lords, 2014). *Bill C-24* (2014), the revised *Citizenship Act* (1985), and pathways to employment, permanent residency, and Canadian citizenship has had its own impact on the internationalization of higher education in our country. These instances show that national/federal policies have a direct impact on universities and higher education. Thus, it is paramount to study how federalism connects with higher education

internationalization by exploring the relationships between federal citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of Canadian universities.

Policy analysis is a core element of this research. This research is novel because it uses a critical-sociomaterial lens to analyze policies by incorporating Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a way to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA). The critical-sociomaterial framework embedded in ANT allow me to approach higher education internationalization policy as a complex, messy, and multilayered process that operates in relation to other human and non-human actors. Therefore, this research is not only critical, but also relational. The critical-sociomaterial framework employed in this thesis add nuance to the analysis of policy by exploring not only what policy does, but also how policy connects actors across various levels of governance.

Thus, my research contributes to the literature on how citizenship and immigration policies are related to the internationalization of higher education and uncover how various policies at the federal, provincial, and institutional level relate to one another and influence individuals affected by these policies. This research opens a new field of study in the realm of international higher education that takes into account the relational, complex, and at times, competing nature of policies across various levels of governance. Specifically, my research contributes to the literature on citizenship and immigration policies in Canada, the opportunities and challenges international students face with Canada's immigration system, the role of actor-networks on the internationalization of Canadian higher education, and the impact/role of federal involvement in international education policy.

1.4 Key Research Questions and Themes

To guide my research on the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada, I asked the following questions:

- a) What is the sociomaterial relationship between Canadian federal citizenship and immigration policies and higher education internationalization policies and practices?
- b) In what ways do the actors, both human and non-human, assemble around these policies and interact with each other, in relationship to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization as policy assemblages?
- c) In what ways do these policies regulate (exclude, constrain, and/or enable) particular kinds of practices within universities amongst those working in international offices and amongst international students? What are the unintended practices/consequences that emerge from the interactions between these policies?
- d) In what ways do citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies regulate the role of the university, vis-à-vis immigration?

Overall, my research agenda touched on themes pertaining to the internationalization of higher education in an era of globalization and transnationalism (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007), the intersection of federal and provincial governments in Canada, and immigration and citizenship in an age of increased global mobility.

I used a qualitative, instrumental case study approach, grounded in the interpretivist paradigm of social theory, to conduct my research. Data was collected from interviews with ten university administrators and ten international graduate students. Data also collected from policy documents, archival materials, and government publications that pertained to Canadian citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies. As mentioned earlier, the data was examined through a critical-sociomaterial lens grounded in using ANT as CPA in order to understand the relationships between citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada.

1.5 Researcher Reflexivity

The choice of the research topic and especially what research methods the researcher adopts will largely be influenced by the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher. However, a researcher's ontology and epistemology in turn will be influenced by the values they bring to the research. These values influence what a researcher believes is the most effective way about to conduct research. A complex interaction of a researcher's moral, personal, and social values will all influence the research (Greenbank, 2003). Therefore, it is my view that researchers should adopt a reflexive approach to inquiry and be open and honest about the values that influence their research.

Reflexivity is the act of being self-aware in order to illuminate the process of knowledge construction in research and helps provide a more accurate analysis of the research data (Pillow, 2003). Reflexivity asks the researcher what they know and how

they know it. It requires the researcher to be critically aware of their self-location across a range of personal identities (e.g. gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality) and necessitates that the researcher be aware of how their background(s) and interests influence the work they do throughout the research process (Pillow, 2003). In essence, the act of being reflexive “becomes a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness” (Callaway, 1992, p.33) and helps the researcher understand how knowledge is produced in the social world (Pillow, 2003).

Researchers are often encouraged to include some biographical information and make a statement about their underlying experiences and values (Skeggs, 1994; Williams, 2000) and evaluate how their own influences the research process (Berg & Lune, 2004). Thus, knowing that my own values and experiences dictate my research interests and will likely influence my ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Greenbank, 2003), it is important for me to take a moment to reflect on own identity and describe why I am interested in my research topic. As an immigrant and dual citizen of Bangladesh and Canada who grew up in Kuwait, I was always impacted by my own global mobility and having to adjust from one culture to another. Studying at an international school and then moving to Canada to pursue post-secondary education exposed me to people from around the world with multiple nationalities, identities, and perspectives on life. Moving from country to country, which all are distinctly different from each other and having to navigate my own social, political, and cultural identity is one of the many reasons why I am doing my doctoral work in the realm of international education in an era of globalization, transnationalism and increased mobility. Having

been an international student during my first year of university in 2006, becoming a landed immigrant in 2007, and finally a Canadian citizen in 2012 required me to familiarize myself with and navigate through Canada's policies on citizenship and immigration. My relationship with Canada's citizenship and immigration laws, coupled with my own identity as a foreign student who came to Canada to study, work, live, and thrive in further contributes why my research focus examines the relationship between citizenship and immigration policy and the internationalization of Canadian universities. It is not simply a matter of chance that I chose the topic that I did. I was influenced my own background, my Masters research, along with my experiences in the summer of 2014 in the United Kingdom where I saw the impact of British immigration laws on British universities. All these experiences ultimately influenced my decision to pursue this research.

Some scholars argue that the act of being reflexive risks marginalizing the views of the research participants, can seem self-indulgent and narcissistic (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Kemmis, 1995; Patai, 1994), and may even reinforce the criticism that qualitative research is value-laden, unscientific, and thus invalid for the purposes of making objective decisions (Troyna, 1994). I however, disagree. While I can sympathize with the need to be value-neutral in research, especially given my own positivist science background from my undergraduate studies, my involvement in social science and education research demonstrates that research cannot be fully value-free and is influenced by the values and experiences a researcher brings into the research process. Thus, I firmly believe that it is important for researchers to be self-reflective and

to clearly identify how their personal experiences and values shape their thesis questions and how they conduct the research.

1.6 Ontological and Epistemological Framework

My philosophical view about society and the social world situates me within the interpretive paradigm of social theory (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) that asserts that knowledge is subjective and is an expression of how an individual substantiates their relationship with the world (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Given my interest in critically analyzing policy, the interpretive paradigm allows me to understand how various actors, policy makers and policy takers, construct policy and enacts them, respectively, based on their own individual social realities. Fundamentally, I believe that individuals create the social world at the level of their own subjective experience (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Ontologically, I identify as a nominalist, believing that the external social world is comprised of names, concepts and labels, which are used to structure reality. These names are artificial creations, which we use to navigate and negotiate the social world. Given my interest in policy and how policy is enacted, the interpretive paradigm allows me to understand the world and society as it is at the level of subjective experience (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). More specifically, I view reality as a social construction, in which people act as agents to create their own realities rather than just interpreting the social world around them. As a constructivist, I believe that the social world is created in everyday life, when individuals impose themselves on and interact with the world to create meaning that fit them best. Reality lies in the process through which it is created and thus knowledge is limited to an understanding of that process. There are many ways

that people can choose to create meaning. Language, labels, actions, routines, texts, and other symbolic actions or modes can be used by individuals to create meaning in their social world. Because the use these actions/modes will vary from person to person, the realm of social affairs is fluid, dependent on the individual, and is a symbolic construction. Thus, reality is subjective, in which individuals create shared, often multiple realities. These realities are often confined to moments in which they are actively constructed and sustained. People's realities are created in ways that help individuals make sense of their world, both to themselves and others. While individuals can work alone to create their own reality, people may also work in groups to create a shared reality that only exists as long as the group members sustain it through the various actions/modes (Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Reich, 2009). As a researcher, it is my task to understand the process of how individuals create reality and meaning in their world through the use of various modes such as action, language, text, and policy.

My discomfort with positivist views lend me to view the world as relativistic and open to interpretation. I see the world as being comprised of a network of assumptions that can only be comprehended from the point of view of the individuals who are directly involved in the issues that are being studied. In order to fully understand the social phenomenon being examined, the researcher must inhabit the perspectives of the individual who are in action and need to obtain first-hand knowledge of the subject under investigation. Because social science is subjective in nature, researchers need to understand social affairs internally rather than from the outside. While it is initially possible to be an outsider and do research on "the other," it is very important for the

“outsider” to gain as much knowledge about those they are investigating to gain a deep understanding of those individuals. Factors such as background, history, culture, and viewpoints must be understood such that the researcher can get close to the participants they wish to examine and report the interpretations of their study that most accurately represents the individuals’ experiences. The hope is that the subject will unfold their views, nature, and characteristic during the research (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). While findings from the interpretive paradigm will not allow me or anyone else to make sweeping generalizations about the social world, they can, however, provide significant and insightful knowledge about the specific social aspect being examined (Morgan & Smircich, 1980).

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study consists of 10 chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study, describes the context in which the study was done, presents the research questions, and presents the researcher’s ontology, epistemology, and positionality. Chapter 2 sets the Canadian context with respect to Canadian federalism and Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies. In particular, this chapter outlines the changes to Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies, explains the Express Entry immigration pathways, and highlights the historic and current significance of international students to Canada. Chapter 3 provides a thorough review of the literature relevant to this study, including a review of higher education internationalization in our neoliberal globalized world. The chapter also presents literature on international students in Canada and the impact of tightening immigration controls on higher education internationalization in other countries.

Chapter 4 outlines my theoretical framework. In this chapter, I explain my reasoning for using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) and share how a critical-sociomaterial framework helped me answer my research questions. Chapter 5 begins by describing the advantages of conducting qualitative research and my reasoning for using an instrumental case study approach. In this methods and methodology chapter, I also share where I conducted my study, what policies I looked at, and who I interviewed.

Chapter 6, 7, and 8 present the data collected from this study. Chapter 6 identifies the actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies both the governmental and institutional levels. Chapter 7 discusses the impact of citizenship and immigration policies on the university, the university administrators and staff, and how federal policies impact their ability to internationalize the university. Chapter 8 shares the impact of citizenship and immigration policies on international graduate students and presents the opportunities and challenges presented to them by Canada's immigration pathways.

Chapter 9 begins with a critical discussion of the research findings. By tracing the connections between human and non-human actors, the analysis introduces three complex, intertwined, and at times competing policy assemblages. These assemblages explain the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. By using ANT to critically examine policies, the analysis reveals how certain actor-networks, through their connections, allows the federal government to control and regulate functions of the university and

redefines the power relations between the university and the federal government.

Emphasis is placed on the role that special interest groups such as the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and international students play in cementing the role of the federal government as a powerful actor in Canadian public policy. The chapter also discusses how federal citizenship and immigration policy assemblages and actor-networks changes and redefines the role of the university as an agent of immigration.

Last, Chapter 10 summarizes the findings, presents the significance and limitations of the study, and presents recommendations for policy and future studies on this subject. The thesis ends with a list of the sources used to inform this study along with a set of complementary appendices. My most recent curriculum vitae is also attached to the end of this thesis.

1.8 Summary

In our interconnected, mobile, and globalized world, citizenship and immigration policies will continue to affect higher education. This study seeks understand the sociomaterial relationships between federal policies on citizenship and immigration and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. Its purpose it to identify the human and non-human actors assembled around these policies and understand how these policies impact university administrators, international students, and the academy. Last, this research uncovers the relationships between the federal government and the university and how federal policies regulate the role of the university vis-à-vis immigration. In the next chapter, I set the Canadian context by discussing historic and contemporary changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration

laws. In Chapter 2, I also highlight the significance of international students to Canadian higher education and briefly share the immigration barriers they face.

Chapter 2: Setting the Canadian Context

2.1 Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief review of the various topics and issues related to my doctoral research into the relationship between federal citizenship and immigration policy and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. As a nation of migrants, Canada's past citizenship and immigration policies since Confederation in 1867 have shaped its present demography (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). Today, Canada is faced with the realities of the modern world. Globalization, increased global competition, our interconnected knowledge-based economies, and neoliberal perspectives on education means that now, more than ever, countries around the world are focusing on internationalizing their higher education sectors as a means to attract the best and brightest talent from around the world (Arambewela, 2010; Maringe, Foskett, & Woodfield, 2013; Guimaraes-losif, 2011; Landorf, 2009). Thus, in order to understand how citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies are connected, it is important to understand how these policies have operated and continue to operate in the Canadian context.

2.2 Citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization in Canada

While internationalization is defined, conceptualized, prioritized, and enacted differently under different contexts, the fact remains that increasing the numbers of international students is still a top priority for universities. There is no denying that internationalization within higher education is much more than just international student recruitment (Knight 2004, 2007; Stier, 2004). However, time and time again, we

see that international student recruitment and retention is a top policy priority for universities and increasingly for national/federal governments. Studies on international students in Canada and abroad portray them not just as full-fee paying students but also potential skilled migrants needed to advance the national economy and society (AUCC, 2014). International students on the other hand view their studies abroad as an opportunity to advance their knowledge and seek out universities abroad to obtain advanced degrees, as exemplified by the rising numbers of mobile students across the world and in Canada (Arthur & Flynn, 2011; Ortiz & Choudaha, 2014; Humphries et al., 2013). It is no wonder that within Canada's federal internationalization strategy, the recruitment of international students is one of the main objectives (Government of Canada, 2014).

However, changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration laws under Harper's Conservative government in 2014, along with changes to federal programs that would provide international students a path to permanent residency and ultimately Canadian citizenship upon graduation, have raised questions as to how these policy changes relate to the internationalization goals of universities and the Canadian federal government. Trends from Canada's history illustrate a process of centralization and decentralization of Canada's immigration policies at the federal level (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). However, it became clear that the Conservative federal government from 2014 to 2016 wanted tighter restrictions over immigration into Canada, more federal say in what kinds of immigrants come into Canada and who can stay, and greater centralization of the immigration and citizenship process through the Express Entry pathways.

Specifically, we see the Canadian government and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)¹ using audit and accountability measures to regulate the flow and activities of international students in and out of Canadian universities. Recent changes to and enforcement of section 91 of *the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA, 2001) now makes it a crime for unregulated student advisors in universities to provide international students advice on immigration matters. The IRPA requires foreign students to go to the CIC website for information on ways to immigrate to Canada and obtain Canadian citizenship. Alternatively, international students can seek consultations from fee-charging immigration lawyers or consultants who may be aware of immigration and citizenship regulations but may not be aware of study/work permit rules (Tamburri, 2013b). These regulations make it more challenging for international students to seek appropriate information on immigration matters. While federal and university internationalization policy gives precedence to attracting and retaining the brightest faculty and students to/in Canada, restrictive immigration and citizenship policies may make Canada an unattractive place to study (Bauder, 2014) and turn away talented potential migrants from staying in Canada and contributing to Canada's economy.

While some scholars (de Wit, 2011a; 2012) are starting to hypothesize how national attitudes and policies on citizenship and immigration may impact the internationalization of European universities, we know very little about how Canada's federal policies on citizenship and immigration relates to internationalization within our

¹ During the course of this research, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) changed its name to Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) after the 2015 Canadian federal election. Because all my participants referred to Citizenship and Immigration Canada as CIC and because IRCC website still uses CIC in its web address, I will continue to use CIC through my thesis.

own borders. Thus it is only imperative that more research is done on how policy aligns (or misaligns) between the federal, provincial, and institutional levels to better understand how federal citizenship and immigration policies relate to the internationalization aspirations of universities in Canada. Because federal level policies do affect internationalization efforts at provincial universities, there is a possibility that “national policies regarding visas and immigration may thwart institutional efforts to recruit international students” (Hénard, Diamond, & Roseveare, 2012, p.10), and jeopardize the internationalization of higher education.

The 2015 elections and the Liberal government’s ascent as the head of the Canadian federal government brought new hope and promise. As part of their election platform, the Liberals promised to repeal restrictive elements of *Bill C-24* and give international students a time credit towards their citizenship application for years they spent studying in Canada. There were also plans to review the Express Entry Program, the pathway used by most international student to access permanent residency in Canada post graduation. The former Liberal citizenship and immigration minister, John McCallum, had also encouraged dialogue between the provincial and federal governments on immigration issues (Zilio. M & Chiose, 2016; Chiose, 2016; Keung, 2016). As of November 19, 2016, the Liberal government updated regulations pertaining to the Express Entry and federal immigration policies that undid the restrictions set by the Conservative government and made it easier for international students to obtain permanent residency (Zilio, 2016). It is important to note that the data in this study was collected roughly five months prior to the 2015 federal elections. While the responses

represent attitudes towards the Conservative government's policies, the findings nevertheless illuminates the complex, messy, and strongly relevant relationships between citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies in Canada.

2.3 Canadian Federalism, Citizenship and Immigration, and Recent Changes

Understanding Canadian governance and particularly Canadian federalism is crucial to this research. In this section, I will first discuss the divide between the federal and provincial/territorial governments within Canada, followed by a historical account of how citizenship and immigration policy within Canada has changed since Canada became an independent country. Doing so will provide a better understanding of the recent changes to Canadian citizenship and immigration policies and how they can potentially crisscross into provincial and institutional jurisdiction, especially with respect to the internationalization of post-secondary institutions.

2.3.1 Canadian federalism and the constitutional division of responsibilities.

Describing higher education in Canada is challenging because it involves an understanding of what makes Canada unique as a nation. Canada's history, geography, language, culture, and the relationship between Canada's federal and provincial/territorial governments all impact how higher education operates in the country. Because of the jurisdictional divide between the provincial and federal governments in Canada, there is no national system of education and/or higher education. Instead, Canada has a network of higher education systems in which each province oversees its institutions of higher education through its own policies and

practices (Jones, 2012). Before we begin talking about Canada's immigration policies and its perspectives on higher education, it is important to discuss the nature of Canadian federalism and how citizenship and immigration along with higher education policy is divided between the federal government and the provinces, respectively.

Canada is a federal constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy made up of three autonomous territories and ten partially self-governing provinces. While there is no universally accepted definition of federalism, the very nature of Canada as a federal state influences its policy towards immigration, citizenship, and higher education. "Canada has a federal system of government, which means it has a lot of governments" (Smith, 2004, p.7). From provincial and territorial governments to local and municipal authorities, to Aboriginal and the federal government, Canadian federalism defines Canada and impacts the country's democratic life (Smith, 2004). In a federal state like Canada," there is a division of powers between one general and several regional authorities, each of which, in its own sphere, is co-ordinate with the others, and each of which acts directly on the people through its own administrative agencies" (Birch, 1955, p.306).

Under the British North America Act of 1867 that formed the core of the Canadian Constitution and established the Dominion of Canada, powers and responsibilities were divided between the federal and provincial governments. Section 93 of the Constitution Act of 1867 gives the provinces the sole authority and responsibility to make laws regarding education in the province whereas section 91 of the Constitution Act gives the federal government authority over national security and

defence, foreign affairs, citizenship and immigration, and other matters of national interest (*Constitution Act*, 1982, s 91-93; Shanahan & Jones, 2007; Jones, 2012). With respect to education, specific members of the provincial/territorial government's cabinet are assigned responsibility for post-secondary education (Jones, 2012). As such, the provinces are responsible for developing, implementing, regulating, and coordinating legislation and support for colleges and universities (Shanahan & Jones, 2007).

Historically, the federal government has played a key role in shaping citizenship and immigration policy in Canada (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010) whereas it did not have a direct role in regulating post-secondary education in the country (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). However, despite the separation of the responsibilities, the Canadian federal government is engaged with a variety of policy areas that intersect with the Canadian post-secondary education. These include the federal transfer of payments to support post-secondary education in the provinces, skills and research development, student financial assistance (Shanahan & Jones, 2007) and the education of the Canadian armed forces and the Aboriginal peoples of Canada (Cameron, 2012). Thus, it is clear that "higher education is never far below the surface of Canadian federalism. Indeed, to a very large extent the politics of higher education in Canada are the politics of federalism," reflecting a continuous dialogue between the federal and provincial governments (Cameron, 1992, p.47).

The same can be said about Canada's immigration policy, in which both the federal and provincial/territorial governments are in constant negotiation about

citizenship and immigration. While the federal government has primary jurisdiction towards Canadian citizenship and immigration policy, it works closely with the provincial and territorial governments to shape policies around who can come into the country and who can stay (Banting, 2011; Knowles, 1997; Makarenko, 2010). Teasing apart this relationship along the interplay between federal citizenship and immigration policy and institutional internationalization goals is at the heart of this dissertation.

2.3.2 A brief history of Canadian citizenship and immigration policies.

Much like higher education, Canada's social, political, and economic history has influenced Canada's immigration policy throughout the decades. Like many other settler nations, Canada has been heavily shaped by immigration (Ramos, 2013). Canada today is comprised of three groups of people. It consists of First-Nations/Aboriginal people, the British and the French who colonized Canada and regard themselves as the founders of the Canadian society, and immigrants from outside England and France (Dewing & Leman, 2009). Present day Canada has one of the highest immigration rates in the world; 19.8% of population is foreign born (Statistics Canada, 2006b). However, that was not always the case.

After the Canadian Confederation that forged the new country, immigration policy formed one of the cornerstones of Canada. As an independent and prosperous nation, Canada needed a larger population to grow and develop economically and socially (Whitaker, 1991). Constitutionally, Canadian immigration policy is stipulated as a concurrent power shared between the federal government and the provinces of Canada (Makarenko, 2010). Historically, the federal government held jurisdiction over the

immigration process and allowed select immigrants to enter Canada and naturalize. Those viewed undesirable were barred from entering the country, were not allowed to naturalize, and/or deported from the country. As such, Canada historically sought to maintain its gendered, imperialist, and racist hierarchies through its immigration policies since the establishment of the Immigration Act of 1869 (Sharma, 2006; Bannerji, 2000).

Only in the early 1900s were non-traditional groups allowed to immigrate into Canada. Despite being allowed to come into the country, Canada's immigration policy heavily advantaged European immigrants by giving them preferential entry rights. After a series of events such as the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, women's rights movements and feminist discourse of diversity politics, the struggles of the Aboriginal community in Canada, and an increased number of immigrants from non-traditional sources, Canada changed its immigration policies during the 1960s (Brooks, 2007). By 1961, Canadians of British origin made up 44% of population, whereas 53% accounted for people of other European origins. Only 3% of the Canadian population was made up of non-Europeans (Basavarajappa & Ram 2008). Before the establishment of the points system in 1967, Canadian immigration policy was set to maintain the European/English dominance of the country (Boyd & Vickers, 2000). However, after introduction of points system, Canada became more racially and ethnically diverse (Basavarajappa & Ram 2008; Boyd & Vickers 2000; Reitz & Bannerjee, 2007).² By 2006, Canadians of English decent made

² The point system assigned potential immigrants a score based on nine categories that included the applicant's employment opportunities in Canada, presence of relatives in Canada, knowledge of French or English, offer of employment, occupational skill and demand, educational and professional background, and personal character. Applicants who scored 50 out of 100 points were admitted as independent immigrants (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010).

up 21% of the population whereas 16.2% of Canada's population constituted visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2006a).

While foreigners have been coming to Canada for centuries, I will be predominantly focusing on the history of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies since the creation of the Canadian federation on July 1, 1867 (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). It is after this period that Canada adopted a series of policies that encouraged immigration into the young nation and populated its vast provinces and territories with people from the east to the west. The policies demonstrated how the federal government has always had a role in dictating who got in, who was barred at the gates, and who was evicted from the country. An understanding of the policies that shaped Canadian immigration and citizenship is fundamental in understanding the federal government's role in citizenship and immigration in Canada and how these policies intersect with the aspirations of the provinces and the institutions of higher education within them.

2.3.3 Canadian immigration policy in the 1990s and the early 21st century.

During the 1990s, Canada shifted away from seeking immigrants to fill occupations shortages to providing high levels of human capital to meet Canada's labour market needs for the long term. Thus, the points system was adjusted to meet Canada's reformed immigration objectives (Ferrer, Picot, & Riddell, 2014). As a result, from 1995 to 2008, the Canadian immigration policy facilitated the entry of about 240,000 - 250,000 immigrants into Canada annually (Ramos, 2013; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). As such, Canada maintained one of the highest immigration rates in the industrialized

world. However, many questioned Canada's immigration policy's ability to attract individuals needed for Canada's economy and if these individuals would be able to integrate adequately into Canadian society. Some also questioned the ability of the policy to attract legitimate refugees who may need Canada's protection. The system was plagued with a backlog of immigration requests, overworked immigration officers, unclear assessment criteria, and inconsistent decisions making. These setbacks hindered Canada's ability to maximize the social and economic benefits of immigration.

Furthermore, the attacks on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 forced Canada to revisit its immigration policy to enhance Canada's national security. While not entirely shaped by the attacks of 9/11, in 2002 Canada introduced the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act [IRPA] (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). The new and tighter IRPA replaced the Immigration Act of 1976 and became the primary piece of federal legislation regulating immigration into Canada in 2002 (IRPA, 2001).

During the mid-2000s, Canada rebalanced its focus on immigration due to declining economic outcomes among entering immigrants and the need to address the labour needs of different regions within Canada. The government also renewed its interest in meeting short-term labour needs. Thus, the IRPA helped Canada address its demographic, social, and economic objectives, facilitated family reunification, and oversaw the protection of refugees (Ferrer, Picot, & Riddell, 2014). Among many things, the new legislation also placed greater emphasis on education and skills and gave immigration officers the authority to discern a potential immigrant's ability to adapt to life in Canada (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). It came clear that in the new millennium,

Canada's focus shifted from meeting short-term labour requirements to concentrating on Canada's long-term labour needs. Therefore, the country's renewed citizenship and immigration policies rewarded potential immigrants on their educational background, professional work experience, and language proficiency in English and/or French when considering immigrants for entry into Canada. Following the implementation of the IRPA, the federal government implemented a series of new immigrant programs. These included the Canadian Experience Class, the Provincial Nominee Program, Ministerial Instructions, and the Federal Skilled Trades program to help facilitate entry into Canada for skilled migrants who would be able to contribute to the Canadian labour market (Ferrer, Picot, & Riddell, 2014).

The IRPA also gave the government the right to deny admission to certain individuals or remove them if they are a threat to national security. The Minister of Immigration and Citizenship was also given increased authority to issue guidelines to immigration officers as to which immigration applications would receive priority over others. While business leaders commended the move, many feared that the new guidelines would result in less transparency in the immigration process and favour economic immigrants over family members and those seeking immigration on compassionate and humanitarian grounds (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010).

Current Canadian immigration policy highlights three main categories of immigrants: economic, family class, and refugee (Mowat Centre, 2014). In Canada, three departments within the federal government oversee the immigration process. First, Citizenship and Immigration Canada oversees permanent and temporary immigration

into Canada, facilitates the integration of permanent residents, and regulates Canadian citizenship. Second, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada oversees humanitarian claims made by refugees fleeing other countries and decides if they are eligible to enter Canada as refugees. Last, the Canadian Border Service Agency (CBSA) is responsible for overseeing Canada's borders and detains and/or deports those who are seen as a threat to Canadian security or those who are in Canada illegally. With the assistance of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Security Intelligence Services (CSIS), the CBSA keeps a tight control of who enters and/or leaves Canada (Bhuyan, 2012).

2.3.4 Intersection of the federal and provincial governments in immigration policy and recent changes.

Having briefly discussed the history of and trends in Canadian immigration policy, we need to turn our attention to the intersection of the federal and provincial government in regulating immigration. In addition to the three federal departments, the federal government also collaborates with provinces to attract immigrants into Canada. As mentioned earlier, there is a partition of responsibility when it comes to immigration in Canada. The federal government is responsible for immigration policy and dictates who can or cannot come into the country whereas the provincial and municipal governments are held responsible to immigrant integration into Canadian society (Boushey & Luedtke, 2006). Often, Canada has seesawed between a decentralized and centralized approach to immigration. Bilateral agreements between the provincial and federal governments have decentralized the immigrant integration policy/process and

led to policy incoherence (Banting, 2011). One such example of this policy incoherence can be exemplified by the Provincial Nominee Program within Ontario. Under the Provincial Nominee Program, provinces are allowed to select immigrants they want for the province from a pool of temporary foreign workers living under their provincial jurisdiction. Due to political differences between the province and the Conservative federal government, the Ontario government has sought greater control over immigration. The province of Ontario fears the failure of the federal government to see eye-to-eye on their shared responsibilities and interests, opting to play politics at the expense of new immigrants to Ontario (Keung, 2011).

During the first decade of the 21st century, Ontario has received a declining percentage of immigrants to Canada. In 2001, 59% of immigrants to Canada settled in Ontario. That number had declined to about 40%. The recent changes to the Federal government's rule changes have reduced immigration to Ontario by 33%. The federal government has reduced the number of new economic immigrants who come into Canada through the Federal Skilled Worker Program (that uses the point-based system). A new restriction stipulating that new immigrants can only come from around two-dozen occupations valuable to the resource sector in Alberta and Saskatchewan has also exacerbated the pressures on Ontario. To replace the Federal Skilled Workers program, the federal government introduced the Provincial Nominee Program. While the number of immigrant spots has increased, Ontario only receives 5% of those allocated by the federal government as a result of lower number of people who come into Ontario economic immigrants. Thus, the province wants greater control over immigration in

order to ensure that the province has enough immigrants to support Ontario's labour force (Mowat Centre, 2014).

2.3.5 Recent changes to Canadian immigration: Bill C-24 and Canadian Citizenship Act.

Along with changes to the CEC, over the summer of 2014, the Canadian federal government also proposed, approved, and passed legislation that reformed Canada's *Citizenship Act* (Citizenship Act, 1985). Bill C-24 was one of the first robust updates to Canada's citizenship laws in a generation (Wingrove, 2014a) and makes Canadian citizenship harder to get and easier to lose (Adams, Macklin, & Omidvar, 2014; Meurrens, 2014). Aimed at addressing the many problems facing the Canadian immigration system (The Globe and Mail, 2014a), Bill C-24, entitled the *Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act* received final passage and Royal Assent on June 19th, 2014. Chris Alexander, Canada's Citizenship and Immigration Minister, claims that the changes are aimed at reinforcing the "value of citizenship" by encouraging new Canadians to "take part in the democratic life, economic potential and the rich cultural traditions of Canada." The Minister claims that the amendments to the *Citizenship Act* will ensure that naturalized citizens are "better prepared to assume the responsibilities of citizenship," foster "a strong attachment to Canada," and better prepare new citizens for "full participation" throughout the country (Government of Canada, 2014a, para. 2).

The current overhaul of citizenship laws dates back to 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict when the Conservative government oversaw the evacuation of Lebanese-born Canadian citizens who allegedly never lived in Canada and then returned to Lebanon as

the conflict ended. It is then that the federal Conservative government coined the term “Canadians of convenience” that prompted an evaluation of Canada’s citizenship laws by Prime Minister Harper’s government. Around that time in 2009, the federal government also passed legislation that stipulated that first-generation Canadian citizens would no longer be able to pass down citizenship to children born outside of Canada (Meurrens, 2014).

The changes to the *Citizenship Act* gives the Citizenship and Immigration Minister more power to strip naturalized Canadian citizens of their citizenship if they are convicted of terrorism, armed conflict, treason, and spying for the enemy in a time of war. It is important to emphasize that the only naturalized citizens, immigrants to Canada, and/or individuals who are born in Canada and hold citizenship of another country would be subject to nullification of their Canadian citizenship (The Globe and Mail, 2014b; Wingrove, 2014b). The law also boosts penalties for those who acquire citizenship through fraudulent means, resulting in \$100,000 in fines and/or five years in prison (Wingrove, 2014a/b). In addition to stricter fines and penalties, the law devolves greater power to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to unilaterally grant and/or revoke citizenship without a court hearing for individuals who fraudulently acquired citizenship. The reformed law also allows the federal government to play a more central role in regulating citizenship in which citizenship officers will do most of the work instead of citizenship judges, who now largely only play a ceremonial role in the citizenship process (Wingrove, 2014b). While the federal government views the changes as a step towards safeguarding Canadian citizenship, critics of the new legislation argue

that the law creates two-tiers of citizenship; those who are born in Canada and others who are naturalized and legally treats these groups differently if they commit a serious crime (Meurrens, 2014; The Globe and Mail, 2014a).

For those wishing to naturalize as Canadian citizens, changes to the *Citizenship Act* would also require longer residency in Canada (Wingrove, 2014b) and increased the required time of stay in Canada from three out of five years to four out of six years. The aspiring citizen would also have to live in Canada for 183 days or more per year (Meurrens, 2014), be physically present for at least six months of the years which they count towards qualifying for citizenship, file taxes in Canada, be able to speak either English and/or French if they are between 14-64 years of age, (The Globe and Mail, 2014a) and declare their intent to stay in Canada after attaining citizenship (Meurrens, 2014; Wingrove, 2014a/b).

While on the surface the law seeks to reduce the numbers of “Canadians of convenience,” and reduce fraudulent citizenship claims, the new regulations will have a greater impact on international students studying in Canada who eventually want to transition into Canadian citizens. Thus, the law makes it difficult for them to become full members of the Canadian citizenry. For example, even though the residency requirement is increased to four years, it does not factor in the one to three years of processing time after a citizenship application is submitted. Under the combined reforms of the CEC and the *Citizenship Act*, foreign students in Canada will first need to find suitable employment and work for a year after graduation. For international students, permanent residency applications can take an additional year to process.

However, due to the reforms of the *Citizenship Act*, CIC will no longer count the number of years an international student spends in Canada studying (previously, half of the time spent in Canada as a foreign student counted towards the residency requirement). Neither will time spent outside of Canada during permanent residency count towards the residency requirements for international students, lengthening the time it takes for foreign students to gain Canadian citizenship and potentially hindering international students' career advancement (Adams, Macklin, & Omidvar, 2014; Bécharde et al., 2014; Meurrens, 2014). With citizenship applications taking an average of two years to be processed, it will take international students anywhere from nine to eleven years to become Canadian citizens from the time they began their studies in Canada. Thus, despite paying taxes to the Canadian government and participating in Canadian life during their study, the *Citizenship Act* makes attaining citizenship a much lengthier process for foreign students (Adams, Macklin, & Omidvar, 2014).

2.4 Pathways to Permanent Residency: From international student, to permanent resident, to Canadian citizen.

One of the most popular ways to transition from international student to permanent resident is through Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC) Express Entry program. There are three pathways under Express Entry that international students are eligible for. These include: (1) the Canadian Experience Class Program (CEC); (2) the Federal Skilled Workers Program (FSWP); and (3) the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) [see Figure 2.1]. Some of these categories require prior Canadian work experience. Completing an Express Entry profile is required to immigrate to Canada permanently as

a skilled worker. The Express Entry operates as a management tool for the pathways listed above and creates a pool of candidates for immigration to Canada. Only candidates who have ranked sufficiently high enough on the “Comprehensive Ranking System” will be sent an invitation to apply for permanent residency. Candidates who are invited to apply for permanent residency must submit an application to Citizenship and Immigration Canada within 60 days of the invitation. Citizenship and Immigration Canada is committed to process application within six months or less (CIC, 2015a).

Many pathways to permanent residency require graduates to have a job in order to be eligible. In order to work in Canada, individuals need to apply for the Post Graduation Work Permit Program [PGWPP] (CIC, 2016a). The program “allows students who have graduated from a participating Canadian post-secondary institution to gain valuable Canadian work experience. Skilled Canadian work experience gained through the PGWPP helps graduates qualify for permanent residence in Canada through Express Entry” (CIC, 2016c, para. 2).

The work permit can only be issued for the length of the study program (minimum of 8 months) and up to a maximum of three years. For example, a Master’s student who completed a two-year program will get a work permit for two years whereas a PhD student who completed a four-year program will get three year work permit (CIC, 2016c). Citizenship and Immigration Canada claims that once a student has sufficient work experience in Canada, they may be eligible for the various immigration programs, including the CEC, FSWP, and PNP (CIC, 2016c).

The Canadian Experience Class (CEC) program is one of the pathways to Canadian permanent residency under the Express Entry program. The program gives precedence to individuals who have Canadian work experience. In order to qualify, individuals must have “at least 12 months of full-time (or an equal amount in part-time) skilled work experience in Canada in the three years before you apply” (CIC, 2015b, “Minimum requirements”). The work must relate to managerial jobs, professional jobs, and/or technical jobs and skilled trades designated under the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the work experience must be at least 12 months of full-time work, which amounts to 1560 hours (= 30 hours/week for 12 months). It is the applicant’s responsibility to demonstrate that they carried out the duties “set out in the lead statement of the occupational description in the NOC, including all the essential duties and most of the main duties listed” (CIC, 2015b, “Part Time”). Applicants who fail to demonstrate that their experience meets the description in the NOC will be rejected.

Individuals also must have gained that experience with “proper authorization.” They also need to possess adequate French and/or English language skills in speaking, reading, writing, and listening for the job. Only language tests approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada will be accepted as proof of language proficiency. Once the language test has been evaluated, the test scores must be included in the candidate’s Express Entry profile. Test scores cannot be more than two years old on the day the candidate applies for permanent residence. While education is not a requirement for the Canadian Experience Class, individuals can get points if they have Canadian educational

experience/diplomas/certificates or if they have certified foreign credentials, and have their prior foreign education assessed through the Educational Credential Assessment (ECA) (CIC, 2015b).

The Federal Skilled Workers Program is another pathway under the Express Entry system that gives precedence to individuals who have been working in Canada prior to their application for permanent residence. Applicants must demonstrate skilled work experience in order to be eligible. Criteria for eligibility includes at least one full year (1560 hours at 30 hours per week) continuous full-time work or equal amounts of work in part time. The work must also be paid work. As such, volunteer work and unpaid internships do not count. Applications must be in the same job within the last 10 years, and be doing managerial jobs, professional jobs, and/or technical jobs and skilled trades designated under the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC) (CIC, 2015c).

As always, candidates must demonstrate proof of English and/or French language ability and provide test results that are no more than two years old from language tests approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC, 2015c). However, unlike the CEC, educational credentials are a requirement for FSWP eligibility. Applicants must have Canadian educational experience/diplomas/certificates or have certified foreign credentials, and have their prior foreign education assessed through the Educational Credential Assessment (ECA) (CIC, 2015c).

Once the applicant has met the minimum requirements outlined above, Citizenship and Immigration Canada will assess each application under six selection factors to assign each applicant points. The selection factors are: (1) English and/or

French language skills, (2) education, (3) work experience, (4) applicant's age, (5) whether or not the applicant has a valid job offer, (6) applicants "adaptability (how well are you are likely to settle here)." The total number of points an individual can get is a 100 based on all the assessment criteria. Marks are only disclosed if an individual qualifies for the Express Entry pool. The current pass mark is 67 points (CIC, 2015c).

Unless applicants are currently able to legally work in Canada and have a valid job offer from an employer in Canada, applicants have to demonstrate that they have adequate funds to support themselves and/or their family. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, a single individual must have \$12,164 whereas a couple must have \$15,143 to be eligible. Those with children and/or other dependants must have more funds. Much like the CEC, applicants to the FSWP must plan to live outside of Quebec (CIC, 2015c; 2016d).

2.4.1 Express Entry: The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP).

The Provincial Nominee Program allows Canadian provinces and territories to select skilled individuals to work in their respective provinces and territories. The selection criteria are dependent on each province or territory, is different if individuals "apply through the paper-based (non-Express Entry streams) or Express Entry (Express Entry streams) process" (CIC, 2015h, "Eligibility Criteria"). Those applying for the PNP through the Express Entry need to fulfill the minimum requirements of a province or territory's Express Entry PNP stream, be nominated under the PNP, and create an Express Entry profile and demonstrate that they meet the minimum criteria for Express

Entry, including the requirements of one of the immigration programs it covers (CIC, 2015e).

In Ontario where I conducted my study, an international student can apply under the Ontario Immigration Nominee Program (OINP). The international student must have a permanent and full time job offer in a highly skilled occupation under the NOC O, A, or B to apply. Ontario Immigration also stipulates that a full time position consists of 1560 hours of paid employment within a 12 month period. Seasonal and part-time employees, subcontractors, independent contractors, business owners, agency workers, and/or employees who work from or virtually to serve an employer are not eligible for the nomination program (Ontario Immigration, 2015a). The job offer must also meet the entry-level wage levels in Ontario for that occupation. Only international students who have graduated from a Master's or a PhD degree from an Ontario university can apply without a job offer (Ontario Immigration, 2015b/c).

Additionally, international students must "have graduated from or have met the requirements of a full-time degree or diploma program at an eligible publicly-funded Canadian college or university that is at least two (2) years in length" (Ontario Immigration, 2015a, "Who can apply?").

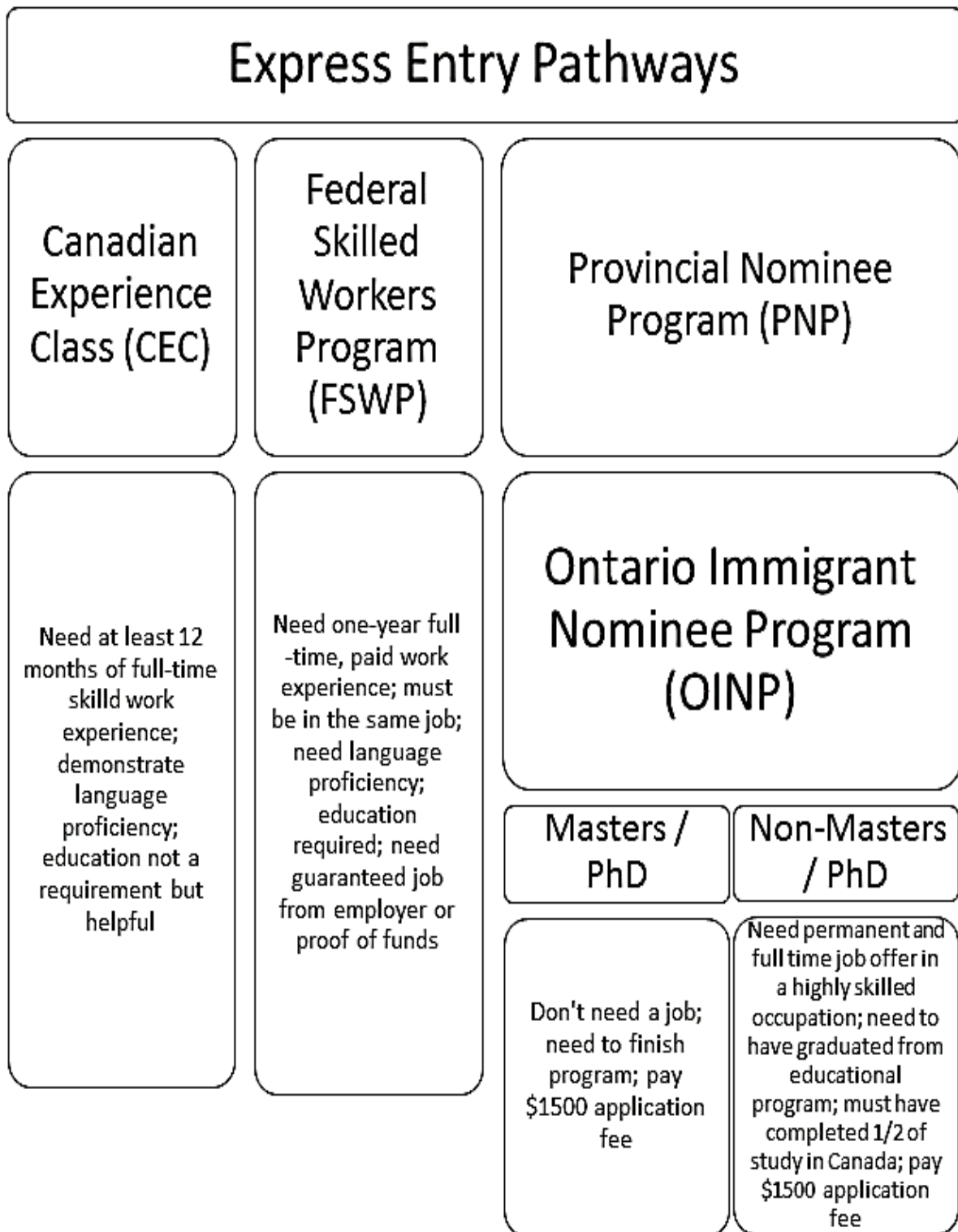


Figure 2.1: Express Entry Pathways
 These are the three most common pathways used by international students within CIC's Express Entry program. These include the Canadian Experience Class (CEC), the Federal Skilled Workers Program (FSWP), and the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Ontario's PNP is called the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP) that has dedicated pathways for applicants who graduate degrees from Canadian institutions of higher education.

Students can also graduate from “a one year post-graduate certificate program, which requires a previous degree in order to qualify” (Ontario Immigration, 2015a; “Who can apply?”). Furthermore, the student must “have completed at least half of their studies in Canada” and apply within two years of their graduation (Ontario Immigration, 2015a, “Who can apply?”). It is important to note that a potential applicant must have met all the degree requirements of their respective program at the time of application. Students cannot apply in the final semester of their studies (Ontario Immigration, 2015a). All applications (for both Master’s and PhD graduates) have a \$1500 fee (Ontario Immigration, 2016a).

Once an applicant has been nominated, they receive a Letter of Nomination along with the applicant’s (now nominee) Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP) Certificate. Only after that can the nominee apply to CIC. The nominee must apply to CIC within six months of being nominated by OINP. In the application to CIC, “the nominee must include a copy of the Letter of Nomination and a copy of the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP) Confirmation of Nomination document on top of the Permanent Residency Application submitted to CIC” (Ontario Immigration, 2015d, “If you are nominated”). Those denied a nomination can have the decision reconsidered by Ontario Immigration. However, the reconsideration decision is final. If applicants fail to secure a nomination, they can apply again with the applicable processing fees for the new application (Ontario Immigration, 2015d).

2.4.2 Comprehensive Ranking System.

The Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) is a tool that is used by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to assess and rank a potential candidate's profile within the Express Entry Pool. The CRS' ranking process assesses a candidate's human capital (i.e. skills, prior work experience, English and/or French language ability, education), factors associated with spouse or common-law, if applicable (i.e. partner's language skills, education, etc.), and skills transferability. An extra 600 points are awarded to candidates who have a job offer from an employer or if they are nominated by the province under the PNP. The federal government argues that these are the major factors that impact a potential immigrant's economic success in Canada.

The total number of points a candidate can get is 1200 (CIC, 2015a). There is no specific threshold that guarantees an invitation to apply for permanent residency. The threshold fluctuates from draw cycle to draw cycle. Once the candidates within the Express Entry pool are ranked, CIC will invite the highest ranked candidates to apply for permanent residency through "rounds of invitation" (CIC, 2015e). Every round will have a set of instructions to guide eligible candidates to apply for permanent residency. These instructions will include the date and time of the round of invitation, the number of candidates that will get an invitation to apply (ITA), and the specific immigration programs under which to apply (if applicable). If no specific immigration program is highlighted in the invitation to apply, then the invitations will be only based on the Comprehensive Ranking System score (CIC, 2016b)

It is important to note that candidates who have a job offer will automatically get enough points to be ranked high enough to get an invitation to apply. CIC believes that the goal of Express Entry is to create a greater alignment between immigration and the job market and “ensure that Canada’s economic and labour market needs are met” (CIC, 2015e, “How does the express entry benefit Canada?”).

Before the file is processed however, the candidate’s employer will need to ensure that the job offer is supported by the Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) to ensure that the employer has first tried to find a Canadian for the job (CIC, 2015a). A positive LMIA (sometimes called a “confirmation letter”) demonstrates that there is a need for a foreign worker to fill a job that no Canadian worker is available to do. The LMIA is granted through Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) and is sometimes needed (Government of Canada, 2016). People already working in Canada who have applied for permanent residence through the Federal Skilled Workers Program or the Federal Skilled Trades Program or the Canadian Experience Class program are exempt from requiring a LMIA (CIC, 2015g).

2.4.3 After Express Entry: What to expect.

After the Express Entry file has been completed by an applicant, Citizenship and Immigration Canada will verify that the application has been submitted correctly, that fees have been paid, all requirements have been met, and that all supporting documents are included. The federal government claims to have all applications processed within six months or less (CIC, 2015d). Faster processing times was one of the rationales behind introducing the Express Entry program. There is no fee to apply to the Express Entry

and/or create a profile. Once an applicant has been invited to apply for permanent residence and the applicant submits an application, there is a processing fee of \$550. Once the application has been approved, the applicant can pay \$490 “Right to Permanent Residence Fee” for themselves and each member of their family (if applicable) to become permanent residents of Canada (CIC, 2015e/f).

2.5 International students: A key player in the internationalization of higher education in Canada

One group directly affected by both the internationalization of higher education and citizenship and immigration policies in Canada are international students. The mobility of students between countries is a key priority for the internationalization of higher education according to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. According to their report, by 2007, international students in Canada made up approximately 7% of full-time undergraduate students and 20% of all graduates students in the country (AUCC, 2007b).

“In a way [foreign students] are the ideal immigrants if you assume the perspective that you want immigrants who produce economic benefits for Canada, they are ready to enter the labour market and start paying taxes” (Tamburri, 2013a, para. 7). Former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Jason Kenny, epitomizes the potential contributions of international students to Canada by stating that the federal government is “working hard to attract and retain the best and brightest students from around the world,” (CIC News, 2012, para. 5). Therefore, some scholars argue that international students in Canada operate as a unique group of migrants. As temporary immigrants,

they arrive in Canada to study, advance their careers, and at times seek permanent residency and Canadian citizenship to continue to live and work in the country (Arthur & Flynn, 2011). As such, Canada's immigration policies are linked to Canada's endeavour to be part of the new global economy, specializing in knowledge, information, and technology (Chen, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2005). This reality necessitates examining how Canada's citizenship and immigration laws intersect with attracting and retaining international student along with advancing the internationalization aspirations of Canada's universities. In Chapter 3, as part of my literature review, I will talk more about international student mobility in our globalized age. For now, I will focus on the history of international students in Canadian universities, the role of international students in Canada, and some of their hopes and rationales are for studying abroad.

2.5.1 Historical perspectives of international education in Canada.

Looking at the history of international education in Canada helps us uncover two themes that are relevant to this dissertation. First, it exemplifies the complex relationship between the federal and provincial governments with respect to who is responsible for education. While historically, as we have seen above, education largely fell into the jurisdiction of Canada's provinces, the federal government is quickly starting to become a stronger player in the international education sphere. With the introduction of the 2014 international education strategy (Government of Canada, 2014b), internationalization no longer rests solely within the provincial domain but also resides within the federal policy arena. Second, the history of international education in Canada demonstrates the relationship, inconsistencies, and contentions that have long

existed within various federal agencies. One could argue that if inconsistencies have occurred within the federal government with respect to Canada's international education strategies and its citizenship and immigration policies (especially given the recent changes), then likely a mismatch is possible between federal citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education. With the federal government's goal to attract more international students for Canada's higher education sector and greater numbers of international students arriving in Canada to seek higher education (Government of Canada, 2014b), it is important to examine how Canada's citizenship and immigration policies intersect with the internationalization of Canadian higher education. Before we uncover that relationship, we must shift our attention to the role of international students in Canada and examine how they are shaping the internationalization aspirations of both universities and the federal government.

2.5.2 History of international students in Canada.

Canada has been a reluctant recruiter of international students until recently, even though the recruitment of international students has risen over the years in many other OECD countries (McHale, 2011). While in recent years the number of international students has increased, not much research has been conducted on the history of international students in Canada. From what we know, international students have been present in Canada since the 1800s in very small numbers. St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia recorded having an international student enrolled at their institution from 1857-1858. It was only in 1920s that Statistics Canada first started collecting data on international students in the country. At that time, there were about

1,300 international students registered in full-time programs across Canadian universities (Chui, 1996). By the 1950s, this number increased to about 6,000 international students across various the universities in Ontario and Eastern Canada. It was only after the Second World War in 1950 that the number of international students in Canada started to steadily increase and a national organization called “Friendly Relations with Overseas Students” was established in Toronto, Ontario. As the numbers of international students rose, so did the various places these students came from. Students were coming from parts of Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa. Most of these individuals were adult learners who were sponsored by organizations such as UNESCO, Canada’s Department of Trade and Commerce, the International Labour Association, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the United States government (Cameron, 2006).

Traditionally, foreign students have been regarded as temporary migrants to Canada rather than immigrants. It is only recently that the Canadian government has begun to view international students as important contributors to Canadian society and economy. After the introduction of Canada’s official multicultural policy in 1971, the focus on immigrants shifted towards how best to integrate immigrant groups and persons into the larger Canadian society. For international students, this meant integrating into a culture and community that was foreign to them. Despite Canada’s push towards multiculturalism, Canadian universities have been slow to integrate the values of the multiculturalism policy into practice. Historically, integration has been difficult for international students due to cultural differences, difficulties with the

English language, the practices of their host institutions, discrimination towards foreign students in local/university communities, and federal and provincial policies that made it difficult for international students to seek employment in Canada (Cameron, 2006). These difficulties prompted the view that “Canada is not a haven for international students – as a country, we do very little to encourage their presence here to welcome them to our society” (Groberman, 1980, p.155).

The 1970s saw a wave of legal reforms from both the federal and provincial governments that sought to regulate international student access to the Canadian labour market and supplement the higher education sector through differential fees. In 1973, the Canadian federal government introduced the Non-Immigrant Entry Records and Employment Visa regulations that created barriers for foreign student employment. Prior to the regulations, international students could work in Canada with minimal restriction. However, after the policy was introduced, foreign students were required to obtain working visas before accepting employment. Additionally, in the late 1970s (1977 to 1979), Canadian universities established differential fees for international students, requiring foreign students to pay about three-times the amount in tuition as a domestic student. While the provinces saw differential fees as a way to alleviate the pressures off provincial finances/taxpayer dollars for financing higher education, these changes increased the financial burden of post-secondary studies for many international students and reinforced their status as the “other” within the mainstream Canadian society (Cameron, 2006).

Despite the challenges with the visa regulations around work permits, the number of international students across Canada grew by 73% from the mid-1970s to about 32,200 students in 1983. Global political changes such as the collapse of communist governments in Eastern Europe and economic growth of countries in the Global South facilitated the increased global mobility of students. As such, students from non-traditional regions of the world such as the Middle East and China were being recruited to study in Canada. Furthermore, the 1990s saw a vast expansion of Canada's internationalization projects and aspirations. In the last decade of the 20th century, Canada established study abroad/exchange programs with universities in the United States, Asia, Europe, and Latin America while departments such as Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Canadian Bureau of International Education funded the Canadian Education Centre network to promote Canada to international students as a destination country for post-secondary study. By the start of the 21st century, international students were at the forefront of Canada's and its universities' internationalization agenda, highlighted by an increase in the number of international students from 59,000 in 2001 (Cameron, 2006) to approximately 218,245 in 2010 (of which 116,890 were international students enrolled in Canadian universities) (Kunin, 2012).

2.5.3 Current perspectives on the role of international students.

In 2006, Canada ranked sixth in terms of the number of foreign students in post-secondary institutions, far behind countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Australia, and Japan. Nonetheless, in recent years, the number of

international students in Canada has risen, with growth rates just behind those of the U.K. and Australia. Today, university students constitute just about half of all foreign students in Canada, a trend that has been stable since the 1980s. This trend is largely due to the fact that foreign students play an important role in Canada's innovation system and have been actively recruited by Canadian universities. Leading Canadian research universities are often the primary recruiters of international undergraduate and graduate students because international students make numerous substantial contributions to local education. Moreover, in Canada, international students provide opportunities and resources to internationalize the curriculum, provide alumni connections and networking opportunities, and help establish international relations (Arthur & Flynn, 2011; McHale, 2011).

Beyond the various opportunities that international students bring with them to Canada, they also help generate income for universities. Ever since the Canadian provinces introduced the differential fees for international students in the late 1970s, foreign students have helped cash-strapped universities stay afloat. International students, who typically pay two to three times more in tuition than domestic students have helped subsidize Canadian public universities that normally receive a fixed amount of funds from the provincial governments. As a result, as many scholars have pointed out, many universities gravitate towards attracting full-tuition paying foreign students to their universities, either overtly or under the subtext of internationalization (Atlbach, 2013; Arthur & Flynn, 2011; Cameron, 2006; McHale, 2011).

More recently, international students are being viewed by scholars and governments as an attractive class of migrants who provide a range of benefits to their host countries and institutions of higher learning (Ziguras & Law, 2006). International students increase the host-country's pool of highly skilled workers to support economic development and help counter the effects of an aging population by being the new and young talent of the country. Furthermore, those who are educated and trained in the host country are more attractive to employers than foreign graduates and professionals without local work experience. Through the course of their study, international students share their experience with locals and in turn gain local work experience that helps them settle and thrive in their new environment (Arthur & Flynn, 2011). To a large extent, the career planning and decision-making needs of international students wishing to stay are linked to managing the cross-cultural transition of entering a new culture, learning skills in the new cultural context, and transferring international expertise to work settings in host or home countries (Arthur, 2007; 2008).

Even though highly skilled international student graduates are allowed to stay in Canada after completing their studies and the numbers of international students have been on the rise in Canada, the reality is that there has not been a corresponding growth in the number of students staying in Canada post-graduation (Atlbach, 2013, Ortiz & Choudaha, 2014). According to a survey by the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) in 2013, most international students surveyed expressed their intentions to stay in Canada after completing their degree. Close of half of those interviewed planned to transition into permanent residency while 25% of respondents

planned to work in Canada for three years and then return home (Humphries, Rauh & McDine, 2013; Ortiz & Choudaha, 2014). After graduation, certain international students who graduate out of a Canadian post-secondary institution can apply for a work permit through the Post-Graduation Work Permit Program (PGWPP) and the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) program to get Canadian work experience, which would allow them to remain in Canada as skilled workers and eventually lead them to a path to immigration (CIC, 2014a). However, the actual number of international students transitioning into permanent residency remains low. Data shows that in Canada, between 1999 and 2009, only 5.3% of international students transitioned into permanent residency status. While the percentage does not include those who transitioned to temporary workers through the Provincial Nominee Program and then crossed over as permanent residents, the numbers still indicate that only a few students are opting to transition into permanent residency/citizenship in Canada (Ortiz & Choudaha, 2014).

Research suggests that a lack of post-graduation-employment may contribute to the lack of transition from recent graduate to permanent residency within the international student community. Most international students who stayed in Canada after graduation were largely concerned with job searches and work placements. They were attracted by Canada high standard of living, safety, stability, the promise of enhanced career opportunities, a strong desire to immigrate to Canada and their vision of a preferred future in Canada. However, the reality is that many international students are not immediately able to secure employment after graduation and lack the work

experience required to transition into the Canadian workforce (Arthur & Flynn, 2011; 2013). As such, many international students do not qualify for the various programs available through the federal government to help them transition from recent graduate to permanent resident. Because many of these government-sponsored programs require international students to have a full year (1560 hours) of Canadian work experience (CIC, 2014c), these students do not meet the requirements of the CEC. These students are thus excluded from the path to permanent residency and ultimately excluded from obtaining a Canadian citizenship. Given the recent changes to Canada's CEC program and the *Citizenship Act*, further restraints are being put on those international students who want to stay in Canada for the long term. It seems as though on one hand, Canada makes it very easy for international students to come into the country, but on the other hand makes it very difficult for them to stay, keeping only those who it sees fit for the Canadian economy.

2.6 Summary

As a federation of provinces and territories, the Canadian Constitution mandates that the federal government is responsible for citizenship and immigration policies whereas education policy rests with the provincial governments. Immigration and immigrants have always been an intrinsic component of Canada's history and society. While the process of immigrating to Canada has changed over the years, the rules and regulations are still set by the federal government. Post 1990s and in the 21st century, Canada's citizenship and immigration policies prioritize economic migrants who can positively contribute to Canada's economy.

Changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration legislation enacted by the Harper government sought to make Canada's immigration process, through the Express Entry pathways, tighter. These changes not only impact economic migrants but also international students who want to become permanent residents and eventually Canadian citizens after graduation. International students have always been a key player in the internationalization of Canadian higher education. International students play an important role in boosting university enrollments in places that experience a decline in domestic student enrolment (Tamburri, 2014) and are coveted for the higher tuitions they pay. Moreover, international students are seen a potential economic migrants to Canada. While a large proportion of international students express interest in staying in Canada after graduation, studies suggest that the lack of post-graduation employment makes it difficult for international students to transition to permanent residents. In the next chapter, I discuss the literature relevant to my thesis. In particular, I discuss higher education internationalization, demonstrate how international students can be classified as precarious migrants, and share how tightening immigration controls are impacting higher education in other countries.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the various topics and subjects that are relevant to my doctoral thesis and research into the relationship between federal citizenship and immigration policy and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. There are three major sections to this chapter. First, I will focus on the internationalization of higher education, both as a phenomena sweeping across the world and within Canada. In this section, I will connect internationalization to the larger phenomenon of globalization, define internationalization with its various permutations, talk about the history of internationalization in Canada, explore role of international students in the internationalization aspirations of universities, and present research that explores the aspirations of international students in Canada. Second, I will explore the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education, both within Canada and around the world. This section will garner a few global perspectives on the topic, explore the potential mismatch between Canada's citizenship and immigration policy, its internationalization strategy, and the internationalization aspirations of individual universities, and discuss some of the harms of policy mismatch. Last, I will summarize the literature on citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education. Within the summary, I will provide a rationale for my doctoral research and clarify the need to examine citizenship and immigration policies in relations to the internationalization of higher education.

3.2 Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada

The section will begin with an exploration of why internationalization is global phenomena sweeping across many Canadian and foreign universities. I will then explore the various definitions and incarnations of internationalization, explore the relationship between globalization and internationalization and talk about the history of internationalization in Canada. Last, I will explore the role of international students within the internationalization agenda, outline the history of international students in Canada, and illuminate international students' aspirations for studying in Canada. By the end of the section I hope the reader will get a sense of why international students are important to both the federal government's immigration and universities' internationalization agendas.

3.2.1 Neoliberalism: Historical and current perspectives.

The neoliberal attitudes prevalent in our globalized world affect how both universities and national governments view education and dictate how policies around education, immigration and citizenship, and internationalization are crafted to meet the economic goals of the university and the country in which it is situated.

Tracing its roots back to the political and economic events of the 1970s and the early 1980s (Harvey, 2005), neoliberalism and neoliberal attitudes continue to strongly influence how universities operate. Harvey argues that during the 1970s and the early 1980s, governments in different parts of the world were changing and promoting free-market economies through "an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trades" (2005, p.2). Since then, neoliberals

“roll[ed] back [on the] social democratic state developed after World War II, in which governments shared responsibility for the general welfare of the public by funding and organizing public education, health, transportation, and other services” (Hursh & Wall, 2011, p.561). In more recent times, some scholars view neoliberalism as the hegemony of Western society in the 21st century (Harvey, 2005; Hursh, 2011; Saunders, 2010; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), while others regard it as a dangerous ideology affecting our modern day society (Giroux, 2002; Schrecker, 2010; Torres, 2011). In order to understand how globalization affects the university, we need to understand the values of neoliberalism. Only then can we begin to understand how neoliberal values inform the internationalization aspirations and practices of universities and the international education agenda of the Canadian federal government.

According to Harvey, neoliberalism is the “theory of political economic practices that proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (2005, p. 2). It asserts “that markets are almost always the best decision makers in terms of efficient resource allocation and that trade and investment flows across borders are optimized when there are as few restrictions as possible” (Haslam, Shafer, & Beaudet, 2012, p. 505). Saunders claims that neoliberalism values “the benevolence of the free market, minimal state intervention and regulation of the economy, and the individual as a rational economic actor” (2010, p.45). According to Suspitsyna, these values reinvent liberal ideas around

choice, autonomy, and rationality (2012). Suspitsyna (2012) further elaborates by stating that:

Freedom of choice is [now] an exercise in economic rationality that the subject must possess in order to select best value goods and services at the optimal price; autonomy is understood as heightened individualism aimed at survival and success in the economy; [and] rationality is defined as achieving success through education or through the cultivation and application of entrepreneurial qualities (p. 53).

Furthermore, some scholars argue that within a neoliberal framework, success is measured in terms of one's ability to be self-invested, be globally mobile, and able to take responsibility for one's own life (Hamann, 2009; Ong, 2004). While in theory, neoliberalism seeks to keep the state out of the market and facilitate a "good business climate" for capitalist endeavours (Harvey, 2005, p.5), in practice markets and business rely on the state to maintain favourable conditions to continue operating. In times of crisis, businesses look to the state to intervene and rescue capitalist interests (Harvey, 2005; Rose, 1999).

Ong (2003) argues that neoliberal values are observed globally in various different settings, helping governments participate in the global economy. According to Ong (2006), the goal of the neoliberal government is to increase the "capacity and potential of individuals and the population as living resources that may be harnessed and managed by governing regimes" and to provide conditions for the market and private sector to operate freely, without impediments (p.7).

Furthermore, Ong (2006) notes that nations strive to accommodate neoliberal agendas within their national, economic, and political spaces. These agendas are often set by large corporations, often disrupting pre-existing notions, norms, and practices of citizenship, democracy and sovereignty within specific socio-cultural/political environments. Thus globalization has helped impose a neoliberal world in which everything is up for sale. Said (2003) argues that neoliberalism blindly favours large corporations and large governments to profit while leaving little opportunities and space for individual citizens to challenge and question those in power.

3.2.2 The impact of neoliberal globalization on education.

According to scholars Rizvi and Lingard (2010), globalization affects education policies at the national, provincial, and institutional levels because “the values underpinning education policy are now often situated within globalized education policy discourses” (p. 51). The global circulation of ideas and ideologies, the impact of international agreements on education, global trade patterns, and greater competition for resources have all resulted in neoliberalism dominating the social imaginary of globalization (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Because of the growing dominance of US/Western models of education around the world and its promotion as “good” education (Marginson, 1999), Marginson and Considine (2000) note that institutions of higher education, particularly those situated in the Global North are capitalizing on the commercialization trend in education to explore opportunities for generate revenue in an age of internationalization and globalism. Globalization creates new potentials and places greater limits on the politics of education. According to Marginson (1999),

education is gradually becoming a primary medium of globalization and being transformed into a market commodity in its own right. No longer is education a vehicle for the common good.

Instead of using public money to provide access education, neoliberal economics favour placing education on a user-pay basis. The neoliberal ideology supports the deregulation of educational institutions so that these institutions can operate like a business and extract money from student-clients (Yang, 2003). As a result, education is constructed as a private good and commodity across all levels of education (Marginson & Considine, 2000). As such, Robertson (2008) notes that it is common to see education being presided over by departments of trade in some countries. For Arambewela, (2010), the commoditization of education highlights the social-efficiency goals of education rather than the socio-cultural development of the individual and the needs to the community. Furthermore, the state is no longer the sole player in influencing its educational policy. In her work, Guimaraes-Iosif (2011) highlights that international actors such as the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank are infiltrating the domestic education policy domains and exerting their influence on both policy and practice. Arambewela's (2010) work illustrates that the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), an international organization committed to the market economy to stimulate world trade and economic progress, supports the privatization, commercialization, and commoditization of education.

Olssen and Peters (2005) note that under neoliberalism, higher education is gradually being represented as in input-output system, used to service the economy.

Instead of placing greater importance on open intellectual inquiry, universities are increasingly concerned with strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance, and academic excellence. Market and market-like policy instruments are becoming more important to higher education as some consider higher education as a combination of multiple interrelated markets. These markets include the market for programs within the university, markets for research, and the labour market for faculty, researchers, and staff (Dill, 1997).

Competition in academic labour markets, institutional finance, student support, and allocation of research funds are becoming an integral part of a university's strategic plan to help universities stay competitive against each other. Neoliberal attitudes towards higher education seek to create an enterprising and competitive university in which teaching and research are being commoditized (Olssen & Peters, 2005). According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), many universities are focused primarily on research that fuels the "academic capitalism knowledge regime" (p. 29). Universities operating under a neoliberal framework begin to value "knowledge privatization and profit taking, in which institutions, inventor faculty, and corporations have claims that come before those of the public" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 29). Currie (1998) argues that senior administration within the university believes that in order to endure and succeed in a rapidly changing and fiercely competitive global environment, they must embrace the market. For Currie (1998), along with focusing on education, the primary goal of the market-driven university is to operate like a customer-focused business enterprise that views knowledge and education as a commodity that is up for sale to the paying

customer. As a result, Altbach and Knight (2007) write that international education is increasingly being viewed as a tradable commodity. This leads to greater competition among universities who are increasingly more concerned with cost, price, and quality of their education and research (Dill, 1997). An understanding of neoliberalism and globalization, which follows, will help contextualize the nature of the Canadian federal government's policy on international education, illuminate the government's and universities' rationales to attract more international students, and provide some context into Canada's recent immigration policy changes.

3.2.3 The complex relationship between globalization and internationalization.

Internationalization is an emerging process across universities across the world. According to Knight (2007) and Stromquist (2007), this process is dictated by political and economic rationales and guided by principles of marketing and competition, in which universities compete for the best students, faculty, research, and international recognition. Altbach and Knight (2007) note that during the late 90s and early 2000s, international activities within universities have expanded in volume and scope to promote greater cross-cultural interactions between different groups of people in our globalized world.

Globalization is a central issue affecting higher education (Enders & Fulton, 2002). Due to globalization, universities across many countries have sought to internationalize their campuses. Knight (2007) argues that globalization affects all aspects of internationalization processes from the curriculum, student and staff mobility, to international research collaborations. It is important to note that

globalization and internationalization are not synonymous. Rather, they are two separate, yet interrelated forces affecting higher education through a positive feedback loop. Globalization provides the initial pressures for higher education institutions to internationalize. Therefore internationalization is considered a response to globalization (Arambewela, 2010). However, scholars point out that as internationalization gathers momentum, so does globalization (Maringe, Foskett, & Woodfield, 2013). Knight (2003) elaborates on this relationship by maintaining that globalization affects internationalization, where globalization is changing the world of internationalization and internationalization is changing the world of higher education. According to Hénard, Diamond, and Roseveare (2012), “globalization has major implications for the higher education sector, notably on the physical and virtual mobility of student, faculty, information and knowledge, ritual access, and sharing of policies and practices” (p. 7). As such, internationalization is affected by globalization and represents “deliberate, systematic, and integrated attempts by national governments, supranational agencies, and higher education institutions themselves to engage in a range of international activities” (Enders & Fulton, 2002, p. 1)

3.3 Internationalization: Definitions, rationales, and approaches.

Internationalization of higher education in Canada is currently gaining greater momentum than ever before, intended to provide an international, global dimension to university education. While Canada has not generally had an official nation-wide, federal-level international education policy, various provinces and territories, along with individual universities are drafting their own internationalization policies. While the

definition of “internationalization” and “international education” varies from stakeholder to stakeholder, there are several key rationales, approaches, and activities a university can undertake to promote internationalization at the institutional level.

3.3.1 Definitions of internationalization.

It is difficult to define ‘internationalization.’ Stier (2004) argues that the term is riddled with divergent conceptualizations and different understandings. According to scholars, different stakeholders have varying interpretations of the term, depending on the institutional contexts under which they operate (Elkin, Devjee, & Farnsworth, 2005). Hénard, Diamond, and Roseveare (2012) point out that whereas some countries have well-established internationalization policies, others do not and are in the early stages of developing what internationalization means for them.

Briefly stated, internationalization at the university level is a process whereby a university expands its global presence, develops a global perspective, markets the works of its faculty, and attracts the most talented students from around the world (Stromquist, 2007), and thus becomes less national and more internationally oriented (Yang, 2002). It is a “process”, an ongoing and continued effort, which focuses on input, process, and output/outcomes (Knight, 2003), “of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution” (Knight, 2004, p. 9-10).

Knight is one of the founding scholars on internationalization. Her definition has been widely cited by other scholars. However, some argue that Knight’s definition of internationalization may be too narrow as it is too self-centred rather than being

outward looking. Hawawini (2011) proposes an alternative to Knight's definition, which defines internationalization as "the process of integrating the institution and its key stakeholders – its students, faculty, and staff – into a globalized world," (p 5). This definition is different from Knight's most commonly cited definition as it requires changing the existing structures, operating modes, and mindsets of the university and the various stakeholders involved within the institution. This alternative definition of internationalization places a greater importance on what the institution can learn from the world instead of what the university can teach the world (Hawawini, 2011).

Furthermore, acknowledging that variations do, and arguably should, occur in how universities engage with internationalization, some have also called for a focus towards "comprehensive internationalization" (AUCC, 2014). Comprehensive internationalization is defined as,

A strategic, coordinated process that seeks to align and integrate international policies, programs, and initiatives, and positions colleges and universities as more globally oriented and internationally connected. This process requires a clear commitment by top-level institutional leaders, meaningfully impacts the curriculum and a broad range of people, policies, and programs, and results in deep and ongoing incorporation of international perspectives and activities throughout the institution (American Council on Education, 2012, p. 3).

This definition builds upon Knight's definition and emphasizes internationalization as an ongoing process. However, rather than seeing internationalization as its own entity, the definition requires a committed alignment and an integration of policies across a broad

spectrum and argues that internationalization needs to be examined from a relational perspective that incorporates policies, perspectives, and practices from a variety of actors

3.3.2 Rationales for internationalization.

Qiang (2003) points out that universities choose to internationalize for political, economic, socio-cultural, and/or academic reasons. Increasingly, education is seen as a form of diplomatic investment for future political and economic relations between two countries (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada [AUCC], 2007a; Knight, 2007; Qiang, 2003). These political partnerships lead to greater economic growth for countries invested in internationalization. Thus, according to this argument, the internationalization of higher education contributes to skilled human resources to make a country internationally competitive. Furthermore, various scholars argue that international students and foreign graduates act as ambassadors to improve trade relations between their countries of origin and where they conducted their studies (Elkin et al., 2005; Hawawini, 2011; Knight, 2007; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Qiang, 2003, Stier, 2004). Beyond political agreements and economic benefit, other researchers point out how internationalized universities promote cultural exchanges between domestic and foreign students, leading to greater understanding of foreign cultures and perspectives. Due to globalization, there has been a great deal of emphasis placed on intercultural learning within the 21st century. Being an international university facilitates the learning that can occur between both domestic and local students and help build cultural bridges that aids in mutual understanding and long-lasting networks (Altbach & Knight, 2007;

Elkin et al., 2005; Knight, 2004; Knight, 2007; Qiang, 2003; Stier, 2004). Finally, some researchers such as Atlbach, Knight (2007), Qiang (2003), and Stier (2004) focus on the ways that internationalization helps to achieve international standards of teaching and research, leading to greater institutional building through development of human, technical or management infrastructure and systems.

3.3.3 Activities and approaches to internationalization.

According to Qiang (2003), universities can internationalize through an activity, competence, ethos, or process based approach. It is likely that universities will use a variety of approaches to promote international education, where a combination of international activities, mixed with integrated internationalized policies aimed at developing student, faculty, and staff skills are used to promote international/intercultural perspectives at the university. From recruiting international students and faculty, encouraging student exchanges, internationalizing the curriculum, promoting international research collaborations, opening satellite campuses, to offering online courses, scholars, government advisory panels, and university interest groups recognize that universities can use numerous ways to promote international education at the institutional level (Advisory Panel on Canada's International Strategy [APCIS], 2012; AUCC, 2007a; Altbach & Knight, 2007; CMEC, 2011; Cudmore, 2005; Elkin et al., 2005; Knight, 2007; Leask & Bridge, 2013; Qiang, 2003). Despite the range of options available, one of the most prominent activities of internationalization involves attracting greater numbers of international students into a country's universities. Many universities develop their own internationalization strategies and frameworks, often

focusing heavily on international student recruitment. In many OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, internationalization allows universities to attract foreign students to help facilitate intercultural learning on their campus and to help secure fund from full-fee paying foreign students to support the university financially. At the same time, some argue that internationalization can also help alleviate the pressures from non-OECD countries to accommodate the growing need for mass-higher education in their own countries (Hénard, Diamond, & Roseveare, 2012).

Regardless of the activity of the approach, Knight (2007) recognizes that internationalization has to be a sustainable, core institutional policy, imbedded within the university's mandate. Instead of being a short-term opportunistic endeavour, proponents argue that a university's internationalization strategy needs a centralized, top-down process governed by the university's overall mission. Within this plan, internationalization needs to be an achievable goal with planned activities to reach desired outcomes that can be measured and assessed (Edwards, 2007).

3.3.4 Renewed perspectives on internationalization.

Throughout the literature on internationalization, Jane Knight's definition has been cited time and time again. While scholars contend that her definition is a firm launching pad into the literature on internationalization, Sanderson (2008) argues that "the depth dimension of internationalization is more dynamic and far reaching than portrayed by Knight" (p. 279). For many universities around the world and the leaders who lead them, Knight's definition seems to have little prevalence because it fails to

react to the realities of today's higher education institutions (Maringe et al., 2013). The reality is that the internationalization of higher education today is vastly different from what it was, when the term was coined over two decades ago. Han de Wit (2014) states that "it becomes clear that internationalization in higher education is at a turning point and the concept of internationalization requires an update, refreshment and fine-tuning taking into account the new world and higher education order" (p. 97). Thus, scholars argue that we need to rethink internationalization in what it means for institutions today and reflect critically on its evolving nature (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011; IUA, 2012).

Knight recently offered renewed thoughts on internationalization and what it means in our world today. While she asserts that it is difficult to have a generic definition of the term that can be applicable across universities around the world, she remains a staunch supporter of internationalization. She argues that internationalization matters because "university strategic plans, national policy statements, international declarations and academic articles all indicate the centrality of internationalization in the world of higher education" (Knight, 2014, p. 75). Furthermore, she debunks a few myths about internationalization and reframes the conversation around the process. She argues that internationalization has to be more than just international institutional agreements, cannot solely be a marker for international branding, or that the number of international students on campus denotes an internationalized university. Citing the difficulties that international students face on campuses, the tendencies of international students to band together, and the hesitation for international and domestic students to interact, Knight believes that for some universities, international students are not

internationalizing agents (Knight, 2014). In the same vein, de Wit echoes Knight's views by emphasizing that internationalization does not mean having as many international students on campus as possible (de Wit, 2011a). Knight also takes the opportunity to build upon the process of internationalization by claiming that it is built on and respects the local context. She believes that internationalization "is intended to complement, harmonize and extend the local dimension, not dominate it" and that if this "truth" is not respected, then there is "a strong possibility of backlash and for internationalization to be seen as a homogenising or hegemonic agent" (Knight, 2014, p. 84). She also adds that internationalization results in both intended and unintended consequences, leads to benefits, and risks, and that it has to be personalized to address the "Individual needs and interests of each higher education entity" (Knight, 2014, p. 84). More and more, "internationalization strategies are filtered and contextualised by the specific internal context of the universities, by the type of university and how they are embedded nationally" (de Wit, 2010, p. 5). de Wit's point illustrates that internationalization is developed in various ways across different global, national, and local environments.

Unlike many countries around the world such as the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, Canada has not had one federal body or federal policy governing the internationalization of Canadian universities (Jones 2009; Trilokekar, 2009).

Trilokekar (2009) in particular notes that other countries have "International Cultural Relations" policies, which encourage cooperative agreements between universities, provide academic mobility, international scholarships, international curriculum studies, and technical development assistance. Canada on the other hand has a series of

uncoordinated federal agencies that work separately with the provincial governments to encourage international education.

Although internationalization is far more complex than branding, league tables, and international students, it is clear though that many universities still embed these activities within their internationalization strategies (Qiang, 2003). Many universities and Western host countries specializing in international education view international students as agents to advance their internationalization agendas and use sheer numbers of international students as a branding tool to market the university and/other country as an educational destination. University and national internationalization strategies cite both the economic (and at times, the cultural benefits) of having international students on campuses, strive to attract more international students to their universities, and continue to reinforce neoliberal, market-driven attitudes towards internationalization.

3.3.5 Summary of the literature on internationalization of higher education in Canada.

International education and the internationalization of higher education have taken centre stage in Canada, at both the national and local levels. The literature suggests that motivation to internationalize Canadian higher education is driven by a combination of economic, sociocultural, and educational aspirations. A study on the motivations of Canadian university leaders to internationalize their institutions found that some leaders felt that in this day and age, it is important to publically engage with internationalization to maintain the university's competitive edge (Larsen & Al-Haque, 2016). There are also increased pressures on Canadian universities to consider the

economic and financial potential of international education vis-à-vis increasing the number of full-fee paying international students and private research partnerships (Larsen & Al-Haque, 2016). These pressures have been exacerbated by cutbacks to university funding from the provincial governments (OCUFA, 2015) and a reduction in federal dollars for basic research at higher education institutions (CAUT, 2013), and declining domestic student enrollments (Larsen & Al-Haque, 2016). As such, some scholars claim that Canadian “universities, reacting to government funding cutback have looked abroad for tuition revenue” by tapping full-fee paying international students (Friesen, 2009, p. 13). Friesen is critical of Canadian universities that view the sociocultural benefits of internationalization as an afterthought. However Larsen and Al-Haque (2016) argue that universities’ motivations to internationalize are complex and messy. The authors, from their interviews with Canadian higher education institution leaders, found that university leaders were largely motivated by the sociocultural and educational values of internationalization. Even though a minority of leaders saw internationalization as a means to generate revenue, most university and college leaders in their study saw internationalization as means for Canada and Canadian students to engage with the world.

With the acceleration of the pace at which Canadian higher education institutions have internationalized over the past few years, there is no doubt that internationalization is a top policy and strategic priority for the Canadian government and its universities (AUCC, 2014). While universities and some colleges have always been engaged with internationalization in Canada, we now see the federal government

engaging with international education and the internationalization of higher education. The federal government's strategy "represents a new level of federal attention in a field where universities are already leading the way," goes to establish trade commissioners to liaise with the Canadian higher education sector, and seeks greater consultations with the provinces (AUCC, 2014, p. 4).

Despite being a relative newcomer to the field of internationalization, Canada seems ready to explore the potential contributions that international education can have on the Canadian economy and society. Proponents of internationalization in Canada argue that internationalization is needed to create "globally aware graduates with skills suited to the jobs of today and tomorrow, and [foster] globally connected research and scholarship" (AUCC, 2014, p. 3). Furthermore, Canadian institutions of higher education engage with internationalization to enhance Canada's "national well-being and prosperity," help "develop a globally competitive national labour force, and attracts international students who may become needed new citizens and workers" in/for Canada (AUCC, 2014, p. 3). Moreover, the 2014 survey by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada reports that 95% Canadian universities identify internationalization as part of their strategic plan whereas 85% of Canadian universities and colleges view it as one of their top five priorities (AUCC, 2014).

International students play a large role in the internationalization process and can potentially have a positive impact on both Canada and its universities. A survey by the AUCC (2014) notes that since 2000, there has been a three to five fold increase in the numbers of international/full-time visa students enrolled in undergraduate

programs across Canada. In 2014, there were approximately 89,000 international students enrolled in undergraduate programs across Canadian campuses. Of all the students enrolled in Canadian universities and colleges across Canada, international/visa students embodied about 11% of all full-time undergraduate students, about 28% of all graduate students, and represented 200 of the world's countries. International students not just contribute to Canada economically, but also bring a wealth of cultural capital to Canadian classrooms and the students within them. Consequently, 45% of Canadian higher education institutions cite international student recruitment at the undergraduate level as one of their highest priority internationalization activities whereas for 70% of institutions, international student recruitment (both at the undergraduate and graduate levels) as one of their top five goals (AUCC, 2014).

Presently in Canada, the Canadian federal government and various universities and colleges (up to 77%) have identified specific geographical areas from which Canada seeks to recruit international students from. These include countries like China, India, the United States, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, and Nigeria. As such, "the shared interest among universities and governments in recruiting more international students offers great promise for expanded enrollment numbers" (AUCC, 2014, p. 40).

McHale (2011) argues that foreign students need to be seen as more than just a vehicle for revenue generation and knowledge production. They need to be seen as both valuable university students and potential skilled immigrants who should have access to work in Canada, before and after graduation to help them acculturate to the Canadian labour market. Furthermore, "given the importance placed on international student

recruitment, and, by the government, on the conversion of international students into future citizens, further research on some key questions may be needed” (AUCC, 2014, p. 26). These questions include asking “how well are universities retaining international students throughout their degree programs? And what factors influence students’ decisions to remain in Canada for work or to pursue permanent residency?” (AUCC, 2014, p. 26).

3.4 International students in Canada as precarious migrants.

Given that many international students in Canada are not and cannot transition into permanent residency, they can be classified as “precarious status” migrants.

Goldring, Bernstein and Bernhard characterize precarious status migrants as those who lack the following: “(1) work authorization, (2) the right to remain permanently in the country (residence permit), (3) social citizenship rights available to permanent residents (e.g. education and public health coverage), and (4) not depending on a third party for one’s right to be in Canada [such as a sponsoring spouse or employee]” (p. 240-241).

Precarious legal status scholarship in Canada explores how the federal regimes of citizenship are inherently exclusionary. Sharma (2006) argues that in Canada, such exclusionary policies and practices produce a separate set of practices and legal codes that categorize groups of people (such as international students) within the same national sphere.

It is difficult to say how many people around the world live without permanent residency or citizenship. However, some scholars consider international students to be included in the relevant legal status of those who live without permanent residency

(Goldring & Landolt, 2013) or as “mobile students” who not have permanent residence or citizenship in their host country (UNESCO, 2009, p.36). Such is the case for most, if not many international students living, studying, and working in Canada.

Villegas’ (2013; 2014; 2015) work on Mexican migrants in Toronto helps us understand how the notion of the “precarious” migrant applies to international students. Even though international students are authorized to be in Canada, they can be viewed as “precarious status” migrants because they are not eligible for federal and provincial health plans and other social welfare benefits. In essence, international students are “authorized” precarious status migrants who are entitled to some public goods and are eligible to work under employer-stipulated conditions (Goldring & Landolt, 2013), but overall lack access to many services that domestic students have access to.

Within Canada, we see that state actors and special interest groups (SIGs) are often involved in regulating migrants and their participation in society (Grewal, 2005; Ong, 1996, 2003). These actors include federal government agencies such as Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Global Affairs, SIGs such as Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and the Council of Ministers of Education-Canada (CMEC); and provincial/local actors such as the provincial governments and their institutions of higher learning.

Therefore, in order to facilitate both the entry of international students in Canada and then their transition into Canadian society, we need policies to align at all levels, such that they have a synergistic effect on Canada’s internationalization

aspirations rather than an inhibitory one. With respect to citizenship policies, we have to remember that citizenship plays an important role in facilitating one's full integration into Canadian economy and society (Environics Institute, 2012). However, the current *Citizenship Act* makes Canadian citizenship more difficult to gain and easier to lose (Meurrens, 2014), and may deter the government's and universities' goals to attract and retain more foreign students who may eventually want to transition from international student to permanent resident, to Canadian citizen. Additionally, with regard to Canada's immigration laws, Arthur and Nunes (2014) argue that "the extent to which immigration policies are successful for retaining international students may depend on the ease of integration into the destination country (p. 603). Thus, actors invested in the internationalization aspirations of Canadian higher education need to understand the relationship between and impact of federal citizenship and immigration policies on the internationalization of higher education. While it is expected that policies change over time, the actors involved in the internationalization of the Canadian higher education sector need to ensure that evolving policies are "matched by guidance practices that support international students during different phases of the transition process, as they pursue their short and longer-term career goals" (Arthur & Nunes, 2014, p. 603).

3.5 Global trends, issues, and concerns for higher education internationalization in light of tightening immigration control.

Between 1965 and 2011, the global mobility of students increased from 250,000 to 3.7 million (de Wit, Ferencz, & Rumbley, 2013). Driven by a desire to attract potential highly skilled labour, countries around the world are competing heavily to attract more

and more international students at the post-secondary level. International higher education scholars note that while the US and Europe still remains the destination for choice for many international students, competition from non-traditional countries, such as Russia, China, Singapore, Japan, South Africa, South Korea, and Malaysia , is on the rise (de Wit, 2012; de Wit, Ferencz, & Rumbley, 2013).

According to de Wit (2011b), greater increase in competition for highly skilled labour is a strong contributor to international student circulation where at the university level, “international class rooms, intercultural and global competences, recruitment of top talent student and scholars, and institutional profile and status, are setting the scene” (p. 32). However, Altbach and de Wit (2017) warn that recent changes in the immigration policies of traditional host countries will have a greater impact on the internationalization aspirations and practices of higher education institutions than ever before.

As globalization and immigration continue to impact the demographic transformation of receiving countries, the shifting demographic landscapes are reflected in university campuses around the world (Green, 2002; Smith, 2007). Altbach (2013) notes that changing immigration policies within many Western nations, where international students go to study, will be of greater concern to both international students and the universities who accept them. While strict immigration policies and nationalist sentiment will impact skilled labour recruitment in Western countries, these policies and sentiments will likely have an impact on international student mobility and recruitment. de Wit (2012) writes that “as a result of the economic crisis and increased

anti-immigration politics, international students and skilled immigration are...high on the political and educational agenda in [Western] countries as a potential negative issue” (p.431). Thus, scholars argue that anti-immigration and/or restrictive immigration policies coupled with the global economic crisis and strict national visa policies may lead to a decrease in international student mobility, drastically reduce the numbers of international students in the future (Choudaha, 2011; de Wit, 2011; de Wit, Ferencz, & Rumbley, 2013), and slow down the increases in international student numbers in traditional host countries that we have seen over the past two decades (Altbach, 2013).

Specifically in Europe, the links between stricter immigration policies and higher education are clearer since various stakeholders have commented on how these changes will impact university internationalization. The rise of populist agendas in some European countries hinges on reducing the number of migrants into their countries. In these contexts, immigration is a highly contentious political topic that also raises concerns for the transnational mobility of international students (Altbach, 2013; Altbach & de Wit, 2017). de Wit (2011a) argues that “the debates on the positive and negative dimensions of the multicultural society, immigration and the economic and financial crisis have a direct link to international students and skilled immigration needs” (p. 31). Universities fear that “restrictions in immigration and greater barriers for access to higher education for national and foreign students will make Europe less attractive for international students” (de Wit, 2011a, p. 31) and impact the internationalization aspirations of universities since they rely on foreign students as a driver for internationalization. Such fears are demonstrated in the United Kingdom, where the

“plans of the [Conservative] government to introduce restrictions on immigration and the plans for higher national student fees will have an impact on the number of international students from outside (immigration) and inside” Europe (de Wit, 2011a, p. 31).

In the United Kingdom, the government in 2013 announced that visa changes for prospective international students will reduce the United Kingdom’s intake of international students by 25% as part of a larger initiative to curb net migration into the country (Altbach, 2013). While the government claimed that the changes are necessary to cut costs, opponents argue that the policy changes will cast the United Kingdom as an unfriendly place to study, tarnish its international reputation, forfeit the United Kingdom’s competitive edge to other countries, damage its economy, and label international students as a financial burden, the undesirable other, and a threat to standards (Walker, 2013).

Because perceptions concerning how welcoming a country is play an immense role in attracting international students into a country (Goodman & Gutierrez, 2011), recent changes to the immigration policies of various Western host countries cast these locations as unwelcoming places to pursue higher education. Patterns illustrating the impacts of negative perceptions were seen in the United States after September 11, when the United States faced a reduction in the number of Muslim students for several years after the incident (Goodman & Gutierrez, 2011). Furthermore, US immigration regulations and hostility towards international students on US campuses made the United States a less attractive place for international students to come study in the post 9/11 decade (Lee & Rice, 2007; Urban & Palmer, 2013). Furthermore, across the Pacific

in Australia, the media coverage of the Cronulla Beach riots and the attacks on Indian and Chinese students in Melbourne and Sydney during 2008-2009 led to Australia dealing with backlash from sender countries and altered the public and world's perceptions of the extent to which Australia was "welcoming" towards international students (Goodman & Gutierrez, 2011; Kell, Cameron, Joyce, & Wallace, 2014). These incidents show that restrictive immigration policies mixed with xenophobia and fear of immigration can have a devastating effect on a country's reputation as a welcoming place to study.

In the United Kingdom, despite recent warnings from the academic community that strict immigration regulations will send a message to international students that Britain is unwelcoming and closed for business, the British government has pushed forward with the restrictive regulations. Walker (2013) argues that the British government's restrictions on international mobility is short-sighted. Critics' fear of these "short-sighted" policies is coupled with a recent 2014 study commissioned by the British Parliament that shows that since the establishment of stricter immigration laws in the United Kingdom, the number of international students in their country has fallen, with many Indian students choosing to go elsewhere to undertake studies in science and technology (Parliament of the United Kingdom, 2014). Additionally, Goodman and Gutierrez (2011) note that restrictive immigration policies and regulations requiring international students to provide biometric information, proof of adequate funds to support their stay in the United Kingdom, and other time-consuming procedures have also contributed to the slowed entry of international students in the country. Because

international students pay higher/differential fees from domestic students, university leaders in the United Kingdom foresee that immigration restrictions will continue to reduce university revenue by 20% and thus are forced to look at alternative ways to internationalize and generate funds at the expense of educational quality (Goodman & Gutierrez, 2011; Walker, 2013).

Many academics have reacted negatively to greater government regulation and restrictions concerning international students and other aspects of higher education. They argue that “few people acknowledge the seriousness of the problem and express concern that stricter immigration policies will reduce international enrollments and contribute to an “unwelcoming” image overseas” (Altbach, 2013, p.54). Altbach (2013) fear that governments and immigration officials respond to the issue around immigration by applying legal and bureaucratic rules, without carefully examining how dramatic changes to nation immigration policies can impact highly qualified and mobile international students who have the potential to contribute intellectually and economically to their host institutions and countries.

3.6 Intersection between Citizenship and Immigration and the Internationalization of Higher Education

There is very little research that explores the relationship between citizenship and immigration policy and internationalization policy. This body of literature is emerging in the Canadian context. A recent study by Trilokekar and El-Masri (2016) looked at how universities in Canada, that are keen on internationalization, adapted their practices in response to evolving federal immigration legislation. The study also

found a misalignment between Canadian government policy on internationalization and university internationalization strategies. However, there is little in the literature that explores how actors, both human and non-human, across various levels of governance are enrolled in citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. Additionally, there is little Canadian research on how citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies affect international students and how the enactment of these policies changes the role of the university in Canada.

As the world becomes more interconnected and as relationships between countries and people around the world strengthen, more and more people will move around the world. These include international students, who are viewed as potential skilled workers needed to give host countries a competitive edge in the knowledge-based economy. Examples from Europe, the United States, and Australia have illustrated that government citizenship and immigration policies, along with perceptions about immigrants and international students directly and indirectly impact international student recruitment and ultimately university internationalization. Scholars agree that in order to be successful in internationalizing higher education, we need to ensure that federal/national policies around citizenship and immigration does not hinder the internationalization process (Altbach, 2013; Altbach & de Wit, 2017; Walker, 2013). Given the recent changes to Canada's *Citizenship Act*, the recent changes to the federal CEC program, Canada's new federal international education strategy (Government of Canada, 2014b), and Canadian universities' internationalization aspirations, it is imperative that we pay closer attention to how federal policies affect university

internationalization. Not doing so may hinder internationalization processes in the country and lead to trends seen in the United States, Australia, and more recently in the United Kingdom where national/federal policies are deterring international students and ultimately hindering internationalization efforts on university campuses.

3.7 Summary of the Literature and a Case for my Doctoral Study

The purpose of my literature review is to explore the various topics and issues related to my doctoral research into the relationship between federal citizenship and immigration policy and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. As a nation of migrants, Canada's past citizenship and immigration policies since Confederation in 1867 have shaped its present demography. Given recent changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration laws, the ways in which immigrants and international students enter and stay in Canada are different today than in the past. With globalization, increased global competition, our interconnected knowledge-based economies, and neoliberal perspectives on education, countries around the world are focusing on internationalizing their higher education sectors.

While internationalization is defined, conceptualized, prioritized, and enacted differently under different contexts, the fact remains that increasing the numbers of international students is still a top priority for universities. There is no denying that internationalization within higher education is much more than just international student recruitment. However, time and time again, we see that international student recruitment and retention is a top policy priority for universities and increasingly for national/federal governments. Though some argue that neoliberal attitudes about

higher education drives internationalization and international student recruitment, studies on international students in Canada and abroad portray them not just as full-fee paying students but also potential skilled migrants needed to advance the national economy and society. International students on the other hand view their studies abroad as an opportunity to advance their knowledge and seek out universities abroad to obtain advanced degrees, as exemplified by the rising numbers of mobile students across the world and in Canada. It is no wonder that even within Canada's federal internationalization strategy, the recruitment of international students is one of the main objectives.

However, changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration laws, along with changes to federal programs that would provide international students a path to permanent residency and ultimately Canadian citizenship upon graduation, have raised questions as to how these policy changes relate to the internationalization goals of universities and the Canadian federal government. Trends from Canada's history illustrate a process of centralization and decentralization of Canada's immigration policies at the federal level. However, recently, it is clear that the federal government is aimed at greater regulation of immigration and citizenship, more federal say in what kinds of immigrants come into Canada and who can stay, and greater centralization of the immigration and citizenship process. While greater control is apparent at the federal level, we see the Canadian government and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) encroaching for greater control and centralization within the higher education sector as well. Recent changes to and enforcement of section 91 of *The Immigration and Refugee*

Protection Act (IRPA) now criminalizes giving immigration advice to foreign students. The IRPA requires international students to seek information from the CIC website or seek consultations from fee-charging immigration lawyers or consultants who may be aware of immigration and citizenship regulations but may not be aware of study/work permit rules (Tamburri, 2013b). The changes to the laws and the enforcement of stricter regulations make the immigration and citizenship process much more difficult for international students and faculty members who are legitimately studying and/or working in Canada and may very well want to stay and contribute to the Canadian society. While we know that federal and university policy towards internationalization still prioritizes attracting and retaining the brightest faculty and students to/in Canada, strict citizenship and immigration policies may deter the very people we want to draw into the country (Bauder, 2014).

While scholars are starting to hypothesize how national attitudes and policies on citizenship and immigration may impact the internationalization of European universities, we know very little on how Canada's federal policies on citizenship and immigration relates to internationalization within our own borders. Thus it is only imperative that more research is done on how policy aligns (or misaligns) between the federal, provincial, and institutional levels to better understand how federal citizenship and immigration policies relates to the internationalization aspirations of universities in Canada. Because federal level policies do affect internationalization efforts at provincial universities, some scholars worry that there is a possibility that "national policies regarding visas and immigration may thwart institutional efforts to recruit international

students” (Hénard, Diamond, & Roseveare, 2012, p.10), and jeopardize the internationalization of higher education. The same could be said about the impact of restrictive immigration policies and Canada’s ability to retain global talent in the country after international students have graduated.

Since in our interconnected, mobile, and globalized world, citizenship and immigration policies will continue to affect higher education, my doctoral research will endeavour to understand how the two policy regimes intersect, where they align, and where they misalign, both in policy and in practice. Doing so will uncover how federal citizenship and immigration policies and Canadian higher education internationalization strategies affect each other and how the role of the university is changing as an actor/agent to attract highly skilled international students who can potentially benefit Canada’s society and economy in the short and long term.

In the next chapter, I share the theoretical frameworks used in this study, my reasoning behind using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a form of Critical Policy Analysis (CPA), and how a critical-sociomaterial perspective help me answer my research questions.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1 Overview

This thesis critically analyzes policy using Actor-Network Theory (ANT). By situating ANT as a way to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) and by using a critical-sociomaterial analytical framework, I examine the relationships between Canada's citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies. This framework aligns with my ontological and epistemological assumptions about the social world and is situated within the interpretivist paradigm of social theory. The framework helped me identify the actors assembled around and the impacts of citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies and analyze their impacts. In this chapter, I begin by discussing the role of CPA in the context of policy research, its strengths, weaknesses, and introduce the case that ANT can be used as a critical tool to analyze policy. I continue by outlining the fundamental tenants of ANT and explore how the theory highlights the agency of non-human objects in the context of policy research. Last, I explore how this critical-sociomaterial lens can be used to understand internationalization, citizenship, and immigration policy in the context of higher education. At the core of this chapter is a re-evaluation of what critical policy research entails, whereby I present a novel way to understand, analyze, critique, and trace policy that is critical, relational, and takes into account the influence of both human and non-human actors.

4.2 What is policy?

In this section, I will briefly define what policy is before moving onto the discussion around CPA as a framework to analyze policy. I will explore how CPA is rooted in critical theory and explore some of the criticism of critical theory. Finally, I will identify what the CPA framework hopes to achieve through an analysis of policy and how I use it in this study.

Before exploring the foundational elements of CPA, it is important to begin with describing what “policy” is. There are many definitions of policy, what it is, and what it hopes to achieve. Easton (1985) claims that policy is simply what government do or not do and is an “authoritative allocation of values” (p.134) written in text or exemplified through actions, words, and deeds. Policy aims to bring about change through an ongoing process of modifications to and implementation of the text into practice. Thus, from a critical perspective, policies themselves are in constant flux, multidimensional, multilayered, and occur at multiple sites where they can function as fluid and interpretive recipes rather than rigid and dictatorial blueprints for action (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). As such, policies do not operate simply as texts, but rather as discourses that are political, value-laden (Allan et al. 2010; Gee, Lesley, & Matthews, 2013), and “are about what can be said and thought but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority” (Ball, 2006, p. 48). This is one particular way of understanding what policy is and is the approach I use in the context of this study.

4.3 Critical Policy Analysis (CPA)

CPA aligns with my own ontological and epistemological assumptions about the social world. CPA, rooted in the poststructuralist and interpretivist paradigm, moves away from a rational and functional approach to examining policy to a more critical approach to uncover how the uneven distribution of knowledge and power among policy stakeholders accounts for the policy's success or failure (Ozga, 2000; Prunty, 1985; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997). I do not view CPA as a theory or simply a theoretical framework. Instead, I recognize that CPA is rooted in the broader theoretical contexts of critical theory and functions as a tool to help critically analyze policy (Ball, 2012; Kennedy-Lewis, 2014; Olssen et al. 2004; Ozga, 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical theory recognizes the unfolding nature of reality, considers the limits of knowledge, and seeks to challenge structures of domination and oppression (Whittle & Spicer, 2008). The practice of critique in the context of educational studies involves "hermeneutic suspicion and continuous analysis of how power is exercised to exclude the voices and possibilities of critique and progressive forms of change" (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 4). Consequently the critical policy analyst should use theoretical concepts to inform the analysis of policy to help gather the best insight and understanding of the policy. In this manner, the theoretical underpinnings of critical policy analysis serves as a tool to understand policy rather than being the predominant factor in policy analysis. Therefore, the analyst needs to establish a research methodology that aligns itself with the research purpose and researcher positionality (Ball, 2008). In the context to this study, the theoretical and methodological tools and

concepts that I use to critically analyze policy are those associated with ANT (discussed later in this chapter).

CPA frames policy as the practice of power and governance (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010), allows researchers to understand the contextual issues of educational policy, and uses discursive analyses in policy research. From this perspective, the analyst needs to explore the relationship between the policy text, context, and consequence (Taylor, 1997) to uncover how policy agendas are set, how dominant interests are championed, and how to best overcome the barriers in the democratic process to policy making (Taylor, et al, 1997; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010; Ozga, 2000). The framework helps researchers see how policy exists in forms that are not explicitly illustrated in the policy document (Ball, 2006), and enables the analyst to think about how policy can be researched, implemented, and evaluated differently (Young, 1998).

A CPA framework is primarily invested in the academic endeavour of “analysis of policy” rather than an “analysis for policy.” Ozga (2000) refers to “analysis for policy” as research for policy. Analysis for policy seeks to understand the cause and effects of policy implementation (Ham & Hill, 1984), places a heavy emphasis on the policy cycle and development (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009), and may lack a critical orientation (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Even though there is no recipe for carrying out a critical policy analysis in education (Ozga, 2000), the “analysis of policy” involves critically deconstructing the problem constructed by the policy and examining the contexts, histories, and values

articulated in the policy. The researcher may look at the context and/or the text, and/or the outcomes of the policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Many critical policy analysts not only see policy as text but also as an “authoritative allocation of values” (Easton, 1985, p.134) written in text or exemplified through actions, words, and deeds (Ball, 1994).

Contextual analysis of policy requires exploring the origins of the policy, looking at policy from a historical perspective, exploring the intended and unintended consequences of policy, examining how policy is interpreted by different actors and asking questions about who creates policy and for what purpose. The textual analysis on the other hand is interested in the discursive formation of policy that refers to the discourses that frame the policy text. The analyst asks how the policy problem is conceptualized, how the policy text is created linguistically, what competing or intersecting interests the policy addresses, what actors have advanced and promoted the policy, and why (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Kenway, 2010). Additionally, the policy analyst needs to be aware of the various forms of and approaches to policies in a given field. This helps the analyst assess and examine the appropriate nature of the policy to unearth the sources of oppression ingrained in and legitimized by the policy. Thus from a critical perspective, the policy analyst should strive to serve the values of those who are silenced and oppressed by the dominant few (Prunty, 1985).

4.4 Criticisms of CPA and Rationale for Using Actor-Network Theory in Policy Research

Despite its utility in analysis and usage, critical theory and, by extension, CPA is not without its critics. Some scholars argue that traditional and well-established practices of social critique do not address the realities that are being enacted on the

ground. Edwards and Fenwick (2014) claim that decades of critiques of educational policies and practices have resulted in little impact outside of academia and that these critiques are “self-referential and self-reverential,” and have failed to change the “existing reproductions of power and inequalities despite these critiques” (p. 4). Indeed, they argue that that “critique has run out of steam” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 4) and that the tradition of critique is exhausted by its emphasis on language, identity, and discourse that “are inadequate for thinking about matter, materiality and politics in contemporary contexts of biopolitics, technoscience and the global political economy” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 11). Instead of simply uncovering power relations and what is wrong with policy, good policy critique should instead work “through practices and not simply *about* them [emphasis in original]” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 3).

In the context of this research, I firmly believe that ANT can serve as a critical framework to analyse policy. ANT’s attention to the agency of both human and non-human actors, its focus on the relationships between actors assembled around policies, and its emphasis on the power of specific actor-networks helped me critically examine the complex relationships between policies. When looking at citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canadian higher education, one may argue that these three policy areas are disparate. Much of the literature on internationalization focuses on the definitions of internationalization, the ways to internationalize the university, and assessing how “international” a university is using metrics and assessments. This research, on the other hand, is not only critical but also relational that tries to also understand how policies, people, and practices are connected and tries to identify who

(either humans or objects) connects them. The concept of assemblages in ANT provides me with the critical lens to examine how policies around citizenship and immigration intersect with policies around university internationalization (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Instead of focusing on how to create more effective policies, the critical-sociomaterial framework was used to identify who benefited from the policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization, what voices were heard in the policy process, what voices were silenced, and in whose interests these policies actually work. Furthermore, I used the framework to understand why Canada's *Citizenship Act* (1985) was recently updated, how the updated policy is being put into practice, and how the policy may intersect with the internationalization aspirations of universities in the province of Ontario.

In the next section, I introduce ANT, highlight its core elements, and introduce how it can be used as to conduct CPA.

4.5 Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

Actor-Network Theory is a framework of sociomaterial theory that can be described as “a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities, and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a contentiously generated effect of the webs of relations with which they are located” (Law, 2009, p.141). For the sociomaterialist, it is important to illustrate how objects with agency affect the network of relations between various actors to create order, meaning, and organized action (Fleetwood, 2005; Meikle, 1985; Mutch, 2002). Edwards and Fenwick

(2014), in their defense of sociomateriality and particularity ANT as a critical analytical tool write:

Materials help enact networks that exert powerful forces, combine and translate people and things into these networks, and configure these forces to exclude or include. To disregard or minimise the centrality of materiality in these networks is to overlook important levers for change as well as reproduction. Changes will not come from human intentions and actions alone (p. 16).

Thus the refusal to separate the social and the material is central to the sociomaterial approach and is useful to understand how actors, both human and non-human, facilitate organized action. It is important to highlight that ANT is just one of several sociomaterial theories and approaches researchers can use. Others include complexity theory and cultural-historical activity theory. Even though these theories differ in what they can offer researchers, they all take into account the role of both the social world and material objects (Fenwick, 2010). For the purposes of this chapter, I will only focus on ANT.

According to Latour (2005), one of Actor-Network Theory's foundational scholars, ANT functions as a sociology of translation that rejects the idea that the human world and ultimately social relations are independent of the material and natural world. It is a framework that is widely being used in educational, social science, and humanities research that asks reframed questions that focus on relationality and uses reframed methods such as tracing to bring to the forefront the invisible and find the unexpected (Mol, 2010). Similarly, an ANT analysis seeks to "revalue and reconvince the role of

matter and material in human practices” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 1). The framework helps illustrate “how and in what forms people, representations, and artefacts move, how they are combined, where they get accumulated, and what happens when they are hooked up with other networks already in motion” (Nespor, 2002, p.376). ANT is constructivist in its approach, permits humans and non-humans to create meaning of the social world through their actions in a constantly developing system (Latour, 2005) and holds “no a priori distinction between the social and the technical” (Gherardi & Nicolini, 2000, p.334).

ANT researchers argue that there are many worlds and modes of existence (Latour, 2013). Much like other post-structural theories, ANT, as a way to do CPA, shies away from grand narratives and places an emphasis on multiple voices and perspectives. By focusing on microsocial interactions between actors, ANT is concerned with how facts, knowledge, and practices are made and how they come to be (Mitev & Howcroft, 2011). Epistemologically, ANT is anti-positivist, is categorically reflexive (Law, 1990), and does not seek to “[produce] its own vision of the world” (Lee & Hassard, 1999, p.398). Instead, ANT seeks to comprehend how actors understand their own lived realities by letting them “define the world in their own terms” (Latour, 1999b, p. 20).

One of the fundamental tenants of ANT is that it provides an account of how relationships can be organized and stabilized to create a durable and robust network (Callon, 1990) comprised of both humans and non-human actors. For the sociomaterialist, an actor can be anything, either human or non-human. It can be a person, a machine, policy documents, a phenomenon (such as globalization,

internationalization, and transnationalism), an organization, a weather system, or even a virus such as Ebola. This refusal to distinguish human subjects and non-human objects is founded upon ANT's commitment to "radical symmetry" that views the power of humans and non-humans as equally uncertain, ambiguous, and disputable (Callon, 1986). In the actor-network framework, both humans and non-humans actors (termed "actants") have agency in which both human and non-humans bring together complex elements to create a successful network (Latour, 1999b). It relies on the assertion that natural objects and human-made artefacts have certain life-like and real properties and characteristics that contribute and correspond to either the strengths or weaknesses of the network (Law, 1986; Latour, 1987). As such, an "actor-network" is defined as the assemblage of

All groups, actors, and intermediaries [that] describe a network: they identify and define other groups, actors, and intermediaries, together with the relationships that bring these together... the network of intermediaries accepted by an actor after negotiation and transformation is in turn transformed by that actor. It is converted into a scenario, carrying the signature of its author, looking for actors ready to play its roles. For this reason I speak of actor-networks: for an actor is also a network (Callon, 1990, p.142).

ANT's relational ontology underpinned the set of assumptions that guided this study. As such, human and non-human actors are defined by their relationships with each other whereby they exert agency on one another. For ANT, agency "is acquired and relational, rather than inherent and individually possessed," allowing work to be done

with or through the human and non-human actors (Rutland & Aylett, 2008, p. 632). Thus from an ANT perspective, there is no such thing as an independent or sovereign actor; rather, actors are enrolled and assembled around each other. There is no central figure whose agenda dominates (Rutland & Aylett, 2008).

ANT focuses primarily on and privileges the actors over the researcher in terms of the legitimacy of knowledge. As such, the meanings and definitions of terms, realities, and accounts come directly from the actors rather than just the interpretations of the researcher. In this context, the researcher provides actors with a platform to speak for themselves as much as possible and strives to preserve the actors' understanding of their actions and daily events (Whittle & Spicer, 2008). Instead of looking for self-contained essentialist meanings in objects and actors, the sociomaterialist tries to provide meaning of social explanations by examining the interconnections of various actors and objects that comprise a system (Law, 2009). In the case of a non-human actor such as a policy document or a phenomenon, the researcher needs to interpret these actors with agency (Law 1986; Latour, 1987) and strive to acknowledge researcher bias to be able to properly privilege the actors' voices, knowledge, and actions. By doing so, ANT critiques the institutional powers of established sociological frameworks that favour the analysts' constructs and language (Whittle & Spicer, 2008) and treats all accounts, including the analysis of the researcher/analyst and those of participants as equal (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

In addition to viewing both human and non-human actors with agency within a network, sociomaterialists view realities as being comprised of controversies.

“Controversies are situations where actors disagree” in which “controversies begin when actors discover that they cannot ignore each other and controversies end when actors manage to work out a solid compromise to live together” (Venturini, 2010, p. 261). As such, reality is “fabricated through things, which are attached, gathered and negotiated as ‘matters of concern,’ though open controversies” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 8). Policy researchers have viewed controversies as “alternative efforts of competing networks of actors to ‘frame’ the reality and enroll others” (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010, p. 6746). This understanding of controversy can help policy researchers “track the chain of micro-decisions and power relationships through which actors gradually agree up on, going from mere idea to its realization” (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010, p. 6748).

By using social controversies and matters of concern, ANT strives to map out the points of tension that arise between various actors in a system. Latour (2005) believes that a system in evolution reveals the complexities, contentions, and conflicts between actors whereas a stable system is harder to scrutinize. Thus, ANT uses social controversies and the continuous (and often contentious) evolution of a system to understand details within the underlying processes of the system.

Venturini (2010) explains how researchers can understand a system by examining controversies through the analogy of baking a cake. Through the debate and conflict among the pastry chefs in a kitchen tasked with baking a cake, one can understand the relationships between the chefs, the ingredients, and ultimately how a cake is baked. Venturini (2010) writes:

To learn how to bake a cake, you will have to step into the kitchen and observe the cooking in action. Even so, if cooks work at full speed without explaining what they are doing, you will have a hard time understanding what's going on. However, if cooks start disagreeing on quantities, disputing the order of operations, quarreling about the cooking time, there you can start to learn something (p. 263).

Venturini claims that the analogy is also representative of real life and researchers can use ANT to understand how various actors interact within a network to impact their realities and everyday life. Venturini (2010) writes:

To understand how social phenomena are built it is not enough to observe the actors alone nor is it enough to observe social networks once they are stabilized. What should be observed are the actor-networks – that is to say, the fleeting configurations where actors are renegotiating the ties of old networks and the emergence of new networks is redefining the identity of actors. (p. 264)

In the context of my own research, I examined the controversies and misalignments of priorities that arose between the various actors involved in the relationship between Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education. Looking at how controversies arose between various federal and institutional policies along with examining how administrators and students navigated those policies formed the crux of my analysis in which I uncovered how both human and non-human actors were assembled around each other, how actors assembled around policies, the

connections that existed between the university and federal government, and what these assemblage produced and enabled.

Much like other theoretical frameworks, ANT is not without its critics. While ANT provides a useful framework for the empirical analysis of the organizing process within a network and can explain how power relations are constructed (Whittle & Spicer, 2008), critics of sociomaterial theories, including Actor-Network Theory (ANT), argue that it cannot and/or is unable to adequately address the political. Scholars note that ANT is criticized for being uncritical and thus is irrelevant to educational research (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014). Additionally, ANT is cited as being apolitical, is a form of anti-critique, simply descriptive, and unable to provide critical tools to challenge structures of power, privilege, and domination (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014; Whittle & Spicer, 2008). However, sociomaterialists claim that the resistance to sociomateriality and ANT emerges from those who view sociomaterial theories as a threat to the well-established metaphysical assumptions and sociological frameworks used in the Western/Northern academia (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014). Furthermore, proponents of sociomateriality and ANT say that the framework challenges researchers to “retrace the practices of critique in significant ways—to gather and experiment with the social and natural, human and non-human, as matters of concern, things with a politics inherent in them” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 9). For the sociomaterialists, being critical involves researchers understanding how entities are attached in ways that produce traceable actions. Instead of being critical, and deconstructing a process and/or phenomena, sociomaterialists focus on gathering and adding (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014). According to Latour, “the

critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles” (Latour, 2004, p.246).

From this perspective, sociomateriality and ANT provides sharp analytical tools that are useful in observing, describing, and tracing the interactions between actors in a network, whether they are human or non-human.

Seeing that my research involved looking at policy documents and interviews with university administrators and international graduate students, I used ANT to critically examine the relationships between non-human objects such as policy documents (internationalization, citizenship and immigration and university strategic plans), the human actors interacting with those policies (university administrators and students), and other actors such as special interest groups (SIGs) and government agencies and departments assembled around these policies. ANT’s sociomaterialist approach to “the more-than human [opened] up extended understandings” (Edwards & Fenwick, 2014, p. 1) of how these various actors impacted each other in relationship to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. Furthermore, in addition to policy and people, ANT allowed me to examine how various phenomena influence the actions of the actors. ANT explores how phenomena is produced through the network of people, artifacts, and institutions and views phenomena as being continually created and recreated as opposed to existing “out there” without inherent properties or characteristics (Mutch, 2002). The view that ‘phenomena’ is continually being constructed is foundational to my research. Internationalization of higher education in an era of globalization and transnationalism, increased global mobility, and constructs such citizenship – as phenomena - are constantly evolving in the 21st century. This

critical-sociomaterial framework, unlike many well-established sociological theories that simply examine human-relations, enabled me to examine how policies and people responded to and interacted with these global phenomena. By using ANT as a way to do CPA, supplemented my understanding of how both human and non-human actors along with the phenomena listed above influence the relationship between Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education.

4.6 The Significance of Policy Assemblages

At the start of this chapter, I briefly discussed what policy is. Before I highlight how ANT can be used to critically examine policy, I want to discuss the concept of assemblage. Here I want to explain how understanding policy as an assemblage differs from traditional ways of looking at policy employed by critical policy analysts. Framing policy as assemblage can help policy analysts not only focus on the intended consequences of the policy and who is reflected or silenced in it, but also examine policy in a relational context.

The term "assemblage" is derived from the French *agencement* that denotes the coming together of different and heterogeneous parts linking to form a whole (Müller, 2015). An assemblage of things is relational in which the heterogeneous and individual parts all have agency. Assemblages are also productive as "they produce new territorial organizations, new behaviours, new expressions, new actors and new realities" (Müller, 2015, p. 29). These assemblages are also in flux; they can come together to form territorial organizations or mutate, transform, and even break up (Müller, 2015). In an assemblage, the sum of all the parts makes up the whole. In order to understand the

sum, the parts along with how and where these parts connect needs to be analyzed and critiqued. This line of thinking is also useful in the context of policy research and understanding how policies come to be, how they connect with one another, how they regulate action, and the socio-political implications of these connections. The assemblage of policies, practices, human actors, and objects is not always ordered and tidy. It is often messy, contentious, and chaotic, adding nuance to the critical-sociomaterial analysis of policy.

Gorur (2011), in her work on the relationship between the OECD, PISA, and Australia's educational policy characterizes policy as assemblage. Gorur explains that the process of making policy and enacting is disorderly and chaotic. She writes:

It became more and more difficult to trace the boundaries and origins of policy influences and practices. Policy ... [is] not made by a few officials in well-appointed buildings during committee meetings ... but involved a great deal of activity occurring at multiple levels at various venues. (Gorur, 2011, p. 613).

For Gorur and her interviewees, policy involves a wide range and varied types of actors that connect across people, objects, and locations. She argues that unlike traditional understandings of policy, an assemblage perspective does not seek to clearly pinpoint and carve-out the various realms of policy. Rather policy is "a dynamic, emergent and uncertain process" where "distinctions [are] blurred" (Gorur, 2011, p. 613). The concept of assemblage, a fundamental component of ANT, avoids viewing policy as rational, organized, linear, and individualized and instead critically views policy as a collection of human and non-human actors. This allows researchers and policy analysts to understand

“how multiple actors are drawn in, how the relations between them are formed, and how they interact with each other,” (Gorur, 2011, p. 617) to add a nuance to policy analysis.

4.7 ANT as CPA: A critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis

ANT, as a critical approach to policy analysis, frames policy in ways that are critical, relational, and takes into account the sociomaterial elements within policies. Even though ANT is rarely used in CPA, the critical-sociomaterial framework that I highlighted above draws on conceptual similarities found in critical policy studies. The framework is grounded in post-structuralism, is situated in the interpretive paradigm of social theory, is epistemologically constructivist, strives to privilege the actors’ voices, actions, and accounts, and addresses issues of power. This is why I position ANT as a critical approach to policy analysis. From my perspective, ANT’s theoretical lens allowed me to ask reframed questions that focus not only on whose voices are privileged and silenced in policy discourses but also how actors relationally affect one another. Moreover, ANT provided me with a framework to analyze policies and practices to reveal how specific actor-networks change the relationships between the federal government and the university. There is no doubt that ANT’s analytical framework, tools, approach to understanding policy are critical and fit well within critical policy research. As such, I employed the theoretical concepts associated with ANT to analyze the policies relevant to my thesis.

Law and Singleton (2014) argue that ANT is better understood as a toolkit that helps researchers understand the heterogeneous practices of association that helps us

understand the world and thus has critical sensibilities that can help researchers analyze policies in novel ways. The traditional linear framework for policy analysis views the policy process as being a top-down process and ignores the complexity intertwined in the policy process (Shore & Wright, 2011). Thus, by employing a critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis, I was able to analyze policies that took into account the complex relationships between actors and actor-networks enrolled in policies. This nuance is exactly what I sought in my study whereby the critical-sociomaterial framework helped me uncover how university internationalization and government citizenship and immigration policies were drawn in, what relationships they form, and how actors assembled around these policies.

The critical-sociomaterial framework and its attention to 'policy as assemblage' helped me investigate how citizenship, immigration, and internationalization were enacted and performed as policies that were enrolled together. Additionally, ANT as CPA revealed the connections between the three sets of policies to understand what emerged from these connections, helped me uncover how these policies operated in synergistic and inhibitory ways, and allowed me to study the relationships between the various human and non-human actors involved in the policy making process in an era of globalization and higher education internationalization. Finally, the framework's attention to the effects of policy supplemented my understanding of how participants in my study were impacted by citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies and ultimately stressed the intended and unintended consequences of policy.

At the heart of using ANT as CPA lies a re-evaluation of what “critical” policy research entails and how a critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis helped me answer my research questions. Scholars call for new and innovative ways to examine policies as “some of the older theoretical and methodological resources are no longer sufficient and ... new tools are needed to understand policy processes in a world that is increasingly networked.” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 3). Critical policy analysis often examines the discrepancy between policy intentions and how they are implemented in varied local contexts. Thus, ANT as CPA may view policy a “bricolage” in which “policies are ramshackle, compromise, hit-and-miss affairs, that are reworked, tinkered with, nuanced and inflected through complex processes of influence, text production, dissemination and ultimately recreation in contexts of practice” (Ball, 2006, p. 75). A critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis can explore how policies come into existence and delve deeper into the “ramshackle” policy process. The approach makes “policy implementations visible in terms of how particular effects emerge from networks of interests and actions that are brought into play, and how a network materialized from heterogeneous interactions” (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011, p. 713). Therefore, ANT as CPA provides the researcher with a nuanced and non-human-centric lens for policy analysis that examines the influences of material objects on educational activity, explores how “multiple heterogeneous actors and materials interact, assemble, disassemble in ways that confound conventional categories deployed in educational research...and resist analysis” (p. 709).

In the context of my research, ANT's notion of translations and multiple ontologies informed my understanding of how the interactions of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies transformed the practices and actions of university administrators and international graduate students as they assembled around these policies. While many critical studies of policy focus on the "analysis of policy" to understand how policy agendas are set, how dominant interests were championed, and how to best overcome the barriers in the democratic process to policy making (Ozga, 2000; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, et al, 1997), ANT's notion of multiple ontologies, which takes into account "how different objects and different worlds...can be enacted together in the name of one practice," (Fenwick, Edwards, & Sawchuk, 2015, p. 106) uncovered how various actors understood and assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in their own ways. Acknowledging different actors' perspectives opened "a rich approach to appreciating the fundamental differences afoot, and for patching them together without attempting to impose false coherence" (Fenwick, Edwards, & Sawchuk, 2015, p. 108). Therefore, the notion of multiple ontologies (or the notion that different actors have differing views) is a vital component of ANT that examines varying, yet distinct and often overlapping realities. Furthermore, ANT's notion of translations helped me understand "what happens when entities, human and non-human, come together and connect, changing one another to form links" (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010, p. 9) and the "mutual negotiations and transformations of human and nonhuman actors" that are in play within my thesis (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011, p. 715). By examining how policies were enacted in

relationship to each other and enrolled people in the policy process, ANT “slows down the analysis” (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011, p. 715) to help trace the connections that link people and policies.

Embedded within this analytic framework lies an understanding of how ambivalence orders complex phenomena such as citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. For my research, I used ANT to understand how internationalization policy was practiced and enacted within the university in relation to citizenship and immigration policies and uncovered how the human actors within the university practice internationalization, given Canada’s evolving citizenship and immigration regulations. Given that “in education, conflicting powerful interests from government, industry, parents, students, and professional swirl around every major object,” the critical lens provided by ANT helped me uncover the enactment of internationalization policy as “multiple simultaneous ontologies” (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011, p. 723). Additionally, ANT allowed me to uncover the “constitution of larger policy assemblages that gather, move, and exert power across distance” and helped me realize how policies “become enrolled and translated into particular forms in ... large networks of activity, and how fissures and counternetworks can infiltrate and erode these moving assemblages” (p. 724).

4.8 Summary

Unlike conventional methods of policy analysis, using ANT as a critical way of doing policy analysis is messy. The critical-sociomaterial approach presented in this chapter appreciates the disorder and chaos involved in the policy process. Thus, there is

no doubt that ANT's framework is critical in nature. ANT shies away from a linear analysis of policy that simply examines agenda setting, policy creation, and policy implementation. Rather, the critical-sociomaterial framework employed in this thesis examines how various actors are embedded within the policy process, whose values are embedded in the policy, whose voices are silenced, and how various assemblages or networks of people and objects interact in specific ways to enact policies into action and practice. In the next chapter, I share my methodological framework and outline the methods I used to conduct my study. I explain my reasons for using an instrumental case study design, highlight the various policies relevant to my study, and share information about how I interviewed my participants.

Chapter 5: Methodology and Methods

5.1 Overview

This chapter discusses my methodological framework and the methods that I used to conduct my research. With a mix of document analysis and interviews with university administrators and international graduate students, my qualitative study explored the relationships between Canada's federal citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education, as it relates to international student recruitment and retention. This chapter discusses my ontological and epistemological underpinnings that informed my choice in methodology and methods. Subsequently, I justify my study design, explicitly outline the policies I analyzed for my study, outline my participants, and explain how I analyzed by data.

5.2 Methodological Framework – The Case for Qualitative Methodology

Given my ontological and epistemological framework outlined in Chapter 1 that situates me within the interpretivist paradigm of social theory, I used qualitative methodologies to conduct my study. Qualitative methodologies are effective because they allow the researcher to critically interpret the data based on a number of theoretical frameworks (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). For my research, I drew on the analytical tools provided by ANT, as a critical approach to doing policy analysis to understand the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. My critical-sociomaterial approach to policy research also aligns with interpretivist paradigms of social theory because they are anti-positivist and take into account the multiple narratives and ontologies actors

assembled around policy texts and discourses.

Furthermore, qualitative research strives to produce procedural, thick, and descriptive knowledge and answers questions about what, why, and how something is happening (Shavelson & Town, 2002). Many view “qualitative research [as] a naturalistic inquiry. The research is conducted in real world settings; no attempt is made to manipulate the environment. The researcher looks at the “meanings people attach to the activities and events in their world and are open to whatever emerges” (Roberts, 2004, p. 111), studying “people’s actual experiences in naturally occurring events and situations” (Parker, 2004, p.160). Additionally, qualitative research often involves the participants’ lived experiences with no influence, control, or manipulation from the researcher. Instead, qualitative researchers “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.3). Thus, one of the greatest strengths of qualitative research is its interpretive nature, which allows participants to provide in-depth accounts of their lived experiences and what those experiences mean to them (Eisner, 1998).

Some methodologists understand qualitative research as a “*bricolage*”, involving “a pieced-together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013, pp. 7-8). Viewing qualitative research as a “*bricolage*” (understanding a phenomenon as being complex, messy, and open to interpretation) allows the researcher to use multiple methods to recognize the various local processes and meaning in the study setting (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; Maxwell,

2005). Again, this aligns with the conception of policy as bricolage outlined in the previous chapter. Rather than relying on a set of techniques to answer a set of research questions, qualitative research focuses primarily on approaches to inquiry based on the nature of the phenomena that is being studied (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). The goal of qualitative research is not to generalize its findings to large groups of people but to rather “elucidate the particular” affecting each individual in the study (Creswell, 2007, p. 126).

Because I wanted to understand the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada, a qualitative design most effectively allows me to answer my research questions. Using qualitative methods helped me understand how policy trends around citizenship and immigration have been framed over the past several years and how university officials and international graduate students perceived the impact of these policies on the internationalization of higher education. Lastly, qualitative approaches, framed within my theoretical underpinnings, helped me critically examine various policy texts such as Canada’s Citizenship Act and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, and an Ontario university’s internationalization strategy to understand what actors are involved in these policies and their relationship to each other in the context of my research agenda.

5.3 Rationale for Instrumental Case Study Approach

I conducted my research using an instrumental case study approach. My case is Central University, a public, research-intensive university in Ontario that is dedicated to

internationalization. My case is of the relationships between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education within one Canadian post-secondary institution.

Case study research involves “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2014, p.16). These studies yield extremely rich, in-depth, and detailed information about the phenomena being studied (Berg, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Case studies are extremely effective in identifying unclear boundaries between phenomenon and context and understanding how they interact (Yin, 2014). In the context of my research, the relationship between federal-level citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization strategies of individual universities are often muddled and unclear. The purpose of using a case study was to “illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what results” (Yin, 2014, p.15). A case study approach was used to guide my research as case studies help explore the varying experiences of different individuals, identify key themes within these experiences (Stake, 2006), and helps illuminate the research questions through the examination of multiple sources (Creswell, 2007), provides compelling evidence, and ensures a robust research study (Yin, 2014).

I chose to conduct an instrumental case study because I wanted a deep understanding of the relationships between Canada’s federal citizenship and immigration laws and the internationalization of higher education and critically

underscore the contexts in which these three policy arenas intersect (Stake, 1995). Particularly, I wanted to understand how federal policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization applied to one Canadian university and how both administrators and international graduate students were enrolled around and impacted by these policies. By focusing on a single institution, I hoped to “uncover the manifest interaction of significant factors,” policies, and actors to identify the actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies at the governmental and university levels (Berg, 2009, p.318).

5.4 Methods

As articulated above, I used qualitative methodologies to conduct my study. There were two components to my study. First, I critically examined the policies relevant to citizenship and immigration and internationalization (both from the federal and institutional perspectives). I reviewed the policies for content and examined if they made references to each other. I also examined who created the policy, whose voices were championed, who the policy was directed towards, and what the policy intended to address. The policies I analyzed are outlined below.

Second, I conducted interviews with university administrators invested in the internationalization efforts at an Ontario university and with international graduate students who are both agents in the internationalization aspirations of the university and were directly affected by federal citizenship and immigration regulations. In this section, I identify my research site and the policies I examine. Additionally, I outline my participant selection criteria, explain my data collection methods, and explore how the

data was analyzed.

5.5 Research Sites

For the purpose of my research, I chose one public, research-intensive university in Ontario that has a strong international focus and is committed to internationalization. Central University (for the purposes of confidentiality and anonymity, the university will be referred to by a pseudonym) was the site of my study. Central University has a series of strategic plans that highlight internationalization as a top strategic priority for the future. This institution has a strong research-focus, and seeks to attract more foreign students onto their campus. As such, Central University was an ideal site for my study.

The university is one of the largest universities in Ontario, and one of the top 10 largest universities in Canada in terms of full-time student enrollment (Maclean's, 2013). According to Central University's international and graduate studies viewbooks, the university has almost 40,000 students. Of the 40,000, roughly 6,000 are graduate students. The majority of graduate students (approximately 60%) are enrolled in Master's programs and the remaining are enrolled in PhD programs. Of the roughly 6,000 graduate students, approximately 20% are international graduate students, hailing from 95 countries. The university also has a total of about 300 post-doctoral scholars of which close to half are international.

I limited my study to one university in an effort to immerse myself in rich data that ultimately helped me explore my thesis in depth. By focusing on one university, I was fully able to understand how the institution engaged with its internationalization vision along with citizenship and immigration policies from the Canadian federal

government. By reviewing institutional policy documents, interviewing university administrators, and talking to international graduate students at Central University, I was able to map out the assemblage of actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies at the governmental and institutional levels. Doing so helped me understand, in depth how higher education internationalization is connected to Canada's federal citizenship and immigration laws.

5.6 Policies Relevant to Research

For my research I examined three sets of policies through a critical policy and actor-network lens. The first was the internationalization policies and/or long term strategic plans of Central University. This included Central University's *Strategic Plan* (Central University, 2014a) and its complementary *Internationalization Strategy* (Central University, 2014b). In line with efforts to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, the policies were renamed so that Central University would not be identified by its respective policy titles.

Second, I examined *Canada's International Education Strategy* (Government of Canada, 2014b) that was published by the Conservative federal government in 2014. As one of the first federal strategies that addressed higher education, it was crucial to analyze this document for my thesis. In the policy, the federal government highlighted how higher education can help Canada be prosperous in the future and underscore a greater investment by the federal government in international education.

Third, I examined Canada's citizenship and immigration policies themselves. As such, I analyzed Canada's *Citizenship Act* (1985) and the recent changes to the Act

proposed by the introduction of *Bill C-24* (2014). Additionally, I also analyzed Canada's *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA, 2001) to fully understand Canada's policies towards citizenship and immigration.

While policy documents served as the primary documents of analysis in my thesis, I also broadly explored other published, archival materials such as newspaper articles and reports that were relevant to internationalization at Central University and in Canada. I also explored archival documents that discussed Canada's citizenship and immigration policies to understand the larger discourse around how changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies related to the world of higher education (Meurrens, 2014; Tamburri, 2013, 2014). Last, I explored resources and websites published by Citizenship and Immigration Canada on how international students access permanent residency post-graduation.

By analyzing policy documents that are relevant to internationalization and citizenship and immigration in Canada, I was able to explore my research topic in-depth using multiple sources. Multiple sources of data that include documents and archival records are invaluable to case study research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). "For case studies, the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources" (Yin, 2014, p. 107) such as interviews with participants enrolled within the documents. Therefore, "because of their overall value, documents play an explicit role in any data collection in doing case study research" (p. 107).

5.7 Analysis of Policy Documents

As articulated in my theoretical framework chapter, I relied ANT to do a critical

policy analysis. A critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis not only allowed me to identify and map out key actors assembled around policies on citizenship, immigration, and internationalization but also helped me understand the uneven distribution of power spread across actors at the governmental and institutional levels. I read Central University's *Strategic Plan* and *Internationalization Strategy* to uncover Central University's commitment to internationalization and explore if citizenship and immigration were discussed in the policies, with respect to the recruitment and retention of international students. Moreover, an analysis of *Canada's International Education Strategy* and Canada's citizenship and immigration laws helped me understand how Canada views international students and what its goals are to attract and retain more foreign students to advance Canada's internationalization aspirations. Much like before, I explored the extent to which citizenship and immigration policies were discussed in *Canada's International Education Strategy* and if the federal government made a link between international education and immigration and citizenship. Using a critical and relational lens, I also examined who published *Canada's International Education Strategy*, what values were championed in the policy, whose voices were missing from the policy, and what other key stakeholders the policy referenced.

5.8 Data Collection: Interviews with Participants

Once I completed my policy analysis, I conducted interviews with university administrators associated with internationalization and interviews with international graduate students at Central University. Interviews provided me with insights into what

challenges and/or opportunities international students envisioned, given the recent federal level policy changes to the citizenship process. A similar question was asked to university administrators with regard to how these policy changes impacted their university's internationalization endeavours in our globalized world. Ultimately, the goal of interviewing my participants was to understand their viewpoints, perspectives, perceptions, lived experiences, and learn how they came to attach meaning to the concept of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization (Berg, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Merriam, 1998; Seidman, 2006).

I used semi-structured, open-ended, and one-on-one interviews for my study to gather information from my participants. Participants were given the option to participate in the interview either in person, via phone, or via Skype. The interviews were recorded via audio recording devices (Glesne, 2011). Because case study interviews are often designed as fluid, rather being a rigid series of questions (Yin, 2014), semi-structured interviews were most effective for my study. My interview questions were pre-determined based on the analysis of policies and literature (see Appendix 5 and 6). The questions were asked in a systematic and consistent manner, though at times, probing was necessary to uncover more details about the questions being asked (Berg, 2009; Merriam, 1998). Due to the open-ended nature of the interview, I was able to restructure the interview on the spot to enhance the flow of the interview and add questions if more details were needed about a particular issue or topic (Glesne, 2011).

5.9 Participants: Administrators and staff

Interviews with administrators and staff at Central University constituted a fundamental component of the data I collected to explore my thesis. In an effort to recruit those who were knowledgeable about internationalization policies at Central University and were familiar with federal regulations around citizenship and immigration, I employed purposeful and criterion-based sampling that provided me with the rich data I needed to explore my research questions (Patton, 2002; Maxwell, 2005). I recruited ten administrators/staff from Central University to interview for my study. This group of participants were asked about the role federal citizenship and immigration policies plays in international student recruitment and retention, how the policies related to internationalization at the university, and what role the university plays as an agent of immigration (see Appendix 5 for a list of interview questions). As mentioned earlier, I used semi-structured, open-ended, and one-on-one interviews for my study (Glesne, 2011). The interviews lasted from 30 to 60 minutes and took place in the administrators' respective offices.

To recruit the participants, I first compiled a list of participants from the university's international centre's websites and from the websites of international programs at Central University. Reading about their role at the university, I identified key individuals who I believed were the most knowledgeable about the topics pertinent to my thesis. Once I compiled their names and email addresses, I invited them, via email to participate in my study. They were all sent a letter of information about the study and a consent form (see Appendix 2 for the full letter and consent form). In the letter, I invited

them to be either interviewed in person (if I happen to be in their respective city at the time) or over the phone. If my primary participants declined to be interviewed, then I used snowball sampling (Maxwell, 2005) to recruit others who may be just as knowledgeable. As such, in the case that my initial participants declined to be interviewed, my letter asked my participants to suggest others who may be helpful to my study. Doing so ensured that I had enough participants for my study and that my study employed those who were most knowledgeable about the how federal citizenship and immigration laws impacted Central University's international students and internationalization efforts. Below is a list of university administrators who participated in my study along with their position at the university. Please note that pseudonyms have been used to refer to the participants.

Table 5.1 List of University Administrator Participants and their Roles at Central University

Name	Role of Administrator Participant
Mark Brown	Administrative Director of Entry-Level Language Program
Dr. Laura McDonald	Vice Provost of Graduate Studies Office
Eric Doherty	Registered Immigration Consultant and Student Advisor
Dr. Margaret Cole	Acting Associate Vice Provost
Jessica McKinsey	Executive Director of Strategic Projects
Dr. Donald Johnson	Vice Dean of Medical Studies
Dr. Victor Wilson	University President
Dr. Joelle McLean	Vice Provost - International
Samantha Kobe	Director of Internationalization at University Medical School
Dr. Christina Forrester	Director of International Office

The participants included the university president, directors/managers of the university's International Office, vice-provost who oversee internationalization at the university, international student recruitment officers, directors of international activities/programs, international student advisors who advised students on Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and others within the university administration involved with internationalizing the institution.

5.10 Participants: International graduate students

To supplement my policy/document analysis and my interviews with university administration and staff, I also interviewed international graduate students to better understand how they navigate federal policies around citizenship and immigration, given the recent changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies. For this group of participants, I selected international students who are either enrolled in a Masters or PhD program at Central University. Furthermore, I only recruited those who had an interest in settling in Canada as permanent residents and/or naturalized Canadian citizens. My selection criteria ensured that I was recruiting those students who were firmly affected by Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and who ultimately wanted to navigate through the citizenship and immigration process. For this stage of my data collection, I recruited ten international graduate students from Central University in my study. There were five males and five females. In an effort to hear the voices from across various disciplines, I recruited students from a variety of faculties and departments across campus.

Much like my previous participant group, I conducted 30-60 minute long, semi-

structured, open-ended, and one-on-one interviews for my study. All my interviews with international graduate students were audio recorded using an electronic audio recording device.

I employed three strategies to garner international graduate student participation. To recruit participants, I first relied on the International Office and faculty graduate offices at Central University to promote my research invitation to international graduate students, either via sending emails to graduate mailing lists or putting up posters in their respective offices (see Appendix 3 for the recruitment poster). I also employed snowball sampling to recruit international graduate students through my personal contacts at the university. Much like my administrator participants, I invited international graduate students via email to participate in my study. They were sent a letter of information about the study, a consent form, along with the research questions central to my study (see Appendix 4 for the full letter and consent form). In the letter, I invited them to be either interviewed in person or over the phone. A small portion of my participants were recruited through posters advertising my research across campus. The posters posted across the university campus had the title of the study, the purpose of the study, the selection criteria, the researcher's name and his contact information. However, the majority of the international graduate students I recruited for my study approached me after hearing about my study through their friends or emails that went out to them through their departmental email list. Below is a list of the international graduate students who participated in my study. The table includes their country/region of origin, their academic degree program, their subject area, and what year of their

program they are in. Once again, note that pseudonyms have been used to refer to the participants.

Table 5.2 List of International Graduate Students Who Participated in Study

Name	Country/Region of Origin	Masters/PhD	Program	Year in Program
Karen	United States	PhD	Geography	2 out of 4
Lei	China	Masters	Medical Biophysics	2 out of 2
Adam	Middle East	Masters	Medical Biophysics	2 out of 2
Charles	Indonesia	Masters	Epidemiology and Biostatistics	1 out of 2
Andrea	Cuba	PhD	Hispanic Studies	1 out of 4
Chi	China	Masters	Mechanical Engineering	1 out of 2
Isabella	Mexico	PhD	Chemistry	4 out of 4
Sophia	Northern Europe	PhD	Health and Rehabilitation Sciences	1 out of 4
Richard	Ghana	Masters	Geography	1 out of 2
Ezekiel	Ghana	PhD	Geography	4 out of 4

International graduate students were asked about their awareness of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies (along with its recent changes) and asked how the policy changes affected their overall career/life goals post-graduation. They were also asked about the role they play in internationalizing their university campuses, how they foresee contributing to Canada's and/or their own country's prosperity, and how federal policies towards citizenship and immigration affect their decisions to settle in Canada (see Appendix 6 for a list of interview questions).

5.11 Data Analysis of the Policies and Interviews

Actor-Network Theory as a Critical Policy Analysis approach served as my framework for policy analysis. It is the approach embedded within these two theoretical frameworks that helped me analyze the policy documents, rather than specific methods, tools, and techniques (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al. 1997). For my analysis, I examined how specific policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization affected the various participants and how the policies impacted the role of the university to be able to meet the needs of administrators, students, and the federal government. Furthermore, I sought to understand how these policies exist within a relational context. As such, I asked what connects these three policies to understand what emerges from these policies, how they intersect together, how they work in synergistic and/or inhibitory ways, whose voices are reflected in these policies, whose voices are neglected, and what are the intended along with the unintended consequences of these policies.

To analyze my interviews, I used a more systematic method that involved transcribing the interview audio files and coding them for content and emerging themes. I transcribed the twenty interviews myself so that I could be intimately aware of my data and comfortable analyzing it. Once transcribed, I coded the data using open, axial, and then selective coding (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) to break down, reassemble, and interpret the data such that I got insight into how my participants, both university administrators and international graduate students, operated within the context of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. The open coding phase allowed me to

assign words and/or phrases that capture my initial thoughts on the interview text. Once completed, axial coding helped me group the codes into themes and categories. Finally, selective coding allowed me to understand the relationship between the various codes and themes that emerge from the axial coding phase. Using this systematic process ensured that I thoroughly analyzed the richness of the interview data and helped me understand how the various participants are enrolled within the various policies relevant to my study. To maximize efficiency through the coding process, I used the coding software NVivo. This allowed me to collect and organize my data, code in a systematic fashion, and ensure all the codes were organized for ease of access and analysis.

Once all the interviews were coded, they were analyzed in relationship to each other in an effort to understand how Central University's internationalization strategies and the people enrolled within those policies interacted with Canada's citizenship and immigration laws. This stage incorporated an analysis of the interviews from administrators and international graduate students, along with the university's internationalization policy/strategic vision and also government citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies.

I was guided by my research questions and a critical-sociomaterial framework based on using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA). These critical-sociomaterial tools helped me understand where my data converged, where the data diverged, and ultimately revealed the values, rationales, policy forces, and relationships between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization aspirations of the university. As such, I mapped out the various actors assembled around

citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies at the governmental and university levels. I also identified key actors within these assemblages, uncovered what actors had the most and least power and agency within these assemblages, what these assemblages produced and enabled, and the intended and unintended consequences of enacting citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies.

5.12 Trustworthiness, Data Triangulation, and Saturation

Researchers are encouraged to use research methodologies and methods that help readers know that the study is worthy of consideration (Amankawaa, 2016). As such, researchers need to carefully consider how the study is conceptualized, how data is collected, and how findings are interpreted, analyzed and presented (Merriam & Tisdell, 2006). To establish trustworthiness and rigor of the research, I employed frameworks set out by Lincoln and Guba (1985) that respond to the study's confirmability, dependability, transferability, and credibility.

To address confirmability and dependability, I clearly outlined my methodology, methods, and analysis strategies in this thesis and in my research journal. These audit trails can help future researchers conduct similar studies in other settings. I have also presented this research at various national and international conferences where I received feedback on my research methods. The feedback verified that my research methods were aligned with qualitative research methodologies, that the data is stable, and that the findings can be repeated in similar settings (i.e. other universities in most provinces in Canada). While the findings of this study are specific to one university and the Ontario/Canadian context, other scholars will find the research useful in other

provincial and national contexts, both in and outside of Canada, respectively. The findings are especially transferrable in settings where national and university policies operate within multiple levels of governance.

Last, to establish credibility and confidence in my study and its findings, I employed reflexive journaling (part of the audit trail) and triangulation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). “Triangulation is a means of checking the integrity of the inferences one draws. It can involve the use of multiple data sources, multiple investigators, multiple theoretical perspectives, and/or multiple methods” (Schwandt, 2007, p. 298). In the context of my study, I used methodological triangulation by exploring data from policy documents, interviews, and cross-case analysis. Data from administrators, international graduate students, university strategies, and government policy documents helped me better understand the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and university internationalization. By triangulating my data from different sources, I was able to make my findings as robust as possible and check the consistency and credibility of my findings from the various sources used in my study (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; Yin, 2014).

I had a total of 20 participants in my research (ten administrators and ten international graduate students), which I considered sufficient to fully answer my questions. In qualitative research, many contend “saturation as a marker for sampling adequacy” (O’Reilly & Parker, 2013, p. 190). Rather than saturation being a point at which no new ideas emerge, O’Reilly and Parker (2013) argue that is saturation is the point at which “categories are fully accounted for, the variability between them are

explained and the relationships between them are tested and validated” (p. 192). However, recent scholarship argues that “adopting saturation as a generic quality marker is inappropriate” (O’Reilly & Parker, 2013, p. 190). Because qualitative research seeks to gather sufficient depth of appropriate information to fully explore the research questions, it is unnecessary to rely on a large numbers of participants simply to fulfill a quota (O’Reilly & Parker, 2013). As I collected and triangulated data from a variety of sources and relied on sound epistemological and methodological frameworks, the 20 participants provided me with the rich data I needed for my thesis.

5.13 Methodological Limitations

Qualitative and particularly case study research has its strengths. The rich and in-depth data collected from face-to-face interviews with a variety of participants gave me a deep and thorough understanding of how citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies are linked. Additionally, the variety of data sources such as policy texts and archival materials used to answer my research questions added to my analysis of how federal policies are linked with university internationalization. However, there were a few methodological challenges to this instrumental case study. First, I was only able to look at one institution in Canada. Seeing that I had a limited time to complete this study, I was unable to conduct interviews at other universities in Ontario or in universities in other provinces. As such, we cannot generalize the findings from this study, even though the study’s findings are applicable to other institutions and contributes to the literature on higher education internationalization. Second, I only had access to participants who were willing to be

interviewed. There were instances where participants refused to participate in my study, for professional and personal reasons, even though I believed they had an important role to play in internationalizing the university and were linked to the university's internationalization strategy. Third, because of physical distance between the study site and the federal government in Ottawa, I did not have access to government employees, particularly those involved with Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and with Canada's *International Education Strategy*. Even though I am confident in my findings and analysis, having access to the federal government's perspective would have added greater depth and nuance to this study.

5.14 Ethical Considerations, Confidentiality, and Anonymity

Because I had no power over my participants, there were few ethical issues between myself and my participants. There were no foreseeable physical, psychological, emotional, social or economic risks with this study. Inconveniences were minor and included the time to arrange and participate in the interview. I did not foresee any risks to my participants if they choose to partake in my study as I gave pseudonyms to both the name of the university and my participants. Beyond describing the characteristics the university in my study (ex. a large public, research intensive university in Ontario) pseudonyms are used to label the university, its policies, administrators who work within them, and the international graduate students who study there, so that participants would not be easily identified in this research. However, due to the small sample size, the unique positions that certain staff/administrators hold at the university, and the information they shared as part of their interview, it is possible to attribute

some information to specific participants. University administrators/staff were made aware of this consideration in their letter of information (see Appendix 2).

All data was stored in the university local hard drive, was stored as per Western University's data storage policy, and will be deleted after the storage period. In the case that participant identifiers were collected, they were stored on a separate master list and were linked with a unique identification number.

As with any study that requires interactions with human participants, I sought and was granted approval from the Office of Research Ethics on behalf of Western University's Research Ethics Board before I began interviewing my participants (see Appendix 1 for the Ethics Approval).

5.15 Summary

Using an instrumental case study approach, this qualitative research employed a critical-sociomaterial lens, grounded in using ANT as CPA, to understand the relationships between Canada's federal citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education. Government citizenship and immigration legislation and bills along with internationalization strategies form both the Canadian government and Central University informed my study. Additionally, interviews with university administrators and staff and international graduate students helped me uncover how these policies impacted the internationalization aspirations of the university and the life/career aspirations of international graduate students studying in Canada. In the next chapter, I identify the actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies and explore the extent to which federal

and university priorities are aligned with respect to higher education internationalization.

Chapter 6: The Actors

6.1 Overview

This is the first of three chapters that presents the findings from my instrumental case study research. Chapter 6 identifies the various actors assembled around Canadian citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization policies. Recall that ANT's notion of "radical symmetry" views the power of humans and non-humans as equally uncertain, ambiguous, and disputable (Callon, 1986). As such, both humans and non-humans actors have agency in which both human and non-humans bring together complex elements to create a successful network (Latour, 1999b). By identifying both human and non-human actors, we can understand how these actors are assembled around policies. Once the actors are identified, Chapter 7 will explore how these policies impact the university and administrators/staff enrolled in the university's internationalization strategy. Chapter 8, on the other hand, will share how Canadian citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies impact international graduate students. Organizing these chapters in this sequence will help the reader understand the complex relationships between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. These chapters will also underscore what these policy assemblages enable and how they alter the role of the university with respect to both internationalization and immigration in Canada.

In this chapter, based on policy documents, archival materials, government policies and documents, along with interview data from 10 university administrators, I identify the human and non-human actors assembled around citizenship, immigration,

and internationalization policies at both the governmental and institutional levels. I also talk about policies and strategies from the government are aligned to those of the university and present university administrator's views on how much voice universities have in influencing government citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies.

6.2 Identifying Actors Assembled Around Internationalization at the University

Based on the research and interviews conducted with middle and senior level administrators at Central University, the actors assembled around internationalization include two policy documents, several key offices, an association, and a few key individuals. These include the Central University's *Strategic Plan*, the *Internationalization Strategy*, the International Office, the Graduate Studies Office, Association of Graduate Students, the Admissions Office, individual university professors, and the university leadership including the university president.

Central University's *Strategic Plan* and its complementary *Internationalization Strategy* were considered two major actors assembled around internationalization. Both of these documents highlight internationalization as a key priority for Central University. The *Strategic Plan* calls for Central University to foster a culture of "world-class research and scholarship" and engage with "international partners" that includes foreign research and educational institutions. Specifically, the *Strategic Plan* hopes to increase international undergraduate student enrollment by at least 15%. Internationalization is also highlighted as one of 16 "Institutional Principles and Values" at Central University. Through internationalization, the university seeks to embrace its role and position as an

engaged and active member of the global academic community. Complementing internationalization, the *Strategic Plan's* principles and values outline a commitment to welcoming the world to Central University. The document outlines the university's commitment to ensuring that enrollment processes are accessible and barrier-free. The university's *Internationalization Strategy* further emphasizes the goals of the *Strategic Plan*, specifically aspires to develop a comprehensive recruitment strategy for international graduate students from partner countries, and endeavours to provide more support to international graduate and undergraduate students through the university's International Office.

Six out of ten participants cited that the International Office, established in 2011, as the most involved actor in creating and enacting the university's internationalization strategy. Many international graduate students interviewed identified the International Office as a source of information and a place to get advice on immigration issues. The Vice-Provost International, Dr. Joelle McLean, was also commonly mentioned alongside the International Office as she played an influential role drafting the university's *Internationalization Strategy*. Within the International Office, student advisors and particularly certified immigration consultants provide international students with valuable information about immigration issues and keep up-to-date with the latest changes to Canada's immigration and citizenship legislation as it relates to the recruitment and retention of international students.

There are numerous offices, departments, and personnel assembled around the university's internationalization strategy. While administrators viewed the International

Office as one of the central hubs for the enactment and operationalization of the university's internationalization strategy, it is clear that the various departments work together to interpret and implement the strategy based on the department's mandate. Additionally, almost all administrators noted the role of the Graduate Studies Office (GSO) in the recruitment of international graduate students and in providing them with support to file their immigration and permanent residency applications. While individual international students are not represented in this assemblage, because international students are viewed as one stakeholder group, representatives from the Association of Graduate Students (AGS) are in contact with the Graduate Studies Office to ensure the needs of international students are being heard. Dr. Laura McDonald, the Vice Provost of GSO shared that the Association of Graduate Students acts on behalf of the international students as they are members of the society. Dr. McDonald felt that as a result of effective communication across stakeholder groups on campus, her office was aware of the issues facing international students.

To a lesser extent, a few administrators highlighted some other university actors responsible for enacting the university's internationalization strategy as it relates to international student recruitment. Mark Brown, the Administrative Director of Central's Entry Level Language Program, mentioned that Central University's internationalization "policy has a lot to do with the admissions office," and also shared the role that university professors have in recruiting international graduate students. Brown claimed that international students culturally and linguistically similar to a particular professor may have a greater chance of admission. He added, "the professors agree to work with

them. They're culturally aligned, no barriers linguistically. So that will often happen. The faculty at the graduate level have a huge impact on admission" shared Brown (personal communication, June 26, 2015). At the undergraduate level, admission to the university is largely based on secondary school achievement and grades. However, graduate admission is different from undergraduate admission. At the graduate level, these professors act as crucial actors in advancing the university's goal to attract top-talent from around the world.

Last, an overwhelming majority of administrators highlighted the role of strong and dedicated university leadership in championing the university's internationalization strategy. University leaders were marked as being "very important" spokespeople for promoting international education at the federal level. Specific to Central University, the university president, Dr. Victor Wilson, was central to mobilizing the university's internationalization strategy because he "believes in it" (J. McKinsey, personal communication, July 14, 2015). Dr. Laura McDonald, the Vice Provost of GSO, added,

Our university president has been very active in terms of federal initiatives regarding internationalization. So I think we're probably better positioned than other universities, particularly universities in Ontario with respect to having somebody who not only has a voice, but is highly regarded in that perspective (personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

Strong leadership from the university president along with his vision makes him one of the key actors in advancing Central University's internationalization policy. However, leadership also came from other members of the university administration, as

highlighted by other participants. These included “the Provost [who] has had a significant role in...that she has been an enabling force behind the creation” the International Office (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015). Dr. Joelle McLean, the Vice-Provost – International, herself has also been cited as a key player as well along with the staff and team within the International Office.

6.3 Identifying Actors Assembled Around Internationalization Policy at the Government Level

There are a few key actors assembled around internationalization policy at both the provincial and federal level. At the provincial level, the Ontario Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (MAESD) is a key player since education is a provincial mandate in Canada. Seeing that most Ontario universities, including Central University, had been developing their own internationalization policies for a several years, in 2016 the MAESD published its preliminary internationalization policy document. In *Developing Global Opportunities: Creating a Postsecondary International Education Strategy for Ontario* (MAESD, 2016), the MAESD recognizes the importance of internationalization to Ontario universities. Through this document, “the province is looking to develop a postsecondary international education strategy that not only positions Ontario as a destination and partner of choice but also showcases Ontario as a leader on the global stage” (MAESD, 2016, p.4). The document focuses on “enhancing the student experience,” “creating skilled and talented workers,” “driving economic growth,” and “strengthening the postsecondary education system.” The document continues by calling on students, universities, employers, and community organizations to develop an

international education strategy for the province. This led to a consultation process between key stakeholders beginning in early 2016.

Because this document was published after the interviews with administrators took place, it was not within the scope of this study to understand what administrators at Central University think about the provincial government's initiatives in international education. While the Ontario international education document is a welcome addition to the conversation on internationalizing higher education in Canada and in Ontario, the document itself recognizes the limitations of a province-wide strategy on international postsecondary education. The province understands that "[a]n international strategy should acknowledge these differences and respect institutional autonomy, while, at the same time, protect the public interest and our collective investment in the postsecondary education system," and that links need to be created with other federal and provincial actors to enact change. The various actors invested in internationalization will have to wait and see how the full MAESD strategy takes shape once it is established. As it stands now, the document is aspirational without any concrete ideas on how to best help Ontario universities internationalize.

While a few university administrators acknowledged the role of the province being involved in promoting international education, the university president, Dr. Victor Wilson was the one who knew most about the new strategy being devised by the MAESD. "The Government of Ontario has just launched a consultation process... That is a very good sign! You know why? Remember that education is a provincial jurisdiction," said the president. Noting that other provinces such as British Columbia have a

provincial international education strategy for the postsecondary sector, Dr. Wilson added, “I'm glad...the province of Ontario is going to have one...this simply means that there will be more capacity to implement some of the ideas that we have put forth” (personal communication, July 23, 2015). Ontario’s initiative to have its own internationalization strategy signifies the productive capacity of policies to support institutional efforts. Dr. Christina Forrester shared that provinces in general “still [have] a lot of say in terms of the supports it can give to its institutions” (personal communication, September, 11, 2015).

6.3.1 Identifying internationalization actors at the federal level.

At the Federal level, Global Affairs Canada (formerly known as Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada [DFATD] and Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada [DFAIT]) undertook responsibility for drafting a federal level international education strategy for Canada in 2014 under the past Conservative government’s Canada Action Plan. To date, the document entitled *Canada’s international education strategy: Harnessing our knowledge advantage to drive innovation and prosperity* serves as Canada’s federal international education strategy. Published by the Ministry of International Trade, the strategy champions an economic rationale for promoting internationalization of Canada’s education. The document places a heavy emphasis on recruiting international student and researchers from what the strategy regards as “priority markets” that includes Brazil, China, India, Vietnam, Mexico and most of the Middle East and North Africa. Central to the mandate of the strategy is to enhance international education as a priority sector and increase

Canada's "competitive advantage" globally with respect to international education. Used as a blueprint, the federal government hopes the strategy will "attract talent and prepare [Canada] for the 21st century" and solidify "Canada's long-term economic security" (Government of Canada. Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, pg. 4). Central University president noted that the strategy was published through the Ministry of International Trade. "It is not 'international education and trade'" Wilson cautioned, wondering, "Why do you think education gets thrown out? I don't know exactly where it shows up. I suspect the minister, since we produce this report, the minister probably didn't get any briefing on this point" (personal communication, July 23, 2015). Wilson's remark highlights the university's dismay that the federal government is invested in the commoditization of Canadian education rather than supporting the academic and socio-cultural benefits of international education.

Based on the interviews, administrators also highlighted that at the federal/national level, DFAITD (now known as Global Affairs Canada) along with the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and Universities Canada were some of the major actors assembled around the federal international education strategy. Additionally, the Constitution of Canada also has a role to play in both university internationalization and citizenship and immigration policy. As we will discuss later, the Constitution of Canada along with the jurisdictional separation of provincial and federal responsibilities hinders certain connections assembled around internationalization and immigration and citizenship policies.

6.3.2 The Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) as an advocate for internationalization.

It is also important to note the role of CBIE in promoting international education at the federal level. As a not-for-profit organization tasked with promoting international relations through international education, CBIE plays a major role as an actor to promote the internationalization of Canadian higher education. Unlike the province or the federal government, CBIE contributes to a grassroots movement to promote international education in Canada. The director of Central University's International Office highlights the supportive role CBIE plays with the MAESD and university presidents across Canada to promote "a grassroots, build-it-up approach so that we can find common ground about the best ways to promote Canada and have a considered internationalization strategy." She warned that "top-down isn't just going to work here," saying that in order for internationalization to be successful for the various individual institutions across Canada, "It's got to be grassroots up." However, she cautioned that "the grassroots up is complex, it's challenging, and it's time consuming," illustrating the complexities that arises when you have multiple actors with different priorities invested in international education (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015). However, as will be discussed later, the role of these SIGs is crucial in the assemblage of policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization and begins to illustrate where the nexus of influence truly lies when dealing with the federal government on policy issues.

6.4 Identifying Government and Non-Government Actors Assembled Around

Citizenship and Immigration Policy

Undoubtedly, many administrators said that Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) along with the federal government in general were major players assembled around and regulating immigration and citizenship policies. “CIC has a huge impact in terms of visa processing,” (M. Brown, personal communication, June 26, 2015). Seeing that citizenship and immigration are mandated by the federal government, it is not a surprise that many participants spoke of the influence of the CIC. Eric Doherty, a registered immigration consultant and student advisor argued that CIC is “definitely...leading the way,” adding “I have my contact at CIC when I need to know things, or find something, I know who I talk to” (personal communication, July 3, 2015). Seeing that they are tasked with regulating Canada’s immigration and citizenship policies, CIC is a source of information for those working at the university level with international students. “CIC is the decision maker” shared Jessica McKinsey (personal communication, July 14, 2015), the Executive Director of Strategic Projects, who previously worked in the federal government as the Deputy Chief of Staff for the Prime Minister’s Office under Harper’s administration. McKinsey also brought to light the influence of “the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), and the relevant departments under them,” along with “the Department of citizenship and immigration, the Privy Council office and also to some degree” Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) as being other actors at the federal level who are enrolled within Canada’s immigration and citizenship

policies. “If you are making massive policy changes, they're going to go through cabinets. So they're going to go through the system,” McKinsey shared (personal communication, July 14, 2015), highlighting that along with CIC, many government actors are enrolled with the policy change process. While CIC regulates immigration and citizenship policy (see Chapter 2 for details), ESDC regulates labour policy that significantly affects if international students can be employed after they graduate. ESDC oversees the Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) process that allows a Canadian employer to hire an international graduate. Without a positive LMIA, it is very difficult for international students to be employed in Canada, even if they have a work permit. Not securing a job ultimately hinders an international graduate ability to be competitive in the Express Entry system and may lead to not being invited to be apply for permanent residency (MacDonald, 2016).

6.4.1 CBIE as a player in Canada’s immigration policy.

Having identified a few of the key actors impacting citizenship and immigration policy, it is crucial to turn our attention to the role of CBIE and to some extent Universities Canada as actors assembled around Canada’s citizenship and immigration legislation. According to the bureau’s website, CBIE “is a national, not-for-profit, non-governmental membership organization dedicated exclusively to international education” (CBIE, 2016). Similarly, Universities Canada is a “membership organization providing university presidents with a unified voice for higher education, research, and innovation (Universities Canada, 2017). Both CBIE and Universities Canada came up numerous times in the interviews with administrators. Administrators viewed both CBIE

and Universities Canada as liaisons between Canadian universities and the federal government and as lobbying agents to promote policies favourable to universities. The Vice-Provost International for Central University, Dr. McLean highlights the role of sSIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada by saying,

So I should mention those as well. So Universities Canada is a lobbying body to the federal government. And it continuously, I mean that sort of a standing item for them, is continuously lobbying the government on behalf of universities in Canada with respect to these matters. And the other body is the Canadian Bureau of International Education. And they lobby the Canadian government and CIC with respect of these matters as well (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Because CBIE is based out of Ottawa “they have the ear of the government” to channel universities’ concerns to various ministries at the federal level. “If I went and started talking to whomever, it would not be as effective,” said McLean, adding that universities “work with CBIE primarily...and let them know what the universities’, “troubles are so that they can be a unified lobbying force for universities in Canada” (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Dr. McLean continues to emphasize the impact of CBIE with respect to a change that impacted university student advisors. Previous to the policy changes in 2014, university student advisors could answer international students’ questions on immigration issues. However, due to a change in Canada’s *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, only trained and certified immigration consultants are now able to offer

consultation to students on immigration issues. Dr. McLean shared a key example of CBIE's lobby's capacity and how the Bureau worked on behalf of universities:

So, CBIE just as an example, they actually, with respect to the certification of our staff to be able to give advice on immigration matters....So it used to be that in the first iteration of the legislation, we would have to have our staff member go through the entire immigration professionalization status. Now it seems that within the next few months, we're going to be able to just have a special component that will deal with students. So they were able to successfully lobby the government to make that change. Because going through all of these different matters just didn't make sense for university administrators, essentially. So that's one example of how there has been successful lobbying done (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Samantha Kobe, the Director of Internationalization at Central University's Medical School reiterated this incident as well, saying that the policy change at the federal level "caught everybody completely off guard," and that "CBIE tried for the longest time to reverse this decision." However, after lobbying the federal government,

CBIE is developing a course specifically for International Student Advisors where as in the past the advisors who have been certified, who are now registered, they had to do the full program. So they didn't just have to know about the international student advising piece but also business immigrants, refugees, areas that have absolutely nothing to do with their area. So now, CBIE, I guess

has been allowed to develop this course that is specific for ISAs. So I guess it is bit of a meeting in the middle (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

While this instance demonstrates the role CBIE plays in supporting universities. Dr. McLean cautioned that CBIE and other SIGs “are often not successful in the first place but then after significant lobbying efforts – in the last example that I gave you...sometimes change does happen” (personal communication, August, 4, 2015). When asked how much representation universities have within these special interest groups, the Vice-Provost emphasizes the role of strong university leadership and the connections Dr. Victor Wilson, the Central University president, has with SIGs. McLean added, “our president is one of the more respected presidents, probably in Canada, on Universities Canada. And so his voice is well heard at the table.” According to McLean, Central University also employs “a government relations person who is very aware of these things and he works with the lobbying bodies to make sure that these matters get on top of people's minds” (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

It is clear that SIGs such as Universities Canada and CBIE have a huge influence on the federal government when it comes to addressing issues universities are facing. Without their influence, the federal government would not be attune how policy changes at the federal level impacts universities and universities would not be able to effectively communicate with federal bodies.

6.5 Federalism and constitutional division hinders policy alignment

One of the challenges facing higher education in Canada is the constitutional divide that defines the roles of the Canadian federal government and the individual

provinces and territories. Citizenship and immigration legislation is the responsibility of the federal government, whereas education (including higher education) remains under provincial jurisdiction. This division of responsibility often hinders the interactions between the federal and provincial governments. Universities and international education thus are caught in the middle, seeing that they straddle both the provincial educational mandate and also a federal strategy to put Canadian education on the international map. Brown, while talking about the lack of coherence at the federal level with respect of international education, argued that other federal countries around the world seem to work more synchronously than Canada. He stated that the federal government often cites the Canadian Constitution to argue that they cannot take a stronger leadership role in promoting international education in Canada. Frustrated, Brown claimed that he did not “agree with that because [he sees] what’s happening in Australia, where they have a “very powerful presence with a federal leadership, with the feds playing a strong leadership role.” Brown finished by saying that “Canadians tend to hide behind the Constitution, saying that education is the provincial matter, ergo we don't get involved that much” (personal communication, June 26, 2015). For many university administrators working on promoting the institution’s internationalization agenda, there seems to be a lack of support for international education from the federal level. “It's just such an obvious federal and provincial jurisdiction that it would be viewed by the provincial government as us interfering in provincial government relations,” (J. McKinsey, personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Several other administrators mentioned this divide in their interviews as well and cautioned that it sometimes hinders the level of cooperation that should exist between the federal government, the provincial government, and universities as it related to internationalization, citizenship, and immigration policy affecting students and universities. As Mark Brown argues that “there doesn’t seem to be a whole lot of harmony,” when it comes to determining who has responsibility for international education because the issue is “caught up in our current context of the roster belongs to who” (personal communication, June 26, 2015). The university president also discussed the problems associated with the divide in federal and provincial jurisdictions:

As a result of this constitutional division of power, if you will, we [universities] have not received as much attention - this issue [international education] has not received as much attention as it deserves, simply because the federal government doesn't have any structure that can champion this cause! We don't have a Ministry of Education (the federal level). So therefore we don't have the bureaucratic structure that you need to get some of these issues alive (V. Wilson, personal communication, July 23, 2015).

Due to the federal – provincial divide in Canada and the lack of a federal ministry of education that oversees education across Canada, individual universities and to a limited extent, individual provinces are tasked with championing internationalization at the local level. Some administrators believe that in an effort to avoid encroaching on each other’s jurisdiction, the federal and provincial government often do not cooperate to the extent that they should. The director of the International Office at Central University,

Christina Forrester, believes that this lack of coherence and fear of encroachment hinders collaboration. She explained,

Education is a provincial portfolio and therefore having a federal strategy saying that one federal department has internationalization and then international higher education trade promotion - you could almost say that it's by necessity - because if you appear to be treading too much into the portfolio of the provinces and their education portfolios, well then you are potentially turning them off to collaboration. And a top-down solution will not work for Canada (C. Forrester, personal communication, September, 11, 2015).

Because “a top-down solution will not work for Canada” (C. Forrester, personal communication, September, 11, 2015), many of the provinces have recently started to focus on internationalizing higher education, as exemplified by Ontario’s new international education strategy for post-secondary institutions. While “the province recognizes the importance of working with the federal government to ensure that study permit and work permit programs are competitive with other countries, and that pathways to residency support the retention of talent in Ontario” (MAESD, 2016), there is little mention of the federal international strategy in this document. Thus, for the Ontario government, federal regulations around immigration and visas are the biggest concern when it comes to promoting higher education internationalization vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention. Because of the constitutional divide, provinces have a very limited role and voice in the federal portfolios. Dr. Johnson, the Vice Dean of Medical Studies, is skeptical of the extent to which provinces and territories

have a say in citizenship and immigration legislation. “There may be a little bit of lobbying with that but I think because that of the federal regulation, they would have a more minor role in that area,” he argued, adding that “when they get together with counterparts in the federal government, they would have some interaction. But the real influence will be federal. It is not going to be provincial” (personal communication, July 20, 2015).

6.5.1 Mismatched priorities between federal and university internationalization strategies.

With respect to Canada’s international education strategy, Johnson said that “the two have been quite disjointed” when referring to communication between the federal government and universities with respect of a national international education strategy. Dr. Johnson acknowledged that cooperation and coordination can be difficult in the Canadian context because of the constitutional divide of responsibilities and also the diversity within the education system. Johnson explained,

I think, in order to have that work well, you do need coordination with what's happening in the education system and what the government is trying to do. So, and that since I think they do need to be fairly well aligned. There are some differences in the directions of each, because the university is not the only part of the education system. There are also colleges, there are also internships, and there are also apprenticeships that may not be part of our education piece. So, it has to be part of the whole (personal communication, July 20, 2015).

Johnson asserted that it is difficult to have a 'one-size-fits-all' international education strategy. Mark Brown exemplified this by sharing that school boards had not been addressed in the international education strategy, saying that "to the best of [his] knowledge, [the government] have not been consultative in their approach to the development of these policies" (personal communication, June 26, 2015). Thus, it is apparent why coordination between various stakeholders is difficult. Effective coordination requires policies that address a greater spectrum of the Canadian education section. Furthermore, effective collaboration is dependent on synchronization between universities, federal ministries responsible for Canada's international education strategy, and federal and provincial bodies that vie for authority over education.

6.6 Universities: Lack of voice, agency, and interactions with the federal government

Seeing that provinces and territories have little say in citizenship and immigration policy, it is no surprise that universities have little to no voice in federal policy changes. While universities have had some sway with the federal government in drafting the federal international education strategy, overall universities have had little impact on federal immigration and citizenship policy as it related to international student recruitment and retention. Out of all the administrators, only one, Jessica McKinsey, spoke positively of the relationship between universities and the federal government when it comes to having a voice in federal issues. A once federal government employee, McKinsey worked in the upper ranks of the federal government at the Prime Minister's Office during the Harper administration. She opined that, "universities are a credible stakeholder group and they represent a huge slab of society," and thus the federal

government welcomed the universities' opinions. From her experience with working in the federal government, McKinsey claimed, "I have never seen a circumstance where if a university or another industry wanted to go to the government and give them a paper or give them an opinion that they would say 'no we are not interested.'" She claimed that universities are well organized and that she does not "think the university voices are being lost" in the consultative process, citing the government's commitment to recruit more international students to Canada (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Most of other administrators on the other hand were skeptical and somewhat critical of the lack of university voice in the federal government, particularly with respect to policy changes that ultimately affect the university's ability to internationalize. "I just think the federal government hasn't really been consulting with universities with respect to immigration policies" said Dr. Laura McDonald, the Vice-Provost of GSO (personal communication, July 3, 2015). The Vice Dean of Medical Studies, Dr. Donald Johnson shared McDonald's concern, saying that he thinks "influence of the universities on immigration and citizenship part of the government is fairly limited" (personal communication, July 20, 2015).

Central University president along with senior members of the university administration such as vice-provosts and directors were asked specifically about how well the federal government cooperates and consults with universities, especially when federal policy changes around citizenship and immigration or when international education is being discussed federally. Time and time again, most of the administrators were critical of the lack of cooperation and consultation with the university. "I think the

influence of the universities on immigration and citizenship part of the government is fairly limited,” claimed Dr. Donald Johnson (personal communication, July 20, 2015). “I don't think that they are paying so much attention to universities,” claimed Dr. Joelle McLean, Vice Provost – International of Central University (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

When asked if the university and the federal government work in harmony, the university president, Dr. Victor Wilson explained,

I wish that would be the case. But that is not how it works. So, they do whatever they do, and you know, from time to time, they will reach out to us. Most of the time they don't. And then we react to those changes (personal communication, July 23, 2015).

Seeing that universities simply react to changes at the federal level, Wilson added that universities had “very marginal” influence over national policy discourses, even if those policies impacted universities directly. Chordhury explained that while universities are open to sharing their perspectives, unless universities have their “champions,” vouching in favour of universities, the university voice gets lost at the federal level. “So, you can see the gap and the lack of influence that we have on these sorts of matters,” shared Wilson (personal communication, July 23, 2015). Only when SIGs such as the CBIE and Universities Canada champion a cause does the university voice get heard, highlighted Dr. Joelle McLean during her interview.

Acknowledging that there was some “communication going in both directions,” Dr. Laura McDonald retorted “I just think the federal government hasn't really been

consulting with universities with respect to immigration policies.” She continued by saying, “I think it's problematic because the changes that they've introduced, presumably they think these changes are going to have a positive impact. They've not really had a positive impact on universities,” adding that the lack of proper consultation with universities has “in fact in some areas...caused a negative impact” (personal communication, July, 3, 2015). Dr. Joelle McLean expanded by sharing that the university was “consulted on the auditing and monitoring, and being a designated institution piece,” but was not consulted on issues pertaining to how Canada’s updated citizenship and immigration policies were going to impact the university and international students. Echoing the university president, she acknowledged, “we have reacted to the changes rather than being a proactive partner in assessing whether those changes should be implemented” (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Expanding on the negative impact of sweeping immigration changes to university internationalization, McKinsey explained,

I think on the retaining side, I think anything that we can do at [Central University] to attract students is hampered by any federal government policy that wouldn't allow students to either stay or go as they finish. So I think in some ways the federal government policies have helped and in some ways that hurt (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Using the example of the federal government’s decision to close a number of visa offices abroad and the negative impact it had on university to recruit from “target markets,” McKinsey shared that “anything that the federal government does that makes it more

difficult, makes it more difficult for us to then, on the recruitment side” (personal communication, July 14, 2015). Dr. Joelle McLean, Vice Provost – International of Central University shared this frustration, adding that the federal government, “cut back a lot of resources for immigration offices all over the world” which “has a huge implication on [the university’s] recruitment efforts” (personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Other changes to Canada’s *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, along with the regulation with respect to temporary foreign workers also exemplifies the lack of cooperation between the federal government and universities and the lack of a consultative process between the two. Kobe, Director of Internationalization at Central University Medical School, explained how universities are not engaged with discussion with the federal government about how universities can and should support international students about immigration issues. Kobe stated,

The student advising change maybe is an example where I really don't think the government realized the implications of making that change of requiring someone to be a registered legal consultant. Another one is a recent change with immigration is the temporary foreign workers...universities across Canada invite all kinds of international visiting scholars and post-docs and short term visitors. And with these recent changes at CIC, there are now deemed as workers. They have to apply for a work permit. And there is a cost associated with it. And you basically have to prove that this person isn't taking away a position from a Canadian. So it's jumping through hoops. And again, all of this was released...in February of this year. And it completely caught all of the university is off guard.

And I know that organizations like the [CBIE], which advocates on behalf of universities wasn't apprised either of this neither was [Universities Canada]. So... response to your question is no. I don't think that universities are actively engaged in the discussions (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

Kobe's explanation exemplifies an explicit example of what happens when sweeping policy changes happen at the federal level and how that impacts universities. Her explanation also highlights the limits of organizations such as CBIE that work on behalf of universities. Even organizations based in Ottawa and closer to the federal government in comparison to universities are often not made aware of policy changes and are left to adapt instead of having an active role in the consultative process.

Dr. Johnson provided further critique of lack of coordination and disconnect between the universities and the federal government. Johnson felt that the Conservative government that was in power prior to the 2015 election "[didn't] tend to listen well, regardless of what you're coming forward with." He described the Conservative government as "a closed shop," explaining that the government was "not particularly...sensitive to some of the feelings of some of the constituents over some of these issues." As a critique of the federal government, Johnson noted that the Conservative government was, "far more closed-minded," which resulted in the passing of stringent laws on immigration and citizenship that clashed with the aspirations of universities (personal communication, July 20, 2015).

This lack of "sensitivity" results in universities having a limited role in expressing their concerns effectively at the federal level. Eric Doherty reflected on his previous

professional experience working as a Canadian education consultant overseas and explained that “when [he] was on that side of the fence looking in, [he] always [assumed] that universities had a lot of power.” But now that he works for the university, he “realized that these universities...don’t know what they are doing,” with respect to effectively voicing their concerns and interests to the federal government. Doherty’s sentiments signifies the universities’ lack of agency when it comes to talking to the federal government on issues such as immigration policy that affects university international student recruitment, both explicitly and implicitly. Universities, Doherty warned, think that they are empowered when they meet federal bodies like CIC on immigration matters. However, the reality is that, “the immigration guys [tell] them exactly what they want to hear and then walk away, and do whatever they want” (personal communication, July 3, 2015). Doherty questioned the authenticity of a reciprocal consultative process and added,

It is piss-poor communication, as far as I know ... But in terms of direct communication from the universities to the CIC, I don't think it happens. I know that they only come in and say ‘ok, set up your DLI reporting system, and will give you workshop on it, and this is how you're going to do it.’ But that is one-way communication! (personal communication, July 3, 2015).

According to Doherty, the federal bodies are didactic and expect universities to align with the policies set at the federal level. In this relationship between the federal government and universities, Doherty seemed to think that the power to change immigration policy to help universities ultimately rests with the federal government. He

added, “I think anyone who thinks that post-secondary institutions have power is really misguided. They could but they are not well organized, and the people who are trying to organize on their behalf are pathetic institutions in my opinion,” His frustration was somewhat aimed at SIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada who he thinks are ineffective in being unified to champion causes on behalf of the university. As a result of this ineffectiveness, Doherty feared that the federal government has, “no idea what [universities’] problems or issues or concerns are” or how federal citizenship and immigration policy negatively affects universities and international student recruitment and retention. “They just don't know! It's brutal! It's terrible!” Doherty exclaimed, adding that he “doubts that [communication] is effective, if it occurs” (personal communication, July 3, 2015).

Two administrators, including Doherty, also highlighted the disconnection, the lack of effective cooperation and communication at the federal level as well. “The disconnection between the trade commissioner's office and immigration office at the embassies is acute,” mentioned Doherty. He also shared his experiences working with Canadian embassies abroad and claimed that “there is no connection between Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the trade commissioner's office” as “they’re completely separate departments,” even if they work out of the same embassy/consulate/high commission abroad. As such, “immigration does their own thing,” “nobody controls them,” and “they do just whatever they want,” claimed Doherty (personal communication, July 3, 2015). While working with Canadian embassies abroad, this lack of harmony between the trade commissioner’s office and

the immigration office has meant that some of Doherty's applications to bring international students to Canada were rejected, even though there was clear mandate from the trade commissioner's office and the ambassador to recruit more international students from that region. In addition to Doherty, Dr. Forrester, the director of Central University's International Office spoke about the lack of cohesion at the federal level with respect to Canada's International Education Strategy. She claimed that "there is no head honcho," when it came to championing international education, as there is "no one overall department or ministry that has a portfolio for promoting international education." In her view, CIC and the Canadian Border Services Agency were responsible for ensuring Canada's safety and security whereas DFAITD/Global Affairs Canada and universities promote international education. However, she warned, "I don't think that we found a happy recipe yet of full integration and synchronization" that would allow all these bodies to be aware of each other's interests and ensure that policies at the federal level worked to advance both national security, international trade, and university internationalization (personal communication, September, 11, 2015). It is important to note that both Doherty and Forrester are limited by their knowledge of what is happening at the federal level. Forrester acknowledged that she was not "high enough in the system to have more detailed or nuanced comments" (C. Forrester, personal communication, September, 11, 2015). However, their views do call into question the effectiveness of the communication between the federal government and universities and how well the two cooperate through a network of actors and agents.

University president, Dr. Wilson spoke about the challenges universities face in voicing their concerns at the federal level and the limitations of universities in influencing policy changes with respect to immigration and citizenship policy as it affects internationalization of Canadian higher education. He cautioned that “the opportunities are very minimal, because [universities] are not seen as stakeholders, serious stakeholders in that sorts of conversations,” referring specifically to immigration and citizenship policy reforms. While universities, “are seen as serious stakeholders in research conversations,” Wilson claimed that the “government still doesn't see the universities.” He added that “when you explain to them, they see it. But in general they don't see us as institutions that are instrumental to their immigration policy.” Citing Germany as an example, the president thought that the Canadian federal government prior to the 2015 election had “not done enough work on this issue of talent” retention by having favourable immigration and citizenship policies that would allow international students educated in Canada to stay and also encourage more international students to come study (personal communication, July 23, 2015).

Wilson was, however, sympathetic to the complexity and messiness involved in coordinating efforts at the federal level to ensure that there is harmony across all the actors involved. “I'm quite sympathetic to the government's inability to communicate effectively,” Wilson explained, saying that he is aware of limitations and the flaws in the system. He argued that the federal system is complex, saying that the,

Government itself is a huge bureaucracy. You have Citizenship Canada, you have Foreign Affairs, you have this you have that. They do their best to coordinate,

they're meeting at the departmental levels, and what not. But it is a tough thing. So what is required in any government project - governments do many things, and you rely on departments to do this and you rely on departments to do that (personal communication, July 23, 2015).

The interview highlighted that Wilson understands the difficulties in operating a large system effectively, having experience leading Central University. Wilson said, "I think our government leaders get it. But it doesn't always translate into effect of policies." He understood that international education at the federal level was under the domain of international trade. However, Wilson feared that "occasional" and "infrequent mention" of international education at the departmental level meant that it was not a high priority for the federal government. "So that is a weakness," Wilson added. He continued by saying that he would recommend the federal government to, "Broaden [its] consultative process," to ensure that barriers posed by immigration and citizenship policies that hinder internationalization would be addressed before policies are created (personal communication, July 23, 2015).

6.7 Summary

This chapter identified the various human and non-human actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada. With respect to internationalization policy, participants credited Global Affairs Canada for championing international education along with SIGs at the federal level. Institutionally, the university president along with the International Office were some of the lead actors responsible for advancing the university's internationalization strategy. Almost all the

participants acknowledged the influential role of CIC of being in charge of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies along. They also noted the role of Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) for implementing labour laws that either helped or hindered international graduate students obtain employment after graduation and seek permanent residency. Administrators felt that there was a disconnection between the federal government's citizenship and immigration policies and *Canada's International Education Strategy*. Last, university administrators noted that the federal government's internationalization strategy is at times at odds with the university's internationalization vision and claimed that universities had little say in federal policy matters. The next chapter will discuss explicitly how federal citizenship and immigration policies impacts the university and how it affects the university's ability to internationalization, vis-à-vis student recruitment, support, and retention.

Chapter 7: The Impact of Citizenship and Immigration Policy on the University

7.1 Overview

In this chapter of my findings, I discuss the various impacts Canada's citizenship and immigration policies have on the university, based on interview data from 10 university administrators and staff members involved in the university's internationalization agenda. Using a critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis grounded in ANT, I highlight the intended and unintended consequence of policies and how the assemblage of human and non-human actors enables or inhibits practices within the university. This chapter shares how much university administrators know about Canada's citizenship and immigration policy, how they adapt to changes in policy, and what impact federal policies have on the operations of the university. While the next chapter will share the students' perspectives and voices, this chapter highlights administrators' perspectives of how Canada's citizenship and immigration policies impacts international graduate students at Central University.

7.2 Administrators' Knowledge of Canadian Citizenship and Immigration Policy

In this chapter, I share data from the ten, mid to senior level, university administrators interviewed in this study. Administrators and staff included the university president, vice provosts, directors for offices responsible for international students, and one registered immigration consultant. Most university administrators had very little knowledge or understanding of Canada's citizenship and immigration laws or the changes that were enacted in 2014 by the federal government. Administrators who did not know about the federal citizenship and immigration policies and procedures

acknowledged that they “would never call [themselves] an expert,” (M. Brown, personal communication, June, 26, 2015) and that they relied on, “experts to actually deal with the details,” (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015). Depending on their role within the university, some administrators knew more than others. For example, Eric Doherty, who was an international student advisor and immigration consultant had a much more nuanced and thorough knowledge of Canada’s citizenship and immigration regulations than other administrators who were his senior.

When administrators were asked if they were aware of the 2014 changes to the federal citizenship and immigration legislation, administrators knew that changes had occurred but were not knowledgeable about specific details. Much of what they knew about the changes pertained to pieces of legislation that impacted their specific role or portfolio at Central University. Particularly administrators who directly worked with or at Central University’s International Office were aware that there had been a lot of change since 2014 and that “there has been a lot of policy and procedure of changes in each...category of immigration” (C. Forrester, personal communication, September, 11, 2015). However, as the Vice-Provost International, Dr. Joelle McLean noted that at Central, administrators such as herself rely on “a team who knows a lot about the very details and specifics of immigration policy” (personal communication, August 4, 2015).

7.3 University and Administrators Unable to Adjust to Rapid Policy Change

Changes to federal citizenship and immigration policy had an overall negative impact on the university according to almost all of the administrators interviewed. Policies that were enacted without consultation restricted the autonomy of the

institution, limited the amount of support administrators can legally provide international graduate students, and ultimately hindered the university's internationalization aspirations. "It just makes it more complex," shared the director of Central's International Office, who claimed that the policy changes are rapid making it a "challenge" for administrators to keep up with the "rules of play" (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015). The lack of government consultation with universities meant that universities were left to quickly adapt their strategies to comply with government regulations and also maintain the support universities provide to students. When asked how the university was adapting to the federal government's revised immigration regulations, the university president shared that the university was merely, "reacting to their policies" (V. Wilson, personal communication, July 23, 2015). The president stressed that instead of being active stakeholders in Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, particularly in areas that impacted international students, universities were being sidelined in the policy discourse.

However, often reacting immediately was difficult for the university and its administration. When asked how the lack of consultations impacted university practice to support international students with immigration related issues, "the short answer [was] that it [didn't] help too much" shared the Vice-Provost International. Universities are, "used to operating in a particular way." However, when policy changed, universities "[had] to comply ... [making] it challenging for [them]" to operate. Many administrators shared the sentiment that they were "troubleshooting" as "matters came up" as a result of how a federal-level policy change impacted university practice. "It's trying to get

these Band-Aid approaches on these big problems,” that resulted in administrators “troubleshooting much more frequently than [they] were in the past.” For administrators such as the Vice-Provost International, this has meant, “dealing constantly with matters with respect to immigration...and providing support for students once they get here” (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015). Undoubtedly, many administrators expressed frustration with the constant and rapid policy changes and the need to adapt constantly and comply with changes. Dr. Laura McDonald, who has been the Vice-Provost of Graduate Studies Office (GSO) for seven years shared that in her time, the university had “dealt with changes on an ongoing basis because it [was] a continual shift in terms of who [could] apply, what [were] the criteria, what [was] the timeline, how long does it take.” Claiming that “the policies [had not] stayed consistent” during her tenure as the Vice-Provost, she shared that the changes were “overwhelming and confusing.” She admitted that “[was] not possible for [the university] to stay on top of changes” (personal communication, July 3, 2015).

7.3.1 The financial and administrative costs of having registered immigration consultants.

University administrators across all the interviews echoed the opinion that “a lack of sensibility” at the federal level and “a potential for alterations in policy... [made] it more difficult for” for international students and the university (D. Johnson, personal communication, July 20, 2015). One specific federal policy change that caught many administrators by surprise was the requirement to “have specially trained staff members in order to deal specifically with any immigration or study permit issues.” While prior to

2013, Central University “had a team of about 4, who are very skilled and competent and providing advice to students,” now, the university needed to have staff who “have to get certification through professional body or they have to be a lawyer in order to provide direct assistance to students.” This “was one of the legislative changes that happened that really impacted universities in Canada” and “became very problematic to universities all across Canada” (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Many administrators were unsure why the federal government implemented this restriction. Some shared the sentiment that the government did not “[realize] the implications of making that change of requiring someone to be a registered legal consultant” (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Because at Central University “only two people in the entire International Office,” who can offer advice “when it comes to things relating to study permits, applications to permanent residency in Canada,” the university had to scramble to train new staff to meet the growing demands to international students to support them through Canada’s immigration and citizenship policies (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015). Throughout the interviews, some administrators claimed that Central was “lucky” enough to have one licensed immigration consultant on board to continue to provide support to international students. “We were lucky. I mean not everyone would have a lawyer, a trained lawyer around staff, right?” shared the Vice-Provost International (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015). However, the overall sentiment was that one consultant was not enough to service the entire university.

Administrators warned that for the university, the change had increased the “cost of service delivery because [the university] now [has] to have lawyers involved to a greater extent than we did previously” (L. McDonald, personal communication, July 3, 2015). While the cost was not a barrier to the university, the Vice-Provost International reflected that the university is required by law to implement changes and comply with regulations. “We'll do it because we have to. It's essential; there is no other choice” (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015).

Administrators also warned that the requirement to have a licensed immigration consultant impacted the university’s “ability to provide support to students who are here,” (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015). The change added “an extra step in terms of students accessing information” as they can only seek information from licensed immigration consultants, whereas previously they could ask a variety of available staff members at the university who were accustomed to addressing immigration related queries. “When speaking with prospects, one has to be very careful because, unless you are an immigration consultant, you are very limited in what you can say...The CIC has made that very very clear; I cannot give advice” shared the director of the International Office” (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015).

Graduate students specifically had to go “to the Graduate Studies Office to get answers,” to questions about immigration and citizenship. However, because of the 2014 change in citizenship and immigration policy, the GSO had to “send [students] somewhere else where there somebody who actually has the qualifications to answer those questions” (L. McDonald, personal communication, July 3, 2015). For students,

this meant tracking down the one or two people at the university who can legally offer advice, even if the question was minor. Whereas students would only have to seek appointments with immigration consultants for complex inquiries, now all traffic had to go through the two licensed immigration consultants on campus. There was a fear that referring students to other persons on campus or the citizenship and immigration website would disrupt the personal relationship that administrators aspired to establish with international students. Whether it is advising a student on campus or communicating with a prospective international student, “it is important to have a one-on-one relationship,” as administrators saw the relationship between the university and student as being “very high-touch, high-context.” Christina Forrester shared that she does not “like saying to a person you must double check with the CIC website,” because it is “completely the wrong relationship strategy for working with a student” or in some cases their families (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015). As such, these policies not only disrupted service delivery, hindered access to information, but also damaged the interpersonal relationship that universities sought to foster with their international students.

7.3.2 Challenges to international student recruitment due to lack of federal support.

Over the past few years, coupled with federal policy changes, administrators noted the federal government scaling back support to overseas embassies. Dr. Laura McDonald noted recently the federal government “cut back a lot of resources for immigration offices all over the world,” and also closed some which had “a huge

implication on [the university's] recruitment efforts." Administrators claimed that universities were rarely appraised before these changes occurred. They noted that federal actions such as embassy closures and a lack of support for immigration offices abroad, coupled with other restrictive policies had a direct impact on the university's internationalization mandate. Universities "constantly [need] to deal with not only changes in the policy but the implementation issues of the policy from the federal government" (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

Dr. McDonald shared that the federal government claimed that these policy changes, embassy closures, and curtailing of support to immigration offices were needed to speed up processing times for permanent residency and visa applications. In 2014, when the Canadian federal government announced the Express Entry program, they indeed argued that the new pathways would speed up immigration to Canada for skilled workers (Mas, 2014). However, university administrators were not convinced that these measures sped anything up. "I haven't seen any efficiency - let's put it that way," shared the Dr. McDonald, adding that she had not "seen greater efficiencies that have come from the changes." Hinting that federal immigration and citizenship policy changes added stress to her role as the Vice-Provost International, Dr. McDonald claimed that, "every summer...I feel like we're dealing with another lag in application processing, another delay... we're worried about whether we're going to get our students who are really keen on coming here" (personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

7.4 Administrators' Perceptions on the Impact of Policy Changes on International Students

Central University administrators had a peripheral understanding of how international students were impacted by federal immigration policies. They linked these challenges to challenges faced by the university to support international graduate students. University administrators were largely sympathetic to the struggle of international students as a result of the tougher federal immigration and citizenship policy and were also weary of how these policies would impact the university's ability to internationalize, vis-à-vis international student recruitment. Although Dr. Laura McDonald, the Vice-Provost of GSO noted that she "[doesn't] think it's been a deliberate attempt to make things more challenging for students," she nevertheless sees the policy changes having "unfortunate consequence for changes that have been made." She warned that these restrictive policies were "going to have an impact" on international students, who are often "looking to maximize their opportunities wherever possible, to stay in Canada" (personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

One of the ways international students can maximize their opportunities to stay in Canada is by using their previous Canadian work experience. Canadian work experience gives applicants to the federal government's Express Entry program more points that can earn applicants an invitation to apply to immigrate to Canada as a permanent resident. International students, both graduate and undergraduate, are legally able to work in Canada with their study permit whereby Canadian work experience counts significantly in favour of the student during the Express Entry process.

Though the ability to work as a student was initially welcomed by both international students and administrators, in my interviews, administrators cautioned about the unforeseen consequences of this change. “The study permit will now be a work permit too. How great is that?!” exclaimed the director of the International Office, Christina Forrester, as she was now “able to promote” the change to prospective international students during recruitment. However, she cautioned “we don’t really want students working in the year-one...because the most important thing you can do in year-one is study and get academic success.” She warned that the study permit had not played out the way it was intended. The unintended consequence of the study permit also operating as a work permit is that it shifts the students’ focus to employment instead of academic success. “We fear cash-strapped students finding a job and working so hard that they are neglecting their studies,” warned Forrester (personal communication, September, 11, 2015). However, federal citizenship and immigration policies dictate that in order for international students (both graduate and undergraduate) to be eligible for Express Entry schemes such as the Canadian Experience Class program or the Federal Skilled Workers Program, students have to have eligible Canadian work experience. Students thus have to balance both work and school if they aspire to be Canadian permanent residents. This can have a negative effect on students’ academic progress and success.

Additionally, tougher laws and narrower pathways to immigration not only cause frustration for international students but also restrict how universities can

internationalize. Acknowledging that some change in policy over time is good, McDonald warned that,

When you are putting more and more restrictions on immigration, more and more challenges for the universities to try to comply with all the immigration policy changes while at the same time you're trying to increase the number of international students to Canada, there is some contradiction there (L.

McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

These changes not only hinder the university's ability to meet its internationalization agenda, hinder Canada's aspirations to attract the best and brightest global talent, but also negatively impact international students who are keen on studying abroad and potentially immigrating to Canada. International students apply to a variety of universities. Administrators feared that lengthened visa and immigration regulations would over time hamper Central University's ability to recruit talent. Kobe, the Director of Internationalization at Central's medical school claimed that "whoever gives [international students] an offer first and wherever they can get their visa first is what they pick." Kobe warned that "if wait times are exacerbated, I think that will have negative implications on [Central] and Canadian universities in general" (personal communication, August 19, 2015).

7.4.1 Emotional impact on international students.

The majority of administrators noted that Canada is an attractive place to study because of the possibility to stay post-graduation to pursue a career, permanent residency, and citizenship. They also opined that "in the past...it would be a lot easier to

get permanent residency,” whereas now “it was difficult” and was “more of a struggle” to go through the immigration and citizenship process for international students. (M. Cole, personal communication, July 13, 2015). Streamlining graduate students into “the landed immigrant status...quickly rather than later...makes a difference in [students’] ability to handle [graduate] programs as well as stay in the country if they want to stay” (D. Johnson, personal communication, July 20, 2015). However, the fast changing policies, coupled with inadequate information and support, combined with the stress of having to pay higher fees as an international student negatively impacts students. Administrators noted that in the past, if international students “graduated from a Canadian university, with a degree, they were almost guaranteed permanent residence status.” Now “they’re put into a lottery system,” which adds a level of uncertainty to the process whereby students need very specific requirements to be invited to apply for permanent residency (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015). “The changes have been significant such that it takes a lot more for graduate students to be able to start applying for that process,” (J. McLean, personal communication, August, 4, 2015), has become “more difficult...and more precarious,” (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015) and significantly increases stress levels in grad students (L. McDonald personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

7.4.2 Financial strain on international students and the university.

The 2014 changes to Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies also directly impacted university students financially and as such, indirectly impacted the universities as well. Several administrators noted that prior to the restrictive policy changes, the

university “used to have more grad students who would become permanent residents during the duration of the PhD studies” (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015). Whereas previously international graduate students were eligible to apply for permanent residency mid-way through their program of study, now they have to wait until they finish their degree before they are eligible to apply to the Express Entry pool, either through the Canadian Experience Class Program or the Provincial Nominee Program. Prior to the policy changes, the university “would be able to recruit more PhD students, because [the university] would be able to convert them into domestic students halfway,” shared Dr. Margaret Cole, the Acting Associate Vice-Provost for GSO. However, because international students have to wait until the end of their program, “that's not possible anymore.” Central University was thus “[challenged] to find funds to support the students throughout the four years,” especially if the student depleted their own personal finances to pay for the graduate degree (personal communication, July 13, 2015). The Vice-Provost of GSO also explained that,

By becoming permanent residents [the university would] not only charge them the domestic tuition level but [the university was] able to claim them in a count of students to the ministry. And we actually got funding from the provincial government for those students. So we've actually seen a decline and the funding we get provincially... So it's been a financial loss to the students because they don't get that reduction in tuition but there's also been a financial loss to the University (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

As such, the perceptions of administrators were that both the university and international students were negatively impacted financially by the policy that dictates that international students can only apply for permanent residency once they finish their degrees. While international graduate students were also concerned about financial strains as a result of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, students were largely concerned about the costs associated with applying to the Express Entry program (discussed in Chapter 8). Administrators on the other hand were more concerned about the costs the university would have to bear if international students could no longer afford their studies in Canada.

Central University was "dealing...with PhD students that are international students throughout the four years of their program" who often "don't have all the benefits that domestic...students would have." This included financial support from the federal and provincial governments such as federal research grants and provincial funding such as the Ontario Student Assistance Program. Knowing that international students often paid differential tuition fees that are often twice as much as what domestic students pay, the requirement that international Masters and PhD students can only apply for Canadian immigration after they complete their degree placed an undue financial burden on students and to some extent the university as well. Margaret Cole mentioned that whereas previously international graduate students would start thinking about permanent residency during their PhD or Master's studies, now students have to wait until they finish their studies to apply. Once students finished their program, they would be eligible to apply for a Post-Graduation Work Permit that would

legally let them stay in Canada if they were offered a job by a Canadian employer. While Cole felt confident that her students would find means to stay in the Canada, as an administrator and supervisor, she found it a “challenge...to have enough funds to support [students]” particularly international students who exhausted their official university funding packages and were relying on their supervisor’s grants to financially support their studies in Canada (M. Cole, personal communication, July 13, 2015).

7.4.3 Administrators unable to keep students up-to-date.

Administrators were also concerned that students were not up-to-date on the latest immigration and citizenship policy regulations and trends, which they felt would negatively impact their chances of applying for permanent residency post-graduation. “I think it's really imperative that students are made aware, prospective students are made aware of these changes and that false promises aren't made” claimed Kobe during her interview (personal communication, August 19, 2015). The federal government recently “put a quota on...the Canadian Experience Class program,” which “had limited capabilities for international students,” cautioned Eric Doherty, one of the student immigration advisors. Students are often not updated about information, seeing that administrators themselves struggle to keep up with new regulations. “I've been trying to know how we can keep the students updated on this. Who do you talk to? I don't know who you talk to,” echoed Doherty, who was concerned that students would be disadvantaged because information was not communicated to those who needed to know it the most (E. Doherty, personal communication, July 3, 2015).

7.5 Impact on University: Compelled to be competitive

Throughout the interviews, many administrators spoke of the relationship between Canada's policies on citizenship and immigration and competition to recruit and retain talent. Administrators elaborated on how federal policies impacted the competitiveness of Canadian universities, Canada as an attractive country to seek an education, and more specifically the competitiveness of Central University as a prime destination for students.

Central University president, Dr. Wilson explained that Canada has a "demographic challenge" where citizens are "getting older and the burden is going to fall down on fewer younger people to carry those....who are going to be entering retirement." This shortfall would likely be "more acute in high knowledge intensity areas," whereby the President predicted "at least one quarter...projected productivity" and "innovation gap" between the US and Canada. "As a country that relies on immigration," the president was confident that "Canada obviously has a huge opportunity...to expand the number of international students" and "increase [its] market share" of international talent "should [Canada] choose to do so" (personal communication, July 23, 2015). However, administrators felt that Canada's citizenship and immigration policies coupled with attractive offers from competitor countries makes it more challenging for Canadian universities and Canada to recruit and retain talent, respectively.

Administrators highlighted several countries as Canada's key competitors for international student recruitment and retention. Countries primarily highlighted in the

interviews included the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. A few administrators also highlighted growing competition from emerging centres for higher education such as Germany where international students pay either the same tuition fees as domestic students or do not pay tuition fees at all (M. Cole, personal communication, July 13, 2015) along with other European countries that now offer university programs in English (C. Forrester, personal communication, September, 11, 2015). Additionally, one administrator also noted that “China is growing universities at a breathtaking pace. The Middle East has all kind of opportunities (M. Brown, personal communication, June 26, 2015).

President Wilson thought that while “Canadian universities [do not] have that much difficulty in attracting talent...we have significant competition in attracting the very best!” (personal communication, July 23, 2015). While some interviewees felt that universities “do not have enough funds to recruit [international students]” (M. Cole, personal communication, July 13, 2015), others felt that the difficulty to recruit is exacerbated by Canada’s citizenship and immigration legislation. Knowing that the “buying decision to come to Canada, to access education is often times tied to immigration,” administrators feared that the recent federal policy along with “any kind of changes to the migration policy will have a direct impact on recruitment ...and choosing in Canada as a destination” (M. Brown, personal communication, June 26, 2015). As mentioned earlier, some participants also feared that a lack of federal support for overseas visa offices and embassies would increase processing times for study

permits and visa, and thus decrease Canada's competitive edge. Brown highlighted this predicament:

If the student wants to get a business degree, they can go to Australia, they can go to England, and they can go to Canada. So, Canada may be the number one choice...but if they're waiting for months for a visa from Canada and they get one from Australia or England in 2 weeks, it sends a clear message that Australia is more open and is willing to work with them. So that sends a clear message to the student themselves (M. Brown, personal communication, June 26, 2015).

Therefore, any federal level policy changes or actions with respect to immigration and visa regulations are significant for universities. "Students will come from some countries are coming not just because they want an education from Canada, but because they want to stay in Canada" said Dr. McDonald (personal communication, July, 3, 2015). "If Canada [makes] it more difficult first students to stay, then that will weigh in on the decision factor" (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015). Policies that make it more difficult for international students to access permanent residency will encourage prospective international students to "more likely...go to countries where they have a greater likelihood of becoming a citizen within the time period that they're doing their graduate studies" (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015).

Dr. McDonald warned that if Canada was making it more challenging for international graduate students to stay, then that would impact the university's ability to recruit them from overseas. Administrators highlighted this as "the biggest challenge"

for Central University (L. McDonald, personal communication, July, 3, 2015), whereby federal immigration and citizenship legislation were both inextricably linked with university internationalization. Mark Brown felt that this increased competition is “going to force universities like [Central] to be more competitive, vis-a-vis, lowering standards, vis-a-vis limiting its educational aspirations” (personal communication, June 26, 2015).

7.5.1 Competition for recruitment from other Canadian provinces and colleges.

A few administrators claimed that the federal citizenship and immigration policies would also increase competition between colleges and universities within Canada and may also be detrimental for the province of Ontario. Seeing that many international students want to stay in Canada after graduation, administrators feared that international students will enter colleges for a faster pathway to immigration. Student adviser and immigration consultant Eric Doherty, who also previously worked overseas to recruit international students to Canada, noted that “if you go to international student fairs overseas, 95% of the attendees will be Community Colleges.” Doherty felt that community colleges recruit more vigorously abroad, “not because they want to internationalize, [but] because they want the money.” Similar to findings from a study conducted by Larsen and Al-Haque (2016), colleges, in Doherty’s opinion, were “more...bottom line driven” and added that in comparison, universities are “not ready for a major influx of international students.” “Community colleges are ready...they plan and they’re ready to do the intake,” according to Doherty which helps divert of a lot of the international student traffic to Canadian Community Colleges. Thus, the university is disadvantaged; not only because of its “ineffective” recruitment strategy but also

because of the competitive edge Colleges provide international students to transition into permanent residency. Doherty expanded on this scheme by noting that international students are,

going to go to community colleges. They're not going to go to universities.

They're going to get their two-year degree and get their three-year PGWP (Post-Graduation Work Permit), and they're going to go to work, and they're going to qualify for PR, and they're going to stay...for sure. They're not going to come to university. Universities are going to have major problems with numbers (personal communication, July 3, 2015).

Doherty was also critical of Ontario's scheme to streamline Master's and PhD students into permanent residency through the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program's (OINP). The OINP is Ontario's version of the Provincial Nominee Program, a pathway built into the Express Entry system that allows provinces to select skilled workers to become Canadian permanent residents. The OINP allows Ontario to select skilled workers it determines will be beneficial to the province. Because Ontario has "always got the best immigrants; they always come to Toronto," Doherty felt that Ontario "doesn't even care about" potential economic migrants who transition out of Canadian universities. Noting that Ontario "did not even have a Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) until 2010," Doherty believed that British Columbia's program was "more established and better advertised" and felt that Saskatchewan's PNP had faster processing times for immigrant applicants. According to Doherty, these are the "certain advantages that

Ontario [loses out on]" and cautioned that more international students may flock to other Canadian provinces (E. Doherty, personal communication, July 3, 2015).

7.5.2 Challenges with international student and talent retention.

While most administrators were concerned about the heightened competition to recruit international students, some also spoke of the impact of federal policies on talent retention in Canada after international students graduate. Some feared that stringent immigration laws would mean that many students would leave Canada after completing their studies. Mark Brown informed that, "for people with higher education degrees, there is a tremendous amount of competition globally for talent." Brown explained that "[Canada] cannot rest on [its] laurels! We have a great country...but we can't rest on our laurels," adding that "if we don't leave the welcome mat out, they are not going to stay; they can easily leave to somewhere else" as "there are all kinds of countries that want educated people" (personal communication, June, 26, 2015). Using the example of East Asian international students, Eric Doherty explained that while ten years ago most international students wanted to remain in Canada, many were now "going back" to cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Beijing along with countries like South Korea and Japan because "the economy there is way better and they can make more money... [there] than they can make here." For Doherty, the tenuous state of the Canadian economy coupled with challenging schemes to retain talent in the country was driving many international students away from making Canada their new home (personal communication, July 3, 2015).

Both the Director of the International Office, Dr. Forrester and Central University President, Dr. Wilson felt that Canada “could do even more,” to ease the transition of international students to permanent residency and Canadian citizenship, while at the same time ensure that Canada maintains its competitive edge to retain highly educated human capital. Although Forrester claimed that the Post-Graduation Work Permit was “powerful and “exciting” because it allowed international students to stay and work in Canada after finishing their studies, she felt that the country could do more to encourage international graduates to stay in Canada. She explained that “if Canada really wants to take a leap ahead, vis-a-vis its competitor nations who are also looking for Study Permit students and possible future permanent residents and citizens,” it should “go the extra mile” to “offer [international students] a conditional document that says that if [they] keep complying with all the rubrics,” Canada would offer them permanent residency alongside a study permit. Forrester noted that “if the university has made you an offer of admission, [then] that is already saying something about your potential and your human capital” (personal communication, September, 11, 2015). The university president also echoed Forrester’s sentiments and added, “[Canada] should actually make it easy for students to become Canadian citizens.” If Wilson could, he would “convince...the Minister of Immigration...to send a letter to each graduating student at convocation saying, ‘congratulations! We would love you to consider making Canada your home.’” Though Wilson cautioned that his “letter” would not automatically grant someone permanent residency status, it would nevertheless “make [immigration] easier” for international students, as “they’ve lived in this country for so many years. We

know that they are highly educated, we know that they are adaptable because we educated them, and we know that they are young” (V. Wilson, personal communication, July 23, 2015).

7.6 Summary

This chapter highlighted the various challenges that university administrators and staff endure as a result of Canada’s laws on citizenship and immigration. Overall, most administrators claimed that while they were personally not aware of the specific details of Canada’s citizenship and immigration laws, they nevertheless strived to abide by them, with respect to the recruitment, support, and retention of international graduate students. Administrators claimed that the university struggled to adapt to quick changes in federal policies and that federal policies placed both operational and financial burdens on the university. While administrators strived to support international students to the best of their ability, they were also aware of some of the strains federal citizenship and immigration policies placed on international graduate students. Last, administrators warned that barriers to obtaining student visas and permanent residency after graduation may endanger Canada’s ability to recruit and retain international talent. In the next chapter, I will present voices and perspectives from international graduate students and share how Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies affect them.

Chapter 8: The Impact of Citizenship and Immigration Policy on the International Graduate Students

8.1 Overview

While the previous two data chapters presented the perspective of university administrators and staff members, this chapter exclusively focuses on the perspectives of ten international graduate students at Central University. All student participants expressed their desire to immigrate to Canada after graduation. This chapter answers how federal citizenship and immigration policies have both intended and unintended consequences for international students and regulates their activities and aspirations. In this chapter, I share why students came to Canada to study, their knowledge of and experiences with Canada's immigration and citizenship policies, and how these policies will impact their long and short-term career goals. The chapter also identifies systemic barriers within Canada's immigration pathways and highlights the challenges students faced navigating through these challenges.

8.2 Motivations for Coming to Study in Canada

International graduate students chose to study in Canada for a variety of push and pull factors that included the quality of Canadian higher education, the quality of programs at Central University, the affordability of a Canadian education when compared to programs in other countries, and having already existing connections in Canada. "When an international student selects a country they are going to study in, the immigration policy is [also] part of the factor" in selecting Canada as a destination (Chi, personal communication, July 9, 2015). Additionally, few of the participants already had

family living in Canada or had partners who were undertaking graduate work at Central University.

Graduate students felt that they would get a “world-renowned education” in Canada and be able to “[work] with the best researchers in the world” (Adam, personal communication, July 7, 2015). The lack of graduate opportunities in students’ home countries, quality of Canada’s postsecondary education, Canada’s vibrant research environment, the academic support Canadian universities provided for graduate studies, and the ability to grow intellectually were all motivation factors for international graduate students to study at Central University. Time and time again throughout the interviews, the Master’s and PhD candidates expressed that they were motivated to come study by the “glowing reviews” they heard about Central University and/or the reputation Canadian universities, Canadian degrees, and Canadian society have overseas. “Canada has a very good reputation in China” claimed Lei, and added that prospective students from China know that “the environment is good, the food is very safe, and kids can get really good care,” if they study in Canada (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Often participants coupled their reasons for attending Central University and studying in Canada by comparing it to other countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Although the students noted that “the tuition in Canada is really expensive” (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015), the participants knew that the cost of education in the United Kingdom was “a lot more – almost £25,000 a year” which “eliminated the UK” for some students (Adam, personal communication, July 7, 2015). “I

got in this program and now I have full a scholarship so I don't need to worry about my tuition. I even have a stipend. That's one reason it is really attractive to me,” shared Lei when she spoke of her reasons to study in Canada (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Interestingly, almost all participants compared and justified their decision to study in Canada by explaining why they chose not to study in the United States. “Canada has a reputation for being much more open than the United States” and was a much “better option,” irrespective of Canada’s immigration policy (Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015). Citing safety and security reasons, participants noted that Canada “was a lot more peaceful,” and was culturally diverse with a “balance of people from all over the world,” (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015). This diversity made participants feel safe in Canada. Karen, an international student from the United States added that she “left the States...for... ideological differences.” Furthermore, she shared that her motivations to study in Canada were fuelled by the “overwhelming [pressure to find] graduate schools in the States,” “glowing reviews” her previous supervisor gave Central University” and the academic and personal opportunities available to her (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

8.3 Motivations for Becoming a Permanent Resident and Citizen

Roughly all the participants saw attaining Canadian permanent residency and ultimately citizenship as a vehicle for employment opportunities and financial stability for themselves and also for their families. “It gives me...a better financial status compared to other people...living in Cuba,” explained Andrea, adding that access to

permanent residency will help her “provide for [her] children” (personal communication, July 9, 2015). Through and through, participants highlighted that getting permanent residency was a first-step in securing employment in Canada, as labour laws give preference to Canadians and permanent resident before foreigners. Isabella knew that she “would like to get...permanent residence to be able to get a job first and maybe with time, [she] will get citizenship.” She noted “that after getting the PR... [her peers] were getting good job opportunities,” and is confident that immigrating to Canada will grant her “more opportunities to make...a wealthy life with [her] knowledge” (personal communication, July 10, 2015). Many shared the sentiment that Canada was a land of opportunity where “if you are really good at your job, you can improve yourself,” (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

For the eight out of ten students from the Global South, access to permanent residence was a means to access better opportunities that were otherwise unavailable for them back home. Richard explained that “looking at the opportunities that might be available, and looking at what opportunities are available back [in Ghana], I would stand less of a chance of improving my life unless I get citizenship or permanent residency.” He added that according to his observations, only a few people he knew from Ghana were ready to go back. “Most people, the moment they come into the system, they know very well that they can...better their lives,” by getting permanent residence in Canada (personal communication, July 17, 2015).

It is important to note that in most of the interviews, a greater emphasis was placed on obtaining permanent residency over obtaining Canadian citizenship. While

some saw getting Canadian citizenship as an eventual goal, many participants were largely focused on the first-step of being able to live and work in Canada permanently. For Instance, Lei stated that she was “more interested in becoming a permanent resident,” because it will make it “easy for [her] to go back and forth,” from China and will save her having to constantly apply for work permits (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Overwhelmingly, most participants also spoke of the positive aspects of Canadian society, their familiarity with the country, and the personal connections they established during their study in Canada as rationales for obtaining permanent residency. Most of the students perceived Canada as a “welcoming” and “friendly” country (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015) where “people are more open-minded,” (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). For Karen, it was her familiarity with Canadian society and her disinterest in returning to the United States that made her want to immigrate to Canada after her studies. For her, Canada was now home. Adam shared a similar sentiment. He did not want to return back to the Middle East as he has always been “interested in becoming a permanent resident of Canada” and obtaining Canadian citizenship. He felt respected here – something he did not feel as an Egyptian living and growing up in the Middle East (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

One particular student also specifically spoke of giving back to Canada by living and working here after graduation. When asked why he wants to become a Canadian permanent resident, Ezekiel said, “I do see myself living and working in Canada....when I look at [my experience here], I realized I've drawn on resources from Canada, because of

my scholarship. And I think giving back is a very important.” However, Ezekiel warned that staying in Canada “will ultimately be based on what opportunities are here,” adding that he is looking at job opportunities in Europe because the immigration process “was driving [him] nuts” and was “insane” (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

Interestingly, several of the students mentioned that they did not initially come to Canada with the intent to stay long term after their graduation. While some participants noted that they have been always interested in becoming a permanent resident of Canada, others thought about obtaining permanent residency after they had been in Canada for a while and saw it fitting their future personal and/or career goals. Sophia, a student from Northern Europe who came to Canada and enrolled at Central University after her husband got admission into one of Central’s graduate program shared,

We just came here. It was just an experiment. We had no idea what we're going into. And after we were here for a year we realized that this is actually quite nice. We realized that we could stay here...in our case... we didn't think about if we were going to stay here forever when we came here first (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

For her and her husband, Canada was primarily an educational opportunity before they thought about transitioning to permanent residency. Similarly, Isabella, who is a doctoral candidate in the sciences explained,

I think most of these thoughts about becoming a permanent resident and a Canadian citizen happens once you land here, once you are established here and

once you have spent one year over here. That is when you start to think, "Oh I might stay, I would like to stay" (personal communication, July 10, 2015).

Like Sophia, Isabella was motivated to stay due to the potential economic opportunities in Canada that she otherwise would not find in her native Mexico and motivated by her existing connections and friends in the country. She shared:

The first thought when I came here was, "this is a good university, it has my field, let's go for it." And once [I was here], in the back of my head I [thought], "Well, it will be nice to stay over here." But that thought matured as I stayed here. I never thought to look at citizenship and immigration and PR before I came here (personal communication, July 10, 2015).

Despite the changes in Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, a few participants claimed that they will try to stay for as long as they can. "I know some people change their decision because they were thinking of going to their home country...but my plan is to stay long term," explained Charles (personal communication, July 8, 2015). For some, the thought of having to leave Canada evoked sadness. "I will be heartbroken to have to leave this place" claimed Andrea, adding that she is "pushing to stay" in Canada because she would find it difficult to live and work in certain parts of America (personal communication, July 9, 2015). While Karen, being an American citizen, is "not 100% opposed to going back to the States," she too would rather "fight" to stay in Canada. "I'm not going to give up here until it is clearly over" (Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

8.4 International Graduate Students' Role in Internationalization and Canada

Nearly all of the students did not have any specific knowledge of Canada's International Education Strategy, Central University's internationalization strategy, or what internationalization meant. Only Karen speculated that perhaps the Ontario provincial government was pushing to recruit more international students on campus as a policy initiative. At the university level, some spoke briefly of Central's recent rebranding scheme to "to brand the university into the international market and attract more students" (Andrea, personal communication, July 9, 2015). However, international graduate students were largely unaware the internationalization initiatives on campus. Those who generally knew about Central's aspirations to attract more international students claimed "I'm sure they are claiming to want to be more internationalized but I've yet to see that in action," (Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015) and that the policy around recruitment was "more geared towards recruiting students from Asia then maybe...other parts of the world" (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015).

International graduate students varied in their opinions about what role they played in Central's internationalization plans. A few thought that they "add to the number of international students, as a statistic" (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015) whereas others thought that they brought tangible and positive change to the university. Andrea, a Hispanic student in the Spanish department, thought she was "contributing more than just being a number" because she taught at her department. She noted that even though she came to study, she worked hard with her students and

thus was “helping the university” who relied on her expertise to teach. Her contribution was “not only numbers but more about giving back to the university as well” (personal communication, July 9, 2015).

Furthermore, throughout the interviews, participants echoed the idea that “international students bring diversity of knowledge into [the] university” with their “different opinions” and “new energy” (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015), which ultimately trickles down to the classroom level and positively impacts the broader university community. Some noted that at Central University, with its sizeable international student body, international graduate students were supporting the growth of diversity on campus and using their “soft skills” to improve international students’ “engagement” with teaching and learning (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015).

Last, two participants viewed themselves as magnets for other prospective international students. Richard noted that his friends and acquaintances reach out to him from Ghana to seek information about Central University and educational opportunities in Canada. “We chat over the phone and [they] get an opportunity to clarify” the quality of education, the admission process, and seek advice on how to get admission into the university. He also claimed that at times, he vetted applications to make sure applications were completed correctly to increase his friends’/acquaintances’ chances of admission (personal communication, July 17, 2015). Moreover, the success of an international student on campus is often shared across borders to help attract new talent to the university. Adam explained that “if [his research] succeeds, then that’s

proving...that international students can come to Canada...to succeed” as well, which will “then probably attract more international students.” Based on Adam’s positive research experiences, he is “always encouraging people...to come to Canada...and especially to [Central] to...pursue their studies” (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

At a national level, international students viewed themselves as assets to Canada who bring new ideas, skills, and energy into the country and can act as “communication bridges” between Canadian businesses and companies in foreign countries (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015). Participants also noted that “Canada is a migrant country...and has a reputation for being a welcoming country” (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015) that “wants qualified people” (Andrea, personal communication, July 9, 2015) and strives to “keep the brightest students from the world” (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). As such, participants noted that “international students are a good source of immigrants” in a country that is aging (Chi, personal communication, July 9, 2015) and has a low population. Several international students noted that not only can they bring “new and fresh energy and ideas into Canada” (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015), but help sustain a healthy population for Canada’s demographic needs.

Unsurprisingly, almost all of the participants shared that they would love to contribute to Canada’s research and academic community by continuing their graduate research and eventually transition into the Canadian academy as a researcher or professor. Participants who conducted research in the areas of science, engineering, and medical research shared that they would like to continue giving back to Canada. Isabella,

a Mexican PhD candidate in the sciences argued that “Canada is making an investment in [me] as a person.” She argued that she was educated, possessed knowledge, could “prolific” work in Canada. She knew that these are all the qualities that Canada “needs” in a potential migrant. Seeing that international students contributed even as students through taxes and services to the university, Isabella shared that “Canada’s investment to keep [her] here will be prolific” (personal communication, July 10, 2015). A more specific example comes from Sophia and Ezekiel. Sophia shared,

I do believe that getting people with different perspectives will always help. I work in the health and rehabilitation field. If I just think about where I come from, the north, what I'm doing in my study might also actually help people in the north in Canada (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Sophia argued that her experience working in Northern communities in Europe combined with her education at Central University will directly benefit communities in Northern Canada that are in dire need of rehabilitation services and occupational therapy. Similarly, Ezekiel, who did research on renewable energy in Ontario argued that he was perfectly suited for Canada’s labour market and would be able to help Canada achieve its environmental goals to rely more on renewable energy. In the context of climate change, the role renewable energy can play to mitigate its impact, and Canada’s role in championing positive change, Ezekiel shared,

My research is based in Canada. I'm actually studying a Canadian case and everything is Canadian. So in that regard, I am bringing in some human capital to better understand problems within the system.... the biggest role I see myself

playing is as [my] potential role as a researcher in my area of expertise (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

Ezekiel felt that by combating climate change in Canada, he was also contributing to the global community. For him, his education in Canada not only benefited this country but also the world. Clearly, participants have a deep sense of commitment to Canada and felt that they can be a positive force of change in the country. For them, “again it comes back to the idea of giving back and not just trying to take away from a system that [tried] to support [them]” (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015).

These participants not only saw themselves as researchers and potential employees to overhaul Canada’s labour market but also saw themselves playing an important role in their local communities. Once again, Ezekiel shared his extracurricular experiences working with “street and homeless people” in the city to demonstrate what additional roles played. As someone who “[came] from an environment where [he] saw extreme poverty” in Ghana, Ezekiel spoke passionately about his role as a community member. He added,

Although it is not directly academic, it is a huge interest of mine. I've done training in that respect, I'm in touch with some of Canada's big names...That has nothing to do with my research. But again, that is an area in which I can really contribute to the system, probably even more than academically (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

8.5 Barriers to Canadian Immigration

Both Ezekiel's and Sophia's personal experiences shone a light on the added value international students bring into Canada, beyond the labour market and illustrates how their past experiences in their home countries can inform positive change in Canada at the local level. However, Canada's changing immigration and citizenship policies were limiting how much these students could contribute. Frustrated, Karen noted the mixed messages international students in general get about being valued at one end but then devalued when it comes to transitioning into permanent residence. She opined,

If you've educated us here, then clearly we are good enough for your universities....If your universities aren't good enough to turn out productive citizens then what the hell are you? It sort of like, finish what you have started. You have started us on this path. Clearly you think we have potential. So why are you stopping us now? It just doesn't make sense, to say..., "Okay, yeah, now go home! Thanks for your money! But don't continue to contribute (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Throughout the interviews, participants shared this frustration. They felt Canada was sending contradictory messages about the value of international students through its changes to policies and practices. Once in Canada students faced challenges associated "finding information" about visa, work permit, and immigration regulations (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015), challenges with "trying to find a place to live in, trying to assimilate to the Canadian culture" and "financial burdens" (Adam, personal

communication, July 7, 2015). Andrea, a Cuban PhD candidate explained that “you need to prove that you have a lot of money when you get here” (Andrea, personal communication, July 9, 2015). The inability to adjust into Canadian society and language barriers were also highlighted as challenges by a few students, who argued that being an older international graduate student involved learning to adapt to Canadian society. Last, some students spoke about the lack of credential recognition by Canadian employers as a barrier to accessing jobs and other opportunities. While not entirely related to the experience of being a student, some participants claimed that “local employers may not recognize your overseas work experience.” “Employers prefer to hire permanent residents or Canadian citizens” and so “if your previous experience is not in Canada or in North America, that is going to be a problem” (Chi, personal communication, July 9, 2015). As such, international students are faced with systemic barriers that do not value the skills and knowledge that international students bring with them when they come to Canada.

8.6 International Students and Canada’s Citizenship and Immigration Policy

As noted above, most students had little knowledge of Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies. Understandably, students varied in their understanding of the immigration process, the recent changes to the pathway to permanent residency, and what was required to be successful. Most of the students knew that the Express Entry was introduced by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in early 2015 and that scheme is a pool where everybody submits their application and the government gets to choose and invite applicants to apply for permanent residency. For instance, Sophia

shared that she was aware of some of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies mainly because she wanted to apply for permanent residency with her husband and children. She knew that the policies had recently changed. She also knew about the Express Entry pathway and that international students would not be getting a time credit for the time they spent as a student when applying for citizenship. As someone who was going through the immigration process, Sophia had extensive knowledge of the policies and procedures along with the hassles and frustrations associated with going through the Express Entry. Almost all knew a little bit about the various pathways of the Express Entry such as the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) and its various streams, the need to demonstrate adequate available funds for the PNP and other eligibility criteria such as proof of English-language proficiency and previous Canadian work experience. However, participants' knowledge was, at times, limited or incomplete.

At least three international graduate students shared that most of their knowledge was informal as they had not read the policies (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015), they did not "know how it really works" (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015) or were "not so sure what exactly the changes [were]" (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). Thus, what participants knew about the pathways and policies to immigration and ultimately citizenship was inconsistent from participant to participant. In certain cases, participants' knowledge was incorrect, partially correct or contradictory to what was stated on the CIC website. This included how much money it would require to apply to the Express Entry, what specifically counted as Canadian work experience, and specific details about the three pathways

within the Express Entry. During the interviews, many participants demonstrated confusion and had difficulties articulating what the immigration and citizenship process entailed.

When asked where participants sought out information about Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, some said that they heard about the policies and procedures from friends who had previously applied for immigration and permanent residence. Though, almost all the participants cited the CIC website as a source of information on policies and procedures. A few participants expressed frustration with the website and shared that it was hard to navigate during which students would revert to searching for information directly on Google. Sophia was the only participant who went in depth with her experience finding information from the CIC. Overall, she expressed frustration with getting up-to-date information and found the people working at the CIC call centre to be unhelpful and indifferent to her information requests. On campus, most participants sought information from legal services located at the Faculty of Law and/or Central University's International Office. Most students had some to limited success accessing information from on-campus sources as well. Though some participants welcomed the international and the legal aid offices' information sessions and consultation opportunities, a few shared that on campus resources "weren't that helpful" (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). Once again, Sophia, who had used both the website and on-campus resources expressed that she "was not getting the same information in every place." She added,

For us, that is one of the biggest hindrances, is this lack of information. You get information here and information there and maybe they don't match. So it's kind of misleading. You think, "maybe I can go here" and someone pulls you back and says, "Not here." ... sometimes they did not know something we already knew just from following up on the CIC website ... Sometimes it feels like a game of trying to figure out who can get the most information (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

When commenting on the effectiveness of on-campus resources, Sophia was adamant that they had not helped her at all as they “could not give [her] any more information than [she] already knew from the websites.” Sophia felt that while on-campus resources might be useful for those who have little to no knowledge of Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies, the resources were unhelpful for those like her who had researched the process, but were getting stuck on the specific details of the application requirements and procedures.

8.7 Opportunities and Challenges with the Express Entry Pathways

This section will share international graduate students’ thoughts on Canada’s citizenship and immigration policies and discuss what impact these policies have on their academic, personal, and professional lives. Specifically, the section will highlight the opportunities and challenges associated with navigating the Express Entry program and its constituent pathways, including the Canadian Experience Class Program and the Provincial Nominee Program. (known as the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program in Ontario).

A few participants spoke somewhat positively about Canada's immigration and citizenship laws and the changes made to the laws in 2014. Andrea, a Cuban PhD student who wants to settle in Canada with her husband and children shared that she was not angry about the policy changes. She understood that Canada wants to "keep the good immigrants" including those "who really come here to work and do not really care about waiting 6 years...because once you are a permanent resident, you have status here...[to] continue working." For Andrea, the length of time needed to transition from permanent resident to Canadian citizen was not a hindrance to her plans to settle in Canada. Additionally she shared that she was "very confident" in her chances of being successful in the Express Entry pool and being invited to apply for permanent residency (personal communication, July 9, 2015). Similarly, Isabella, a PhD candidate from Mexico shared that as long as she was successful in securing employment after getting her permanent residency, she "would not mind waiting for six to eight years" to become a Canadian citizen. Looking on the bright side, she felt the "extra four or five years... [waiting]...will give [her] enough time to plan whether she will pursue citizenship or not." However, she noted the policy changes does "screw people" who ultimately want to become Canadian citizens (personal communication, July 10, 2015). Andrea and Isabella demonstrated that some students are not worried about the increase in the residency requirement to become a Canadian citizen and are more focused on the more immediate need to become a permanent resident. Even though participants understood Canada's desire to help its own citizens before foreigners, almost all the participants

hoped that Canada would make it easier for international graduates to immigrate to Canada after graduation.

8.7.1 Feelings of confusion, lack of information, and lack of awareness about the rationales behind changes.

Overwhelmingly, all participants were very critical of Canada's citizenship and immigration legislation, the pathways and process involved in transitioning from an international graduate student to a permanent resident, and the changes proposed by the Conservative government in 2014. According to students, the policy changes makes the entire international student to permanent resident to Canadian citizen process longer, more difficult, and frustrating. Participants did not seem to understand why Canada enacted laws to revoke a naturalized Canadian citizen's citizenship, labelled it as "disappointing," and noted that many international students were "upset" about the change (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). Karen, an international PhD candidate from the United States shared that she "[doesn't] claim to understand the thought processes behind the current administration" and added that she "[didn't] think they're necessarily going in the right direction." Karen did not understand how Canada's strategy to attract and retain the best talent for its future prosperity was aligned with immigration policy that made it more difficult for highly-skilled international graduate students to immigrate. She shared that the policies made Canada seem "insular" and that she "[didn't] see where in the policy it would allow for more people to stay when they now say that your international status doesn't count for anything; that is clearly counterproductive if you were getting people to stay" (personal communication, June

30, 2015). Participants were also confused about policies and unsure about their futures because “Canada's immigration policy has changed every single year. Every couple of months they change a little bit” (Lei, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

The constant changes, the volume of information on immigration policy and procedure, coupled with the need to pay attention to detail also added to participants feeling overwhelmed and stressed. Time and time again, participants noted that the information was often unclear, leading to frustration and anxiety. Lei, a Chinese PhD candidate in medical biophysics at Central University expressed that she was stressed because she was unsure if she would “get in” if she applied through the Express Entry. She added, “I don't know how many spots are left. I'm feeling more stressed” (personal communication, July 7, 2015). Additionally, Isabella noted that it was confusing for her to review all the information. While she knew where to look for information, she emphasized that she had to “read [the policies and procedures] two or three times just to make sure that [she understood] everything” (personal communication, July 10, 2015).

Some were confused why they had to wait to finish their degrees in order to apply for immigration and permanent residency, noting that previously students could apply half-way through their degree programs if they were doing graduate work. Now that participants have to wait until their degrees are completed, some participants feared that the competition for permanent residency was a lot tougher, leading some to feel bitter about both Canada and also the university.

Other participants were also unsure about the residency requirements needed to be eligible for citizenship. They were particularly frustrated that now the amount of time they spent in Canada as an international student would not count towards their residency requirement when applying for Canadian citizenship (Adam, personal communication, July 7, 2015). They were unsure about the government's rationale to not count time spent in Canada towards one's residency requirement or if time spent looking for a job would count towards their residency requirement (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015). Throughout the interviews, participants claimed that the new regulations did not seem like a good change.

Yet another frustrating requirement of the Express Entry was the English language proficiency test. Sophia pointed out that "if you are a graduate student in a university in Canada, you actually had to take an English test before you came here." However, the Express Entry requires applicants to retake the English language proficiency tests, which amounts to added costs to the applicant (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015). Sophia echoed the sentiments of other participants. As someone who is going through the process and has extensively looked at the policies, her experiences are strongly reflective of other students' feelings and indicative of how students feel going through the immigration process.

Similarly, Richard wondered, "why should I have to write an English proficiency test to be nominated?" Seeing that most Canadian universities use English as their language of instruction, Richard added,

If somebody is doing a Master's or if somebody is doing a PhD at [Central], of course the person should have some amount of English proficiency. So I find it really ridiculous that a person has to write in English proficiency test to be able to qualify for citizenship. This is quite ridiculous (personal communication, July 17, 2015).

Likewise, Ezekiel echoed,

It sounds very ridiculous because if you are a PhD, if somebody is doing a PhD in education or if you're doing a PhD in geography, your dissertation is in English.

For Christ's sakes, why should we go right and English proficiency test... (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

A number of international students felt that the English language proficiency tests were unnecessary for graduate students and was a drain on their time and financial resources. Sophia in particular was convinced that "the government is collecting money that way" by charging potential candidates money to administer these tests (personal communication, July 14, 2015). Because students pay separately to take these tests, the costs of these tests and the time required to take them slowed down the application process and also contributed to stress and frustration.

8.7.2 Struggles with the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP).

The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) allows Canadian provinces and territories to select skilled individuals to work in their respective provinces and territories. The selection criteria are dependent on each province or territory. The OINP is Ontario's version of the PNP. Successful applicants receive a provincial nomination that they can

use to apply for permanent residency through Citizenship and Immigration Canada. A large portion of student participants highlighted OINP as their preferred avenue to go through the immigration process, largely because it does not require Master's and PhD applicants to have a job or Canadian work experience to qualify. However, those who had strongly considered the program found the information, requirements, and restrictions daunting. Sophia shared her husband's story in which he was unable to apply through the OINP's Master's Program because the rules stipulated that only full-time Master's students were eligible to apply. The regulations, Sophia argued, were not clear enough and thus her family "was disappointed that they could not go through" the OINP (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Adam also noted that he looked into the OINP but shared that he wants to pursue a PhD after his Master's. However, Adam was ineligible to apply through the ONIP because the OINP requires Master's holders to join the labour market if selected.. "I...think that's not fair" shared Adam, adding,

That is going to affect my goal because my goal is to eventually do a PhD. But I cannot stay as an international student for a long time. I asked for a lot of support from my family and I have to start supporting myself. So if I were to become a permanent resident with that class, that way I could not do a PhD....That is forcing me to change my goal (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Someone like Adam is thus left to choose between remaining in Canada as an international student for a longer period of time and thus adding to his financial costs or

pursuing his goal to becoming a permanent resident. Similarly, Lei shared that she would like to pursue another, more technical college degree after she is done her PhD so that she would be more employable. But, much like in Adam's case, Lei is unable to pursue her degree and apply through the OINP. Stuck between two difficult options, she had to choose between applying for permanent residency and looking for a job with her degree, or postponing her plans to immigrate and seeking a degree that will lead to employment.

8.7.3 Feelings of stress and frustration.

Many of the students noted that Canada's immigration and citizenship laws, the recent changes to the policies procedures, and the process of applying to the Express Entry program was causing a great deal of stress and frustration. "The whole process, from when [participants] start to think about applying for a permanent residency and until [they] can actually apply can be extremely frustrating. It is time consuming and driving those who are in the process nuts" (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015). Sophia, who is in Canada from Northern Europe with her family shared that "this process affects the whole family" and is "a frustrating situation" for her husband and children who can "feel the tension" of the stressors involved in application process. She added that the process,

can get a bit tense and that can affect my relationship with my husband and also with my kids....Even though we don't intend to do that [it] is just what happens when we were trying to [apply] and we experienced [that the process] was not working as we wanted it to work (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Even those who were in Canada on their own found the entire immigration and Express Entry application process stressful and frustration to endure. Ezekiel, an international student from Ghana doing research on renewable energy said that “mentally, [the process] was a big drain.” He explained,

I've been trying to finish my thesis and working on the [immigration applications]. And I would say it is part of the reason why I am kind of delayed, I'm kind of being set back. There been job opportunities, of course. There is one job at [another university] and I think I fit that job 100%. But I never heard back; that might be due to my status in Canada as an international student. So that's really draining (personal communication, August 10, 2015)

Seeing that Ezekiel was in the final stages of his doctoral degree, the changes to the policies had increased the personal and mental drain on him and the application process was a “distraction” from finishing his degree. He added,

I need to do the school work, I need to finish up these papers plus I need to apply for this, and I need to get these forms from Ghana, I need to get a police report, and I need to get this amount of money. I can see that potentially being very draining psychologically (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

He speculated that other “people who would really want to stay could potentially run into a bit of depression. Some of Ezekiel’s friends who were also applying to transition into permanent residence via the Express Entry were “going nuts because they [were] having a hard time navigating the system and it [was] really driving them crazy!

Psychologically it [was] really draining them because they [were]...left hanging” and had

to “constantly divide their attention” between working on their academics and applying for permanent residency near the end of their degree program. Richard, another graduate student from Ghana shared Ezekiel’s sense of frustration. Because the Express Entry operates as a lottery system where applicants are ranked and only those with the highest points are invited to apply, Richard felt that he did not quite know how well he fared against others in the pool. Though he tried to present himself as valuable, he felt he had to outshine others and “always climb the ladder” so that he could come out on top (personal communication, July 17, 2015). At the end of one of the interviews, Ezekiel lamented over how long, difficult, and cumbersome the entire immigration process was for him and sighed “but what can I do?,” indicating a sense of hopelessness and lack of control over his future (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015) .

8.7.4 The financial burden to students.

A few students shared that the current immigration laws and regulations was placing a financial burden on them. “Applying for permanent resident status...is...stupid expensive” and required international students “have to spend” money that “nobody else does” (Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015). The stream for skilled workers in Canada within the Express Entry requires that single adults have roughly \$12,000 in their bank account to support themselves. For international graduate students, this amount is particularly high and difficult to acquire and may lead to students going into debt. Richard was particularly vocal about how the immigration policies, procedures and process inflicted this financial burden:

You don't get an opportunity to work. In fact, your visa tells you the number of hours you can work. So consequently, the amount of money that you are required to pay when you get nominated- I wonder where you are going to get that kind of money from?! It's \$12,000; I don't even make that amount as a teaching assistant. I don't make that much money in a year. So if I get nominated, how do I get the money to pay, while the visa has a restriction on the number of hours you can work? So it becomes extremely difficult for international students to apply (personal communication, July 17, 2015).

Others shared Richard's concerns, adding that on a student income, you "cannot really save." For student with families, the burden was even greater. Andrea, who has two children and a husband said that she needed to have roughly \$22,000 in her bank account to be eligible for the Express Entry program.

Other costs include the \$1,500 application fee for the OINP and the costs to take English proficiency tests. For Ezekiel, the lack of \$1,500 was a barrier as well. He informed that "[he] was told that Ontario was interested in considering [him]" but he did not have the \$1,500. So he "just said 'F-it'" adding that the lack of available funds coupled with the high fees forced him to forgo the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program as an option. Even the \$300 needed to take an English proficiency tests was a "drain on [his] resources," seeing that the costs add up (personal communication, August 10, 2015). For others like Sophia, the added costs associated with applying through the OINP, the application and process fees for the Express Entry, compounded with the cost of having to take English language test was not only financially straining her and her

family but made them question their intentions about immigrating to Canada. “The sum starts to add up” she added and shared that “it's just frustrating not to know if this is the program that we should go through” because of the limited financial resources many Master’s and PhD students have. Sophia was convinced that the system was designed to “get money from [students] anywhere” possible (personal communication, July 14, 2015).

8.7.5 Students feel unwelcome in Canada.

The restrictions and complicated requirements unquestionably led to feelings of resentment and neglect from both Canada and the university. Karen shared that she was “bitter” and questioned the narrative that Canada is a welcoming country because she felt the immigration policies were marginalizing international students like her (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Richard was very blunt with his observation and cited, “at first assessment, I think it’s just a way to keep people out and making it more difficult for people to get permanent residence...at face value...maybe this is a way of getting rid of people.” Richard warned that “the system was not welcoming enough” and that as a result, “people [won’t] feel a sense of belonging” and will “feel isolated” in Canada (personal communication, July 17, 2015). Others felt that the policies sent mixed messages to international students whereby the government was saying, “yeah we want you to stay here, but we are going to make it more difficult” (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015). Similarly, Ezekiel shared that he and his friends feel that “the Canadians don't

want us here” and questioned “why would [Canada] make the system more difficult if [they] wanted people here.” He added,

Irrespective of our skills and PhD degrees, we don't think [Canada] really want us here because everything is indicative of the fact that [Canada] want us to suffer more to stay here. At least that is the way we perceive it, in that it is an indirect strategy to frustrate us and get us saying, "We can't deal with this anymore, we are out" (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

Blaming “bureaucracy” and politics that makes the immigration process restrictive for international students, some students expressed that they are now looking for opportunities elsewhere. Ezekiel for instance shared, “I think I do have a sense of self-worth that is enough to say ‘I can't do this anymore! I'm leaving!’...For me, it comes across as ‘we don't want you here!’ Straight up!” (personal communication, August 10, 2015). Karen echoed these sentiments and shared while “it is fine enough” to get a student visa under current regulations, the changing immigration policies have meant that “retaining people...is going to be a lot harder” (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Other shared stories of friends who left Canada to work elsewhere. Participants claimed that these people were wiser and expressed that they would follow suit to look for opportunities elsewhere.

Ezekiel in particular highlighted the negative side effects of international graduate students being unintentionally forced out of Canada as a result of restrictive immigration policies. It pained him to see people move to the United States for work

after getting a Canadian education. He felt it was “dumb” that Canada was not putting in more effort to keep highly skilled, educated, and Canadian-funded graduate students in the country (personal communication, August 10, 2015). Others were blunter with their critique. These “unfair” policy changes were “making it more difficult for people to get permanent residency,” was hurting “the image of Canada as a welcoming country,” and was making “people...see [Canada] in a different light.” When asked if they would recommend Canada to their friends, some shared that they would encourage future potential international graduate students to “look for a place with better immigration policies or a place where you can integrate better” (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015).

8.7.6 Labour market pressures and challenges.

In order for a Canadian employer to hire a foreign national, the employer has to apply for a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) through Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC). This policy is to ensure that Canadians get priority over foreign nationals in the labour market and proves to the government that only the foreign national can fulfill the employment requirements. Without a LMIA (a process that takes time and money on part of the employer), an employer cannot hire a foreign national. Rightfully, several international graduate students made links between immigration, the labour market, and the struggles of finding employment in Canada. “To get permanent residency, the key is the job. And for international students, maybe it is hard to find one” noted Chi (personal communication, July 9, 2015). The Federal Skilled Workers Program (FSWP) and the Canadian Experience Class Program (CEC) require

applicants to have prior work experience and that the Ontario's Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) requires non-PhD/Master's applicants to have a job offer. "It's not fair for new grads," lamented Lei, who added that she does not have any work experience or a job offer, as she has been a full time PhD candidate at Central University during her time in Canada (personal communication, July 7, 2015). Participants noted that it was not easy to get a job after graduation due to labour market regulations that mandates that Canadians hire Canadian residents and citizens over foreigners. Adam shared his experience talking to employers:

I've talked to various people in different companies and I've always got the same response that it's a lot harder to hire international students than it is to hire a Canadian student. And it was always the same response right, the, "Oh we have to get our market labour exemption; we have to prove that nobody can do the job and that's why we are looking for an international student (personal communication, July 7, 2015)

Adam noted that immigration lawyers he approached advised him to "get into graduate school" because "it is really hard to get a job and apply with the Canadian Experience Class [CEC]." Even though he has a background in engineering, time and time again Adam found that "companies will hire Canadian students over international students" rendering the CEC an ineffective avenue for students like him. He lamented that "the competition [was] really high" to get a job in Canada (personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Other participants shared Adam's dilemma as well, who found that employers were not willing to go through the process of filing a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) and the administrative hassles of hiring a foreigner. Participants were getting the message that even if an international student is a qualified candidate for the job, "employers have to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that [they are] way above everybody else and that [they are] the only ones who can do" the job. This labour market reality undoubtedly made participants rethink their long-term career goals in Canada (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015). Karen felt that the system was systemically barring international students from the labour market.

They want people who are educated, credentialed, have a job offer. It's a lot harder to get a job offer if you don't have Canadian citizenship or permanent resident status. So it becomes this, sort of catch-22 of, "I can't get a job because I don't have status. I don't have status because I can't get a job." (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Karen was not the only participant to note this conundrum. Other students expressed their frustration with the "catch-22" and the link between immigration and Canadian labour laws.

Additionally, "instead of concentrating on [his] studies," Richard shared that he may be forced to look for employment while completing his graduate work, not only to secure needed funds for the Express Entry avenues but also to demonstrate that he has Canadian work experience. However, according to Richard, restrictions on students' visas dictating how many hours a student can work and the uncertainty of whether or

not an applicant will be successfully nominated through the Express Entry all added to stress and frustration (Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015).

Almost all of the programs and avenues within the Express Entry require one year of continuous nonstop work experience, amounting to 30 hours of work per week. For the full-time students interviewed in the study, working 30 hours per week was not possible, on top of being in graduate school. While some participants were unsure about finer details about what kind of work would count towards the requirements, other participants wondered if their previous work experience in their home countries would count. However, the fear was that “local employers may not recognize [their] overseas work experience” (Chi, personal communication, July 9, 2015). Additionally, a few participants shared that proving employment and credentials from other countries was challenging, seeing that students may have worked or were educated in various countries before coming to Canada.

8.7.7 Rethinking career aspirations.

The changing immigration policies were forcing some students to rethink their career goals in Canada. Throughout the interviews, there was a sense of urgency to apply to the job market and use the job offer to secure a strong application to the Express Entry. Participants noted that in order to be eligible for the Express Entry, they have to “find a job that fits [their] degree.” However, “the job market [was] really hard” to break into and left participants feeling anxious.

Each individual participant shared their own career trajectories and shared how Canada’s changed immigration and citizenship policy along with the systemic barriers of

the Express Entry would affect their career goals. For Adam, having to choose between immigration through the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program meant that he would have to postpone his plans to apply into a PhD or vice-versa. Karen on the other hand noted that she would like to “work in policy research and immigration policy,” However, because Canadian government jobs are primarily awarded to Canadian citizens and permanent residents, she felt the restrictive policies and structural barriers was “going to put a dent in” her plans (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

While Andrea, Lei, and Charles affirmed that they would apply to the Express Entry, others such as Richard expressed that they would be forced to return home or look for opportunities elsewhere, despite their wishes to remain in Canada. However, some noted that because of their chosen field of study, their skills would not be relevant in other countries. Ezekiel, who is an international student from Ghana and does research on renewable energy in Canada, shared that his “expertise in almost useless if [he] goes back home.” His area of expertise is so specific that “it is really hard for [him] to work back home or even carve a niche for [him]” (personal communication, August 10, 2015). Others shared that going back would be a tragedy because they would “have to start over again to build [the] many things that [participants] have already built over here.” “I will be disappointed; I will be heartbroken” shared Isabella, who was holding on to hope that she would be able to “make it” in Canada like others before her (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015).

8.8 Immigration Policies and International Student Retention

International graduate students were roughly evenly split about whether or not international students will continue to come to Canada as a result of Canada's citizenship and immigration legislation. Some felt that despite restrictions and challenges embedded in Canada's citizenship and immigration laws, international students would continue to come and study in Canada. Throughout the interviews, participants compared Canada's immigration laws with their knowledge and perceptions of immigration laws in countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and particularly the United States. Lei, an international student from China, felt that Canada's immigration policies were less restrictive than those of the United States. Canada's "attractiveness" as a study destination meant that despite some restrictions in post-graduation immigration, international students would likely continue to come here (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015). The only thing that would deter students from coming to study in Canada would be a significant "change in the process of getting a study visa" (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015). Because many students usually think about staying permanently in Canada after having studied in the country for a while and often do not consider staying in Canada when applying to university, some participants felt that immigration policies would have little impact on international student recruitment. However, restrictive immigration policies would deter international graduates from choosing to stay in Canada as skilled migrants post-graduation.

According to both Ezekiel and Andrea, the decision to continue to choose Canada was also dependant on the participant's national background, the individual's personal circumstances, and whether or not they see international post-secondary studies as an avenue for immigration into the Global North. For example, Andrea from Cuba argued that if someone like her "from a poor country" had the chance to come to Canada, they would. And they would wait as long as needed to transition into permanent residency. Though, she noted that students from "Europe or other countries...more or less the same" as Canada may choose to not come to Canada. Instead, European students may "prefer...countries like the States" that has "more prestigious universities" (personal communication, July 9, 2015).

Other participants were not as optimistic about international student recruitment trends as it linked with immigration policy. They felt that the immigration policies and systemic barriers within Canada's citizenship and immigration process would make it less likely that future foreign students would seek Canada as a study destination. Adam noted that the laws were delaying how quickly an international student could transition into permanent residency, which indirectly impacted the abilities of international students' families to financially support students in Canada to go to university. Families will be forced to continue to pay higher international tuition fees, which may deter families from sending their children to study in Canada. Adam warned that he saw the policies significantly reducing the number of international students coming into Canada.

Respondents felt that if immigration laws forced international students to return home, then the policies will have long-term implications for future international student recruitment. Richard warned that “If I go back and somebody asks me ‘do you think I can go to study in Canada,’ [he] may end up discouraging people from coming to study” and instead ask them to seek out “better...places that can give [students] opportunities” post-graduation. For Richard, the ability to seek employment, transition to permanent residency, getting integrated into Canada, and acquiring permanent residency were all pull factors. However, “if the pull factor is no longer in existence...it will reduce the total number of people who can apply to end up studying in Canada.” Richard noted that as a result of Canada’s immigration policies and the systemic barriers in the Express Entry, some people were “starting to look elsewhere” (personal communication, July 17, 2015).

8.8.1 Canada’s struggle to retain international students.

Four out of the ten students feared that Canada would lose out on the knowledge and talent cultivated by international students if they are unable to stay in Canada post-graduation and have to leave. “They are going to take all these ideas and another university is going to benefit from it” shared Adam (Adam, personal communication, July 7, 2015). When asked if students were open to going to other countries, several participants shared that they are “pretty open to going somewhere else” if they “don’t have...options in Canada” (Charles, personal communication, July 8, 2015). Both Isabella and Sophia claimed that they would look at employment and settlement opportunities in the United States or Europe, respectively, if they could not successfully navigate Canada’s immigration system. Sophia, a native of Northern Europe

added that if she “had known about these changes and the processes beforehand, [she] might have chosen something else” (Sophia, personal communication, July 14, 2015).

Even students from the Global South noted the impact of restrictive immigration processes on their intent on staying in Canada. Richard considered moving to the United States, or going back to Ghana, or looking for other opportunities around the world whereas Ezekiel said that he would look for job opportunities in Europe where his expertise on renewable energy would be relevant. Additionally, Richard noted that certification from a Canadian school is very much respected in his home country and opined many countries value a Canadian PhD graduate. Richard was confident that he “can go anywhere else” with his Canadian credential and noted that if so, Canada would lose. He added,

You spend so much on international students, so much money on training one person - for instance, a two year Masters and a four-year PhD. [Canada] will be missing a lot of talent [and] intellectual power. That is one thing they don't realize. [Canada] spent all this money on me. You train me. I improve upon my intellectual capacity. Then at the end of the day when I want to stay they say "no, I should go back." Fair enough! I'll go back, but the end of the day you have lost!

(Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015)

The restrictive immigration process made some participants feel devalued by Canada. No longer did they feel like potential contributors to Canada's future prosperity. For them, it is “a question of where [they] can be useful and where [they] can make a useful contribution” (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015). Thus, if Canada did

not make the process of transitioning into a permanent resident easier for these highly-skilled individuals, some participants would rightfully look for another place where they could live, work, and integrate.

8.9 Opportunities for Institutional and National Support and Suggested Reforms

Students were divided in their opinions on what the university and Canada could do to help ease international students' transition to permanent residency and citizenship in Canada. Participants felt that universities have very little say in federal immigration legislation and thus have a limited role in enacting policy change. As such, some felt that the responsibility of immigrating to Canada falls on the individual student. However, other students wanted the university to be up to date with all the information regarding changing citizenship and immigration policy, wanted university immigration consultants to provide more direct and individualized feedback to international students looking to immigrate to Canada, and overall be more supportive of students going through the immigration process.

Two international students were very vocal about their views that the university should play a more proactive role in helping international students transition into permanent residency and play a role in influencing federal immigration policy. "I don't think the system does anything to encourage anyone...in terms of taking up steps and seeing you as a potential resource or...human capital" shared Ezekiel when talking about his disillusionment with Central University. He added,

I don't think that [universities] are investing. I don't think the department is saying, "Oh we really like these skills you have acquired. We think that you could

really contribute. Do you want to talk about going forward because we really see you staying here and we see you becoming a resource?" ... No one is actively pursuing people and saying, we think you are resourceful. We think you can be useful (personal communication, August 10, 2015).

Ezekiel felt that by playing a more active role, universities would be able to boost "someone's self-worth" and encourage them to think about and initiate the permanent residency process (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015).

Moreover, Karen felt that universities were "getting complacent in letting these [federal policy] changes happen" that ultimately affected international students. Karen opined, "I think they have the right to speak up on behalf of their own interests...and international students." Time and time again, Karen reiterated that the immigration and citizenship legislation and the changes enacted by the federal government were "counterproductive" in advancing Canada's internationalization goals. Karen added that it is the university's,

own interests that are being hurt ultimately. They're not going to be able to attract the best talent. The talent that is going to be here is going to be bitter and jaded like myself. If [Central University] wants to be a top-tier research institution, if Canada wants to attract the best and the brightest and we have policies that are explicitly counterproductive and going against these goals – then...let's...say something....If enough people raise a fuss, they've got to listen. And [universities] are not making enough of a fuss (Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

It is clear that some participants wanted universities to advocate on behalf of international graduate students at the federal government level.

8.10 Opportunities for immigration and citizenship policy and process reform.

Overwhelming, almost all of the international graduate students felt that the immigration process of university graduates and particularly Master's and PhD students should be made easier. They collectively called on the federal government to ease restrictions and treat graduate students with Master's and PhDs as highly-skilled individuals capable of helping Canada grow. Participants noted that graduate students were naturally hard-working and driven individuals who had already been screened by the universities for English language proficiency and were in Canada contributing to Canadian society. "If you have a nice record, and you have passed the university filters maybe that should be a good check point" shared Isabella (personal communication, July 10, 2015). Some tangible changes participants asked for were lifting the requirements to take an English language proficiency exam if students were studying in university for at least two years. Other proposed changes included easing employers' barriers to get a Labour Market Impact Assessment so that employers would be more willing to hire international graduates who are ready to meet the demands of the job market. Last, Karen from the United States expressed that she "would like see [Canada] go back to [its] roots of being friendly and opening, and welcoming...and make policy that makes sense" when it comes to having a stronger correlation between Canada's citizenship, immigration, and internationalization aspirations (personal communication, June 30, 2015).

8.11 Summary

While international graduate students spoke highly of the virtues of Canadian higher education and their decisions to come to Canada to study, they nevertheless felt marginalized by Canada's citizenship and immigration laws. Many who wanted to transition into permanent residency after graduation cited lack of access to employment, financial burdens, and systemic barriers within the Express Entry system as challenges to becoming permanent residents and eventually citizens of Canada. A few even warned that restrictive immigration policies and barriers may give Canada a bad reputation as a study destination abroad, hinder international student recruitment efforts by Canadian universities, and also encourage Canadian-educated and trained talent to seek opportunities in other countries. In the next chapter, I will highlight how Canada's citizenship and immigration policies regulate and change the role of the university with respect to immigration.

Chapter 9: Analysis and Discussion: Actors, Actor-Networks, and Assemblages

9.1 Overview

This chapter discusses how the various actors identified in this research are assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. Using Actor-Network Theory's (ANT) notion of assemblages and a critical analysis of actor-networks to uncover whose voices are privileged and who are silenced, I discuss the conditions that enroll federal, provincial, and university actors. By using a critical-sociomaterial framework, I examine what human and non-human actors are enrolled in (i.e. come together around) citizenship, immigration, and international education policy and how these actors form three distinct policy assemblages. These policy assemblages illustrates how certain actor-networks stabilize the federal government's control over citizenship, immigration, and international education policies, how the federal government enacts its policies within the provincially-mandated university, and how the university is enrolled in technocratic ways to regulate the flow of international students in and out of Canada.

ANT's notion of radical symmetry that views the power of humans and non-humans as equally uncertain, ambiguous, and disputable (Callon, 1986) allows me highlight the sociomaterial relationships between citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. This critical framework, for instance, allows me to view the Canadian Constitution, university administrators, policies, international graduate students, and organizations as actors that form parts of the three overlapping assemblages I identify in my analysis.

These assemblages are messy, complex and are in constant flux, changing with the political milieu of the day. Because ANT shifts the focus from individual actors to connections (Sayes, 2014), in this chapter, I trace the connections between actors within these assemblages and highlight the disproportionate distribution of power that contributes to how much voice the actors have around the creation and enactment of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. I also identify who the central actors are in each of the assemblages, which actors are excluded from these assemblages, explain the role of special interest groups (SIGs) within these assemblages, and assess the stability and strengths of the connections within and between these assemblages. Last I discuss what forms of action these assemblages enable, how they allow for policies to be enacted in multiple spaces, and how these assemblages alter the roles of the federal government and the university.

9.2 How Actors Come Together to Form Assemblages

The data reveals three separate assemblages that include both human and non-human actors across various levels of governance. These actors include strategic plans, government policies and legislation, university and governmental departments, and individuals assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. Recall that the notion of policy assemblages take into account the sociomateriality of relationships by exploring the complex and often contentious, but necessary, relationships between both human and non-human actors. The goal is to understand how policies come to be, how they connect with one another, how they regulate action, and the socio-political implications of these connections.

The assemblages are named Citizenship and Immigration (CI), Governmental Internationalization, and University Internationalization. These assemblages, including the lobbying efforts of SIGs, are made possible by CI and internationalization policies and are facilitated by an assemblage of ideas. This concept of assemblage along with an assemblage of ideas is valuable in understanding policy in a globalizing world.

Assemblage thinking does not privilege one actor or network but rather appreciates the messiness involved in the moving entities comprised of “ongoing material and political practices that establish a precarious values consensus of the moment” (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010, p. 135). All three assemblages along with the connections made possible by SIGs are not stable. They are constantly moving and changing as a result of changing ideas and political attitudes locally and nationally.

Before I begin to unpack how the three assemblages formed, it is important to discuss the forces and factors that gave rise to these policies and ultimately push and pull on the actors assembled around these policies. Policies, including the federal *International Education Strategy*, Central University’s internationalization plans, along with the reforms to Canada’s CI laws did not evolve in a vacuum. Rather, they are a result of a complex political and social milieu and an assemblage of ideas that permeated across Canadian higher education and Canadian society as a whole prior to and particularly during 2013 to 2015 when this study was being conducted. During the 2015 federal elections, there was talk about increasing safety and security for Canadians, reaffirming the Canadian identity, and reforming Canada’s CI laws to “strengthen Canadian citizenship.” These discourses being championed by the

incumbent Conservative government were a central component of the 2015 election campaign. At the university level, there was an increased call for greater accountability and auditing measures to ensure that international students coming to Canada were indeed in Canada to study. Simultaneously, universities across Canada, including Central University, were poised to put Canada on the global stage and highlight the promise of Canadian higher education. Neoliberal thinking, market logic, and the need to be globally competitive were clearly influencing Canadian higher education. As such, higher education in Canada has been constructed as an input-output system to service the economy, where strategic planning, performance indicators, quality assurance, and academic excellence have greater priority over teaching, research, and service (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Additionally, competition among universities, both from within and outside of Canada gave rise to federal and university policies aimed at marketing Canadian higher education institutions as an attractive place to study. In their interviews (see Chapter 7), Central University administrators highlighted that fact that Canada was facing competition from countries like the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and emerging destinations for higher education such as Germany, China, and countries in the Middle East.

More and more, international education is being viewed as a tradable commodity that is poised to elevate Canada's economy and place Canada as a contender on the global stage against its competitors (Atlbach & Knight, 2007). This is consistent with Stier's (2004) view that internationalization is "entangled with commercial, pragmatic and ideological motives" (p. 86) and consistent with Larsen and Al-Haque's

(2016) study in which some university and college leaders interviewed felt that Canada's vision for internationalization was instrumental in its outlook, aimed at privileging the economic benefits of international education. In their study, Canadian university and community college leaders felt pressured to publically focus on internationalization, fearing that if they did not, they would be left out and lose on their competitive edge. The authors cite views from university and college leaders who saw internationalization as an instrumental mean to benefit the university's students, faculty, and partnerships with institutions outside of Canada.

While the federal government in the past had little investment in international education, in 2014 the government drafted Canada's federal *International Education Strategy*, echoing Canadian universities' desires to recruit more international students. University administrators, including Central University's president noted that Canada's *International Education Strategy* was primarily concerned with advancing Canada's economy. The strategy views international students as an economic resources for Canada and argues that recruiting global talent into the country will help Canada remain globally competitive in today's knowledge economy.

These ideas and aspirations, the desire to enhance safety and security, to strengthen Canadian identity, along with the push to make Canada competitive globally as an education hub gave provided the conditions for the three assemblages that are connected around CI and internationalization policies. While it can be argued that universities have always been cognizant of Canada's CI legislation to facilitate the flow of international and domestic students in and out of the country, this is one of the first

times distinct alterations in federal CI legislation has had a direct impact on the university's ability to support international students and recruit future talent into country.

9.3 The Three Assemblages

The data from Chapter 6 along with interview data from Chapters 7 and 8 reveals that there are three assemblages around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization

policies. It is

important to note that while these assemblages look ordered and stabilized, they are in

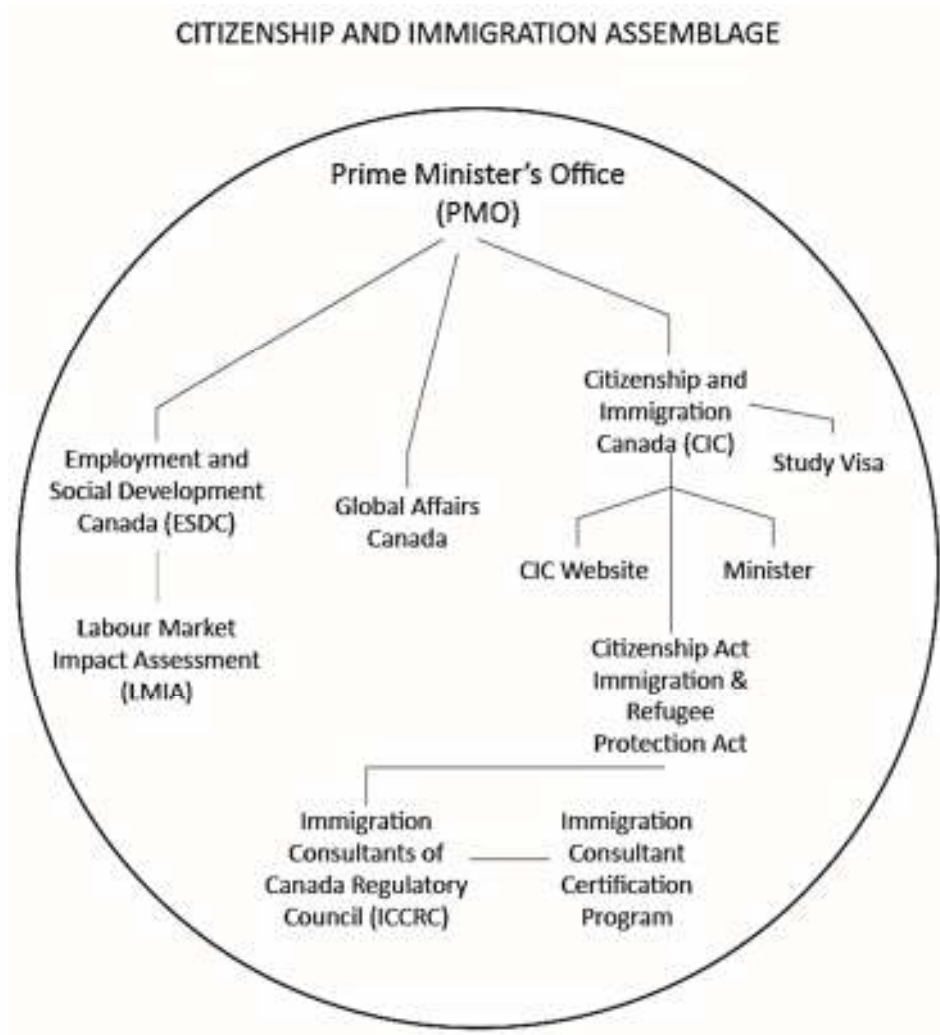


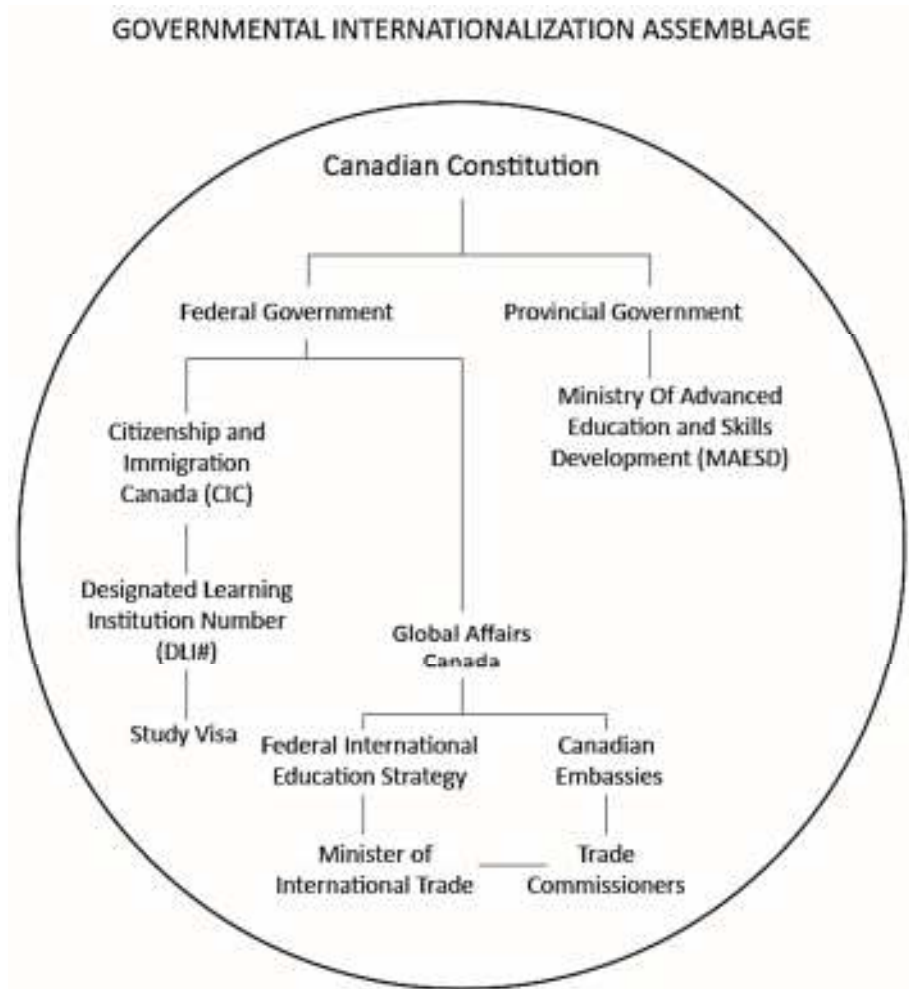
Figure 9.1: The Citizenship and Immigration Assemblage
 The Citizenship and Immigration Assemblage and the actors assembled around Canada's CI policies; includes both Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Employment and Social Development Canada and their substituent departments.

fact fluid and are in flux. Latour (1996) argues that properties of actor-networks are unlike fixed and stabilized technical networks (such as a train or a telephone network). “An actor-network may lack all the characteristics of a technical network - it may be local, it may have no compulsory paths, no strategically positioned nodes” (p. 369). As such, these diagrams are intended to aid the reader see the various human and non-human actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization strategies and to help the reader understand how these assemblages overall to create the complex actor-network relationships between these policies. My intention is to illustrate the components of three assemblages individually before I discuss the relationships and the effects of those relationships later in this chapter.

First, the CI Assemblage, involving citizenship and immigration policies at the federal level, is constituted by the Prime Minister’s office and both Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC). The CIC is responsible for regulating the Citizenship Act, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, and the CIC website that many international students and administrators use to access up-to-date information about changes to federal citizenship and immigration legislation (See Figure 9.1).

Second, the Governmental Internationalization Assemblage involving internationalization policy is comprised of a number of actors at the federal and provincial level. These include the Canadian Constitution and particular federal and provincial government ministries, departments, and agencies. The provincial

government oversees the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (MAESD), which is responsible for administering the laws related to governing higher education



in Ontario. At the federal level the CIC and Global Affairs

Figure 9.2: The Governmental Internationalization Assemblage
The Governmental Internationalization Assemblage illustrates the actors assembled around Canada's international education strategy; includes the Canadian Constitution, federal bodies like CIC and provincial ministries such as MAESD.

(previously known as Department of Foreign Affairs, International Trade, and Development; DFAITD) are other actors assembled around internationalization policy.

CIC outlines what educational institutions can accept international students through the Designated Learning Institution number (DLI#) whereas Global Affairs oversees Canadian embassies abroad, including the trade commissioners who help recruit international students to Canada (see Figure 9.2).

Last, the University Internationalization Assemblage involving higher education internationalization policy includes a wide range of university actors. These include university leaders such as the president, the university's *Strategic Plan* and the *Internationalization Strategy*, the International Office, the staff in the office including the registered

immigration

consultants, and

also the

Graduate Studies

Office (GSO).

Seeing that this

research involves

exclusively

graduate

students, the

university's

Association of

Graduate

Students also plays a

role in advocating on

behalf of international graduate students (see Figure 9.3).



Figure 9.3: University Internationalization Assemblage
 University Internationalization Assemblage involves both the federal and institutional internationalization strategies along with university departments responsible for enacting internationalization on campus.

Embedded between these assemblages are special interest groups (SIGs) such as Universities Canada and more importantly the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) that advocate on behalf of universities for policies and programs that are favourable towards Canadian universities. SIGs such as the CBIE play a significant role in ensuring that universities are able to recruit and support international students and that international education is championed at the federal government level.

It is important to keep in mind that this is by no means an exhaustive list of actors assembled around these three policies. While there may be other actors within each assemblage, the ones outlined here are the ones frequently mentioned in the literature and by university administrators and international graduate students in this study.

9.4 Central Actors in the Assemblages

Policy is “a dynamic, emergent and uncertain process” where “distinctions [are] blurred” (Gorur, 2011, p. 613), making it difficult to identify how human and non-human actors are connected and how they come together to form action. However, mapping the actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policy allows us to look at “the spatiality of power” (Robertson et al. 2012, p. 53). An Actor-Network analysis does not say that “there are more or less equal centres of power” (Law, 1992, p. 5) but rather looks at power in a relational and distributive context. Rather than being fixed in one location or with one actor, power results from the relationships and associations between actors that hold an assemblage together (Latour, 1986).

Critical studies of policy view power as performative. In other words, attention is paid to how power is performed, enacted, and accumulated based on the associations between actors and actor-networks within policy assemblages. ANT's relational ontology and critical attention to whose voices are championed and who are silenced helps uncover how certain assemblages perform power. Emphasis is also placed on the effects these assemblages have on higher education, universities, universities' relationships with the federal government, and international students studying in Canada. By looking at the central actors in the assemblage, I am trying to understand where power lies to influence policy making, which actors have the greatest influence in policy enactment, and which actors do not when internationalization is linked with citizenship and immigration policy.

CIC is at the most influential actors within the CI Assemblage. CIC dictates Canada's immigration and citizenship legislation, including who can immigrate to Canada and become a citizen. Global Affairs, a federal government department along with the department's International Trade portfolio occupies the centre of the Governmental Internationalization Assemblage. Global Affairs, under the portfolio of international trade, drafted Canada's international education strategy and highlighted international education as a tradable commodity. At the university level, it is much harder to isolate who is at the centre of the assemblage. The assemblage that underpins internationalization at the university level is much messier and made up of a variety of actors, policies, people, offices, that are responsible for internationalization. University leadership and the role of the president in championing internationalization are

fundamental in recruiting international students to Central University. However, the enactment or the putting into practice of the university's internationalization policy occurs at multiple sites, particularly at the International Office that was created to oversee international affairs at the university. The enrollment of the International Office in the university's internationalization policy diffuses the power of university's central administration. As such, individuals within the International Office such as the immigration consultants become powerful actors in by enrolling in and enacting the university's internationalization strategy. This is reflected by interview data from mid-level administrators, such as Mark Brown, who felt that the International Office had the greatest role and responsibility in enacting Central University's internationalization strategy. However, at the senior-level administrator positions, participants felt that strong leadership from the university president was the key driver for mobilizing the institution's internationalization policy. This variance indicates that at the institutional level, there is no one site for the enactment of Central's internationalization strategy. Rather, enactment occurs at both the grassroots-level and the upper administration level. On the ground, university professors connect with prospective international graduate students whereas at the upper administrative levels, the university President along with his cohort of senior administrators, offices, and departments ensure that the university is enacting its mandate to attract international students and provide them with information on immigration issues.

The identification of central actors and the assemblage they are located in do two things with respect to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. First, it

reveals the site where policy decisions are made and identifies what actors have the greatest role in making and also enacting policy. Second, these assemblages show that citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies are all enacted in and across different places and spaces. So while citizenship and immigration policymaking occurs at the federal level, they are enacted within institutions of higher education. Particularly, the sections of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies that relate to the mobility of international students into Canada and students' ability to remain in Canada after graduation, is enacted by immigration consultants who, as the data from this research reveals, are responsible for understanding and transmitting the policy to both university administrator and international students. (In a later section, I will discuss other ways federal citizenship and immigration policy is enacted in universities, how that changes the role of the university, and how these changes redefine the relationships between the federal government and the university). Similarly, university internationalization policy is also enacted not just at the university but also at the governmental level. While most research on higher education internationalization identifies the academy as the site for higher education internationalization, this research suggests that there is no one place where internationalization gets enacted. Rather, the topology is spread across various levels of governance and transcends the university into both provincial and federal spaces.

Using spatial theories, Larsen (2016) looks at the typologies of internationalization and argues against the binary logic that is prevalent in internationalization research. She argues that the use of binaries such global/local and

foreign/domestic limit our understanding of how internationalization transpires in higher education institutions. Similarly, this study uses ANT lens to identify the multiple sites of policy enactment. By identifying material and social/human actors, this research illustrates the messiness and complexity within internationalization policy assemblages and demonstrates the relational aspect of internationalization policy as it connects to multiple layers of governance. I will discuss later the impact of enacting internationalization policy at multiple locations and how it blurs the lines between federal and provincial responsibilities.

9.5 Tracing Connections and Power within the Assemblages

These assemblages are comprised of multiple actor-networks. Recall that an actor-network is the configuration of all the things, human and non-human, that connect and enroll one another to form relationships. Thus, “an actor is also a network” (Callon, 1990, p. 142) because “actors do not and cannot act alone: they afford each other their existence and their capabilities” (Mol, 2010, p.265). In order to understand the connections between actors and reveal which actor-networks are at the forefront of these assemblages, it is important to trace these connections. By analyzing policy documents and examining interview data from university administrators and international graduate students, we can trace the connections within these assemblages to highlight the varying actor-networks and the interconnections between actors within the three assemblages (see Figure 9.4).

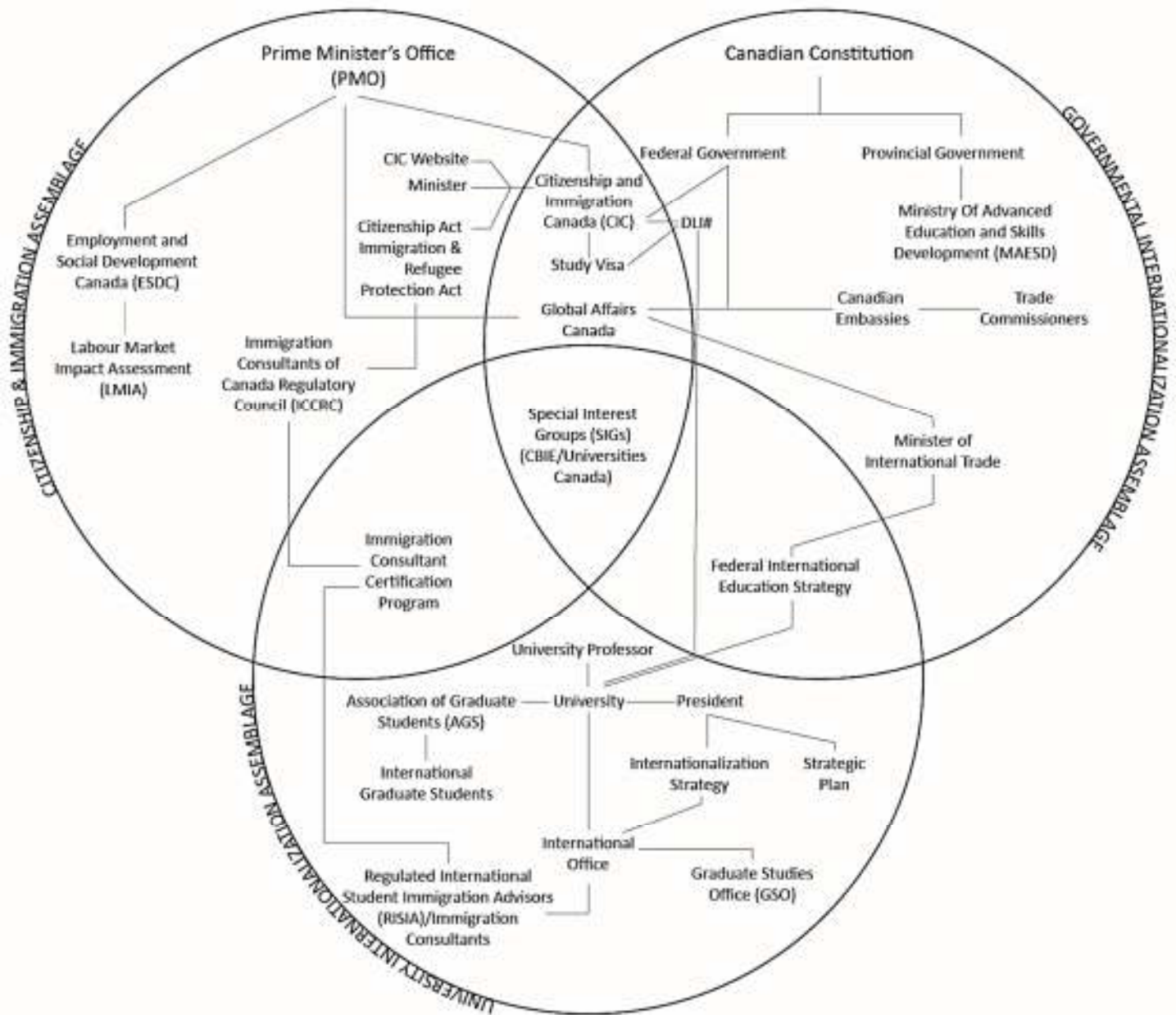


Figure 9.4: The Interconnections between the Three Assemblages

The interconnections between the three assemblages with actors traced in relationship to each other. The diagram illustrates how the three assemblages are interconnected and the overlapping of different actors between the assemblages. At the centre of the three assemblages lie Special Interest Groups such as CBIE and Universities Canada that are enrolled in both federal CI and internationalization and universities' international education goals, as it relates to international student recruitment and retention.

The connections between the three assemblages are loose as is the assemblage of actors around internationalization policies at both the governmental and university level and CI legislation. However, certain actors and actor-networks help strengthen

these connections to form the relationships between the federal government and the university with respect to citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization. Even though international students are part of these policy assemblages and are enrolled in the internationalization policies of the university and the federal government, they have little to no voice in the politics of immigration or how internationalization is conceptualized at the institutional or government levels. Similarly, even though university administrators are enrolled in Canada's citizenship and immigration policies through their work to bring international students into Canada, advise them on immigration issues, and provide them with support, administrators had little voice, agency, and influence over federal immigration and citizenship legislation. While Central University along with senior level administrators had a greater understanding of the campus' internationalization vision and how to enact its internationalization policies, most, except perhaps Central University's president, had little knowledge and influence over the federal internationalization strategy. Even though university leaders from across Canada were appraised prior to the creation of *Canada's International Education Strategy* from 2014, these actors' (and particularly senior level university administrators other than the university president) voices are not reflected in the federal internationalization strategy. It is important to remember that the *Canada's International Education Strategy* is first and foremost a trade document that privileges the economic rationales and motivations for internationalization and highlights the significance of international education to Canada's economy.

However, from an ANT perspective, even though university administrators' academic and socio-cultural values and their voices are not championed in the federal international education strategy, these administrators are nevertheless enrolled in the enactment of the federal internationalization strategy on a day-to-day basis. The federal international education strategy connects the university administrators to the federal government, whereby these administrators, along with university staff enact the federal strategy. In other words, university administrators are doing work that helps advance the federal government's strategic goals. By recruiting international students, advising them on immigration and visa issues, and creating links between Canada and other countries through international graduates, universities help maintain the power of the federal government and helps cement the economic motivations of *Canada's International Education Strategy*. As a result, university administrators, some of whom also hold faculty positions, through their enrollment with the federal government's internationalization strategy are transformed into trade actors who do the work of the federal government to transform international education into tradeable commodity. Internationalizing higher education then is stabilized as an instrumental tool to attract and improve skilled human resources into Canada, to enhance the political and economic ties between Canada and other countries, and to make Canada more competitive, economically, on the global stage (Knight, 2007; Qiang, 2003; Stier, 2004). As a result, the academic aspirations of internationalization are secondary to the economic benefits that the Canadian government believes internationalization can offer. In this context, Canadian higher education and internationalization becomes increasingly

linked with the advancement of the Canadian economy rather than being a process through which “an international and intercultural dimension” is introduced “into the teaching, research and service functions” of the university (Knight, 2004, p. 9-10; Knight, 2007).

9.5.1 Lack of university voice in federal policy.

While some Central University administrators felt that the federal policy allowed them to promote the university overseas to prospective international students and highlight the significance of international education to Canada, other university administrators felt that the federal internationalization policy was not sufficiently aligned with the university’s internationalization strategy. The federal *International Education Strategy* did not take into account the day-to-day realities of the university. For these administrators, the federal internationalization policy was disjointed from the university’s internationalization vision.

In Canada, universities have operated as independent agents when it comes to drafting policy on and implementing their own internationalization policies on their campuses (Jones, 2012). Scholars have pointed out that institutions of higher education are forced to internationalize due to provincial funding cutbacks, increased global competition for talent, performance on global ranking charts, and the neoliberalization of higher education (CAUT, 2013; Friesen, 2009; Larsen & Al-Haque, 2016; OCUFA, 2015). In Canada, some universities already had internationalization policies in place long before the 2014 federal strategy was published. The same is true for Central University. At Central, university leaders, administrations, and departments are enrolled

around their own campus policy rather than the federal document because the campus policy has a stronger emphasis on the sociocultural and educational benefits of internationalization. The only impact the federal strategy has on Central University is the federal policy's ability to market Canadian higher education abroad and to make the claim that Canada is open for business. Therefore, Central University is mostly enrolled around the branding, marketing, and economic aspirations of *Canada's International Education Strategy*.

The federal legislation that truly impacts universities' ability to internationalize, vis-à-vis international student recruitment, are Canada's immigration and citizenship laws. Through CI legislation, CIC operates as the "gate-keeper" of internationalization" (Trilokekar & El-Masri, 2016, p. 555). These policies affect universities' ability to recruit international students and international students' ability to access permanent residency and the Canadian labour market. However, university administrators and staff in this study shared that they have little say in the formation of federal immigration and citizenship policies. As such, universities are the "policy-enactors" (Braun, Ball, & Maguire, 2011; Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012) when it comes to immigration and citizenship legislation. Higher education institutions and their constituent departments and offices interpret, translate, and put into practice Canada's federal citizenship and immigration policy in order to internationalize the university through international student recruitment and retention post-graduation. Those who work with international graduate students and at the International Office repeatedly expressed that they are expected to comply with and adapt to federal immigration legislation and have little

opportunity to express their concerns with the federal government with respect to the barriers these policies sometimes place on the university and their students.

9.5.2 Federal government's increasing role in higher education

internationalization.

Tracing internationalization at the government level brings to light the loose connections between government actors and the federal government's increasing enrollment around internationalization policies. While there is a federal internationalization strategy that focuses primarily on the economic benefits of attracting international students to Canada and marketing Canada as an education hub, there is little in terms of a strategy from the Ontario government to champion internationalization at the provincial level. Even though the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (MAESD) is working on a draft internationalization strategy for Ontario higher education institutions, it is unclear how much impact a provincial policy will have on universities. Because institutions were internationalizing in ways that fit them best long before the federal international education strategy was published (Jones, 2012), it is likely that individual universities and colleges with pre-existing internationalization strategies will continue to internationalize based on the needs and aspirations of their institutions.

What is interesting though about the assemblage of actors around internationalization at the governmental level is the emerging tensions around who gets to claim a stake at internationalizing education in Canada. Even though undoubtedly universities will dictate their internationalization policies, the involvement of both the

federal and provincial governments in international education policy calls to question the constitutional divide that mandates that education is a provincial responsibility. While at the provincial level, university administrators have identified the MAESD as being a key player in dictating educational policy provincially, at the federal level, there are several actors, enrolled with federal internationalization policies. These include Global Affairs Canada (formerly known as DFATD) that is responsible for marketing and promoting international education overseas via Canadian embassies and their respective trade commissioners. Trilokekar's (2009), Viczko's (2015), and Viczko and Tascón's (2016) work has previously demonstrated how the federal government emerges as a significant player in international education, through the enrollment of the federal government's trade agenda within national international education policies.

This research adds to this growing body of literature and further demonstrates the growing involvement of the federal government in Canadian international education policy through the enrollment of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada/CIC. CIC regulates the visas that allow international students to enter Canada and stay post-graduation, effectively controlling the flow of international students in and out of Canada via its immigration laws and Express Entry pathways. CIC is also enrolled indirectly around university internationalization through the establishment of the Designated Learning Institution numbers (DLI#) that permits Canadian educational institutions to receive international students. Due to the significant roles played by Global Affairs and CIC, the federal government is squarely more central to the network of actors responsible for internationalization at the governmental level. Though the

province has jurisdiction over the day-to-day laws governing educational institutions in Canada, when it comes to internationalization, the federal government is a greater player than the provincial government at this point in time.

To put it simply, the Canadian federal government, through its increasing reach into provincially-mandated institutions of higher education and through the enrollment of CIC to regulate the flow international students in and out of Canada, is starting to play a powerful role in internationalizing education. This involvement acts to silence the provincial government on international higher education policy and thus delegitimize the role of the province on educational matters. Similarly, even though individual universities have a great deal of say in how to best internationalize their institutions and design their own internationalization strategies, the enrollment of actors such as DLI# and federally regulated immigration consultants stabilizes the primacy of the federal government and its policies within the university space. Even though universities are “a credible stakeholder group,” “represent a huge slab of society” (Jessica McKinsey, personal communication, July 14, 2015) and are at the centre of the knowledge economy agenda, their interests are sidelined to privilege the federal government’s vision of international education. These relationships are messy and laden with competing interests and values. Later in this chapter, I will discuss these competing interests, highlight the significance of greater federal power in higher education internationalization, how federal involvement alters the role of international higher education in Canada.

9.5.3 Interdepartmental disconnection at the federal government.

Despite being enrolled in multiple actor-networks within the federal government with respect to Canada's citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies, the analysis reveals that federal departments are uncoordinated with respect to each other's policy interests, values, and mandates. While CIC emerges as the key actor assembled around citizenship and immigration policies at the federal level, Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC) is also enrolled around citizenship and immigration policies. Seeing that international graduate students' chances of being successful in the Express Entry system is heavily linked with having a job offer from a Canadian employer, the employment rules and regulations, particularly the requirement of employers to file a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) is connected to immigration legislation. International students during the interviews expressed that employers are less likely to hire foreigners, which then impacts the number of points applicants can acquire in the Express Entry pool. Thus, there seems to be little communication between CIC and ESDC with respect to the requirements of both the Express Entry and the LMIA. Later on in this chapter, I will further detail the interdepartmental misalignment of citizenship and immigration at the federal level and discuss the implications of mismatched priorities between CIC and ESDC.

9.6 Special Interest Groups: Key players in the assemblages

One of the key findings of this study is the powerful role special interest groups (SIGs) play in influencing federal citizenship and immigration policy (as it affects Canadian universities) and their role in advocating for international education in Canada.

Across these three networks lies the influence of SIGs such as the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and Universities Canada that have a vested interest in promoting international education. While there is debate on how to best define a special interest group (SIG), some scholars define them as “membership organizations that engage in political activities on behalf of their members” (Grossman & Helpman, 2001, p. 1). These groups champion a variety of interests and causes and are often instrumental in influencing policy change. Scholars argue that SIGs groups play a critical role in shaping government agenda. They also support the government outline their policy options, influence decisions and also help direct implementation (Grossmann, 2012). As such, SIGS are integral components of policy networks, as they are able to exploit the policy process and opportunities to influence government-level change through their interactions with governments. Because the policy process is messy and uncertain when various levels of governance and actors are involved, interest groups can help reduce uncertainty by dictating what issues will be either included or excluded from the policy agenda. SIGs influence change by being strategic about where they can allocate lobbying resources and what public institutions they target. By creating links and connecting networks of actors across different socio-political contexts, interest groups have been known to influence public policy (Richardson, 2000). Studies from the United States looked at the role of SIGs have found that they have a significant impact on influencing federal policy. Historical analysis by Grossmann (2012) credited interest groups in the United States for being involved in 279 significant new laws passed by the United State Congress since 1945. Most of these SIGs included “public interest groups,

single-issue advocates, and representatives of identity groups” (Grossmann, 2012, p. 179). However, interest group involvement was widespread in all sectors of government and ranged from a variety of policy areas. As such, lobbying by advocacy and SIGs is highly effective in influencing both policy change and enactment (Ortega, 2011). Ortega depicts SIGs as actors who have agency and thus are able to play a significant role in raising certain policy issues to the forefront.

In the context of this research and Canadian international education, SIGs such as the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) and Universities Canada functioned as a platform to advance the needs of Canadian universities and colleges, international students, and outbound Canadian students at the federal level. These national-level organizations have a vested interest in working with both governments and universities to ensure that policies and programs are created to help advance the interests of higher education institutions. In the context of this research, SIGs worked with each other to “reach an agreement with Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council [ICCRC]...the federal body that regulated the training, licensing and practices of immigration consultants” (Tamburri, 2015, para. 3) to create a new certification program that is exclusively aimed at meeting the needs of international student advisers. As such, the CBIE developed a program exclusively for immigration consultants working at Canadian universities to advise foreign students. The CBIE’s course “will cover federal and provincial immigration policies and rules that pertain to foreign students rather than the full gamut of immigration issues covered by ICCRC’s program for general immigration consultants” (Tamburri, 2015). These negotiations and

activities highlight SIGs' influence over federal immigration legislation and their abilities to make it easier for universities to support international students seeking permanent residency after graduation.

Some scholars (Viczkó & Tascón, 2016) view SIGs' lobbying efforts and activities as instances along the policy process and as being powerful in the overall policy negotiations that occur at the federal level. Viczko and Tascón argue that SIGs target of influence is the federal government. In particular, CBIE's "appeal to the federal government...advances the role of industry into the national policy landscape for internationalization while also legitimizing the role of the national government in shaping higher education strategies" (2016, p. 13). My research echoes Viczko and Tascón's analysis and demonstrates that SIGs, such as the CBIE, are also highly influential in the assemblage of actors enrolled within federal citizenship and immigration policies, in addition to Canada's internationalization policy.

9.6.1 CBIE facilitates the flow of relationships

Latour's (1986) idea of how organizations can be powerful through the work of others is relevant to this research. Because SIG's are better connected with the federal government than individual universities, SIGs such as CBIE act as bridges and platforms to champion the needs of the university. University administrators highlighted SIGs' position as being "champions" who liaised between educational institutions and government agencies to push for policies that helped universities support international students with respect to information about immigration. One particular advantage my participants noted was that SIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada are physically

located in Ottawa and are thus closer to federal policy actors (individuals and departments) who ultimately dictate immigration and citizenship policy. Unlike universities that may be spread across the country, university administrators felt that SIGs' physical location plays a role in being the bridge between institutions and the government. From their vantage point in Ottawa, SIGs champion and advocate on behalf of universities for policy and practical changes. While ANT does not privilege physical location as being significant to an actor's ability to influence change, ANT does however take into account actors' position within a network and what forms of action that position enables (Sayes, 2014). As such, ANT would view SIGs as obligatory points of passage that act as "central assemblages through which all relations in the network must flow at some time" (Fenwick & Edwards, 2012; p. xvii). As obligatory points of passage within the internationalization, citizenship, and immigration policy assemblages, SIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada facilitate the flow of relations between government departments and university administration (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010).

SIG's role in enrolling actors such as universities and the various departments within the federal and provincial governments is what makes them powerful. SIGs, in particular CBIE's negotiations with Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council and their role in creating a specific course aimed at meeting the needs of international student advisers demonstrates how CBIE helps universities and the federal government "meet in the middle" (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015). With respect to internationalization, CBIE through their lobbying efforts with the federal government has been fundamental in ensuring that Regulated International Student

Immigration Advisors (RISIAs)/immigration consultants at the university would only have to be trained through CBIE's program to support the needs of international students. (Tamburri, 2015; S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

Simply put, as an obligatory point of passage, CBIE connects the university with actors such as the CBIE-drafted immigration consultant certification program and the federally regulated Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council. This actor-network produces two effects. First, it reinforces SIGs such as CBIE as a powerful actor in the assemblage of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada. Second, this actor-network solidifies the federal government's relationship with and power within Canadian universities. Therefore, as an obligatory point of passage, CBIE not only allows facilitates the flow of relationships between the federal government and the university but also facilitates the flow, dispersal, distribution, and enactment of the federal government's power into the university.

We can trace this flow of influence by looking at the relationship between CBIE, the federal government, and the university. Recall that CBIE was instrumental in ensuring that universities can resume advising international students on immigration issues and that they designed a course for university immigration consultants after negotiations with the federal government. By looking at the work done by the university's immigration consultants, we can understand how CBIE's privileges the federal government and its concern for economic trade.

For example, through the work done by the university's federally regulated immigration consultants/RISIAs, the Canadian federal government is able to establish

power within the provincially mandated university and ensure that its citizenship and immigration policies are being thoroughly enacted within the university. Because unregulated student advisors are unable to provide international students with immigration advice (Tamburri, 2013b), regulated immigration consultants ensure that international students abide by and adhere to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and pathways. This actor-network in turn privileges the enactment of the federal government's internationalization policy that commoditizes higher education as a means to advance the Canadian economy and also ensures that the federal government has greater control on the activities of universities and the universities' ability to advise its international students.

9.6.2 CBIE works to stabilize the primacy of the federal government in internationalization

Despite the work done by CBIE and Universities Canada, it is important to note that SIGs are not always privy to the policy discourses that take place at the federal level. While groups such as CBIE were powerful in their lobbying efforts, university administrators such as Kobe and McDonald shared that even SIGs are not always appraised before the federal government made changes to citizenship and immigration legislation, as it related to international higher education in Canada. It is important to remember that the federal government is ultimately in charge and changes policy whenever it sees fit, sometimes without external appraisals from key stakeholders.

Nonetheless, the analysis of citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policy assemblages illustrates that SIGs such as CBIE function as powerful mediators

(Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Latour, 2005). As mediators, they are actively involved in the process of translation by circulating through the three assemblages, mobilizing other actors enrolled within citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies, and facilitating the relationships between the federal government and institutions of higher education in Canada. In one sense, SIG's role as a mediator played out favourably for universities. Due to CBIE, universities can once again continue advising international students, once their immigration consultants have been trained via CBIE's certification program. However, CBIE's role as a mediator also enrolls the university in the federal government's citizenship and immigration policy. Through the actor-network that encompasses the university's immigration consultants, CBIE's immigration consultant certification program, and the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council, CBIE enrolls the university and the university's internationalization strategy with the federal government's citizenship and immigration policies. This in turn stabilizes the network, and cements the federal government as a key stakeholder in international education who then is able to enact its citizenship, immigration at the university.

9.7 Stability of Assemblages: How do they hold together?

The three assemblages vary in the strengths of their internal connections and the alignment of interests. Actors that have a common goal and a vested interest in each other's activities have greater policy alignments and form strong associations and connections. Those who are poorly aligned need to constantly negotiate their interactions. Otherwise these actors may not interact at all and jeopardize the stability of the assemblage and thus the actor-network (Martin, 2000). First, I want to explore the

alignments in the connections between the actors within each assemblage and then discuss how the three assemblages are linked. The priorities of the various administrative actors within the University Internationalization Assemblage are strongly aligned, as they are connected by a concerted internationalization vision from the university's upper administration. University vice-provosts, vice-dean, and directors assembled around the university president's vision for an internationally oriented university and enacted the university's international education policy to support international graduate students, vis-à-vis immigration. While all the actors were not familiar with federal immigration and citizenship legislation and were critical of how federal CI legislation affected their ability to internationalize the university, they were nevertheless enrolled around the university's internationalization vision and committed to the international student body. At the core, administrators and staff are connected by their president's vision for placing their university on "the global stage" – a trend that is highly prevalent in the push to internationalize and rank high on global university rankings (Larsen, 2016). Administrative actors at the university were also connected through institutional policies such as Central University's *Strategic Plan* and its complementary *Internationalization Strategy*.

However, even though administrators mentioned that university faculty members played role in increasing the number of international students on campus by their willingness to supervise and work with international students, individual faculty members played a minor role in the conceptualization and the creation of the university's internationalization policy. Research by Taskoh (2014) on the

internationalization practices of one public university in Canada similarly highlighted how little power faculty members felt they had with respect to the creation of their university's internationalization policies. Nor do faculty have any influence over federal citizenship and immigration legislation or if/how international students obtained permanent residency through the Express Entry system.

It is important to note that not all faculty members at Central University support the internationalization of the institution. Both Central University president and other research (Taskoh, 2014) note that internationalizing the university is a contentious matter. Central University president, Dr. Wilson during the interview expressed that some faculty members were onboard with internationalizing the institution whereas other were not.

Similarly, even though international students are an integral part of the university's internationalization policy and felt that they brought cultural diversity and intellectual talents to the university, they had a limited voice in the formation of the policy. Within the University Internationalization Assemblage, the international graduate student voice was represented through the Association of Graduate Students (AGS), a body that represents all graduate students on campus. As such, international students interviewed in the study were silent. Their concerns only mattered if it was relayed by AGS to the Graduate Studies Office (GSO), who then had to champion it to senior university administration.

The missing voices of faculty and international graduate students within citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization signifies a rationalist

approach to agenda setting, policy making, and policy enactment from both the federal government and the university. There is little equitable distribution of knowledge and power within this rationalist approach, which ultimately marginalizes the voices of those who are directly impacted by these three sets of policies (Ball, 1990, Ozga, 2000, Taylor, 1997, Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

9.7.1 International students' stabilize the university-federal government actor-network.

There is a tension here that warrants unpacking and further investigation, particularly with respect to international graduate students. From one perspective, international graduate students are silenced in these policy discourses and thus have little influence over citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policy. However, what ANT helps us see is that international students, despite being silenced, are nevertheless inherently involved at the centre of the enactment of these policies. Recall that international students interviewed in this study expressed their desire to immigrate to Canada. Their desire has meant that university has had to cater to the immigration concerns of its international students. This includes setting up workshops for international students where they can access information about immigration, hiring more registered immigration consultants, and investing more resources into the training and certification process of immigration consultants so that they can advise international students on immigration issues. These activities point to an added concern within the university about complying with federal citizenship and immigration policies and demonstrate a stronger enactment of federal policies within the university. And this

enactment is only possible because international students are heavily enrolled in both Canada's and the university's internationalization policy's and the federal government's citizenship and immigration policies. Thus, while we can say international students had limited say over what these policies, are they nevertheless help mobilize the federal government's *International Education Strategy*, its citizenship and immigration policies, and ultimately the federal government into the university. Much like CBIE, the work that international students do to mobilize federal citizenship and immigration policies into the university further entrenches the federal government in the university and stabilizes the federal government-university actor-network to make the federal government a powerful player in Canadian international education.

Even though Central University's *Strategic Plan* (Central University, 2014a) and its complementary *Internationalization Strategy* (Central University, 2014b) does not explicitly mention federal immigration or citizenship policies, or mention providing immigration support to international students, the university is nonetheless enrolled with federal policies. This enrollment has changed the nature of internationalization at the university. In other words, "doing internationalization policy" (a term I borrow from Gorur, 2011) at Central University involves being assembled around and enrolling in Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and having an intimate knowledge of federal legislation that dictates how international students can come in and stay in Canada.

9.7.2 Internationalization unstable at the federal-provincial levels.

The connections between the actors within the remaining two assemblages (CI and Governmental Internationalization) are looser. The actors within the Governmental Internationalization Assemblage are loosely connected to each other, largely because of their varied interests and calls to question how well interdepartmental cooperation occurs at the federal level. As Trilokekar and El-Masri (2016) argue in their analysis of federal internationalization policy, there is “an absence of formal mechanism to ensure policy coordination” (p. 555). While Global Affairs was involved in publishing *Canada’s International Education Strategy*, it is unclear by looking at the policy text if CIC was consulted before creating the document. University administrators such as Dr. Johnson worried that the federal internationalization strategy commoditized education and had little impact on the day-to-day operations of the university (personal communication, July 20, 2015). It is also unclear how the federal strategy connects with Canada’s immigration legislation that dictates how universities recruit international students, how the strategy connects with the CIC’s Designated Learning Institution (DLI) numbers, and the auditing measures placed by the federal government. Nor is there any indication about how Canadian embassies abroad highlighted in the priority markets/countries will operate to promote Canadian education to prospective international students.

What is most striking is that none of the provinces were mentioned explicitly in *Canada’s International Education Strategy*, even though higher education falls under provincial jurisdiction. Provinces were only referenced in the strategy with respect to statistical economic data from 2007-2012 on number of international students in each

province, an estimation of how much international students likely spent, and their estimated employment impact. Even though provinces are part of the Governmental Internationalization Assemblage, they surprisingly have very little representation in *Canada's International Education Strategy* and influence over the other federal actors connected in the assemblage. Research by CBIE on Canadian provinces' understanding of *Canada's International Education Strategy* shared that provinces wanted to play a greater role in international education in Canada (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre, & Stevenson, 2011). This desire hints that provinces had not been fully appraised by the federal government on international education matters to begin with.

Provinces also have little input over federal citizenship and immigration legislation and how international students enter and/or stay in Canada. While Ontario's Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development (MAESD) note on their website that they work with the federal government to "ensure that study permit and work permit programs are competitive with other countries, and that pathways to residency support the retention of talent in Ontario" (MAESD, 2016), administrators from Central University such as Dr. Donald Johnson noted that they are limited by the Canadian Constitution (personal communication, July 20, 2015). Constitutional division of power acts to minimize how much say provinces like Ontario have over federal citizenship and immigration legislation. The provinces' missing voice on citizenship and immigration policies and the lack of equitable input into the creation and enactment of the federal internationalization strategy calls to question how aligned the interests of the various actors are.

The Canadian provinces and territories did attempt to address the value of international education, vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention, through a coordinated effort between the Council of the Federation (COF) and the Canadian Ministers of Education (CMEC). Prior to 2011,

provincial and territorial Premiers, through the Council of the Federation, directed ministers of education to work with provincial and territorial ministers of immigration to further develop an international education marketing action plan... (CMEC, 2011, p. 9).

In June 2011, the COF and CMEC published *Bringing Education in Canada to the World, Bringing the World to Canada: An International Education Marketing Action Plan for Provinces and Territories* (CMEC, 2011). The plan was aimed at identifying “areas for investment and opportunities for federal-provincial collaboration on marketing” and focusing on “actions that provinces and territories can undertake individually, collectively, and in partnership with the federal government” (CMEC, 2011, 5). The COF/CMEC plan recommended that provincial and territorial ministers of education and immigration “pursue discussion with federal ministers of international trade and immigration with a view of aligning federal initiatives” (CMEC, 2011, p. 8) with respect to international student recruitment, retention, and the immigration of international students to Canada. The plan places a great deal of importance to post-graduate international student immigration, citing an aging population, baby-boomer retirement, and Canada’s future demographic challenges. However, these concerns are not adequately addressed in Canada’s federal *International Education Strategy*. Even though

Ontario's MAESD claims to work with the federal government, it is unclear how much alignment exists between higher education internationalization and CI legislation to better facilitate the flow of international students in and out of Canada.

Earlier I argued the federal government was establishing greater legitimacy over citizenship, immigration, and international education policy. While the Canadian Constitution does dictate that education is a provincial mandate, *Canada's International Education Strategy* allows the federal government to blur the lines and encroach on the provinces' education portfolio. In doing so, the federal government is able to privilege its own values and priorities with respect to higher education internationalization.

Even though the federal international education strategy claims to align its efforts with those of the provincial/territorial governments, examining the COF/CMEC plan alongside *Canada's International Education Strategy* indicates that only the trade, marketing, and economic rationales for international education between the two documents are in sync. The elements within the COF/CMEC plan that refers to partnerships with CIC to facilitate recruitment and retention, protecting and assessing the quality of Canadian education, understanding the needs and aspirations of international students, and providing more opportunities for Canadian students to study abroad are largely ignored in the federal government's internationalization strategy.

Moreover, the lack of provincial voice in the federal *International Education Strategy* with respect to what international education in Canada or what a provincial-federal relationship will look like with respect to CI and international education policies indicates that provinces are being excluded from the networks that make up the policy

citizenship, immigration, and internationalization assemblages. Even though the provinces and territories, through COF and CMEC, tried to claim a space and leverage themselves as important actors in these policy assemblages, they were largely disconnected from the network by the federal government. Their exclusion raises questions over the constitutional issues around what level of government has jurisdiction on international education and once again points to the ways in which the stabilization of actor-networks embedded within the three policy assemblages reinforces the federal government's control over citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. Later on in the discussion, I will further address the constitutional challenges that underpin this research, explain what impact these assemblages, have and how these assemblages enable certain forms of action.

9.8 Interdepartmental misalignment of CI and labour policies at the federal level

Jessica McKinsey (personal communication, July 14, 2015), the Executive Director of Strategic Projects at Central University, who once worked in the federal government as the Deputy Chief of Staff for the Prime Minister's Office under Harper's administration, shared that at the federal level, the CI Assemblage is held together by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). The PMO oversees CIC, Global Affairs, and Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC). Even though CIC is the central actor within this assemblage, the PMO is responsible for setting the tone for Canada's citizenship and immigration goals. This was especially true during Harper's Conservative government, particularly in 2014, that saw a tightening of CI legislation that made it more difficult for individuals to immigrate to Canada and obtain citizenship.

However, it is important to reiterate that many of the federal actors within the three assemblages are disconnected. Particularly, there is little indication that the various departments within the federal government are aligned when it comes to promoting international education and facilitating the immigration of international students after they graduate. Many international students in this study shared that Canadian labour laws that prioritize Canadian citizens and permanent residents acted to hinder their access to the job market, which ultimately barred them from being successful in being selected for immigration.

There is little indication that Global Affairs Canada, CIC, and ESDC collaborate in how both immigration and labour policy was created or how these inadequacies in policy alignment impacts Global Affairs Canada's international education goals. Undoubtedly, there has been misalignment between these three federal departments, leading to competing interests and values. The lack of interdepartmental coordination within the federal government is not uncommon. Bakvis and Juillet's (2004) analysis of three major national issues in the past (innovation, the Urban Aboriginal Strategy, and climate change) within the Canadian federal government highlighted the lack of horizontal cooperation between sectors of the federal government. Their analysis called to question "the nature of leadership exercised by central agencies...[and] raise concern about the Government of Canada's overall capacity to deal effectively with horizontal issues" (p.22). While the Conference Board of Canada in November 2016 called on the Canadian government to better align Canadian higher education internationalization with immigration policy (Grant, 2016), it is important to look at these policies

relationally. Doing so involves examining if and how citizenship, immigration, employment, and internationalization policies are being enacted and aligned horizontally across federal departments and vertically down from the federal government to the provinces, and ultimately down to the institution. Not doing so leads to policy misalignment that ultimately impacts international students. For example, international graduate students from this research talked at length about the need to find a job in Canada to be a competitive contender for immigration, yet described employers' hesitations to hire non-Canadians for work and their reluctance to go through the Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) process. Trilokekar, Thompson and El Masri (2016) confirmed this reluctance in their study of Ontario employers' perspectives on international graduates. As such, it is clear that international students have to navigate both Canadian immigration and employment policies. However, even though they are part of these assemblages, international graduate students are silenced in both of these assemblages. As a result, their concerns have not been fully met.

The misalignment and disconnect between Canadian citizenship, immigration, and labour policies highlights the controversies and competing attempts by different federal departments to frame how best to advance the Canadian economy. Is it to allow foreign students to integrate into Canada through work in Canadian industries and provide them with pathways to immigration? Or is it to enact labour market assessments to ensure that foreigners are not taking jobs away from hard-working Canadians? On one hand, Global Affairs characterizes international education as being vital to Canada's economy, whereas conversely ESDC's labour regulations imply that only

Canadian citizens and permanent residents should be the prime driver for Canada's economy. As such, these federal departments and their respective policies are at odds with each other as they struggle to frame what is best for Canada.

These competing messages, along with the systemic barriers placed on international students by CIC's Express Entry pathways that privileges Canadian work experience over work experience from outside of Canada also sends contradictory messages from the federal government about the value of international education in Canada. On one hand, international education and through extension, foreign students are being presented by the federal government as being vital to Canada's future prosperity. However, on the other hand, international students are being characterized as individuals who must be screened and vetted through the LMIA to ensure they are not taking jobs away from Canadians.

9.8.1 Better policy alignment from a new government?

A parliamentary subcommittee looked into the rules and regulations related to the Labour Market Impact Assessment and its relationship to how accessible Canadian immigration is to international students (McCallum, 2016). As of November 19, 2016, the Liberal government made a few changes to the Express Entry scoring system and noted the challenges of obtaining a Labour Market Impact Assessment for both the employer and the foreign skilled worker/international graduate. This change favours international students who want to transition into permanent residency, post-graduation, but do not yet have a job offer from a Canadian employer. Additionally, under the new Express Entry system, international students will get additional points for

obtaining Canadian postsecondary degrees (Zilio, 2016). These changes are aligned with the Liberal government's election promise to make it easier for international students to immigrate to Canada post-graduation and retain Canadian-educated talent.

However, while these changes indicate that the current federal government sees a link between CIC and ESDC, it is too soon to tell how well federal departments such as CIC, ESDC, and Global Affairs will work together to advance Canada's international education strategy, the internationalization aspirations of Canadian higher education institutions, and the immigration and career prospects of international graduates. The Liberal government's changes also do not address the role that provinces play in the funnelling international graduates through their respective Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs) nor do they address how the Canadian federal government hopes to account for misalignments in immigration policy, procedure, and practice.

A recent example of misalignment between federal visions, provincial practice, and university internationalization aspirations came from changes to the Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program's (OINP) in mid-2016. This misalignment may impact international student recruitment at the university and provincial level. The OINP's action to "place a temporary pause on the intake of applications for select, high-volume OINP streams" such as the "International Student – Masters Graduate stream" and the "International Student – PhD Graduate stream" starting May 9, 2016 was feared to have an impact on Central University and the recruitment of international student who want to ultimately immigrate to Canada. According to the Ontario immigration website, "the province has already received the sufficient number of OINP applications to meet its

2016 federal allocation” and hoped to reopen accepting application in January 2017 (Ontario Immigration, 2016b). As a consequence, applicants who would have applied to OINP between May 2016 and January 2017 would have to hold their applications and submit en masse, as soon as the process opens again. In a personal email sent by a student recruiter, Central University administrators were concerned that “as a consequence, without a significant change in government policy, it is likely that [2017’s] quota [would] be met within weeks of the January opening.”

This year, the OINP is offering 6,000 nominations. As predicted, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration said that it had received more than expected demand for its Provincial Nominee Program when the program opened in late February 2017. The program met its quota within 48 hours of opening, leaving applicants to wait when the program opens again later in the year (Keung, 2017).

The recruiter warned that the change was “significant for [Central University] because the majority of international applicants are motivated to apply based on these immigration policies.” The email also cautioned that “agents” who help international students with applications were diverting students from Ontario applications and were “suggesting that any student who has applied to an Ontario school begin an application to schools located in other Canadian provinces” (student recruiter, personal communication, May 30, 2016).

The OINP cap will negatively impact administrators who recruit new international students motivated by the opportunity to stay in Canada after graduation and also hinder the chances of international students to be successful in one of the most

favoured pathways to permanent residency. This misalignment speaks to the complex nature of federalism in Canada and the division of responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments with respect to immigration. Tensions and complexities between the federal and provincial governments in Canada over immigration are not new. Seidle's (2013) analysis of the Provincial Nominee Programs links with the federal government's immigration process demonstrated the tensions that arose when provincial funnelling of immigrants through the PNP were not aligned with federal immigration policy initiatives. Seidle (2013) argues that as a result of Canada's federal-provincial dynamic, "some decisions may not be sufficiently informed by broader policy perspectives and experience," and "may not take sufficient account of the implications for the immigration system as a whole" (p. 1). While the contexts between Seidle's study and the 2016 changes to the OINP are different, it does highlight a continuing misalignment between the provinces, the PNP, and the federal immigration policies. Seidle (2013) calls for "federal and participating provincial and territorial governments [to] jointly develop a vision and framework for PNPs, including shared objectives, in order to encourage greater coordination and chart future directions for these important programs" (p. 1). The recommendation still holds today.

Because these policy changes are relatively new, only time will tell how well federal and departments, along with universities will collaborate with respect to immigration and the recruitment and retention of international students and graduates.

9.9 What are the effects of these assemblages? What do they produce? What is enacted?

What happens when policies, governmental departments, universities, and special interest groups come together? ANT's concept of translation, defined as the "process in which different actors come together, influence, and change one another, and create linkages that eventually form a network of action and material" (Koyama, 2011, p. 24), along with ANT's focus on relational ontology helps us understand the effects of these assemblages. To that effect, I ask what these assemblages produce, what kinds of action they enable, and how certain actors exercise their power over one another.

To begin, I will explain how Canadian citizenship and immigration laws and policies regulate and change the role of the university, *vis-à-vis* immigration. Using data from my interviews with university administrators, I will demonstrate how the university can have a future role in government policy formation. I will also explain how these assemblages of heterogeneous human and non-human actors allows universities to function as a gateway to Canada for international students and operate as an enforcer of Canada's citizenship and immigration laws. Using this analysis in conjunction with the three assemblages explored earlier in this chapter will help uncover the complex sociomaterial relationship between citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada, what these relationships enable, and what these relationships hinder.

9.9.1 Universities' Potential Role as Stakeholders in Future Policy Formation.

As it stands, universities' voices are marginalized in federal/national-level policy discourses. Even though universities are at the centre of Canada's knowledge economy, the federal government holds the most influential voice Canadian public policy. However, through the connections within these actor-networks, universities can play a more influential role in Canadian public policy. McKinsey, the Executive Director of Strategic Projects at Central University felt that in addition to being an educational institution, "universities are credible stakeholder group" and "represent a huge slab of society...between the kids that actually go there, the faculty that teaches there, and the parents of the kids who go there...." For McKinsey, these stakeholders' interests should also be the interests of the federal government. In her past experience working in the Canadian federal government, McKinsey found universities being very helpful in sharing their policy concerns with the government. According to McKinsey, "universities generally came in with well researched and documented...information. And so that's always taken seriously" by the federal government. As such, she along with the President of Central University, Dr. Wilson, opined that universities can play a key role in informing future policy direction with respect to how Canada's federal immigration and citizenship legislation may impact universities' internationalization aspirations. However, it is important to note that this is an aspiration rather than a present reality. Based on data presented in Chapter 6, it is evident that presently, the university has limited say in federal policy matters that impact higher education. However, these two administrators see the value universities' voices can bring to the policy formation process and hope that

the government will seek their advice. Universities can play an influential role to ensure that it is easier for highly skilled international students to enter Canada, study, and ultimately make a positive impact on Canadian society. In order to help universities, administrators called for “faster [visa] processing time” and making “immigration easier,” to encourage international students to come to Canada and stay after graduation (J. McKinsey, personal communication, July 14, 2015; V. Wilson, personal communication, July 23, 2015). However, McKinsey warned that these consultative relationships take time. “Developing a relationship isn’t always about...the one time when you need something.” Rather, she said that these relationships take time, are ongoing, and occur as universities continue to offer the federal government assistance (J. McKinsey, personal communication, July 14, 2015).

9.9.2 Universities as Gateway to Canada.

Through coordinated federal immigration and citizenship policies and strategies aim to attract the best and brightest talent from around the world, universities can help advance Canada’s economic and demographic needs. Central University president, Dr. Wilson argued that “the easiest way of recruiting [young and highly educated potential immigrants] is from our universities.” Wilson “would certainly consider institutions playing a major role when it comes to recruiting top students to Canada,” as it is in the universities’ “self-interest to attract the best talent.” Unlike Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which Dr. Wilson claimed has a strict “gate-keeping” role, universities are well-positioned to search for and attract global talent to Canada. Wilson felt that universities function to “produce talented young graduates who contribute to [Canada]” whereby

the “country relies on [universities] to make sure that future citizens are well educated” (personal communication, July 23, 2015). Isabella, an international PhD candidate from Mexico similarly shared, “Which other place will be better to pick the best citizens of the world, if it's not the university” and added that universities and the federal government can work together to ensure that universities continue to nurture productive future Canadian citizens (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015). Central’s International Office Director, Dr. Forrester, echoed Wilson’s thoughts and argued that “the way to...integrate into Canada is by way of universities.” Because Canadian employers “understand Canadian universities and what a university degree...bestows in the way of skills” Forrester felt that education was “one of the smoothest” pathways to enter and be successful in Canada (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015).

Once students entered the university, institutions were poised to offer support to international graduate students with immigration matters. In the case of Central University, it has “staff who help with immigration matters, study permit matters,” and provides international students “a lot of assistance” if they plan to transition to permanent residence (J. McLean, personal communication, August 4, 2015). It is important to remember that not all international graduate students shared the view that the university was doing its best to support international students immigrate to Canada and transition into permanent residency. In Chapter 8, students acknowledged that while the university did provide some assistance, the institution could do more to encourage international students to remain in Canada post-graduation and offer up-to-

date information about Canada's immigration policies and regulations. One particular administrator felt that universities should naturally help its students who want to settle in Canada. Kobe shared, "for the ones who do want to stay and who want to make Canada home...why wouldn't we support that?" (S. Kobe, personal communication, August 19, 2015).

While not all students found the university's efforts helpful, at least three international graduate students echoed McLean's and Kobe's belief that the university was poised to help students transition into permanent residency. These students felt that the "university can be a funnel or be a filter" for potential future skilled migrants to Canada (Isabella, personal communication, July 10, 2015) and felt that the workshops, advice, and support some staff provided international students was sufficient. However, the university president argued that universities should be first and foremost be driven by its educational mission to "create an environment which is truly global so that our students can get the benefit of cultural interaction." He argued that "the differences and thought processes that come out of" this environment "benefits all of us." For Wilson, creating potential citizens for Canada was a secondary "side benefit" (V. Wilson, personal communication, July 23, 2015).

9.9.3 The University as the Enforcer and Surveillant.

In the current neoliberal atmosphere of accountability and transparency, citizenship and immigration policies are changing and regulating the role of the university. Three administrators, including Mark Brown, Dr. Joelle McLean, and Dr. Christina Forrester commented on the recent requirements implemented by Citizenship

and Immigration Canada to associate a DLI# to each university in Canada. Every international student must include an institution's DLI# out of an official list of universities and colleges in Canada when they apply for a study permit (CIC, 2016e). Additionally, in the summer of 2014, the federal government introduced "regulatory amendments pertaining to the International Student Program" that was aimed at

[strengthening] the integrity of Canada's immigration program by limiting the issuance of study permits to those destined to an institution designated to host international students, explicitly requiring study permit holders to actively pursue their studies, and facilitating the entry into Canada of those foreign nationals who sincerely wish to obtain a Canadian education (CIC, 2016f).

As part of this "regulatory amendment," universities were mandated to complete periodic compliance reporting on the enrollment status of their international students and ensure the enrollments "supports the objectives of CIC's regulatory amendments" (CIC, 2016f).

Brown, the Administrative Director of the Entry-Level Language Program at Central University, spoke positively about the DLI#. He argued that while DLI#s and the reporting procedures were "bureaucratic in nature," they "are very important because it will allow better tracking of students" who come to study in Canada (M. Brown, personal communication, June 26, 2015). However, other administrators including the Vice-Provost - International of Central University, Dr. McLean, highlighted some of the challenges federally-imposed compliance reporting and audits. She shared that the university had to "go through a massive audit" by the federal government to "ensure

that international students...studying in Canada are actually studying” instead of being in the country for fraudulent reasons. She agreed with the government’s desires to halt illegitimate institutions from bringing in international students to Canada and felt that the compliance reporting was intended to ensure “that students were still fully engaged in the university environment.” However, the compliance reporting “puts the onus on universities to report every year about whether students are still enrolled, still in good standing, and so on and so forth” which Dr. McLean expressed placed added extra responsibilities on universities. Dr. McLean felt that through these measures, the government was looking to “monitor and keep track” of international students in Canada (J. McLean, personal communication, August 4, 2015).

The Director of Central’s International Office, Dr. Forrester shared that universities were accustomed to reporting on graduate students to the federal government because “most graduate students, as part of their funding package, have a graduate teaching assistantship or a research assistantship. There is an employer-employee relationship there.” However the new reporting requirements added undergraduate international students to the reporting criteria as well. In her opinion, universities were not prepared for the added reporting and compliance requirements and noted the costs associated with installing the computer infrastructure and labour required to report whether or not an international student was on campus. She said that “universities have never had an enforcement role.” Dr. Forrester claimed that the university does not see itself as an immigration enforcer and added that the new requirements made the university “shudder,” and “hesitate” because “there are clear

differences in understanding what the university's role is vis-à-vis student and Citizenship and Immigration Canada” (C. Forrester, personal communication, September 11, 2015).

9.10 The effects of these translations, policy assemblages, and sociomaterial relationships

The roles of the university vis-à-vis immigration, the three assemblages of heterogeneous human and non-human actors, and the connections between citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada have three effects. These assemblages redefine the role of the federal government as an agent of education, it changes the role of the university as an agent of immigration, and disadvantages students by silencing them from the policy discourse around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. Thus, these three effects and the actor-network facilitated connections between the various levels of governance ultimately results a neoliberal enactment of Canada’s internationalization policy and privileges the federal government as the most powerful player in enacting not only citizenship and immigration policy but also higher education internationalization policy.

Recall that Canada is a federation of provinces and territories where responsibilities are divided accordingly. Section 93 of the Constitution Act of 1867 gives the provinces the sole authority and responsibility to make laws regarding education whereas section 91 of the Constitution Act gives the federal government authority over national security and defence, foreign affairs, citizenship and immigration, and other matters of national interest (*Constitution Act*, 1982, s 91-93; Shanahan & Jones, 2007;

Jones, 2012). The Canadian federal government's role in education is limited to "areas of federal responsibility such as national defense, Indian affairs, the territories, prisons, external affairs, and the economy" (Fisher et al., 2006, p. 3). For instance, the federal government is responsible for training and educating military service personnel and their children, is responsible for educating and training inmates in federal prisons, and educating registered (status) Indians (Fisher et al., 2006). This does lead to an overlap of responsibility and jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments. However, while historically the federal government had minimal involvement in higher education via providing financial support for research and student development (Fisher et al., 2006; Shanahan & Jones, 2007), the federal international education strategy, for the first time allows the federal government to encroach on provincial matters of higher education. It is not within the scope of this study to fully investigate how the provincial government feels about this encroachment. However, the federal international education strategy sets the tone for the nature of higher education and injects federal neoliberal thinking and reasoning into the reasons for promoting university internationalization that focuses primarily on making Canada competitive in today's knowledge economy (Viczko & Tascón, 2016). Scholars have critiqued the use of internationalization as a branding exercise for attracting more international students (Knight, 2014). However, Canada's federal international education strategy does just that. The federal government's internationalization strategy seeks to brand and market Canada abroad and privileges the economic benefits of international education, whilst minimizing the educational and intercultural benefits of international education.

While the “extent the politics of higher education in Canada are the politics of federalism” (Cameron, 1992, p.47), the federal involvement in higher education through its international education strategy calls to question who sets Canada’s higher education policy and priorities. During the interviews, senior university administrators did not highlight the province as being a major player in promoting international higher education. Rather, they spoke of the federal government’s involvement in promoting international higher education, hinting that the federal government was now a major player in the enactment of international education in Canada. While Central University’s existing internationalization strategy aligns with the visions of the federal government to some extent, questions remain as to how other universities in Ontario and in other provinces see their institutional mandate goes hand in hand with the federal international education strategy.

ANT’s notion of controversy can help uncover the tensions that exist between the federal government’s international education strategy and the university’s internationalization agenda and how these two policies are competing to frame internationalization in ways that suit them. From the perspective of the university’s internationalization policies and international graduate students, internationalization at the university reflects the normative definition of internationalization (Knight, 2003; 2004; 2007). International graduate students felt that internationalization allowed them to bring their cultural diversity and their knowledge to the university whereas the university’s policy documents highlighted the educational and idealist visions for internationalization (Stier, 2004). However, the federal government frames

internationalization as an economic exercise in marketing higher education to the world, which operates to challenge the normative definitions of internationalization and the assumptions of what internationalization is.

Earlier I discussed how certain actor-networks along with the assemblage of actors enrolled in citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies helps the federal government enact its international education policy within the university. The enactment of the federal government's strategy within the university points to the "alternative efforts of competing networks of actors to 'frame'" (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010, p. 6746) what internationalization is. Exploring the controversy that exists between the federal international education strategy and the university's internationalization vision helps us see that increasingly, the power-relations that exist within the enactment of internationalization policy begins to shift and privilege the federal government as a more powerful player in international education (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010).

Second, these assemblages also change the role of the university, vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention, and operate in ways to control and regulate what the university does. "Canadian universities are autonomous, non-profit corporations created by provincial Acts or charters" (Jones, Shanahan, & Goyan, 2001, p. 136). However, audit culture and monitoring practices challenge this autonomy. These practices are not new to the realm of higher education. Rather they are proliferated across the various functions of the university (Craig, Amernic, & Tourish, 2014; Shore & Wright, 2015). In our neoliberal age of accountability, audit culture refers to the "context in which the techniques and values of accountancy have become a central

organizing principle in the governance and managements of human conduct – and the new kinds of relationships, habits and practices that is creating” (Shore, 2008, p. 279). The “obligation to report to others, to explain, to justify, to answer questions about how resources have been used and to what effect” (Trow, 1996, p. 310) is prevalent in higher education and is a hallmark of audit measures imposed by the CIC. These neoliberal practices in turn are changing the very nature of higher education in Canada. Instead of being associated with academicism, intellectual pursuit, promotion of diversity, and knowledge production, international education is constructed as a marketable commodity and put into practice as an input-output process that requires regulating and monitoring (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

At a time when internationalization is more and more prevalent among universities worldwide, governments are increasingly interested in imposing accountability measures aimed at quality assurance. This is changing the relationships between governments and universities (Huisman & Currie, 2004). Just as internationalization policy is enacted at multiple sites across the federal, provincial, and institutional spaces, so too is Canada’s citizenship and immigration policy. The CI, Governmental Internationalization, and University Internationalization assemblages enable the Canadian federal government to enact its citizenship and immigration policies at the institutional level through CIC. This intrusion blurs Canada’s constitutional mandate that gives provinces a greater role in regulating the activities of schools, colleges, and universities. Remember that for Latour (1986), power is performative in nature and is a product of collective action based on the associations actors form with

one another. Similarly, critical policy scholars consider the effects of performativity through relations of knowledge and power (Ball, 2012). Thus, by connecting with higher education internationalization, the enactment of federal citizenship and immigration policy allows the federal government to control and regulate functions of the university and redefines the power relations between the university and the federal government. The university is transformed into tool. It is transformed into a funnel for the federal government through which the best and brightest global talent is selected for Canada's future economic prosperity. Despite the educational and idealist visions for internationalization (Stier, 2004) enshrined in university policy documents and by university administrators, government-imposed audit measures makes the university complicit in the federal government's neoliberal interpretation and enactment of internationalization.

Moreover, the university becomes a conduit for the federal government to enforce its citizenship and immigration legislation, to ensure that student visa regulations are not being violated, and to ensure that the students enrolled at universities are in Canada for educational purposes. Through audits, accountability measures, and "regulatory amendments pertaining to the International Student Program" (CIC, 2016f), the CIC coerces universities to complete compliance reports that ensure that enrollments "supports the objectives of CIC's regulatory amendments" (CIC, 2016f). As such, these compliance reports operate as a form of soft power, used by CIC to monitor the university (Huisman & Currie, 2004).

Consequently, these auditing measures, along with the designated learning institution number (DLI#) function as governmental tools to regulate the practice of international education by altering the role of the university as an agent of CIC and subverting the academy as an enforcer of Canada's immigration legislation. Foucault's ideas on governmentality help us understand how these accountability measures are used to reinforce power relations between the government and the university. Governmentality does not only refer to the functions of the state but is the "way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed" (Scott, 1994, p. 228). These governmental interventions are best described as an assemblage of practices that help explain how a range of actors are enrolled in the practice of regulating the functions of the university (Li, 2007).

Governmentality, through the enactment of auditing measures, redefines the relationship between the federal government and institutions of higher education. The university becomes a self-regulating and self-conducting (Fejes & Nicoll, 2008) governmentalized space that encompasses an assemblage of sociomaterial/human and non-human actors that begin to self-govern. In this space, auditing measures, positive compliance reports, and DLI#s (that legally allow universities to accept foreign students) function as an ensemble of procedures and tactics employed by the federal government to exercise its power and control over the functions of the autonomous university. It allows the federal government to regulate and monitor the internationalizing activities of the provincially mandated university and allows the federal government to enact its citizenship and immigration policies at institutions of higher education (Foucault et al.,

1991). Doing so ensures that the federal government enrolls the university in its market-driven international education agenda and aligns the university with its values, interests, and economic aspirations. As articulated by several senior-level university administrators, these auditing practices and compliance reports obligates the university to report on international students and transforms the academy from being just an institution of higher learning to a regulatory arm of CIC. Thus, government-sanctioned auditing practices establishes the primacy of the federal government's view that international students are fundamental to the success of international education in Canada, and are thus subjects/pawns that need to be regulated and monitored by the university. Consequently, universities are being used by the federal government in technocratic ways to monitor and control the movement of people in and out of Canada. Universities have very little means of "counter-conduct" to resist against the auditing measures employed by the federal government (Foucault, Senellart, & Burchell, 2007) and calls to question how much influence the university's voice has at the federal level. The prevalence of coercive monitoring, accountability, and audit measures within the university also results in both financial burdens on the university and creates additional workloads for university administration and staff (Shore & Wright, 2000).

Third, these assemblages marginalize and silence the voices of international students who are directly impacted by Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and both university's and the federal government's internationalization aspirations. While international students are key players in universities' internationalization endeavours, they have limited influence over internationalization, citizenship and immigration

policies. Time and time again, foreign students have been characterized as the “ideal immigrant” (Tamburri, 2013a), espousing the instrumental values of higher education internationalization (Stier, 2004) vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention. The former Liberal Immigration Minister stated that international students are “young, educated, they speak English or French. They know something about our country. They’re exactly what we need for the future. That’s one project to bring in the best and the brightest” (McCallum, 2016). However international students are not involved in creating the policy. Nor have they been consulted. During the interviews, most international graduate students had little knowledge about Canada or Central University’s international education strategy and articulated that they were struggling to comply with Canada’s CI legislations to be eligible for permanent residency. The exorbitant costs associated with the permanent residency application, the inability to find jobs because employers are reluctant to their foreign students, the fast-changing policies, coupled with the stress associated with applying for permanent residency through the Express Entry program reflects the absence of the international students’ voice. This absence illustrates how little their realities and concerns were taken into account when citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies were created.

Even though international students are connected to internationalization policy assemblages, they are nonetheless marginalized by the higher education internationalization discourse within Canada. They have little agency for change and have little voice within the assemblage of actors. Excluding international students from these policy discourses is problematic for two reasons. One, by stripping them of

agency, the federal/provincial governments and universities perpetuates a normalized and problematic neoliberal narrative that views international students as commodities and objects for internationalization (Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2013). Second, exclusion from policy discourses traps international students as precarious migrants who lack ease of access the Canadian labour market, access to social benefits afforded to Canadian citizens, and ultimately the right to remain in Canada post-graduation (Goldring, Bernstein, & Bernhard, 2009; Goldring & Landolt, 2013).

The three effects of these three assemblages highlight two contradictory and competing messages about Canada. Earlier in this chapter, I presented how misalignment between Canada's citizenship, immigration, and labour policies highlights the controversies and competing attempts at the federal level to frame what is important to Canada. On one hand, Canada, through its focus on international education, wants to engage with the world, build connections with other countries, and attract foreign students to their higher education institutions. Using their volunteer work in the community and potential for contribution in underserved parts of the Canada, international graduate students in this study also talked about how they added value to Canadian society, beyond the university. But on the other hand, Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, the obstacles in the Express Entry pathways to permanent residency, and the systemic barriers to post-graduation employment paint a parochial image of Canada that seeks to disadvantage foreign students. No wonder numerous international students interviewed in the this study felt unwelcomed in Canada and confused about why the Canadian federal government during the Harper

administration changed Canada's citizenship and immigration laws making it more difficult to access employment and permanent residency.

Policies and immigration pathways, along with regulatory practices like the LMIA only act to subvert the narrative of the international student as the "ideal immigrant." This controversy acts to frame two opposing views of "the international student." In one instance, international students are coveted as key stakeholders in Canadian society who possess skills and knowledge to advance the Canadian economy. However, once international students graduate, are ready to enter the labour market, and try to begin their journey as the "ideal immigrant," they encounter systemic barriers erected by Canada's immigration, citizenship, and labour regulations. These barriers send contradictory messages to international graduate students and signify to them that they are unwanted in Canada (Ezekiel, personal communication, August 10, 2015; Richard, personal communication, July 17, 2015; Karen, personal communication, June 30, 2015). International students see themselves being devalued by a system that only views them as a means to generate revenue whereas the LMIA constructs the international graduate as a liability in the eyes of the Canadian employer. Scholars have already warned that restrictive legislation that places barriers to immigration and employment will only continue to marginalize international students, might reduce international student enrollments and contribute to an "unwelcoming" image overseas" (Altbach, 2013, p. 54).

9.11 Summary

This chapter synthesized data from interviews with ten university administrators, ten international graduate students, and an analysis of Canada's citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. The analysis revealed three competing assemblages of actors and actor-networks with respect to citizenship and immigration, federal internationalization, and university internationalization policies. The Citizenship and Immigration Assemblage (Figure 9.1), Governmental Internationalization Assemblage (Figure 9.2), and University Internationalization Assemblage (9.3) came together to form a complex relationship between citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization in Canada (Figures 9.4).

By using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a way to do Critical Policy Analysis (CPA), these assemblages form the messy and fluctuating sociomaterial relationships between the federal government and provincially-mandated public institutions of higher education. A critical-sociomaterial analysis of policy revealed how certain actor-networks enroll the federal government in international education policy and helps the federal government regulate the enactment of citizenship and immigration policies within the academy. For instance, the analysis highlights the important role that SIGs, such as CBIE, play in the actor-networks between the federal government and universities as both obligatory points of passage and as powerful mediators. While this relationship does help universities voice their concerns to the federal government, it also serves to provide the federal government a pathway to enact its citizenship, immigration, and international education policy within the university. Similarly, the

enrollment of international students (particularly those who want to immigrate to Canada) in citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies further facilitates the mobilization of the federal government's *International Education Strategy* and its citizenship and immigration policies in the university. This encroachment acts to both change the nature of internationalization at the university and reinforces international students' role as the instruments of internationalization. These connections along with the marginalization of the provincial government on international education matters and the lack of university voice in citizenship and immigration policies further stabilizes the primacy of the federal government in all three policy areas.

The assemblages also highlighted the loose connections between competing actors at the governmental level. It suggested that there was inadequate coordination between federal and provincial governments with respect to citizenship and immigration policies and indicated a lack of provincial voice in the federal government's internationalization strategy. Additionally, there seemed to be a lack of interdepartmental coordination at the federal level between CIC and ESDC, who are responsible for citizenship and immigration and employment policies in Canada, respectively. This mismatch between interdepartmental policies is what led to the difficulties universities faced in supporting international students who wanted to immigrate to Canada. Moreover, misalignment of priorities between ESDC and CIC also created the barriers faced by international students trying to access the labour market and permanent residency in Canada. Recall that participants interviewed in this study

warned that a mismatch of policies and priorities will only make it more difficult for Canada to recruit and retain international talent.

Last, the sociomaterial relationships within these assemblages uncovered how the federal government controls and monitors the university and changes the university's role from being an institution of education to a vehicle of the federal government's power, through policy. The federal government emerges as the most powerful player in this relationship. Through the enactment of citizenship and immigration policies, and the federal government's internationalization strategy within the academy, institutions of higher learning are thus transformed into a vehicle by which Canada secures the best and brightest minds to propel Canada's economy in the future. Through monitoring, audit, and accountability measures, the federal government, namely CIC, ensures that international students come to Canada for study purposes. Even though international students have little to no say in Canadian government policies, the enactment of federal citizenship and immigration continues to normalize the neoliberal narrative that international students are instruments in Canada's internationalization toolbox.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1 Overview

The purpose of my doctoral research was to examine the relationship between citizenship and immigration policies and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. As internationalization becomes a priority for both Canadian universities and the federal government, this research strived to examine citizenship, immigration, and internationalization through a relational context to understand how federal citizenship and immigration policy changes impacts both universities and international graduate students. As such, this research study asked four key questions:

- a) What is the sociomaterial relationship between Canadian federal citizenship and immigration policies and higher education internationalization policies and practices?
- b) In what ways do the actors, both human and non-human, assembled around these policies interact with each other, in relationship to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization as policy assembles?
- c) In what ways do these policies regulate (exclude, constrain, and/or enable) particular kinds of practices within universities amongst those working in international offices and amongst international students?
What are the unintended practices/consequences that emerge from the interactions between these policies?
- d) In what ways do citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies regulate the role of the university, vis-à-vis immigration?

Using an instrumental case study approach, this qualitative research looked at how citizenship and immigration policy affected Central University, a large, public, research-intensive university in Ontario that has a strong international focus and is committed to internationalization. To collect data for my study, I interviewed ten university administrators, ten international graduate students, and examined policies around citizenship, immigration, and higher education internationalization. In addition to the three sets of policies, the research drew on other published, archival materials relevant to internationalization at Central University and in Canada and any archival documents that discussed Canada's citizenship and immigration policies.

The research employed a critical-sociomaterial framework grounded in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to understand the data and answer the research questions. The framework addressed whose voices were championed and whose voices were silenced in both the creation and enactment of these policies. Moreover, analytical framework uncovered how policies are connected relationally and how they enable actors, both human and non-human, to assemble together to enable action. As such, ANT as a way to do CPA provided a nuanced and non-human-centric lens for policy analysis that examined the influences of material objects on educational activity, explores how various different heterogeneous actors and materials interacted and assembled to impact the federal government, the university, and international graduate students.

10.2 Discussion and Summary of Key Findings

This research highlighted a wide range of human, non-human, federal, provincial, and institutional actors assembled around citizenship, immigration, and

internationalization policies. These include Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) that is responsible for creating and enacting Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and Global Affairs Canada that is responsible for Canada's International Education Strategy, under the department's international trade portfolio. At Central University, the university President enacts his university's internationalization strategy through the activities of the International Office and other university departments. By using ANT to critically analyze policies, this study revealed three messy, heterogeneous, and competing assemblages that include other actors with varying degrees of agency and voice to both create and enact citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. Furthermore, the study highlighted the role of special interest groups (SIGs) such as Universities Canada and particularly the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) playing a significant role in championing universities' internationalization aspirations. CBIE in particular has been a key player with respect to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies through their lobbying efforts that made it easier for university immigration consultants to support international students. However, by connecting universities with the federal government, CBIE also enables the federal government to enact its citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies within the university.

University administrators from the research asserted that universities lacked an influential voice in federal policy discourses and lacked agency when it came to interacting with the federal government. Most of the administrators made the point that the federal government changed policies around citizenship and immigration without

prior appraisal from university stakeholders, which administrators feared will have a negative impact on the university's ability to support international students who want to settle in Canada and ultimately hinders the university's ability to recruit international talent. This had a net negative effect the university's internationalization aspiration. The university constantly struggled to keep up-to-date on the most recent iterations of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies. Citing financial and technical challenges, university administrators shared that they were troubleshooting on a day-to-day to meet government-sanctioned audit measures.

International graduate students also faced numerous challenges as a result of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies. While international students overwhelmingly said that they think Canada is a premiere destination for graduate studies, they nevertheless were disappointed with the prospects of gaining employment in Canada and obtaining permanent residency, post-graduation. International graduate students claimed that the changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration laws, along with the systemic barriers within the Express Entry pathways led, to feelings of exclusion, confusion, stress, and frustration. They shared that the process of applying for permanent residency is linked heavily with employment and that Canadian employers were reluctant to hire them because of Canadian labour laws and regulations set by Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC). Even though the study reveals that international students are connected to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies, their voices are missing in these policy discourses. The lack

of international students' voices operates to contest the narrative of the international student as being valuable to the Canadian economy and society.

Interview data along with an analysis of federal policies indicated that while internationalization policies were being enacted at the federal level, federal citizenship and immigration legislations were also being enacted at the institutional level. Blurring the lines between federal and provincial responsibilities, the three assemblages identified in the research revealed how certain actor-networks including those that involved CBIE, regulated immigration consultants, DLI#, and international students enabled the federal government to establish its primacy over citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies at the university level. Furthermore, these assemblages point to the changing role of the university from being solely an educational institution to an arm of CIC. Through audit measures and govern-sponsored control tactics, the university not only functioned to select the best brightest from around the world for Canada's economic prosperity, but also operated to monitor the movement and activities of international students. While there is no doubt that neoliberal thinking has infiltrated higher education, this study demonstrates how the enactment of Canadian citizenship and immigration laws continues to deepen the roots of accountability, control, and monitoring at the university.

This research contributes to the literature on higher education internationalization by showing researchers how they can use ANT as a form of CPA to explore the impact of and relationships between policies. Unlike other studies, this study used a critical-sociomaterial approach to policy analysis to understand the relationship

between citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies in Canada. Other researchers can use this study's theoretical framework for future policy analysis in higher education that is not only critical but also relational. Second, this study contributes to the literature on the relationships between the federal state and universities in Canada. Because Canada is a federation and universities primarily fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial governments, we often do not take into account how the federal policies impact higher education. This study is novel because it is one of the few studies that specifically explored how citizenship and immigration policies impacted higher education institutions. While other studies on internationalization focus on why and how universities internationalize, this study contributes to the literature by exploring the links between federal citizenship and immigration policies and university internationalization in an age of increased global mobility among post-secondary students. Last, this research contributes to the literature by reflecting the voices of international students, an oft-forgotten stakeholder in higher education policy. The study gives scholars and policy makers a glimpse of the struggles international graduate students – a subset of the international student body – ensure with Canada's immigration system. If Canada is truly serious about attracting the best and brightest from around the world, we must take into account the experiences and realities of international graduate students. These are highly knowledgeable and highly skilled individuals who are valuable for Canada's future prosperity.

10.3 Limitations of the Research

Conducting this research was challenging. Methodologically, my instrumental case study was limited to one university, in one province in Canada, and provided a snapshot of how citizenship and immigration policies at the time of data collection impacted university internationalization, administrators, and international graduate students. As such, the findings, though significant and applicable to other Canadian universities, cannot be generalized. Second, the very nature of using interviews as a data collection method means that some participants may refuse to be interviewed. As such, there were some voices missing in my study, even though I believed that these voices had a role to play in internationalizing the university. These missing voices included university faculty members, provincial government perspectives, and voices from federal government officials. Last, I did not have access to federal government employees because of the physical distance between Central University and Ottawa. The federal government's perspective would have provided greater insight and nuance to my findings and analysis.

It is also important to remember that the data collected and the three assemblages produced in this study are based off of the 20 interviews conducted at Central University. Because no individuals from the federal and/or Ontario government were interviewed, the assemblages identified in this research, along with actor-networks highlighted in this study, are limited to the perceptions of the 20 administrators and international graduate students from Central University.

Political circumstances also limited my study. It is important to remember that when I started the research, Canada was on the cusp of an upcoming election. Over the past three years in which I conducted this study and analyzed my findings, Canada had an election, elected the Liberal Party to the federal government, and introduced major reforms to citizenship and immigration policies. Policies changes in 2014 when I began my research under the Conservative government and changed once again under the Liberal government to undo the changes brought on by the Conservatives. Because I collected my data a few months prior to the October 2015 elections, I had no access to federal legislators and ministers. While access to these actors would have significantly enhanced my study, I am pleased with the rich data university administrators and international graduate students provided me to answer my research questions.

Much like my participants, it was difficult to keep up with the changing policies changing and still understand how these changes continued to frame my research. While I am confident in the integrity of my findings, there is no doubt that policy research, particularly policy research on a charged and shifting topic like immigration can be difficult. This study highlights the messiness of carrying out policy research as policy is constantly changing. Nonetheless, it is this policy flux that signifies the importance of this study and how relevant it is for students, universities, and Canada.

10.4 Significance of the Research

The significance of this research cannot be overstated. Internationalization is important, not just for Canadian universities but also for Canada. Recall that *Canada's International Education Strategy* claims that "international education is at the very heart

of [Canada's] current and future prosperity" and notes that "international education is critical to Canada's success" in today's interlinked and competitive knowledge economy (Government of Canada, 2014b). At a time when international education is inextricably linked with immigration and settlement aspirations of thousands of international students, higher education scholars need to examine internationalization policy and practice, both critically and relationally. Particularly in federal states, such as Canada, it is important to highlight how different human and non-human actors, spread across various levels of governance, work together to either advance or hinder the internationalization aspirations of the university, the economic goals of the country, and the career/settlement prospects of international students.

This research not only reveals that immigration policy is linked to the retaining Canadian-trained talent but also hints that citizenship and immigration policy may impact how well Canada fares as a destination country for international students. As a result of the October 2015 federal elections in Canada, it has become even more important to understand how policies at the federal level impacts the opportunities and challenges of university internationalization. While the Liberal government has made promising reforms to the Express Entry system and made a link between immigration and employment, more is needed to ensure universities' and international graduate students' concerns are being addressed at the federal level.

Moreover, this research is significant because it provides policy researchers with innovative ways of doing critical policy analysis. By utilizing ANT to do critical policy research, this thesis brings to the forefront actors and actor-networks that would

otherwise be overlooked in Canadian citizenship, immigration, and international education policies. The critical-sociomaterial lens used in this research ensures that researchers are able to examine not only the impacts and consequences of policy but also how the enrollment and exclusion of actors in actor-networks enables certain actors to exert control, power, and primacy over others.

10.5 Areas of Future Study

The methodology used in this study along with its findings can be used to inform studies that look at the links between immigration, citizenship, and internationalization policies in countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, Australia that are traditional destinations for international students. The methodology can also be extended to other emerging host countries such as Singapore and Germany that are attracting more and more international students. Linking this study to other national contexts will give researchers greater insights into how government policy intersects with internationalizing the academy and demonstrate how something seemingly distant such as national citizenship and immigration policies can impact higher education in an age of increased global mobility, transnationalism, and internationalization.

Additionally, future studies need to critically look at both the role of the provinces and special interest groups (SIGs) to better understand how these actors are linked with citizenship, immigration, and internationalization. SIGs were identified as key stakeholders in the assemblage of actors. A future study should look at how SIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada communicate and work with both provincial and federal governments to champion the needs and concerns of universities. Likewise, individuals

from the provincial ministries responsible for immigration and higher education should be interviewed to better understand their challenges and opportunities working with universities and the federal government with respect to citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies.

Last, a future study could look into the special case of the province of Quebec in Canada. Quebec is an outlier in Canada, as it has far greater control over immigration than its other Canadian counterparts (Blad & Couton, 2009; Labelle & Rocher, 2009). An interesting addition to this study would be to explore the links between higher education internationalization and citizenship and immigration policies in Quebec. This will help scholars compare the Quebec system to the rest of Canada and give scholars and policy makers a more complete view of how internationalization, citizenship, and immigration policies are linked in Canada.

10.6 Recommendations for Policy Change

This research highlights disconnection between citizenship and immigration policies mandated by the federal government and the realities of universities and international students. While studies show that critical studies of policy has little influence over the policy making process (Stewart, 2009; Taylor, et.al., 1997; Weiss, 1983), the enactment of policy, or the long-term direction of policy (Berliner, 1990; Pal, 2010; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), I am confident that this study highlights some key steps the Canadian government and universities can take to better align citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies. Based on the data, I suggest the following recommendations:

1. The university should play a more active role in encouraging and supporting international students who want to transition into permanent residency in Canada. There should be a concerted effort from both the government and university to support individuals who want to live and work in Canada post graduation and recognizing the value of international students as potential Canadian citizens.
2. Universities should encourage employers to hire international graduates just as much as domestic graduates to ensure international students have career prospects after graduation. While the Liberal government's changes to the immigration process is a welcome change, the government, should continue to evaluate immigration, citizenship, and labour policy to ensure that Canada's international education vision better aligns with university internationalization, vis-à-vis international student recruitment and retention.
3. The federal government should undertake a thorough review of the Express Entry pathways to remove systemic barriers for international graduate students. This includes removing English language proficiency requirements for international students who have already graduated from a Canadian institution of higher learning. The federal government should also review the fee structures of the Express Entry pathways to ensure that full-time, cash-strapped international graduate students are not being marginalized because of a lack of finances.

4. The federal government should closely work with its provincial counterparts to ensure that there is greater alignment between the Provincial Nominee Programs and the larger Express Entry.
5. The federal government should consider both universities and international students as stakeholders in the policy making process, particularly when it comes to citizenship and immigration. Seeing that federal policies have impacts at the institutional levels universities need to be appraised before federal citizenship and immigration policy changes. International students should also be invited to these conversations, seeing that Canada has highlighted them as key actors in advancing Canada's future economy. Doing so will ensure that international students are not simply commodities but rather active agents in making Canada more competitive in today's knowledge-economy.
6. Canadian universities, provinces, and the federal government should work more collaboratively to draft a more comprehensive International Education Strategy for Canada. As it stands, there are competing voices and narratives that present what higher education internationalization can do for Canadian society. A collaborative approach will:
 - a. Establish international education as a core element of Canadian public policy.
 - b. Enable stakeholders to present their parallel and competing interests with respect to the aims of international education.

- c. Ensure that international education policies are not simply driven by market aims but also take into account the academic and sociocultural aspirations of internationalization.
- d. Clearly establish what roles the federal government, the province, and university will play with respect to promoting and enacting internationalization.

10.7 Final Thoughts

I began this dissertation by sharing my own personal life history. As a migrant to Canada who came here on a student visa and eventually went through the immigration and citizenship process, this topic is personal. My own life history reflects the hopes and dreams of thousands of international students who come to Canada to seek an education, to live, work, and prosper. There is no doubt that Canada is poised to be a leader in higher education and will continue to be an attractive place for intelligent and skilled students who will become leaders in their communities. The growing influence of right-wing conservative governments in countries like the United States, Australia, and the UK who promote a parochial view of immigration and migrants only helps Canada shine on the global stage as a welcoming country. However, as one administrator in my study alluded, Canada cannot “rest on [its] laurels.” Canada must ensure that international students are aware that we value the skills and perspectives they bring and contribute to Canada. If Canada is truly serious about emerging as a welcoming country that values the knowledge and skills students bring into it, both federal and provincial, and other interest groups must work together to align policies across all sectors of the

government and along the chain of actors from the federal government to the university.

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Appendix 1: Western University Ethics Approval



Research Ethics

Western University Health Science Research Ethics Board NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Marianne Larsen
Department & Institution: Education/Faculty of Education, Western University

NMREB File Number: 106635
Study Title: The Relationship Between Federal Citizenship and Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada
Sponsor:

NMREB Initial Approval Date: June 08, 2015
NMREB Expiry Date: June 08, 2016

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Recruitment Items	Recruitment Poster	2015/05/05
Instruments	Sample Interview Questions	2015/05/05
Letter of Information & Consent	Admin LOI & Consent Form	2015/05/05
Letter of Information & Consent	Student LOI & Consent Form	2015/05/05
Revised Western University Protocol	Submitted May 25, 2015	2015/05/05

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 0000941.



NMREB Chair or delegated board member

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

<input type="checkbox"/> Enka Besin ebesin@uwo.ca	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Grace Kelly grace.kelly@uwo.ca	<input type="checkbox"/> Mona Mckhad mmckhad@uwo.ca	<input type="checkbox"/> Vikki Tran vikki.tran@uwo.ca
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This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Appendix 2: Letter of Information and Consent Form (Administrator/Staff)

Title of Project: *The Relationship between Federal Citizenship & Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada*

Principle Investigator: Dr. Marianne Larsen; Associate Professor; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Student Investigator: Rashed Al-Haque; PhD Candidate; Faculty of Education, Western University, Canada

Thesis Committee Member: Melody Viczko, M.Ed; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Letter of Information and Consent to Participate

You are cordially invited to participate in a research project that explores the relationship between federal citizenship & immigration policy and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. Because of your involvement with internationalization at the university, you are being asked to participate in our research to give us insight into how people, practices, and policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization are connected and how these policies and practices create opportunities and challenges for internationalization at the university.

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research. The study seeks to:

1. Explore the relationship between Canadian federal immigration and citizenship policy and higher education internationalization policies and practices
2. Understand who the key players/actors are with respect to C and I and internationalization policies at your university.
3. Uncover how the key players and policies interact with and influence each other,
4. Explore how these policies regulate particular kinds of practices within universities with a focus on the recruitment, mobility, and retention of international students
5. Understand the role of the university with respect to immigration policies in Canada?

As such, we are looking for university leaders, staff, and administrators such as you to participate in our study.

Individuals who are familiar with the university's internationalization policy and working in an area related to the internationalization, either directly or indirectly, are eligible to participate in this study. Individuals who do not work in this area are not eligible to participate.

International graduate students at the university are also being invited to participate in the study to help us understand how they are affected by internationalization and citizenship and immigration policies.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in an audio-recorded, one-on-one interview for up to an hour. If you agree to a Skype or phone interview, we will ask you for your consent to audio record your answers. Using a digital audio recorder placed next to the computer speakers, we will record your responses to our interview questions.

It is mandatory that you agree to have the interview audio recorded in order to participate in the study. Audio-recording allows for accuracy of transcription. I may ask for follow up with you over the phone or through email to clarify information you provided in the interview. The interview will be conducted in a place that you identify and at a time that is convenient for you.

There is little to no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. However, please note that although we will take steps to ensure the confidentiality of your data, you should be aware that due to small sample size and unique positions that certain participants may hold at the university, it may be possible to attribute some information to specific participants. While we will take steps to minimize this possibility (by using pseudonyms and by excluding specific titles and descriptions of the position you hold), you should be aware of this when considering your decision to participate and provide data.

We hope that by helping us answer our research questions, you will be able to reflect upon your own contributions to the internationalization efforts at the university and explore how federal and institution policies govern practice. At a larger level, the study will contribute to the literature on how citizenship and immigration policies are related to the internationalization of higher education and uncover how various policies at the federal, provincial, and institutional level relate to one another and influence individuals affected by these policies. Our hope is that the research will open a new field of study in the realm of international higher education that takes into account the transnational nature of our globalized world, the policies we create to influence global mobility, immigration, and citizenship, and the internationalization aspirations of higher education institutions.

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research. However, please note that participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect/consequence on your future employment. If you choose to withdraw from this study, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. However, because of the nature of the study and your

position, you should be aware that even though your name will not be used when reporting the research, you may be identified by some people.

All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. Recorded information will not include your name, only an identification code. All of the electronic data collected will be stored on a password protected computer in the principal investigator's locked office during the study and destroyed 5 years after the results have been published. While we will do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so.

Representatives of Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may contact you or require access to your records that are related to this study in order to monitor the conduct of the research.

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact Rashed Al-Haque (Phone: X-XXX-XXX-XXXX/E-mail: XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX). You may alternately contact Dr. Marianne Larsen (Phone: X-XXX-XXX-XXXX ext. XXXXX/E-mail: XXXXXXXX@XXXX.XX)

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics (XXX) XXX-XXXX, email: XXXXXX@XXX.XX.

The results of this study may be used for academic/non-academic publications and presentations. If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact Marianne Larsen or Rashed Al-Haque at the above contact details.

You can indicate your voluntary agreement to consent and participate in our research study on the consent form below. You do not waive your legal rights by signing the Consent Form.

We look forward to your participation in our study.

Thank you kindly,

Rashed Al-Haque, Dr. Marianne Larsen, and Melody Viczko



Rashed Al-Haque
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education
Western University
1137 Western Rd.

London, Ontario, CANADA
N6G 1G7
Phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX
Email: XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX

This letter is yours to keep for future reference

Title of Project: *The Relationship Between Federal Citizenship & Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada*

Principle Investigator: Rashed Al-Haque; PhD Candidate; Faculty of Education, Western University, Canada

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Marianne Larsen; Associate Professor; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Thesis Committee Member: Melody Viczko, M.Ed; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name (please print): _____

1) I agree to participate in the study:

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

2) Indicate, using a checkmark, how you would like to participate in the study:

- One-on-one, in-person** interview
- Answer questions by **phone** interview (please provide preferred phone number via email)
- Answer questions by **Skype** interview (please provide Skype handle/ID via email)

3) Indicate you agree to be audio recorded

- I agree to be audio recorded

4) Indicate you consent to allow investigators to use direct quotes from the interview

- I consent to let the investigators use direct quotes from the interview in publications

- 5) Indicate if you are open to a follow-up via phone/e-mail if additional clarification about the interview is needed
- Yes (Email: _____ Phone #: _____)
- No

Date: _____

**Please scan and email your consent form back to Rashed Al-Haque at
XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX**

Appendix 3: Recruitment Poster for International Graduate Students



Western Education

**INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP,
AND IMMIGRATION**

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a study that explores international graduate students' perceptions on Canadian citizenship, immigration, and internationalization policies and practices.

For this study, you need to:

- Be an international graduate student (i.e. you studying on a student visa)
Be interested in becoming a Permanent Resident and/or Canadian Citizen after your studies

As participants in the study, you will be asked to take part in a one-on-one interview at a time and place convenient for you. Each interview will last up to an hour. In order to participate in this study, you have to agree to have your interview audio recorded for transcription and analysis.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Rashed Al-Haque
Western University - Faculty of Education
At
XXX-XXX-XXXX
Or
XXXXXXXX@XX.XX

Appendix 4: Letter of Information and Consent Form (International Graduate Student)

Title of Project: *The Relationship between Federal Citizenship & Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada*

Principle Investigator: Dr. Marianne Larsen; Associate Professor; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Student Investigator: Rashed Al-Haque; PhD Candidate; Faculty of Education, Western University, Canada

Thesis Committee Member: Melody Viczko, M.Ed; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Letter of Information and Consent to Participate

You are cordially invited to participate in a research project that explores the relationship between federal citizenship & immigration policy and the internationalization of higher education in Canada. Because you are an international student at the university, you are being asked to participate in our research to give us insight into how people, practices, and policies around citizenship, immigration, and internationalization are connected and how these policies and practices create opportunities and challenges for internationalization at the university.

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required for you to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research. The study seeks to:

6. Explore the relationship between Canadian federal immigration and citizenship policy and higher education internationalization policies and practices
7. Understand who the key players/actors are with respect to C and I and internationalization policies at your university.
8. Uncover how the key players and policies interact with and influence each other,
9. Explore how these policies regulate particular kinds of practices within universities with a focus on the recruitment, mobility, and retention of international students
10. Understand the role of the university with respect to immigration policies in Canada?

As such, we are looking for international graduate students such as you to participate in our study.

International graduate students, who are studying on a student visa and want to stay in Canada after their studies as a Permanent Resident and/or a Canadian citizen are eligible to participate in this study. Individuals who are not graduate students, who are not on a student visa and/or do not want to stay in Canada after their studies are ineligible for this study.

University leaders, staff, and administrators are also being invited to participate in the study to help us understand how they are affected by internationalization and citizenship and immigration policies.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in an audio-recorded, one-on-one interview for up to an hour. If you agree to a Skype or phone interview, we will ask you for your consent to audio record your answers. Using a digital audio recorder placed next to the computer speakers, we will record your responses to our interview questions.

It is mandatory that you agree to have the interview audio recorded in order to participate in the study. Audio-recording allows for accuracy of transcription. **I may ask for follow up with you over the phone or through email to clarify information you provided in the interview.** The interview will be conducted in a place that you identify and at a time that is convenient for you.

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. Rather, we hope that by helping us answer our research questions, you will be able to reflect upon your own contributions to the internationalization efforts at the university and explore how federal and institution policies govern practice. At a larger level, the study will contribute to the literature on how citizenship and immigration policies are related to the internationalization of higher education and uncover how various policies at the federal, provincial, and institutional level relate to one another and influence individuals affected by these policies. Our hope is that the research will open a new field of study in the realm of international higher education that takes into account the transnational nature of our globalized world, the policies we create to influence global mobility, immigration, and citizenship, and the internationalization aspirations of higher education institutions.

You will not be compensated for your participation in this research. However, please note that participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time with no effect/consequence on your future employment. If you choose to withdraw from this study, your data will be removed and destroyed from our database.

All data collected will remain confidential and accessible only to the investigators of this study. The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. However, because of the nature of the study and your position, you should be aware that even though your name will not be used when reporting the research, you may be identified by some people.

All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. Recorded information will not include your name, only an identification code. All of the electronic data collected will be stored on a password protected computer in the principal investigator's locked office during the study and destroyed 5 years after the results have been

published. While we will do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so.

Representatives of Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may contact you or require access to your records that are related to this study in order to monitor the conduct of the research.

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact Rashed Al-Haque (Phone: X-XXX-XXX-XXXX/E-mail: XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX). You may alternately contact Dr. Marianne Larsen (Phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX ext. XXXXX/E-mail: XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX).

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics (XXX) XXX-XXXX, email: XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX.

The results of this study may be used for academic/non-academic publications and presentations. If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact Marianne Larsen or Rashed Al-Haque at the above contact details.

You can indicate your voluntary agreement to consent and participate in our research study on the consent form below. You do not waive your legal rights by signing the Consent Form.

We look forward to your participation in our study.

Thank you kindly,

Rashed Al-Haque, Dr. Marianne Larsen, and Melody Viczko



Rashed Al-Haque
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education
Western University
1137 Western Rd.
London, Ontario, CANADA
N6G 1G7
Phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX
Email: XXXXXXXXXXX@XXX.XX

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Title of Project: *The Relationship Between Federal Citizenship & Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada*

Principle Investigator: Rashed Al-Haque; PhD Candidate; Faculty of Education, Western University, Canada

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Marianne Larsen; Associate Professor; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

Thesis Committee Member: Melody Viczko, M.Ed; Faculty of Education; Western University, Canada

CONSENT FORM

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name (please print): _____

6) I agree to participate in the study:

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

7) Indicate, using a checkmark, how you would like to participate in the study:

- One-on-one, in-person** interview
- Answer questions by **phone** interview (please provide preferred phone number via email)
- Answer questions by **Skype** interview (please provide Skype handle/ID via email)

8) Indicate that you agree to be audio recorded

- I agree to be audio recorded

9) Indicate you consent to allow investigators to use direct quotes from the interview

- I consent to let the investigators use direct quotes from the interview in publications

10) Indicate if you are open to a follow-up via phone/e-mail if additional clarification about the interview is needed

- Yes (Email: _____ Phone #: _____)
- No

Date: _____

**Please scan and email your consent form back to Rashed Al-Haque at
XXXXXXXX@XXX.XX**

Appendix 5: Administrator/Staff Interview Questions

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – Administration/Staff

Please Note:

This is a semi-structured and open-ended interview.

1. Background/Demographic Questions

- a. Title/Position
- b. Responsibilities (in position)

2. Knowledge about relevant policies: *In this section, I will ask the participant to tell me what they know about...*

- a. What do you know about Canada's Citizenship and Immigration policies?
(past and present)
- b. What do you know about the revised citizenship act and the revisions to the Canadian experience program?
- c. What do you know about Canada's International Education Strategy?
- d. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

3. Relationships between Policies

- a. How much, if any, influence do you think universities have had with respect to the formulation/ recent changes in the Citizenship and Immigration policies? (e.g. has the federal govt asked universities for their input in the development/revisions to this policy)

- i. (If they answer in the affirmative, probe with further questions about Western's influence/impact in Citizenship and Immigration policies)
- b. What do you think is the relationship between Canada's International Education strategy and Western's Internationalization policy?
- c. What sorts of direction and/or influence does federal policy around citizenship and immigration have on how the university's internationalization policy is created?
- d. What do you think the relationship is between Citizenship and Immigration policies and Western's internationalization policy?
- e. In particular, what do you think is the relationship between Citizenship and Immigration policies and the recruitment, retention and mobility of international students?
- f. Can you tell me some specific ways that Citizenship and Immigration policies affect internationalization at Western (and then ask about international students recruitment and retention)
 - i. To what extent does the university have a say in federal citizenship and immigration policies as it directly influences student recruitment, student retention, and scholar mobility?
(please elaborate)
- g. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

- 4. The Actors (people):** *In this section, questions about the key players involved in Citizenship and Immigration policies and at the university involved in work with international students*
- a. Who are the key players are in Citizenship and Immigration policies in Canada?
 - b. Who are the key players involved in internationalization (and specifically with international students) at this university?
 - c. How, if at all, do they interact with one another?
 - i. Please give a specific example.
 - d. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

Appendix 6: International Graduate Student Interview Questions

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – International Graduate Students

Please Note:

This is a semi-structured and open-ended interview.

1. Background Questions

- a. Where is your country of citizenship?
- b. What motivated you to move to Canada to pursue graduate studies?
- c. When did you arrive?
- d. When does your current academic program end?
- e. Tell me about your interest in becoming a Permanent Resident and a Canadian citizen?
- f. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

2. Knowledge about relevant policies

- a. What, if anything, do you know about Western's internationalization policy?
- b. What role do you see yourself playing in the university's internationalization plans?
- c. Are you aware of Canada's citizenship and immigration policies and its recent changes? If yes, what are your thoughts about the changes/the policies?
- d. If no, do you know where you can go to find this information?

- e. Let me tell you a little bit about these policy changes. Ask them for their reflections on these changes.
- f. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

3. Possibilities and Challenges

- a. How do you think Canadian citizenship and immigration policies affect your post-graduation career goals? Affect your plans to apply for citizenship? Affect other aspects of your life?
- b. Given the recent changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, do you think future international students are more likely or less likely to come to Canada to study? Why or why not?
 - i. What challenges might they face?
 - ii. What opportunities might be presented?
- c. Given the recent changes to Canada's citizenship and immigration policies, would you have chosen to come to Canada to study? Why or why not?
- d. What role do you see yourself playing as a potential contributor to Canada as a result of your studies here?
- e. Why should a country like Canada (and this university) support and encourage graduate students like you to become Canadian citizens?
- f. Earlier, you said _____. Can you please elaborate more on that?

Curriculum Vitae

Rashed Al-Haque

-
- Internationally-educated academic, educator, and policy analyst with interests in the internationalization of higher education in an era of globalization and transnationalism, multi-scalar governance, and immigration and citizenship in an age to increased global mobility
 - Proficient in writing academic journal articles, funding proposals, research reports, and in delivering workshops and presentations to both academic and non-academic audiences
 - Fluent in English with working knowledge of French, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and limited Arabic
 - Dual citizen of Canada and Bangladesh

EDUCATION

PhD Education Studies – Critical Policy, Equity, and Leadership Studies 2013 - 2017
Western University, London, ON

Dissertation Title: *The Relationship between Federal Citizenship and Immigration Policies and the Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada*
Advisors: Dr. Marianne Larsen
Committee: Dr. Melody Viczko

M.Ed Cultural and Policy Studies in Education 2010 - 2012
Queen's University, Kingston, ON

Dissertation Title: *International Male Students' First-Year Experience*
Advisor: Dr. John Freeman

BSc, Honours Biology 2006 - 2010
Queen's University, Kingston, ON
Specialization in Physiology and Mating Systems

International Baccalaureate Diploma
The American International School of Kuwait; Medan Hawalli, Kuwait

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION EXPERIENCE (Visiting Scholar)

Institute of Education - UCL - London, UK June - Sept 2014
Higher Education Internationalization and Assessment; Supervisor: Dr. Simon Marginson

TEACHING EXPERIENCES

Instructor

Framing International Education in a Globalizing World (5470Q) Sept – Dec 2015

Internationalizing Curricula: Teaching for a global perspective (5471S) Jan – Apr 2016
Jan – Apr 2017

Western University – Faculty of Education; Bachelors of Education

- Co-designed course curricula for both courses with Dr. Marianne Larsen
- Responsible to constructing lesson plans and teaching 25 Bachelor of Education students each term who want to teach in international schools abroad and/or multicultural schools within Canada
- Additional responsibilities include grading student assignments, helping student create their Teaching philosophy statements, and devising lesson plans that cater to the needs to K-12 students with diverse ethnic, cultural, and national backgrounds

Teaching Assistant

Social Contexts of Education (92001-01) Sept – Dec 2015

Western University – Faculty of Education; Graduate Studies

- Responsible for helping organize course syllabus, attending lectures, answering student questions, grading student assignments, and supporting course professor run the course (15 students)

COURSES TAUGHT

Date(s)	Name of Course	Level/Program	Institution/Department/Location
September 2015 – December 2015	Framing International Education in a Globalizing World (5470Q)	Bachelors of Education (B.Ed)	Western University – Faculty of Education – London, Ontario, Canada
January 2016 – April 2016	Internationalizing curricula: Teaching for a global perspective - (5471S)	Bachelors of Education (B.Ed)	Western University – Faculty of Education – London, Ontario, Canada

ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant – For Drs. Larsen and Viczko Sept 2014 – Sept 2015
Western University – Faculty of Education; Graduate Studies

- Helping analyze Canada's International Education Strategy for project under Dr. Melody Viczko
- Working with Dr. Marianne Larsen on her book on Internationalization of Higher Education; conducted literature reviews

Research Assistant – for Dr. Paul Tarc Sept– Dec 2013
Western University – Faculty of Education; Graduate Studies

- Helped review multi-national "Ethical Internationalization" study at Western University
- Filed study for Ethics Review at Western

Editorial Assistant – Comparative and International Education Sept 2013– Sept 2014
Western University – Faculty of Education; Graduate Studies

- Reviewed manuscripts to ensure manuscript authors complied with editor's comments
- Edited manuscripts for grammar, spelling, and style
- Submitted edited reports to supervisor and maintained timelines and due dates

Research Assistant – for Dr. John Freeman Apr 2011 – Sept 2011
Queen's University – Faculty of Education; Social Program Evaluation Group

- Conducted literature reviews for study and researched a variety of academic and non-academic sources
- Reviewed program evaluations of Healthy Schools Programs across Ontario and the rest of Canada
- Synthesized and analyzed research content by creating graphs, charts, tables
- Worked non-traditional hours complete assigned projects

Research Assistant – For Dr. John Freeman Mar 2011 – May 2011
Queen's University – Faculty of Education; Social Program Evaluation Group

- Analyzed and described quantitative data from charts and graphs for health behaviour in school-aged children

Research Assistant – For Dr. Karen Yeates July 2007 – Sept 2007
Dept. of Nephrology; Kingston General Hospital, Kingston, Ontario

- Collected patient data from hospital database
- Organized and logged data into Microsoft Excel
- Presented data for multinational research study on hemoglobin cycling in hemodialysis patients

NON-ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE

Senior Residence Don

Sept 2010 – April 2012

Queen's University Residences; Kingston ON

- Continued to fulfill role of a Residence Don
- Planned and ran staff meetings of Dons and Council members in my building
- Developed on-call schedule for Residence Dons in my building
- Acted as a liaison between Residence Dons and Residence Life Coordinator (RLC)
- Mediated and resolved conflicts between staff-team members
- Maintained overall safety and security in my building

Residence Don

Sept 2009 – April 2010

Queen's University Residences; Kingston ON

- Advised students on personal and academic matters
- Facilitated personal and academic educational programs for 1st year residents
- Built community between members of my floor
- Provided "first response" to emergency and crisis situations
- Mediated and resolved conflicts between students and staff members
- Upheld and enforced community standards in residents

Intergroup Facilitator

Sept 2008– May 2009

Queen's University Residences/Student Affairs; Kingston ON

- Supported Residence Dons with issues of social identity on their floors
- Educated first year residents about issues of race, religion, sexuality, gender identity, accessibility/ability, and other social identities
- Coordinated educational events geared towards issues of social identity
- Resolved and mediated conflicts between individuals which were based around social identity issues
- Communicated social identity issues in residence to Student Affairs partners to provide a more welcoming residence environment for residents

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

Coordinator of the Doctoral Seminar Series (DSS)

Sept 2014 – May 2015

Western University – Faculty of Education; Graduate Studies

- Planned and organized sessions aimed to assist first-year PhD students transition into doctoral studies
- Mobilized faculty members to present at sessions related to various topics related to doctoral work in the field of education
- Conveyed messages from the Graduate Office and the Research Office to first-year PhD students about upcoming deadlines, conferences calls, funding opportunities, and general requirements of first year PhD

Vice-Coordinator of Administration (VCA) & Volunteer

Sept 2007 – Sept 2011

Telephone Aid Line Kingston (TALK)

- Provided emotional support to individuals/callers in distress through active listening, referring callers with access and information to local support services, and exploring options for those who are in crisis
- Developed, implemented and reviewed organizational policy and procedure
- Maintained internal support system for volunteer well-being by being "on-call" for active volunteers addressing high-risk calls
- Helped recruit, train, and educate incoming volunteers about the policies and practices of the organization by running training sessions on active listening, crisis management, and suicide assessment and prevention
- Evaluated volunteers on their skill set and performance in the organization by examining volunteers on their knowledge of organizational policies on how to properly support our caller
- Currently emeritus member of TALK

AWARDS/GRANTS/PRIZES/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS

Western Graduate Research Scholarship (WGRS) Sept 2013 – Aug 2017

Western University, Faculty of Education, London, ON, Canada

Amount: \$19772.43 CAD

Queen's Graduate Awards (QGA) Sept 2011 – May 2012

Queen's University, Faculty of Education, Kingston, ON, Canada

Amount: \$6000 CAD

Queen's Graduate Awards (QGA) Sept 2010– May 2011

Queen's University, Faculty of Education Kingston, ON, Canada

Amount: \$6000 CAD

PROVINCIAL SCHOLARSHIPS

Ontario Graduate Scholarship – Province of Ontario Sept 2015 – Aug 2016

Western University, Faculty of Education, London, ON, Canada

Amount: \$15000 CAD

TRAVEL GRANTS/CONFERENCE GRANTS

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Mar 2017

Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada

Amount: \$839.40 CAD

New Scholars Merit Travel Award Jan 2017

Comparative and International Education Society Annual 2016 Conference

Amount: \$400 USD

CIES NSC 3MT Competition Award Jan 2017
Comparative and International Education Society Annual 2016 Conference
Amount: \$200 USD

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Oct 2016
Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada
Amount: \$1000 CAD

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Apr 2016
Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada
Amount: \$1000 CAD

New Scholars Merit Travel Award Feb 2015
Comparative and International Education Society Annual 2016 Conference
Amount: \$400 USD

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Oct 2015
Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada
Amount: \$478 CAD

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Mar 2015
Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada
Amount: \$693.36 CAD

Graduate Student Internal Conference Travel Grant Oct 2014
Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada
Amount: \$709.50 CAD

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

3 Minute Thesis Finalist Mar 2016
Western University, London, Canada
The Interplay between Citizenship, Immigration and Internationalization of Canadian Higher Education

3 Minute Thesis Finalist Apr 2015
Western University, London, Canada
Parallel Lines: Immigration, Citizenship, and Internationalization

NON-ACADEMIC AWARDS/RECOGNITION

Queen's Residence Life Service Recognition Award Apr 2012

Queen's Residence Life Team Player Award Apr 2011

Intergroup Facilitator Recognition Award Apr 2009

PUBLICATIONS - REFEREED

Al-Haque, R. (2017). Canada's citizenship, immigration, and international education policies: a messy assemblage of actors and priorities. In M. D  tourbe (Ed.). *Inclusion through access to higher education: exploring the dynamics between access to higher education, immigration and languages*. Sense Publishers: Rotterdam, Netherlands.

Al-Haque, R., Larsen, M., Searle, M. & Tarc, P. (2017). Western Faculty of Education 2 Year B.Ed. Program: Focus on International Education Cohort Specialization. In D. Petrarca and J. Kitchen (Ed.). *Initial Teacher Education in Ontario: The First Year of Four-Semester Teacher Education Programs*. CATE Polygraph Series: Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Larsen, M. & **Al-Haque, R.** (2016). Higher Education Leadership and the Internationalization Imaginary: Where Personal Biography Meets the Socio-Historical. In L. Shultz and M. Viczko (Eds.), *Democracy, Social Justice and Leadership in Higher Education* (pp.403-423). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

PUBLICATIONS – TECHNICAL REPORTS

Freeman, J., King, M., **Al-Haque, R.**, & Pickett, W. (2011). *Health and health-related behaviours among young people: British Columbia*. Technical report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Freeman, J., King, M., **Al-Haque, R.**, & Pickett, W. (2011). *Health and health-related behaviours among young people: Saskatchewan*. Technical report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Freeman, J., King, M., **Al-Haque, R.**, & Pickett, W. (2012). *Health and health-related behaviours among young people: Newfoundland and Labrador*. Technical report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Freeman, J., King, M., **Al-Haque, R.**, & Pickett, W. (2012). *Health and health-related behaviours among young people: Ontario*. Technical report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada.

Freeman, J., King, M., **Al-Haque, R.**, & Pickett, W. (2012). *Health and health-related behaviours among young people: Quebec*. Technical report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada.

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Al-Haque, R. (2017). *Tracing the assemblage of human and non-human actors assembled around Canada's higher education internationalization, immigration, and citizenship policies*. Paper Presentation at the The Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE) 2017 annual conference. Ryerson University. Toronto, ON, Canada. May 31, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2017). *Changing the Role of the International University through the Enactment of Citizenship and Immigration Policies*. Paper Presentation at the Robert Macmillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 7, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2017). *University internationalization, immigration, and the Canadian dream: Problematizing federal immigration legislation's impact on international students*. Paper Presentation at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2017 annual conference. Atlanta, GA, USA. March 9, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2017). Acknowledging the messiness in the assemblage of actors enrolled around Canada's citizenship, immigration, and international education policies. In *NSC Publication Mentoring Workshop Session I: International higher education strategy, Reform and Finance*. Publication Workshop at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2017 annual conference. Atlanta, GA, USA. March 6, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2016). *"If Canada doesn't want me, I'll simply go somewhere else": Exploring how federal citizenship and immigration policy marginalizes international university students*. Paper Presentation at the Roberts Centre for Canadian Studies Graduate Conference. York University. Toronto, ON, Canada. April 28, 2016.

Al-Haque, R. (2016). *ANT and CPA: Combining two lenses to explore educational policy*. Paper Presentation at the Robert Macmillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 1, 2016.

Al-Haque, R. & Larsen, M. (2016). *Higher Education Leadership and the Internationalization Imaginary: Where Personal Biography Meets the Socio-Historical*. Paper Presentation at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2016 annual conference. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. March 8, 2016.

Al-Haque, R. (2016). Citizenship, immigration, & internationalization: A relational policy analysis. In *NSC Dissertation Mentoring Workshop Session I: Higher education pedagogy; Higher education governance; Citizenship education*. Dissertation Workshop at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2016 annual conference. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. March 7, 2016.

- Al-Haque, R. (2016). *The evolving landscape of Canadian citizenship and immigration policies: Impact on students, administrators, and the nation*. Paper Presentation at the Western Research Forum 2016. Western University, London, ON, Canada. March 4, 2016.
- Al-Haque, R. (2015). The Impact of Federal Citizenship and Immigration Policy on Student Mobility in Canadian Higher Education. In *Emerging Issues in International Student Mobility*. Interactive Panel Symposium at the Association of Studies in Higher Education (ASHE) 2015 annual conference. Denver, CO, USA. November 5, 2015.
- Al-Haque, R. (2015). Citizenship and Immigration Policies and Internationalization Policies. In *Internationalization of Higher Education: Interrogating Intersections between Local, Provincial and National Policies*. Panel Presentation at The Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE) 2015 annual conference. University of Ottawa. Ottawa, ON, Canada. June 2, 2015.
- Al-Haque, R. (2015). *Exploring the Relationship between Canadian Federal Citizenship and Immigration Policy and the Internationalization of Higher Education*. Paper Presentation at the Migration and Ethnic Relations Conference: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Migration and Settlement. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 9, 2014.
- Al-Haque, R. (2015). *Challenging the History of Higher Education Internationalization*. Paper Presentation at The Robert Macmillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 2, 2014.
- Al-Haque, R. (2015). *History of Internationalization in Higher Education: A Medieval, Non-European Islamic Perspective*. Paper Presentation at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2015 annual conference. Washington D.C., USA. March 9, 2015.
- Al-Haque, R. (2014). *The Internationalization of Canadian Higher Education at the Institutional Level: Current Initiatives and Future Prospects*. Round Table presentation at The Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE) 2014 annual conference. Brock University. St. Catharines, ON, Canada. May 27, 2014.
- Al-Haque, R. (2014). *A Comparative Study of How Faculties Foster and Create Global Citizens within the Lecture Hall*. Round Table presentation at The Robert Macmillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 11, 2014.
- Al-Haque, R. (2014). Moving forward: Creating global citizens within the neoliberal university. In *Idealizations of the 'good' in internationalizing higher education: Curriculum, research, service learning*. Panel Presentation at the Global Best

Practices Symposium. OISE/University of Toronto. Toronto, ON, Canada. April 25, 2014.

Al-Haque, R. (2014). The missing piece of the puzzle: The lack of student voices in the internationalization of higher education. In *Problematizing internationalization and higher education in Canada: Whose vision? Whose voices?*. Panel Presentation at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2014 annual conference. Toronto, ON, Canada. March 15, 2014.

CHAired CONFERENCE SESSIONS

Al-Haque, R. (2017). Chair. *The 'Global University'*. Multi-Paper Panel Presentation at The Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE) 2017 annual conference. Ryerson University. Toronto, ON, Canada. May 31, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2017). Chair. *Anti-Oppressive Education*. Multi-Paper Panel Presentation at The Robert Macmillan Graduate Research in Education Symposium. Western University. London, ON, Canada. April 7, 2017.

Al-Haque, R. (2014). Chair. 'Socially accountable and independent' ... academic work. In *Intellectual Autonomy and Social/Global Accountability in Higher Education in Times of Crises: International Lessons*. Panel Presentation at WERA Global Ethics International Research Network Symposium. St. Catharines, ON, Canada. April. 27, 2014.

ACADEMIC SERVICE

JOURNAL PEER REVIEWER	Higher Education	2014 - Present
	Comparative and International Education (Currently known as Comparative and International Education)	2014
	Governance: An international journal of policy, administration and institutions	2014
CONFERENCE SUBMISSION REVIEWER	Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE)	Dec 2014
APPLICATION REVIEWER	Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) Application Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Jan 2016/2017
GUEST LECTURER	<i>Higher Education Internationalization</i> Globalization and Education (ED9023) Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Feb 17, 2016

	<i>Higher Education Internationalization. Comparative and International Education (ED9514)</i> Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Jan 29, 2015
GUEST SPEAKER	<i>Introduction to the Internationalization of Higher Education</i> Students Teaching Students (STS) Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Feb 2015
	<i>Ways of Doing Policy Analysis</i> Research in International and Contemporary Education (RICE) Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Jan 2015
	<i>How to navigate first-year of your PhD</i> Doctoral Seminar Series Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Sept 2014
WORKSHOP ORGANIZER & FACILITATOR	<i>NSC Essentials Session: Self-Care, Mental Health and Academic Life.</i> Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) annual 2016 conference Vancouver, B.C. Canada	Mar 2016
	<i>NSC Essentials Session: Self-Care, Mental Health and Academic Life.</i> Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) annual 2015 conference Washington D.C., USA	Mar 2015
WORKSHOP FACILITATOR	<i>Mental Health Literacy Day for B.Ed Candidates</i> Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	Feb 2015
MEMBER	Researching International and Contemporary Education (RICE) Research Group Faculty of Education, Western University, London, ON	2013 - Present

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Association of Studies in Higher Education (ASHE)	2015 - Present
Comparative and International Education Society (CIES)	2013 - Present
Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE)	2013 - 2015

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Courses

GS9500 - The Theory and Practice of University Teaching Completed Apr
2015
Teaching Support Centre - Western University, London, Canada

Certificate

Western Certificate in Teaching and Learning Completed Sept
2016
Teaching Support Centre - Western University, London, Canada

Workshops

➤ Remembering Who We Are: Indigenising, Teaching and the University	Aug 2016
➤ Using Online Activities to Build Students' Research Capacity	Aug 2016
➤ Getting Feedback on Your Students' Learning and Your Teaching	Aug 2016
➤ Higher Education - The State of Play: Reflections from Western 3M Teaching Fellows	Aug 2016
➤ Netiquette: Communicating with Your Students	Jun 2016
➤ Open Educational Resources for Teaching and Learning: Trends & Opportunities	Jun 2016
➤ Putting Together a Teaching Dossier	Feb 2016
➤ From CV to Resume	Feb 2016
➤ Teaching Master Classes – Lecture in Statistics	Nov 2015
➤ Education for Global Citizenship	Nov 2015
➤ Creating Inclusive Classrooms Using Culturally Relevant Teaching Strategies	Nov 2015
➤ Teaching Mentor Program (approx.. 5 hours)	Oct 2015
➤ Designing Your Own Course: Components of a Great Syllabus	Jul 2015
➤ Using Social Media Effectively in the University Classroom	Jul 2015
➤ Professionalism: Networking at Academic Conferences	Jul 2015
➤ Teaching Dossiers: What to Include and Why	Jul 2015
➤ Talking It Up Without Dumbing It Down: Preparing for the 3MT Competition	Mar 2015
➤ Focus on Graduate Education Workshop for Graduate Students: My Post-PhD Dream Job: Academic or Not?	Feb 2015