From Immigrants to Ideal Citizens: Canadian Government Approaches to Molding Newcomers

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Abstract

The construction of ideals of citizenship, in its social, political and cultural aspects, is a vital part of collective identity formation in contemporary states. Western democratic countries, such as Canada, that have historically endorsed immigration, have today developed a substantial state-sponsored political culture which is transmitted to newcomers through citizenship education programs. Considering how immigration has been and continues to be central to the history and the evolution of Canada, it becomes pertinent to analyze the question of how national identity and citizenship are cultivated and shaped through Canadian immigration policies and programs. What procedures does the Canadian government undertake to mold immigrants into Canadian citizens? What is the main citizenship discourse adopted by the Canadian government, and how is this discourse manifested/reflected in particular interventions related to the acquisition of citizenship by newcomers to Canada? This thesis seeks to shed light on the procedures undertaken by the Canadian government to shape and create Canadian citizens as an outcome of the immigration process. In order to answer these questions, three different policies/programs developed by the Canadian government will be explored, being: (1) the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) pre-arrival program (2) citizenship tests/ interviews and (3) Oath of citizenship ceremonies. The discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews conducted for this project suggest that Canadian citizenship discourse in the national and international spheres are part of a larger set of policies that are aimed at socializing newcomers into a neoliberal model of citizenship, in which "ideal" citizens are productive for the Canadian economy. Indeed, Canadian citizenship discourse is strongly focused on the economic integration of newcomers (the neoliberal citizen) as opposed to their social integration. The obligations and duties of individuals are central elements in Canadian citizenship discourse, which can create feelings of exclusion among newcomers. Despite endorsing multiculturalism in the three policies/programs examined in this thesis, the Canadian government presents a uniform image of Canadian citizenship without explicitly recognizing cultural rights and existing power dynamics in its society.

Résumé

Les idéaux de la citoyenneté, à la fois sociaux, politiques et culturels, sont des éléments essentiels à la formation de l'identité collective des États contemporains. Les pays démocratiques occidentaux, qui ont historiquement accueilli plusieurs immigrants, y compris le Canada, ont aujourd'hui développé une culture étatique substantielle qui est transmise aux nouveaux arrivants grâce à des programmes spécifiques d'éducation à la citoyenneté. Étant donné que l'immigration était et continue à être au cœur de la construction identitaire du Canada, il est pertinent d'analyser comment l'identité et la citoyenneté nationales sont cultivées et façonnées par les politiques et programmes d'immigration du Canada. Quelles sont les procédures entreprises par le gouvernement canadien afin de transformer ses immigrants en citoyens canadiens? Quel est le principal discours de citoyenneté adopté par le gouvernement canadien et comment celui-ci se manifeste dans les interventions liées à l'acquisition de la citoyenneté par les nouveaux arrivants? Plus spécifiquement, cette recherche vise à comprendre la construction de la citoyenneté canadienne, et ce, à travers trois programmes politiques élaborés par le gouvernement canadien, dont : (1) le programme d'Orientation Canadienne à l'étranger (COA), (2) l'examen de citoyenneté et (3) le serment de citoyenneté. Pour ce faire, des analyses de discours et des entrevues semi-structurées ont été dirigées. Ces dernières démontrent que la citoyenneté canadienne, aux niveaux national et international, fait partie d'un plus grand ensemble de politiques visant à socialiser les nouveaux arrivants dans un modèle néolibéral de citoyenneté, dans lequel les citoyens « idéaux » sont productifs pour l'économie canadienne. En effet, le discours sur la citoyenneté canadienne est hautement orienté sur l'intégration économique des nouveaux arrivants (le citoyen néolibéral) plutôt que sur leur intégration sociale. De plus, ce discours est axé sur les droits et les devoirs des citoyens canadiens ce qui pourrait créer des sentiments d'exclusion chez les nouveaux arrivants. Bien que le multiculturalisme soit un élément central dans les politiques/programmes examinés dans le cadre de ce projet, le gouvernement canadien présente tout de même une image uniforme de la citoyenneté canadienne. De plus, le gouvernement Canadien ne reconnait pas explicitement les droits culturels et les dynamiques de pouvoir présentes dans la société, malgré le multiculturalisme.

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Acronyms

ATIP	Access To Information and Privacy
CIC	Citizenship and immigration Canada
COA	Canadian Orientation Abroad program
EOOI	Evaluation of Overseas Orientation Initiatives
FSW	Federal Skilled Workers
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and citizenship Canada
IOM	International Organization for Migration (IOM)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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1. Introduction

For centuries, migration has been part of the human experience and is today considered a prominent feature of our globalized world. Transnational migration patterns can be voluntary or involuntary (Samers & Collyer, 2016) as this phenomenon can stem from multiple conditions including economic, political, social or environmental turbulence (Segal, Mayadas and Elliott, 2006; Fleras; 2014). In advanced industrial democracies, immigration has increased since the post-World War II period (Hollifield, 2004) and popular settlement countries including Canada have endorsed immigration as principle and practice for economic, social and demographic reasons (Knowles, 2016).

An underlying phenomenon that associates individuals to the state, through the process of migration, is the acquisition of citizenship. This concept is a complex part of a state's collective identity that relies on specific social, political and cultural contexts (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2002). The conception and practice of citizenship are constantly evolving; however the most common meaning of citizenship implies membership in a community and more specifically "the relationship between individuals and the state and between individual citizens within that community" (Lister, 2003, p. 3). Citizenship is intimately "linked to ideas of individual entitlement, on the one hand, and of attachment to a particular community on the other" (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 352). Hence, citizenship goes beyond simply representing the legal status/political membership of an individual or his rights and obligations in a nation state (Shachar et al., 2017). Through citizenship education, nation states transmit civic values, citizenship skills and dispositions to their subjects (Banks, 1997). These transmissions create "state culture," which Wilton (2010) defines as "a tool for understanding how states participate in the construction of national identity and the definition of national values. It refers to the values projected through different state actors and institutions and how they are represented in their policies, practices and literature" (p. 92). It is important to note how the description of citizenship provided above is of normative nature. However, this normative account of citizenship does not explain the political construction of citizenship regimes in Canada. In order to explain citizenship regimes of the Canadian state, it is important to explore the critical theoretical literature on citizenship in the context of neoliberalism. Indeed, the neoliberal rationality of contemporary Western democracies, including Canada, is influencing citizenship regimes. As Mavelli (2018) describes, "the

commodification of citizenship by states is part of a 'neoliberal political economy of belonging'" (p.482). Drawing from a neoliberal perspective, and contrary to the justificatory framework of liberal discourse endorsed by states, political economy can be exclusionary as the acceptance or rejection of immigrants is contingent on financial, economic and emotional capital (Mavelli, 2018).

Western democratic countries that have historically endorsed immigration, such as Canada, have today developed a substantial state culture which is transmitted to newcomers through citizenship education programs. Among the Group of Eight (G8) countries, Canada has the highest proportion of foreign-born population (Statistics Canada, 2011). Since 1990, over six million new immigrants have arrived in Canada, consequently immigration numbers in Canada have surpassed the natural growth numbers which intensifies population growth within the country (Statistics Canada, 2019). According to the last census, the percentage of foreign-born population in Canada increased from 19.8% in 2006, to 21.9% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016). In addition to developing a multi-year immigration plan over the next three years (IRCC, 2019), the Department of Immigration, Refugees and citizenship Canada (IRCC) is continuously collaborating with international partners and national/local civil society organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in order to facilitate migration processes. Active efforts to resettle immigrants include settlement/integration services as well as citizenship education programs. Considering how immigration has been and continues to be central to the history and the evolution of Canada, it becomes pertinent to analyze the question of how national identity and citizenship are cultivated and shaped through Canadian immigration policies and programs.

The central research question, and sub questions, to be explored in this study are:

- What procedures does the Canadian government undertake to mold immigrants into Canadian citizens?
- What is the main citizenship discourse adopted by the Canadian government, and how is this discourse manifested/reflected in particular interventions related to the acquisition of citizenship by newcomers to Canada?

The main objective of this research is to shed light on the procedures undertaken by the Canadian government to shape and create Canadian citizens as an outcome of the immigration process, and to explore the effects and consequences of such policies/programs. Specifically, this project seeks to understand the construction of Canadian citizenship, through three different policies/programs developed by the Canadian government including (1) the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) pre-arrival program (2) citizenship tests/ interviews and (3) Oath of citizenship ceremonies.

This project seeks to demonstrate how these three procedures are part of a multi-layered process, developed by the Canadian government, which is manifested in different spaces, including the international sphere (prior the arrival of immigrants). In Canada, there is a significant body of research regarding the importance of immigration policies and programs for newcomers (Hiebert, 2016; Gaucher, 2018). The aspect of creating and shaping citizenship is, however, insufficiently examined. In that regard, the literature seems to highlight onshore aspects, once the newcomer has arrived in Canada, when in fact it is an international process that begins earlier. This justifies the choice of the three policies/programs to be explored; analyzing the COA program provides insight into offshore aspects of how ideas about Canadian citizenship are promulgated, while citizenship tests/interviews and Oath of citizenship ceremonies provide a national framework to investigate these aspects. Applying this framework will allow a deeper understanding of notions of Canadian citizenship.

A wide range of disciplines and discursive communities have analyzed the state/culture and migration/citizenship nexuses and divergent theoretical and methodological approaches exist within the fields of political science, migration studies and citizenship studies. This project will adopt a constructivist approach to state culture arguing that relations are historically and socially constructed and are constantly changing due to interactions between different actors (individuals, the state) (Alexandrov, 2003; Onuf, 2001). I acknowledge that the cause and effect relationship between the state and culture can be influenced both ways however, considering the nature of this research I will particularly be focusing on how the (Canadian) state shapes and influences (Canadian) culture and identity through its immigration and citizenship programs. I argue that immigration and citizenship policies developed in liberal democracies do not always translate into equal citizenship among immigrants; in particular I demonstrate that despite endorsing a

multicultural immigration policy through the different programs examined in this thesis, the Canadian government effectively presents a unidirectional image of Canadian citizenship. I further argue that neoliberal constructions of citizenship[1] are what explains state policies in Canada, rather than multiculturalist policies or humanitarian considerations often associated with immigration. The dominant liberal democratic theory fails to account for Canadian immigration policy and normative window-dressing polices do not truly describe reality. Therefore, this research relies on a critical neoliberal framework to theorize Canadian immigration policy. This framework will unveil how Western democratic societies see individuals, including newcomers, as entrepreneurial actors that can maximize their economic profit (Mavelli, 2018; Brown, 2006), rather than individuals who simply contribute to their cultural mosaic.

Ultimately, this is an attempt to transform newcomers into "ideal" citizens, understood as economically productive individuals who do not put strains on public budgets. By doing so, the Canadian government is not only ignoring the importance of social integration of newcomers but implying that newcomers are part of an "incomplete" category until their acquisition of full citizenship. Canada's efforts to shape newcomers is manifested through a particular citizenship discourse which begins in the international sphere (the COA program) and later makes its way to national immigration programs (citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies).

The status of citizenship implies a membership in a polity and entails a reciprocal set of duties, rights and obligations that must be fulfilled by citizens. The normative literature on citizenship stresses notions of equality and solidarity; however, these political notions are weakened and compromised by neoliberal practices (Brown, 2006). The neoliberal rationality of states transforms these principles into economic terms, which gives space to unequal practices within the field of citizenship. Attached to the concept of citizenship is a specific discourse, created and influenced by nation states based on their specific state culture and views on immigration. In this research, the discourse linked to citizenship will be referred to as "citizenship discourse." While the term "discourse analysis" is a concept concerned with the production of meanings in communicative

[1] The concept of neoliberalism will be explored in detail in Section 3.6 *The Neoliberal Construction of Citizenship and "Ideal" Immigrants* (p.34).

texts or speeches (Johnstone, 2018), "citizenship discourse" will refer to the strategies used by the government to communicate ideas and values regarding citizenship to newcomers (Kivisto & Faist, 2009). Indeed, part of this study relies on discourse analysis and the theoretical justification for such a focus can be explained through a Foucauldian perspective. According to Foucault (1970), discourses represent more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. Applying a theoretical perspecvie, Bartky, Diamond and Ouinby (1988) argue that discourse influence the unconscious, conscious, and emotional lives of subjects governed by the state (Bartky, Diamond & Quinby, 1988). The distinguishing characteristics of a Foucauldian discourse analysis is the focus on power relationships within a society (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). It is pertinent to apply this framework to Canadian citizenship discourse, given the inherent power dynamic relationship between new immigrants and nation states. In fact, immigrants must comply to a certain set of rules and ideals in order to become full members of society (citizens). Citizenship discourse is utilized by the Canadian government in multiple policies and programs, including the one explored in this study (COA program). Nonetheless, it is important to note that policies and programs only represent one side of citizenship discourse and there are other ways in which citizenship discourse is manifested. Indeed, this discourse can also be present through immigrant recruitment campaigns, political leaders' speeches and news media.

In order to explore the research question and sub-questions, this project used a mixed qualitative research method. A discourse analysis was performed on the COA program as well as official government websites/documents from the department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). In addition, in order to retrieve the fullest possible information on the COA program I filed an Access To Information and Privacy (ATIP) request to IRCC. The documents analyzed through this ATIP request include documents used by COA staff information during orientation session and the Evaluation of Overseas Orientation Initiatives conducted by Citizenship and immigration Canada (CIC), today known as IRCC. A discourse analysis was also performed on citizenship tests and the oath of citizenship text. Studying ways in which language is used in texts allows a deeper understanding of the citizenship discourse communicated by the Canadian government to newcomers. Second, this research is informed by semi-structured interviews with former IOM employees who worked with the COA, and immigrants who attended the COA sessions prior their arrival to Canada.

To provide the reader with a better understanding of the research, the following section gives an overview of Canadian immigration policies/programs that have shifted through time due to the Acts and regulations introduced by different governments. Afterwards, this paper provides the literature review that underlines the construction of citizenship discourse, immigrant pre-arrival programs, citizenship tests/oath of citizenship ceremonies and exclusionary practices of citizenship. Subsequently, the project's theoretical framework is highlighted; in which formal/substantive citizenship as well as historical changes in Canadian immigration policy is discussed. A central theoretical and empirical assumption framing this research is that citizenship discourses are culturally bound and context-specific, which is essential to understanding shifts in Canadian immigration and citizenship policy through time. In addition, this research draws on critical theoretical literature addressing the impacts of neoliberalism on public policies. After providing the theoretical framework, this paper will present the methodology undertaken for this study, followed by the main research results/discussion and finally the concluding remarks.

2. Canadian Immigration Policies and Programs: A Shift Through History?

2.1 Immigration Policies from the XIX the Century to Post-War era (1880- 1945)

Canadian immigration policies are represented through acts, regulations and practices that influence which foreigners are allowed to enter and remain in Canadian territory (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Ultimately, these policies consist of filtering which individuals will be granted Canadian citizenship in the long term. The following section will brush a broad historical portrait of Canadian immigration policies. There seems to be a general agreement in the literature analyzing Canadian immigration policies: Canada was first developed as a white settler colony (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1996; Abu- Laban, 1999). According to Abu-Laban (1999), two important issues have been of long-standing importance with respect to immigration in Canada: cultural considerations linked to race-ethnicity and immediate labour needs. Indeed, during most of Canada's history, Canadian immigration policies have explicitly favoured white Protestants, particularly those of British origin (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1996). However, incoming migrants have not always met the ideal of the white model settler and potential citizen; the Canadian government would expand the pool of immigrants and include individuals of different backgrounds when the country was in need of an increased labour force (Abu-Laban, 1999). Indeed, the insufficient labour availability in this new colony pushed the government, during the XIX and XX century to accept other "races" and look beyond the Caucasian criteria. Ultimately, "the secure settlement of racialized immigrant minorities and their kin was contingent, not only on the ideological construction of a model settler, but also on the perceived economic needs of the country" (Abu-Laban, 1999, p. 73).

Although the Canadian government, at times, accepted labourers from diverse ethnicities, it is important to highlight how these workers were oftentimes exploited (e.g., through low wages and extreme working conditions) and were hence used for the economic interest of the Canadian government, elite citizens and private corporations. In addition, exclusionary immigration acts were established in order to limit these workers' access to Canadian citizenship. A historical

example of an exclusionary act was the 1885 Chinese Immigration Act (Holland, 2007). During this period, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's national policy strongly emphasized the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in order to settle the West region of Canada; this ultimately led the to the recruitment of many Chinese labourers between 1880 and 1884 (Holland, 2007). Chinese labourers worked the most dangerous jobs and received little remuneration. However, following the completion of the railway in 1885, the federal government introduced the Chinese Immigration Act (1885) which had the purpose to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration into Canada. This Act incorporated a tax system imposed on all Chinese immigrants and only granted the Chinese elite the opportunity to obtain full citizenship. In 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act was revised, and the Canadian government decided to ban Chinese immigration as a whole, which many scholars baptized the "Chinese exclusion act" (Holland, 2007).

The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a distinct form of exclusion in Canadian immigration and citizenship policies that were directly linked to political or ideological conditions. This type of exclusion, however, often overlapped with discrimination based on race and ethnicity (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). During the 1920s, the perceived Communist threat caused the Canadian government to prevent the entry of entire groups such as Russians and Ukrainians, and to halt the naturalization of immigrants already settled in Canada. The Great Depression, and later World War II, pushed the Canadian government to strategically halt immigration due to high unemployment rates. It was only after the end of the Second World War, in 1945, that immigration rates in Canada regained stability; this was mainly due to the post-war boom (Abu- Laban & Gabriel, 2002). In Canada, the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants has been the result of specific immigration and citizenship policies, as will be demonstrated in the next section.

2.2 Evolution of Immigration and Citizenship Policies

The 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act marked the creation of a legal citizenship status for Canadians; prior to 1947, Canadians were considered British subjects (IRCC, 2020). The Canadian Citizenship Act developed a foundation for the legal recognition of Canadian citizenship. However, this recognition had many restrictions: it favoured British subjects and did not allow dual citizenship (Winter, 2013). In order to better understand immigration and citizenship transformations in Canada, the following section will highlight immigration acts that subsequently followed the 1947

Canadian Citizenship Act and that widely impacted citizenship trends in Canada. It is important to note that this study focuses on national immigration/citizenship policies in Canada as opposed to provincial policies.

2.2.1 The 1967 Immigration Regulation

After the introduction of new immigration regulations in 1962, the Canadian government vowed to end racial discrimination present within features of its immigration system (Hawkins 1988). The Canadian government "expanded immigrant settlement programs and established a diversity policy that celebrates multiculturalism and Canadian citizenship" (Bloemraad, 2006, p. 238). This established the foundation from which derived the 1967 Immigration Regulation. The latter was groundbreaking at the time as it introduced a new method for evaluating potential immigrants based on a point system. Race, colour or nationality were no longer explicit factors determining applicants' eligibility; to enhance the objectivity of admissions procedures immigrants were given points in specific categories such as work skills, education levels, age, proficiency in English and French and personal character (Hawkins 1988). Individuals receiving fifty points or more (on a scale of one hundred) were in theory granted entry, regardless of their race, ethnicity or national origin (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2019). These practices were carried during the next decade as the Canadian government went beyond strictly opening its borders to European immigrants.

Prior to the 1960s, immigration policies were influenced by colonial/imperial ideals and were explicitly racist as they privileged white immigrants while other immigrant groups were denied entry (Abu-Laban, 2017; Villegas, 2019). During the period of liberalization of citizenship (between the 60s and the 90s), these racist frameworks were repudiated as the point system was introduced (Hawkins 1988). Therefore, Canadian immigration policies introduced the notion of formal equal integration. Although racist systems were no longer explicitly present, they still exist and indirectly orient the immigration process I argue here. For instance, giving points for language proficiency may implicitly favour immigrants and disadvantage others (e.g. more points will be given to immigrants from Western democratic states that speak one of the official languages as opposed to immigrants from the Global South that are more comfortable speaking a foreign languages). Indeed, these systems continued to operate within a neoliberal framework that made it seem like every individual was equal. This is exactly what neoliberalism provides: a language

of equal freedom and equality (Varsanyi, 2008). Blinded by these notions of egalitarianism, neoliberal citizenship often ignores the implicit racial biases present in immigration processes (Dobrowolsky, 2013).

2.2.2 The 1971 Canadian Multiculturalism Act and Neoliberalism

Following the 1967 Immigration Regulation, in 1971 the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was first introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and officially implemented in 1988 (Lee, 2013). This multiculturalism policy "aims to emphasize promotion and recognition of diversity in Canada, participation of individuals in Canadian society, and respect for, inclusiveness, equal treatment, and appreciation of diverse cultures" (Lee, 2013, p. 1). The Canadian government therefore acknowledged multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society, and through this act intended to preserve individuals' cultural freedom through recognition of diverse ethnic groups. Examples of ways in which the government committed to support multiculturalism include assisting in the development of cultural groups, promoting intercultural exchange and helping newcomers learn the official languages (Lee, 2013). Part of the literature addressing Canadian citizenship reminds us how the racist character of immigration policy influenced the gender and class composition of immigrant groups (Gogia & Slade, 2011; Gulliver, 2018).

Despite the implementation of both the 1967 Immigration Regulation and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Canadian immigration policies are still biased towards gender, race and ethnicity (Gui & Wong, 2018; Abu Laban, 1998; Ku et al., 2019). These biases are namely present through language barriers and the (non)recognition of educational qualifications of immigrants (Fuller & Vosko, 2008). Considering the Canadian government also enforces notions of neoliberal citizenship, the economic productivity of individuals also becomes a bias while determining the eligibility of potential immigrants. Is important to note how these racial and economic biases also exist within multiple immigration programs, including in the Family Reunification Program (DeShaw ,2006). Indeed, family reunification in Canada is also contingent on the immigrant's age, education levels, work skills and language capacities. This tendency reflects the development of a neoliberal citizenship considering how extended families (including elders) are seen as potential economic assets (Bragg & Wong, 2016).

History reminds us of the criticism received by the Soviet Union, during the Cold War, as they did not allow family reunification between the eastern and western parts of Germany (Pittman, 2002). The "free world", or liberal democratic states, considered the iron curtain and the strict separation of families as a merciless practice. Ironically, immigration policies developed by liberal democratic societies are, to this day, quite exclusionary (e.g. towards extended family) (Rubio-Marin, 2000; Kibria, 2020). The neoliberal emphasis of Canadian immigration policy has encouraged labor-market integration of immigrants while limiting family reunification (Bragg & Wong, 2016). This profoundly impacts temporary foreign workers and their offshore families; particularly women and children (Fudge & MacPhail, 2009). Hence, Canada's short-term economic needs seem to prevail over human rights concerns (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010). Although the Canadian government supports multiculturalism, the government has, through history, hardened the selection criteria of permanent immigrants while simultaneously increasing its intake of low-skilled temporary workers (Forcier & Dufour, 2016; Ramos, 2012). These neoconservative trends were introduced by the Conservative government in 2008, nonetheless they are not easily dismantled when the country is governed by Liberals. In addition, both the Liberal and Conservative Parties of Canada favour neoliberal measures which aims to put immigrants at the service of the private sector (Forcier & Dufour, 2016).

Hence, the endorsement of multiculturalist immigration policies does not erase unequal practices towards citizenship as the government of Canada is still perpetuating an image of the "ideal" immigrant and future citizen (see *3.6 The Neoliberal Construction of Citizenship and "Ideal" Immigrants p.34)* that is communicated to newcomers through its different programs. Ideas of multiculturalism are built into these idealized representations of Canadian citizenship, despite not being upheld in practice. As this research will further explore, pre-arrival programs such as the COA can easily become an international space where government authorities inculcate restrictive notions of neoliberal citizenship to newcomers in the hopes of molding these individuals into "ideal" future citizens.

2.2.3 The 1976 Immigration Act

The Immigration Act of 1976 also represented a significant shift in Canadian immigration legislation. It was indeed the first immigration act to clearly outline the objectives of Canadian

immigration policy (Hawkins, 1988). In addition, it distinguished new classes of immigrants that were allowed entry into Canada: refugees, assisted relatives, and independent immigrants (Hawkins, 1988). Prior the introduction of this Immigration Act, the categories named above were all considered under the same label: "immigrants". The 1976 Immigration Act also granted more power to provinces in order for them to develop their own immigration laws. This act also created the basis of Canada's refugee policy as it was the first formal legislation to recognize that refugees were a special category of immigrants (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2019). This shifted the integration resources aimed to newcomers and eventually influenced the COA program developed in the '90s.

2.2.4 Immigrant Naturalization in Canada

Immigrant naturalization in Canada, or citizenship acquisition, stems from a complex history involving the citizenship Acts explored above. The 1997 reform introduced a new version of the Canadian Citizenship Act w. Replacing its predecessor established in 1947, this new act provides a more equitable framework of citizenship as British subjects were no longer favoured and dual citizenship was officially recognized (IRCC, 2020). Since 1997 four amendments have been introduced to the Citizenship act.

The Canadian Citizenship Act is what regulates Canadian nationality law and impacts immigrant naturalization reforms. The evident interconnection between immigration and acquisition of Canadian citizenship is reflected through Canada's historical views about immigration/citizenship and the numerous changes it has made to its policies. The integration of newcomers in Canada has evolved to reflect shifting economic and demographic needs of the country (Knowles, 2016). As demonstrated in Table 1, settling the land, filling labour/skill shortages and addressing an aging population have all represented objectives of Canadian immigration policy (Griffith, 2017).

Table 1: Immigration to Canada 1867 to Present

Dimension	1867-1914	1915-45	1946-85	1986-Present
Objective	Settle the land	Limit immigration, particularly during World Wars and Great Depression	Fill labor shortages	Address skills shortages and aging population
Sectors of Focus	Agriculture	Agriculture and manufacturing	Industrial production	Highly skilled
Countries of Origin	Initially, United Kingdom and United States; from 1896 onward, Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe (with restrictions on Chinese, Indian, Jewish, and Black immigration)		Racial limits and criteria removed, replaced with more neutral points system in 1960s, resulting in shift from European to non-European immigrants	
Responsibility for Selection and Integration	Mainly federal			Greatly expanded provincial role (i.e., devolution of economic selection and all settlement services to Quebec, the Provincial Nominee Program, and the Atlantic Canada Immigration Plan)

Source: Griffith, 2017

This demonstrates how the Canadian approach to immigration, settlement and citizenship based on specific national objectives. Canada is a nation built on immigration that developed a particular approach to immigration through its settlement and integration policies. When compared to other immigrants receiving countries, we notice the distinct immigration policy developed in Canada, which explains the close relationship between immigration and citizenship in the country. There is a substantial difference of naturalization rates between liberal democracies which is contingent on the size of their foreign-born population. In 2014, the naturalization rate of Canada was 5.9%, while other liberal democracies and immigrant receiving countries, including Australia the United-States and New Zealand, had a naturalization rate of approximately 3% (Saurer, 2017). Although Canada's naturalization rate at the macro level seems high, national statistics reveal how citizenship is not always granted to eligible candidates. In 2011, approximately 6,042,200 foreign-born individuals in Canada were qualified to obtain Canadian citizenship, however only 85% (5,175,100) of these were granted citizenship (Statistics Canada, 2011). It is important to note how particular migrant groups including temporary workers are not always eligible for citizenship (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010). In Canada, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) "allows Canadian employers to hire foreign nationals to fill temporary labour and skill shortages when qualified Canadian citizens or permanent residents are not available" (IRCC, 2015). The majority

of temporary foreign workers are hired to address short-term labour needs and can only become permanent residents under certain conditions (Strauss, 2017). Similarly to migrant labourers, permanent residency, and therefore citizenship, is not automatically granted to international students in Canada. Only if eligible, migrant labourers and international students must undergo specific procedures in order to obtain citizenship. The citizenship requirements that must be met by temporary foreign workers and international students are similar to those demanded of landed immigrants, however naturalization rates are evidently higher in the latter group (Ruhs & Anderson, 2010; Strauss, 2017).

When comparing the Canadian policy environment to the one established in the United States, striking differences are present. Despite both countries being liberal democracies and historically known for their immigrant intake, these neighbouring states established different political guidelines which influenced their immigration policies. This also explains the relatively different naturalization rates between Canada (5.9%) and the United-States (3.0%) (Saurer, 2017) mentioned above. In Canada, the Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) is a stand-alone federal department while the Bureau of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services is a branch under the department of homeland security (Bloemraad, 2006). In addition, the government of Canada views the settlement of newcomers as a public concern that requires settlement policies, such as language training and social assistance, to help immigrants integrate whereas in the United States, immigrant settlement is largely seen as a private concern (Carmon, 2016). The divergent trajectory of immigrant citizenship between Canada and the United States is also explained by their different ethno-racial diversity policies. Both countries embrace multiculturalism, however Canada has a formal policy of immigrant integration and ethnicity recognition whereas American ethno-racial policies are centred on race and civil rights (Bloemraad, 2006). This demonstrates the important impact of history on immigration and citizenship policies.

Citizenship test/interviews and Oath of citizenship ceremonies in Canada are today an integral part of the naturalization process which enables applicants to obtain full citizenship. The evolution of Canadian citizenship requirements are tied to the long history of immigration and citizenship reform discussed above. The Canadian Citizenship Act (1974-75-76, c. 108) discloses the eligibility criteria that must be fulfilled by candidates in order to obtain citizenship. First,

permanent residents applying for citizenship must have lived in Canada three out of the last five years[2]. In addition, during citizenship tests and interviews, language skills are assessed; candidates who are between 18-54 years of age must demonstrate communicative ability in one of the official languages of Canada. This assessment it made when candidates interact with citizenship officials during their application process. Knowledge of French and English is also demonstrated through certificates or diplomas and/or through citizenship interviews. Similarly to the language assessment skills, the citizenship test is reserved to immigrants between 18-54 years of age (Government of Canada, 2020). This test is offered in English or in French and is composed of twenty multiple choices of true or false questions; candidates must score fifteen correct answers to pass the examination. The test is either written or takes place as an oral interview and its goal is to assess the level of knowledge immigrants possesses on the rights and responsibility of Canadians and Canada (Canadian Citizenship Act, 1974-75-76, c. 108).

[2] Specifically, having been physically present in Canada for a minimum of 1095 days during the five years and *prior* applying to take the citizenship test.

3. Citizenship Discourse, Nation States & Newcomers: A Multifaceted Connection

Since the 1990s, the study of citizenship has gained growing interest from scholars in different fields including political theorists. The interest in citizenship can be viewed as a natural evolution in political science; political philosophy in the 1970s and 1980s included demands of justice and community membership which were in turn transferred in the concept of citizenship (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). Modern democracies heavily rely on citizens' qualities and attitudes in order to have a stable and well-functioning society. Hence, a sense of identity within a nation state is constantly competing with other forms of identities including regional, religious and ethnic (Miller, 2000). This is especially true in settlement countries, such as Canada, that have through history endorsed immigration as a principle and a practice (James, 2005). States that are routinely immigrant receiving are constantly adjusting their laws and policies accordingly to their political system. In theory, liberal democratic systems seem to tilt towards inclusive adjustments considering this regime does not support the idea of second-class citizens (Münch, 2011). However, as stated in the historical overview, this does not accurately describe the reality of Canadian immigration policy considering its racialized exclusions such as the Chinese exclusion act.[3] Although this project specifically focuses on Canada, it is important to highlight how inclusive responses to immigration is not the only possible adjustment states can make and how other political systems, such as autocratic states of the Gulf region, categorically deny permanent settlement and citizenship to labour workers (Joppke, 2017). The following literature review explores the relationship between citizenship and nation states. It first discusses citizenship regimes and the central role played by nation states in defining citizenship. Second, this section will shed light immigrant pre-arrival programs offered by the IOM on behalf of the government of Canada. In addition, civic integration policies and procedures, namely citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies are highlighted. Finally, this review of literature draws attention on the exclusionary practices of citizenship. Additionally, the gap in the current scholarship

[3] In 2006, the Canadian government admitted this act was racially discriminatory. At the time, Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued a full apology to Chinese Canadians, on behalf of the government, for the head tax and Exclusion Act (Government of Canada, 2006). In addition, symbolic ex-gratia payments were administered "to those who were required to pay the Head Tax and to the spouses of Head Tax payers who have since passed away" (Government of Canada, 2006). Hence, it is important to keep in mind the time period while analyzing these policies and be aware of the positive and/or negative impacts of reconciliation strategies (e.g. does not eradicated racism and all unequal practices).

addressing Canadian citizenship will be underlined which demonstrates the importance and added value of this research. As will illustrate the next sections, inclusive immigration and citizenship policies developed in liberal democracies are not always adequately implemented in practice.

3.1 Formal & Substantive Citizenship

Despite the contribution of many scholars to the topic of citizenship, there is still no agreed upon definition of citizenship considering citizenship is often treated as a concept measuring rights and obligations (Janoski, 1998). However, there are two broad categories in which citizenship is usually theorized: (1) formal citizenship and (2) substantive citizenship.

Formal citizenship can be defined as "the status of having the right to participate in and to be represented in politics" (Baylis & Smith, 2001, p. 64). Conversely, substantive citizenship represents a "status attached to full membership of a community and that those who possess this status are equal in respect of rights and duties associated with it" (Marshall, 1950, p. 34). Substantive citizenship has been the focal point in theorizing citizenship for more than half a century. Marshall's (1950) definition of substantive citizenship will be applied to this project considering it goes beyond civil and political frameworks and highlights issues regarding equality of rights and opportunities and life conditions. Indeed, Marshall uses a threefold historical typology of citizenship rights: civic, political and social which are important to keep in mind while exploring Canadian citizenship discourse.

Historically, Canada's acceptance and/or rejection of immigrants has been determined through political, humanitarian, and economic considerations; however, economic factors remain the most influential (Dirks, 1977). Canadian immigration policies are historically based on an ideological construction of a model settler and the economic needs of the country continue to influence immigration policies (Knowles, 2016; Baker & Benjamin, 1994). Falling under the "new world" policy category, Canadian immigration policies are similar to policies developed in Australia, New Zealand and the United States (Borowski & Burstein, 1994; Hawkins, 1988; Richmond, 1994). These countries have high foreign-born populations and their point systems for evaluating immigration applicants are similar. Scholars examining Canadian immigration policy using a political economy perspective argue how a strong focus on economic growth ignores socio-economic and political inequalities. This reinforces inequality, racism and gender inequality

present in Canadian immigration policies (Simmons, 1999; Taylor, 1991; Walker, 2008). High-income countries are often concerned new immigrants become responsibilities of the state; hence they strongly focus on the economic integration of newcomers (Hynie, 2018). This phenomenon represents a racialized idea as it stems from an expectation that immigrants are not naturally inclined to be economically productive. Whereas, in reality, studies demonstrate how immigration is beneficial for the host country's economy (Agius Vallejo & Keister, 2019; Samers & Collyer, 2016). Overall, economic implications strongly influence immigration policy and national cultural policy (Simmons, 1999). This illustrates why Canadian immigration policies value the criteria of immigrants' economic contribution and explains the strong focus of immigration programs on newcomers' economic integration (Li, 2003; Li & Halli, 2003).

3.2 Citizenship Regimes

Nation states play a crucial role in creating and shaping their ideal definition of a citizen (Miller, 2000; Joppke & Morawska, 2002). The beginning of contemporary theoretical developments on citizenship can be traced to scholar T.H. Marshall's (1950; 1964) work as he addressed the neglected topic of social theory and social class within citizenship. Citizenship discourse can be divided in two distinct categories with opposing views: the first discourse believes citizenship should be understood in terms of the nation state, specifically through a set of duties, rights and responsibility of subjects within a polity (Kivisto & Faist, 2007). The second discourse, however, highlights the need to expand this notion of citizenship. As Tilly (1995) argues, in the modern era, nation states have been the primary entity in shaping and defining citizenship regimes, hence monopolizing the regulation of inclusion and exclusion within a society. Challenging the "container" concept of citizenship that strictly considers citizenship as duties, rights and responsibilities, the second discourse argues that the growing interdependency of nation states, in other words, the economic, political and cultural transnationalism should generate a new citizenship discourse adapted to these realities (Münch, 2001; Kivisto, 2001). It becomes particularly interesting to analyze whether this "container" concept of citizenship is present in Canadian citizenship discourse and how it influences particular interventions related to the acquisitions of citizenship by newcomers.

The literature is continuously evolving, and the complex nature of citizenship is shifting its discourse across the world (Kivisto & Faist, 2009; Hutchings & Dannreuther 1999).The membership to a nation, implied through citizenship, can take multiple forms including: dual citizenship (Hansen & Weil, 2002; Faist, Gerdes & Rieple, 2004), multilayered citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 2007; Isin, Wood P.K. & Wood P., 1999), multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995), gendered citizenship (Walby, 1994; Roy 2005), and racialized citizenship (Ladson-Billings, 2004; FitzGerald, 2017). Citizenship represents more than a synonym of nationality and instead characterizes a multifaceted concept that constantly evolves through time and space (Jenson, 1997). As demonstrated in the previous section, the Canadian government has, though history, constructed what it means to be "Canadian" through its immigration and citizenship acts. Citizenship is institutionalized in society through citizenship regimes which represent "institutional arrangements, rules and understandings that guide a state policy […] and the range of claims recognized as legitimate" (Jenson, 1997, p. 631).

Identities and social relations are embedded in citizenship as individuals identify themselves within different groups. Heckmann & Schnapper (2016) illustrates the challenge related to developing national and local policies that enable newcomers to smoothly integrate their new host society. As a result, host societies are constantly developing programs and policies to enhance the integration of immigrants. The discourse formed around citizenship, otherwise referred to as citizenship discourse in this research, is communicated to newcomers through different government policies and programs. This research will demonstrate how institutional arrangements that form citizenship regime in Canada can also be reflected in the international sphere. The current scholarship analyzing citizenship discourse in Canada tends to focus on national politics and programs while ignoring that immigrant citizenship education is also present in the international level, through international organizations. Partnerships with international organizations are, indeed, what allows the Canadian government to communicate offshore notions of citizenship to newcomers. These international organizations become the medium or, in other words, the implementer of these citizenship values through immigrant pre-arrival programs.

3.3 Immigrant Pre-Arrival Programs

The International Organization for Migration (IOM)[4] has been offering Migrant Training (MT) programs to immigrants for over sixty years. These programs are tailored to the need of the country of settlement and are offered by "pedagogical experts" and "experienced trainers" (IOM, 2019). The goal of MT programs is to allow migrants to smoothly integrate in their new community and to become active members of society once resettled. Since 2015, the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) program is the largest pre-arrival orientation program developed by the Canadian government and implemented by the IOM. Offered to economic immigrants and refugees, this program operates "in over 40 countries and 60 locations every year [and] also works with an extensive number of partners providing services to newcomers in Canada" (COA, 2019). Since its development in 1998, the COA program has oriented approximately 200,000 immigrants resettled in Canada (COA, 2019). Despite the overall low proportion of immigrants benefitting from the COA program, it remains an important example of offshoring of citizenship education that has not yet been analyzed. Furthermore this program is thus far still ongoing, and, over the years, a growing number of immigrants will participate in this program.

The COA program is located in fourteen permanent sites across the world including Colombia, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon and Syria (COA, 2019). The COA sessions can last between three and five days, this timeframe shifts according to the type of immigrant; while federal skilled workers, family class immigrants and live-in caregivers receive a one-day training, refugees' orientation sessions last longer. Similar programs led by the IOM include the Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) and the Norwegian Cultural Orientation Program (NORCO) (IOM, 2019). These programs are distinct from other forms of newcomer services developed by host countries namely due to their "pre-arrival" nature (IRCC,2017).

[4] The IOM is an intergovernmental organization created in 1951, that insures migration management. This organization has 173 member states and collaborates with multiple governmental, non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations. The IOM provides "services and advice to governments and migrants" to facilitate and regulate international migration (IOM, 2020).

Citizenship discourse varies among host societies as they each project different values. However, a similar theme that is present among these pre-arrival programs is the "economically independent" migrant discourse projected by the host countries and the IOM. Embedded in the latter's migrant discourse are inclusionary and exclusionary themes which are constantly translated into unequal practices towards migration (Georgi & Schatral, 2012). Migration management conducted by the IOM through its multiple initiatives, including pre-arrival programs, is considered as a neoliberal strategy to solve the labour problem (Ashutosh & Mount, 2011). Since the 1990s, many industrialized countries including Canada have implemented "managed migration" policies which increased their collaboration with the IOM (COA created in 1998). According to many critical scholars this phenomenon was an attempt to increase labour supply and optimize economic growth (Nousios, Overbeek & Tsolaski, 2012; Georgi, 2010; Ashytosh & Mount, 2011).

This project focuses on the IOM as this organization is the official implementer of Canadian citizenship discourse through the COA program. However, it is important to clarify how a broader category of interventions exists in the international sphere. Indeed, there are other ways in which the process of creating and shaping Canadian citizenship starts earlier. For example, through immigrant recruitment campaigns aimed to prospective newcomers.

However, this research will strictly focus on the COA considering how this program is one of the largest pre-arrival programs implemented by the IOM. In addition, despite the COA being an important pre-arrival program, it is underexamined in the literature. The COA program is only mentioned in a few papers (Foley, Bose & Grigri, 2018), and the citizenship discourse it communicates to newcomers has not yet been analyzed. In addition, the literature seems to strictly focus on notions of citizenship that are inculcated *after* the arrival of immigrants in Canada, it is also important to explore this notion through pre-arrival initiatives such as the COA program. Analyzing how states intervene to communicate ideas about citizenship prior the arrival of immigrants in their country of settlement, as this project aims to do through the COA program, is crucial as it will allow a deeper understanding of offshore citizenship education. This project reminds that citizenship education also happens out of national borders. Neoliberal ideologies are often embedded in international management strategies, which can be used to select immigrants. Indeed, the international screening process can create a positive and negative power as it grants entry to a certain type of immigrant while preventing the arrival of unwanted (e.g., unproductive)

immigrants (Ashutosh & Mountz, 2011).Hence, it becomes pertinent to analyze the citizenship discourse communicated to newcomers through pre-arrival programs. This thesis seeks to unveil whether international management strategies instill certain ideas about Canadian citizenship to immigrants who are granted entry to the country. One can argue that similarly to citizenship education programs, developed for newcomers at the national level, citizenship discourse in international pre-arrival programs is highly influenced by notions of immigrants' economic independence. If neoliberal notions of hard work and self-reliance are present in the Canadian citizenship discourse, this would demonstrate the efforts made by the Canadian government to craft "ideal" neoliberal citizens. Moreover, examining whether these notions are prevalent in the COA program's citizenship discourse is crucial considering the program also being catered to refugees. The Canadian government usually justifies refugees' entrance to the country as international humanitarian assistance. Nonetheless, if notions of economic independence are present in the COA program, it would demonstrate how the Canadian government also focuses on refugees' economic assets and human capital.

3.4 Citizenship Tests/Interviews & Oath of Citizenship Ceremonies

Civic integration policies are, within political discourse, heavily focused on the newcomer's capacity to participate in their new society. Verification of this participation is tested through citizenship values (Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2004) and specifically through citizenship tests that have gained a symbolic meaning of civic integration (Paquet, 2012). Triadafilopoulos (2011) argues that civic integration policies are severe due to their "punitive sanction to compel compliance" (p. 875), in addition they emphasize immigrants' individual responsibility to integrate. Many scholars believe citizenship tests are a tool used to regulate the level and composition of immigration as these tests are aimed exclusively to immigrants and their children (Etzioni, 2007; Löwenheim & Gazit, 2009). Moreover, citizenship exams have, through history, been shifted according to nation states' attitudes towards immigration. Canadian citizenship tests have been criticized for "trivialising citizenship" (Hargreaves, 2010, p. 106). Joshee and Derwing (2005) argue that current Canadian citizenship education is strongly based on the memorization of discrete facts instead of dispositions and skills. Testing memory more than knowledge does not create a meaningful citizenship either for the applicant or the country. Etzioni's

(2007) comparative analysis on citizenship tests in the United states, Europe and Canada revealed how Canada's long history of a welcoming nation does not erase how this country made citizenship less attainable for certain categories of immigrants. Indeed, citizenship tests were a tool used to filter literate and illiterate candidates and Canada's Immigration Act of 1919 allowed for denial of citizenship. While comparatively speaking, Canada's multiculturalism is considered as a core characteristic of Canadian citizenship, it is important to note how the government has restricted access to citizenship, namely through legal status and identity (Winter, 2013; Harder & Zhyznomirska, 2012). According to Ryan (2010), "multicultiphobia" is a term that better describes Canadian citizenship regimes.

During the early 2000s the Canadian government developed a renewed interest in citizenship education in both high school curricula and immigrant integration programs (Winter, 2013). At the time, the government highlighted the need to create a well-balanced citizenship education (Wood 2008; Joshee, 2004) that would make youth and immigrants integrate values of good citizenship. Nonetheless, this renewed interest in citizenship by the Canadian government "did not translate into a restoration of funding or a reinstatement of any dismantled equity programmes" (Winter, 2013, p.111). The re-emergence of citizenship in Canadian public policy was instead aimed to develop notions of social cohesion (Joshee, 2004), given our globalized world. In fact, citizenship education in the era of globalization pushes nation states to include global dimension in their citizenship education curricula. According to Richardson (2007), however, global citizenship in Canada is of "conflicting imaginaries" and in reality, is still very much influenced by national citizenship education. Therefore, a single perspective of Canadian citizenship is being transmitted to immigrants as opposed to a global -oriented view. Richardson (2007) warns that by keeping citizenship education's focus on national-oriented sphere in Canada, it creates fertile ground for the capacity to imagine "others", thus non-citizens. Canadian citizenship regimes, and specifically citizenship tests therefore perpetuate this divide as these tests can be used as an immigrant regulation measure rather than a tool for preparation of citizenship (Triadafilopoulos, 2011). Although Canadian policy and law remain liberal and inclusive on paper, citizenship integration exams are noticeably restrictive (Joppke, 2013; Galloway, 1998). Canadian naturalization policy is generally considered as liberal and non-partisan, however during the past decade, there has been a politicization of citizenship. In 2011,

new citizenship requirements were introduced in Canada in order to make naturalization a more "meaningful" process (Merolli,2016). These new requirements include the introduction of a third party tested language skill requirement, for certain categories of immigrants, and an increasingly difficult citizenship exam (Chapnick, 2011).

The current literature exploring Canadian citizenship regimes (Banting, 2014; Allan, 2016; Frideres, 2006; Kaushik & Drolet, 2018) is focused on national framework, once immigrants are settled in Canada. Hence, this project seeks to push this analysis further: I argue that it is crucial to explore notions of citizenship as a process flowing from an international (COA program) to a national context (citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies). Analyzing this problematic in a holistic manner will allow us to notice broader connections between different elements of the Canadian citizenship discourse and their effects. Moreover, the literature does not seem to drive links between the process of immigration and the concept of citizenship. Hence, there is insufficient literature on how Canadian values and norms are presented to immigrants through pre-arrival citizenship education program. This demonstrates the benefit and added value of my research as it will help shed light on an underexamined issue.

3.5 Exclusionary Practices of Citizenship

The relationship between citizenship, nation states, individuals and rights is complex. Exclusionary and unequal practices of citizenship have been criticized by many scholars (Bickmore, 2014; Besselink, 2006; Besselink, 2011; Preston & Murnaghan, 2005). The multiple programs and policies developed by modern societies aimed to imbue notions of "citizenship" to newcomers are indeed embedded in exclusionary practices (Koning & Banting, 2013). Motomura (1996) argues how nation states welcoming immigrants have a "project of national self-definition" (p. 1944); host societies chose whom to admit on their territory but also provide guidelines, through policies and programs, to change the "outsider" into a "citizen" and therefore an "insider".

Citizenship plays a crucial role in the "completeness" of immigrants in Canada and is oftentimes considered as the ultimate goal for newcomers (Thobani, 2007; Howard, 1998). Indeed, acquiring full citizenship leads to a sense of pride as this status allows individuals to express their right to vote, have a more stable lifestyle and acquire more mobility through their nationality (passport).

The acquisition of citizenship makes labour markets more accessible (Somers & Wright, 2008) compared to only having the status of permanent residency. Depending on each case, newcomers undergo a list of procedures involving multiple statuses (e.g., refugees, permanent residents) until obtaining full citizenship. According to Walker (2002), citizenship "is one of our major practices of drawing lines, of including and excluding those who are or are not political agents in a political community" (p. 20). The mere title of "citizen" implies that "Canadians are ontologically different from outsiders" (Thobani, 2007, p. 250) and therefore are allowed to have superior entitlements and rights (Kaplan, 1993). This creates what Nyers (2004) calls a "citizenship gap," which generates dramatic differences in the rights and benefits between citizens and non-citizens.

The shift of prerequisites and requirements for citizenship carried out by Western nations is often times a result of the rise of anti-immigration sentiments. Similarly to the United States, Canada imposed an anti-immigration act aimed specifically to Chinese immigrants, from 1885 to 1923 (Etzioni, 2008). As illustrated in the previous section, the first immigration laws Canada were embedded in racial practices as they favoured white European immigrants. The Canadian government has also, through history, made citizenship less attainable by reinforcing citizenship tests and enacting literacy requirements (Knowles, 2016; Lower & Tolley, 2017). Despite Canada being labelled as a welcoming nation for immigrants and exemplary model for host countries, the Canadian government's support towards immigrants has, over the years, been highly uneven. The characteristics oftentimes linked to Canadian citizenship such as multiculturalism and equality (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Dauvergne, 2012) are questioned by many scholars including Straiulis (2017), who argues that citizenship deprivation in Canada has increasingly become normalized. These exclusionary citizenship practises created greater immigration opportunities for European immigrants. In Canada, "the history of citizenship during the past two centuries can be viewed as a persistent struggle on the part of the unfit, the disenfranchised, the marginalized, the dependent to be included in the ranks of the citizen" (Kivisto & Faist, 2007 p. 18). Nation states develop immigration policies while considering their economic position and interests. In Western democratic societies political decisions are a reflection of public opinion, nonetheless media coverage plays an important role in shifting public opinion and policy responses towards immigrants and refugees (Lawor & Tolley, 2017). In Canada, news media tend to particularly focus on the economic impact of migration as well as migrants' use of social services (Lawor &

Tolley, 2017; Bauder, 2008). Strong distinctions are made between immigrants and refugees and there seems to be a public and political preference for economic immigrants who are perceived as contributors to society, as opposed to other types of immigrants who are seen as potential security threats and individuals taking advantage of social programs (Lawor & Tolley, 2017). This political preference for economic immigrants is translated into Canadian policies and programs considering how these can be catered to favour economic immigrants.

3.6 The Neoliberal Construction of Citizenship and "Ideal" Immigrants

The social construction of "ideal" national subjects in Canada is established in a framework which favours neoliberal values and principles. As previously highlighted, ideals of self-reliance and self-sufficiency are what shape the image of an "ideal" immigrant. The construct of an "ideal" citizen is not only linked to newcomers' economic independence, but also to their educational attainments. Indeed, immigrant receiving states have a tendency to accept immigrants with higher levels of education (Clarke, Ferrer & Skuterud, 2019; DeVoretz, & Pivnenko, 2005) which represents another way to ensure their financial stability once established in the host country. In addition, unemployed immigrants can be seen as undeserving of citizenship (Anderson, 2014).

Considering neoliberal values and principles are at the core of Canadian citizenship, it is important to analyze the notion of neoliberalism and how exactly it impacts citizenship. The political and economic movement called 'neoliberalism' is associated with free market principles, and the unrestrained or unregulated advance of global capitalism (Duménil & Lévy, 2011; Collins & Rothe, 2019). The term "neoliberalism" was popularized in the 1980s by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and economist Milton Friedman and is still prominent today (Schwarzmantel, 2007). Those in favor of neoliberalism consider free markets and free trade as a foundation for human flourishing as it creates the most favorable conditions, individual liberties, job growth, technological innovations (Mirowski, 2016). Neoliberalists are against government interference in the free market and believe that states should limit their function to the protection of private property and law enforcement (Ostry, Loungani & Furceri, 2016). The neoliberal rationality of nation states is today influencing citizenship policies and programs (Van Houdt, Suvarierol & Schinkel, 2011). Indeed, neoliberalism entails the privatization of many services and budget cuts

of numerous social services (Brown, 2005). The deterioration of democratic welfare protection and social services directly impacts new immigrants as this group strongly relies on these services when integrating their new host society. In Canada, "social support is perceived to play an important role in immigrant settlement and to have a positive impact on immigrant health" (Simich et al., 2005, p. 259). However, due to systematic issues, including limited resources, caused mainly by budget cuts, and lack of integration policies, newcomers' needs are not met (Simich et al., 2005). Many critics of neoliberalism believe this economic and political vision exacerbates rather than mitigates socio-economic inequalities (Duménil, 2011; Collins & Rothe, 2019). Moreover, neoliberalism fails to account for structural forms of violence such as systemic poverty, racism and other forms of discrimination (Lipscomb, 2020). Thus, neoliberalism can produce forms of violence that culminate in violations of fundamental human rights (Duménil, 2011). Considering these structural forms of oppression are not acknowledged, many neoliberals assert that it is individual failings rather than systemic inequality that lead to socio-economic vulnerability (Lazzarato, 2009). These forms of oppression are in turn transmitted in citizenship policies and programs. It is important to note how, through his work, Michel Foucault strongly contributed to the study of neoliberalism. However, in this thesis, his contributions will specifically be highlighted in the theoretical framework (p.38).

4.2.2 Critical Theory and Citizenship

In the literature addressing neoliberal citizenship, there is a consensus on how this ideology goes beyond the process of commodification and the limit of government intervention (Forcier, & Dufour, 2016; Igarashi & Ono, 2019); it is also a process of economization as it treats individuals as entrepreneurial subjects (Mavelli, 2008; Mascarenhas, 2012). Citizenship therefore becomes another sphere commodified by nation states, where the latter create "a neoliberal political economy of belonging" (Mavelli, 2008, p. 482). Neoliberalism has indeed shaped the meaning of citizenship (Brown, 2006) as western democratic states have adopted a "market-mediated citizenship regime" (Sparke, 2006, p.155). Market mediated notions citizenship profoundly impacts the image of the "ideal" citizen as nation states seek to attract productive migrant subjects that can contribute to the economy (Ong, 2006). Accepting immigrants with higher levels of education also becomes a way for states to selectively choose productive immigrants. Indeed, neoliberal ideology can exacerbate antiimmigrant attitudes due to individuals' perceptions of

immigrants' skills (Igarashi & Ono, 2019). Immigrants are therefore ranked based on their skill level and labor force; immigrants with low-level skills are more likely to receive negative attitudes on a macro level (government institutions) and micro level (individuals) (Igarashi & Ono, 2019). The Canadian government is no exception; its immigration policies favors the integration of highly skilled workers while marginalizing lower-skilled workers (Nakache & Kinoshita 2010).

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Canada is among the top five highest educated nation in the world (OECD,2018) and it is in large part due to its immigrants. Ironically, educated immigrant workers often hold jobs that only require a high school diploma or less (Bonikowska, Hou & Picot, 2011). In 2016, 35% of recent immigrants[5] in Canada aged between twenty-five and sixty-five were over-educated for their jobs (Statistics Canada, 2019). Moreover, shared values and patterns of behaviours of subjects, including the adherence to the law and the fulfilment of rights and responsibilities, also shape the notion of "ideal" citizenship. Immigrants are "expected to be Good Citizen[s] and comply with the idealized citizen" (Anderson, Shutes & Walker, 2014, p.8). This phenomenon ties citizenship to ideas of deservingness which demonstrates the exclusionary practices of citizenship. Social, legal and political norms are entailed to citizenship, however values tied to social engagement and community involvement are not clearly defined in a political community (Van Deth, 2007). Consequently, this non-consensus leads to the dominance of the liberal approach to citizenship which is highly focused on the rights and duties of citizens (Van Deth, 2007). The social contract in liberal democratic theory is also imbedded in gender norms, namely in the public and private responsibilities of individuals. The gender contract, which Vosko (2010) defines as "the normative and material basis around which sex/gender divisions of paid and unpaid labour operate in a given society" (p.6) is therefore inherently linked to citizenship. The rights and obligations linked to citizenship can shape and influence gender norms and are indirectly promulgated in the image of "ideal" citizens. Hence, notions of public and private spheres and breadwinning/caregiving roles become significant when analyzing citizenship. As noted in the *2.2.4 Immigrant Naturalization in Canada* section above (p.20) the qualification parameters linked to Canadian citizenship also include notions of language proficiency. The "ideal" citizen is an individual who not only

[5] Arrived within the last 10 years (Statistics Canada definition)

possesses knowledge on the rights and responsibilities of Canadians but who can adequately communicate in French or English.

Before explaining this project's methodology and theoretical framework, it is important to highlight how normative liberal theories have been dominating the academic study of citizenship. The normative liberal perspective of citizenship is highly emphasized on the positive relationship between the state and individuals, as citizenship is considered as full and equal membership in a community (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Lister, 2003). The normative literature also highlights the legal status of individuals and their rights and obligations as citizens (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2008). This normative account of citizenship is inaccurate considering it does not diagnose problems of citizenship correctly, compared to critical theoretical accounts. We cannot completely disregard normative liberal claims as they are not entirely wrong about some aspects of citizenship. However, I argue that, in practice, notions of equal citizenship are not easily implemented within liberal democratic states including in Canada. Therefore, exploring critical literature on citizenship and neoliberalism is crucial while analyzing Canadian citizenship. This proposed theoretical framework is better at diagnosing and explaining how our citizenship and immigration regimes functions. Critical theoretical analysis helps us to understand first, that Western democracies do not meet their own liberal democratic ideals of citizenship, and second, can explain why.

4. Methodology

As stated above, the central research question, and sub questions, to be explored are: what procedures does the Canadian government undertake to mold immigrants into Canadian citizens? What is the main citizenship discourse adopted by the Canadian government, and how is this discourse manifested/reflected in particular interventions related to the acquisition of citizenship by newcomers to Canada? In order to explore notions of Canadian citizenship in the international and national spheres, this research will analyze: (1) the COA pre-arrival program (2) citizenship tests/interviews and (3) Oath of citizenship ceremonies. These are best suited to examine the specific strategies/approaches the Canadian government organizes to craft citizens. In the following section, I first discuss the theoretical framework used in this thesis, followed by an explanation of the qualitative research methods that were applied.

4.1 Theoretical Framework

This project is embedded in a critical constructivist approach that recognizes that the relationship between nation states and individuals is historically and socially constructed (Alexandrov, 2003; Onuf, 2001). While the focus of this project is how the Canadian government influences ideas about citizenship among newcomers, it is important to note how newcomers themselves also shape ideas about citizenship among the broad public, and within the government.

Below, I first discuss two primary theories that have, through history, been associated to Canadian immigration policy; the conventional theory" and the "racism theory". Subsequently my analysis will be attuned to critical literature addressing citizenship, while specifically underlining the one applied in this research. In order to truly grasp the dynamics of Canadian citizenship, it is crucial to apply a critical theoretical framework as it helps us understands the complex relationship between states and citizens as it focuses on structural problems in our modern age (Stirk, 2000). As stated in the previous section, normative liberal theories might be forgetting structural problems, such as inequality and racism, while theorizing citizenship.

4.1.1 Theorizing Canadian Immigration Policies: "conventional" or "racism" theory?

The two primary theories that can be derived from the historical change in the Canadian immigration policy are: the "conventional theory" and the "racism theory" (Satzewich, 1989; Room, 1995; Lee, 2013; Olsen, El-Bialy, Mckelvie, Rauman & Brunger, 2016). The "conventional theory" argues how immigration policies have widely shifted away from racist practices since the introduction of inclusionary immigration acts in the sixties. On the opposite hand, the "racism theory" believes that racism persists in different forms. Indeed, scholars supporting the "racism" theory claim how immigration acts that were introduced in the late twentieth century simply removed racist language, however they did not eradicate racism as a whole (Lee, 2013; Olsen et al., 2016, Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Satzewich (1989) highlights how "the conventional theory implies that a significant social transformation has occurred: a racist bureaucracy has been transformed into an egalitarian bureaucracy. The racist theory implies that any transformation that occurred had more to do with appearances than reality" (p. 3).

It is important to keep in mind both the conventional and racism theory while analyzing the shift in Canadian immigration policy as they are directly and indirectly linked to the procedures the Canadian government undertakes to mold immigrants into Canadian citizens. In addition, this research will expand on Chapnick's (2011) investigation/documentation of the historical evolution of the Canadian citizenship guide *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*. Through his findings, Chapnick (2011) argues that political shifts between the Conservative and Liberal Parties in Canada, immigration policies such as newcomers' citizenship education always shared share similar principles. Reminding us that despite the different values advanced by political parties, the Canadian political spectrum is relatively narrow, and immigration policies developed by the liberal party through history may not be as groundbreaking as perceived.

4.2.2 Critical Theory and Citizenship

A wide range of critical literature, including feminist and Marxist theories arguing that in our neoliberal and capitalist world, western societies are incapable of offering full and equal rights and opportunities linked to substantive citizenship (Dietz, 1987; Vega, 2010). Hence, only formal

citizenship is granted and "being a citizen is no guarantee of equality; real equality is hampered by inequalities resulting from membership in stigmatized and minorized" (Abu Laban, 1998, p. 70).

This thesis will specifically capitalise on a Foucauldian understanding of political governance and neoliberalism. According to Foucault, through biopolitics, nation states use their political power in numerous aspects of human lives (Foucault, Davidson & Burchell, 2008). The Foucauldian approach to neoliberalism considers the latter as more than an economic system; "[neoliberalism] is also a form of subjectivity that is produced and required by neoliberal governmentality" (Jaskulowski & Pawlak, 2020, p.2). Foucault defines "governmentality" as "the way in which one conducts the conduct of men" (1978-79, p.186). The practice of control and influence of governments on its subjects is solidified through hierarchal social and political structures. Power dynamics are thus created through discourses which have a direct impact on individuals as they are subjects governed by the state. Biopower is also an important concept in Foucault's social theory; this concept refers to "a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavors to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations." (Foucault, 1978, p. 137). Lemke, Casper and Moore (2011) argue how "biopower" represents a political rationality created by nation states to socialize their subjects through regulations (Lemke, Casper & Moore, 2011). Closely linked to this concept is the notion of "biopolitics" which is considered as the junction between biology and politics. "Biopolitics" can be understood as the political rationality in which biopower operates in a society (Lemke, Casper & Moore, 2011). It is indeed through biopolitics that states administrate the lives of populations, therefore biopolitics is also present within immigration policies and programs. The state exercises social and political power over life, particularly through discourse, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.2).

Furthermore, drawing from the neoliberal political rationality of states, this thesis will apply Brown's (2006) interpretation of neoliberalism to analyze Canadian citizenship regimes. Using a Foucauldian approach, Brown (2006) conceptualizes neoliberalism as a rationality present in the socio-political spheres, dominated by a market-oriented rationality. Previous research addressing the topic of neoliberalism and citizenship highlights how states have adopted a "market-mediated citizen regime" (Sparke, 2006, p.155). Reasoning in fundamentally economic terms (Foucault

2008; Brown, 2006), a neoliberal government strongly values ideas of self-reliance and self-sufficiency while constructing the image of the "ideal" citizen. The neoliberalization of citizenship provides mobility corridors for wealthy migrants while those who fall into the categories of refugees, temporary foreign workers and undocumented migrants face barriers while trying to obtain citizenship (Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010; Sparke 2006). As highlighted in the literature review, this creates what some scholars name a "citizenship gap" (Nyers, 2004; Brysk & Shafir, 2004). Applying the Foucauldian framework of neoliberalism on Canadian immigration policies will allow me to unveil the citizenship gaps in this country while demonstrating the state's role in the construction of "ideal" national subjects.

Critical theory also reminds us how the hardening of borders for immigrants in Canada is not only associated with the political party governing the country but has also been influenced by the 9/11 terrorist attacks of the World Trade Center (Adelman, 2002). Homeland security was reinforced, and terms, such as "immigrants" and "security", became predominant in parliamentary debates and the media (Adelman, 2002; Brodie 2009). This consequently reinforced the citizenship gap and deepened the "us" versus "them" ideology. As theorized by Said's (1979) theory of orientalism, this ideology commonly portrays non-western societies as the "foreign other" and nation states play an important role in the construction of the "us" versus "them" mentality (d'Appollonia & Reich, 2008; Jackson & Parkes, 2006). Notions of Said's (1975) orientalism theory can be found in Canadian immigration policies considering their strong focus on the "us" versus "them" ideology and efforts are invested in molding immigrants into a perfect "us" (Canadian citizen) during the different citizenship procedures (pre-arrival programs, citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies). Following this logic, citizenship can be considered as a broader attempt by nation states to "re-assert [their] sovereignty over both physical and imagined borders between 'us' and 'them'" (Merolli, 2016, p.958)

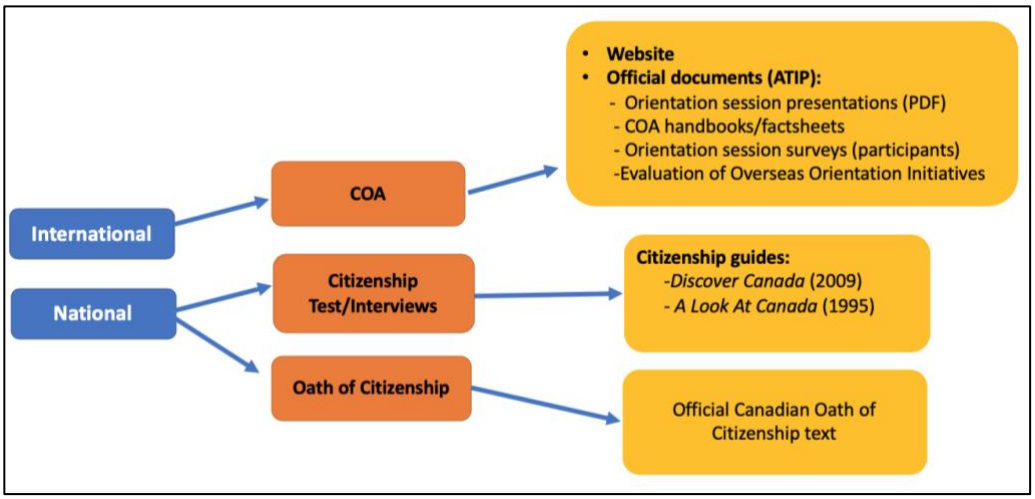
Modern critical scholars argue that liberal citizenship education presents assimilationist and non-inclusive notions of citizenship (Banks, 2014) as they do not consider cultural rights of citizens "from diverse racial, culture, ethnic and language groups" (p. 1). Li (2003) highlights how the discourse of integration, through citizenship education, intently implies the expectation of conformity of the immigrant. According to Banks (2014; 2020), a transformative citizenship

education is required in order for individuals to function effectively in a diverse cultural environment. In his most recent work, Banks (2020) developed a typology of citizenship divided in four main categories: (1) failed citizenship; (2) recognized citizenship; (3) participatory citizenship; and (4) transformative citizenship. Failed citizenship "exists when individuals or groups who are born within a nation or migrate to it and live within it for an extended period of time […] feel structurally excluded within it" (Banks, 2020, p.155). Recognized citizenship exists when an individual or group is formally recognized by a nation states, while participatory citizenship occurs when citizens take action to influence political decisions (e.g: voting). Finally, transformative citizenship is characterized by actions individuals take "to implement and promote policies, actions, and changes that are consistent with values such as human rights, social justice, and equality" (Banks, 2020, p.155). Transformative citizenship is "designed to actualize values and moral principles and ideals beyond those of existing laws and conventions" (Banks, 2014, p. 9). This level of citizenship promotes social justice and allows citizens to take action and challenge existing structures in a society. When policies and programs endorse a transformative citizenship, it in turn creates transformative citizens that are self-aware and conscious of the diverse identities that make up the national community. Applying Banks' (2020) framework to the analysis of the COA program, citizenship tests and oath of citizenship ceremonies, will allow a deeper understanding of the Canadian citizenship regime. Moreover, Banks' (2020) framework is also cognizant of the different cultural environments that may be present within a democratic nation. Hence, his framework can be applied to multicultural democratic nations such as Canada.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methods

This project is based on a mixed qualitative research method (Tracy, 2019). First, this research is informed by semi-structured interviews with former IOM employees who worked with the COA, and immigrants who attended the COA sessions prior their arrival to Canada. Second, a discourse analysis was performed on: (1) the COA program and official government websites/ documents, (2) citizenship tests/interviews and (3) the oath of citizenship text. Chart 1 gives a visual representation of the sources that were used in this thesis.

Chart 1: Visual Representation of Sources



4.2.1 Why Discourse Matters

Considering a core qualitative method used in this project is discourse analysis, it is important to explain its significance in this thesis. Discourse analysis is a qualitative research method concerned with the production of meanings in communicative texts or speeches (Johnstone, 2018). The production of meaning, or semiosis, can take many forms (words, texts, pictures, designs and symbols) (Chandler, 2017). Many scholars have theorized discourse analysis and consider this research technique as imperative in qualitative research. Hook (2007) and Waitt (2010), who build their theory along Foucauldian lines, argue that discourses go beyond the production of meanings in texts or speeches and also include the unconscious, conscious and emotional lives of individuals. Moreover, the term "discourse" refers to a social system that produces knowledge and meaning, and discourse analysis examines the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power (Hook, 2007; Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008). Foucault (1970) argues that "discourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject, but, on the contrary, a totality, in which the dispersion of the subject and his discontinuity with himself may be determined" (p.60). Hence, it is important to note the larger structures in which discursive formations are created. Discursive formations are in fact "governed by rules, beyond those of grammar and logic, that operate beneath the conciseness of individual subjects" (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018). Discursive formations are also context specific

which means they can arise during a particular time and place and are therefore subject to conceptual boundaries within a specific period (Gutting, 1989; Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2018).

Discourse analysis is a pertinent tool in the context of this project as discursive practices reveal major ideological constructions of Canadian citizenship. It becomes interesting to analyze the process of subjectification through citizenship. Faircloug and Wodack (1997) argue that discourse can help produce and maintain power dynamics within a society between different groups such as social classes, genders and ethnic groups. Critical discourse analysis can not only help reveal the underlining ideologies used through language but also the power relations present in this dynamic (Van Dijk, 2001). Considering how discourse is "socially constructive as well as socially shaped" (Fairclough & Wodack, 1997, p. 358), this qualitative research method will allow me to deconstruct the social identities and relationships between the Canadian government and immigrants. An important dimension of discourse studies is the extension of linguistics beyond text and towards actions and interactions (Wodak, 2015). Hence, the study of discourse in this project will allow for a better understanding of the existing power dynamics between new immigrants and the state. Shedding light on this complex relationship will in turn allow for a better understanding of the specific citizenship requirements developed by the Canadian government as well as the image of the "ideal" citizen it communicates to its immigrants.

4.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

After obtaining McGill Research Ethics Board Office's approval, I conducted six semi-structured interviews to support this project (see Appendix 1 and 2 for interview guides, p.77-78). These interviews were conducted with two former employees of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) who worked with the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) program. It is important to note that the IOM is contracted by the Canadian government to deliver the COA program to individuals immigrating to Canada. Moreover, I interviewed four immigrants who participated to the COA program before arriving in Canada. All interviews were conducted with men and women over eighteen years of age in either English or French. The table below describes the participants interviewed in this project.

Table 2: Participants- Semi-structured Interviews

Participants	Gender	Country of Origin	Worked/attended the COA training in
IOM employee 1	F	Australia/Lebanon	Beirut (Lebanon)
IOM employee 2	M	Canada/Lebanon	Istanbul (Turkey)
COA Participant 1	M	Congo	Kampala (Uganda)
COA Participant 2	F	Congo	Kampala (Uganda)
COA Participant 3	F	Congo	Kampala (Uganda)
COA Participant 4	M	Syria	Beirut (Lebanon)

The former IOM employees and immigrants who participated in the COA program were recruited through snowball sampling through informal contacts. All interviews were recorded, with the interviewees' consent, transcribed and stored in a password protected file on my computer. The collected data (semi-structured interviews) was subsequently analyzed with *NVivo*, a qualitative data analysis software.

I first familiarized myself with data analysis techniques used in qualitative research[6] which allowed me to gain step by step knowledge on how to analyse text from my interview transcripts. Afterwards, using *Nvivo*, I imported my interview transcripts and read through each of them carefully coding either words or phrases into specific themes. Coding the data allowed me to capture the essence of a portion of data and organize the information in the scripts into different themes. I developed a codebook as a reference to guide me through the coding process, hence using a deductive coding technique (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). After completing line by line coding, I organized each code into specific categories which allowed me to extract overarching themes and subcategories (supporting these themes).

It is important to note that I first created a pre-defined set of codes before assigning it to the data (interview transcripts). The set of codes were created based on this project's theoretical framework, as well as the research questions I was interested in analyzing. The themes and categories created

[6] Using: Auerbach, C., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis* (Vol. 21). NYU press ; St. Pierre, E. A., & Jackson, A. Y. (2014). Qualitative data analysis after coding.

were divided into two main groups, which represented my codebook: (1) themes related to the project's theorical framework and research questions[7] and (2) themes describing immigrants'/former COA employees' feelings of the citizenship process[8]. Dividing the codes into two distinct categories allowed me to systemize the data in a more coherent way. In addition, I found it important to separate conceptions of citizenship from feelings or evaluative judgements about different conceptions of citizenship as they are of different nature. The semi-structured interviews were evidently the only collected data in this research involving human experiences, hence it was important to underline these feelings/evaluations. As the research findings will later demonstrate, despite being in two different categories, some code groups overlapped considering ideologies (later turned into policies or programs) can impact one's immigration experience. After repeated coding, this produced a code matric which allowed me to compare the frequency codes and predominant themes in the data.

4.2.3 Discourse Analysis

In order to better understand Canadian notions of citizenship, I performed a discourse analysis on the current citizenship guide *Discover Canada the Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* (developed in 2009) and the Oath of Citizenship text. This allowed a deeper understanding of how notions of Canadian citizenship have evolved through time (its origins, content, and major changes in history). Similar to the interpretive process used for interviews, after collection of these documents, I analyzed them in *NVivo*. The set of codes applied to analyze these documents were part of the Category 1 (themes related to the project's theorical framework and research questions) considering this data involved no human interaction. The discourse analysis of the Citizenship guide was not only performed using the *Nvivo* software but also using Chapnick's (2011) investigation/documentation of the historical evolution of Canadian citizenship guides. The author's framework allowed a direct comparison between the current Canadian citizenship guide and its predecessor *A look At Canada* (developed in 1995). I chose to analyze these citizenship guides as they are considered, by the Canadian government, the official study tool for the

[7] **Sample of codes- Category 1**(theoretical framework and research question): economic integration, social integration, cultural integration, multiculturalism, neoliberalism, ideal citizen, productivity, skill reinforcement, language abilities, citizenship guide, immigration policy.

[8] **Sample of codes- Category 2** (immigrants' /former COA employees' experiences and feelings): disappointment, satisfaction, exclusion, racism.

citizenship test/interview. It is important to analyze both the current and former citizenship guides considering *A look At Canada* was created by the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien whereas *Discover Canada* was developed during Stephan Harper's time in Office. This will specifically give insight on whether Canadian citizenship discourse, in these guides, has shifted according to the government in power.

In addition to this, a discourse analysis was performed on a corpus of material to better understand the COA program. This material included the COA website and documents that were retrieved through Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) request to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). Through my ATIP request, IRCC shared a PDF document of 560 pages used by the COA staff during orientation sessions (PowerPoint format), demographic characteristics of COA participants (within the last ten years), samples of orientation session surveys (filled out by participants), and finally the Evaluation of Overseas Orientation Initiatives (EOOI) conducted by Citizenship and immigration Canada (CIC)[9] in 2012. The discourse analysis was performed by first identifying key themes from the corpus of material. Secondly, I coded these themes by assigning attributes to specific units of analysis including words and paragraphs. Part of these discourse strands were analyzed using the *NVivo* software[10], however, a larger part was studied without this software considering the format of the documents that were shared by the IRCC were not compatible with the software (surveys, PowerPoints, graphics and tables). Moreover, I examined the structure of the material by noticing if particular sections overwhelmingly dealt with one discourse and by observing the order of the information in these documents (e.g., the order of PowerPoint slides from the orientation sessions).

It is important to recognize the limits and biases of the methodology applied to this project. Using a qualitative data analysis software allowed me to unveil the main research themes in the interview transcripts, the citizenship guide, the oath of citizenship text and part of the COA documents. However, I had to be aware of my bias while analyzing these documents, considering I used a pre-defined set of codes. Indeed, by solely focusing on their own hypothesis, qualitative researchers tend to pay less attention to other themes that may emerge during their analysis (Auerbach &

[9] The CIC is today known as IRCC.

[10] Also using the pre-defined set of codes from Category 1 (theoretical framework and research question).

Silverstein, 2003). Being aware of this issue beforehand, I tried my best to maintain an active awareness and openness to the emergence of different themes during my analysis. Indeed, overcoming this barrier required me to contentiously navigate between the set of codes, themes, theory and research questions while keeping in mind my potential to favour some themes over others. A second limit to my study was the small interview sample; ideally a larger number or participants (both IOM employees and COA participants) would have been recruited. Nonetheless, this study was able to mitigate this limitation through the integration of findings from the discourse analysis performed on the citizenship guide, the oath of citizenship text and the official COA program documents (ATIP). Research findings were solidified by drawing parallels between the semi-structured interviews and the discourse performed on these different forms of text. Finally, it is important to note how I only had access to a sample of COA material that was used in overseas orientations within the last ten years (2009-2019). Hence, it is not fully representative of the program's orientation sessions since it was first created in 1998. It crucial to recognize the limit in only having access to a portion of data, as analyzing a wider year range of data would have allowed me to observe changes in the COA's citizenship discourse through history.

Considering this project seeks to explore the multilayered process/notions of citizenship developed by the Canadian government, the methodology proposed above offers an international (COA program) and national (citizenship test/interview and oath of citizenship ceremonies) framework of analysis. This allows me to link international procedures of citizenship and analyze this discourse in three different stages. As noted above, I particularly focus on the COA program, as it is the most under-examined program related to immigrant citizenship education in Canada. Despite the information made publicly available by the COA program online, such as its website and scholarly articles, semi-structured interviews with former IOM employees and COA participants were still necessary to fill the gaps about these programs.

5. Research Findings: Citizenship & Canadian Immigration Procedures

As highlighted in the literature review, citizenship is multifaceted and can be divided into three main themes: rights, status and identity. Modern citizenship, resulting from democratic revolutions of the eighteenth century, has always been characterized by tensions between inclusion and exclusion (Joppke, 2008, Nassehi & Schroer, 1999). In order to create a sense of community, States build a national identity and a state culture that aims to unite and integrate individuals despite their different backgrounds (Shachar et al., 2017). However, this national identity can, in some cases, be exclusionary when the portrayal of an "ideal" citizen is unidirectional.

In order to explore the research question(s) and unveil the procedures adopted by the Canadian government through particular interventions related to the acquisition of citizenship the following section will first explore the Canadian citizenship discourse in the international sphere, through the COA per-arrival program. Subsequently, the national aspect of Canadian citizenship discourse will be explored through citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies. Finally, a general discussion will provide themes that have surfaced while analyzing this subject. The analysis reveals how the COA program and the citizenship guide (*Discover Canada*, 2009) are both strongly focused on the economic integration of newcomers while forgetting the importance of social integration. Canadian values and traditions are also imbedded in this citizenship discourse and the oath of citizenship in turn strengthens this discourse by reminding future citizens of their "duties". The citizenship gap and feelings of exclusion are revealed through the semi-structured interviews with immigrants. This analysis also demonstrates how multiculturalism is embedded in these citizenship programs; however, it is more a façade as argued below.

5.1 The COA Program: An International Ground for Canadian Citizenship Discourse

As previously highlighted, the COA program is today one of the largest pre-arrival orientation programs implemented by the IOM. Orientation sessions are offered to all categories of immigrants including refugees, federal skilled workers (FSW), family class immigrants and live in caregivers (IRCC 2012). Table 1 demonstrates how, over a six-year period, the largest

proportion of clients served by the COA program were FSWs (35.8%), followed by refugees (34.4%).

Table 3: Number of COA Participants, By Immigration Category (2005-2006/2010-2011)

Fiscal Year	Refugees		Federal Skilled Workers		Family Class		Live-in Caregivers		Total
2005-2006	2,912	22.2%	6,220	47.3%	2,262	17.2%	1,722	13.0%	13,203
2006-2007	3,625	26.2%	4,651	33.6%	2,528	18.2%	3,027	21.8%	13,909
2007-2008	4,374	29.9%	4,799	32.7%	2,452	16.7%	3,004	20.4%	14,708
2008-2009	5,295	40.0%	4,600	34.7%	2,241	16.8%	1,089	8.2%	13,317
2009-2010	5,558	40.3%	5,126	37.0%	2,052	14.8%	1,062	7.6%	13,890
2010-2011	6,412	48.9%	3,954	30.1%	1,524	11.6%	1,211	9.2%	13,192
Total	**28,176**	**34.4%**	**29,350**	**35.8%**	**13,059**	**15.9%**	**11,115**	**13.5%**	**82,218**

Source: IRCC (2012) "Evaluation of the Overseas Orientation Initiatives"

The COA program is founded on the notion that newcomers have a greater chance of successful integration in their county of settlement when "accurate information about the new culture and society is received before arrival" (IRCC, 2019). During orientation sessions, participants receive material such as handbooks, factsheets and workbooks, to deepen their knowledge about Canada. How is the Canadian citizenship discourse manifested through the COA and how does this "accurate information" shape the significance of being Canadian?

5.1.1 Economic Integration & "Becoming" Canadian: a COA Perspective

The discourse analysis performed on the COA website and official documents[11] reveals the Canadian government's focus on the economic integration of immigrants. Indeed, employment is considered, by the Canadian government, as an indicator for integration which explains the COA's strong emphasis on immigrants' economic integration. One of the main objectives of the COA program is to "increase [newcomers'] capacity to integrate the Canadian labour market" (COA, 2019). Concerned new immigrants become responsibilities of the state, like many high-income

[11] Official documents include: Orientation session presentations (PDF format), COA handbooks/factsheets, orientation session surveys (filled out by participants) and the 2012 Evaluation of Overseas Orientation Initiatives (IRCC)

countries accepting immigrants, economic integration becomes one of the COA program's main pillar. Part of this program's objective is to "increase their capacity to integrate the Canadian labour market" and to "maximize migrants' preparedness and equip them with [...] information to live and work in Canada" (COA, 2018). This illustrates how the program serves as a tool promoting immigrant skill utilization (Reitz, 2014). Immigration is a great tool to generate economic stimulus, hence it is no surprise that the Canadian government is strongly focusing on the economic integration of newcomers. Economically contributing to a host society almost becomes a way for immigrants to pay back the government for their resettlement.

The discourse analysis performed on COA sessions, given prior the arrival of immigrants to Canada, also confirms the attention given to the economic integration of immigrants. Although the presentations provide useful information for newcomers about Canada to help them adapt to their new country, a large section of these is dedicated to newcomers' economic integration. Indeed, the sections of the presentations addressing jobs in Canada were very detailed and included multiple video presentations[12]. The presentation also included information on how to look for a job, optimal resume and cover letter formats, interview tips and the importance in attending job fairs. Moreover, an exhaustive list of tips on how to find employment were included in the orientation; the section addressing advice during interviews states:

> "Never be late for an interview; dress appropriately; learn about the company; promote your abilities; talk about what you have done that related directly to the job you are applying for; ask questions about the job; eye contact with your interviewer is important; shake hands firmly; follow up your interview with a letter."

The discourse analysis revealed the main characteristics of an ideal neoliberal citizen communicated to newcomers by the Canadian government. Not only were themes of productivity and employment predominant, but the presentation also communicates how an ideal citizen possesses language abilities: "speaking English or French is essential". These language abilities are presented as an asset as can reinforces one's skills in the labour market. The orientation session

[12] I did not have access to these on the PDF document. However, the presence of detailed content (e.g. videos) in the sections addressing jobs demonstrates the priority given to newcomers' economic integration

also stressed on the importance of skill reinforcement: “you will better your chances of finding a job by learning new skills or improving skills you already have”.

In addition, there is an evident length and detail variation between sections addressing employment in Canada in comparison to sections focused on social integration. While the presentation includes multiple resources to find employment in Canada, and detailed explanations on Canadian labour markets, it omits to do the same in sections addressing health, education and immigrants’ social integration. Approximately twenty-five presentation slides address employment, while only six slides are dedicated to culture shock and details how to overcome this common issue among newcomers are overlooked. The section addressing employment also states:

> “When newcomers first come to Canada, they quickly get jobs that are basic or semi-skilled […] they earn money while they improve their English or French, learn Canadian ways and study to get the necessary qualifications as required in Canada. They then can move to skilled or professional jobs depending on the qualifications and availability of suitable positions.”

And,

> “You may have to take a lower paying job at first or even one outside your trade or profession. Be flexible about where you are willing to work. Some newcomers choose to create their own jobs by starting their own business”

This not only highlights the issue of non-recognition or devaluation of foreign degrees in Canada (Storen, 2010), but the active effort made by the government to fill basic jobs that are often undervalued by Canadians. Moreover, the neoliberal rationality (Brown, 2006) of the Canadian government is communicating market-oriented values to newcomers. Indeed, the program seems to be committed to introducing notions of self-reliance by encouraging newcomers to adopt a business mind-set. In fact, the of the COA presentations, specifically the order of the PowerPoint slides, revealed that Canadian employment and economy were amongst the first few themes addressed whereas sections concerning well-being of immigrants were placed in later slides. The structure of the text is an important element to consider in discourse analysis considering it helps create emphasis and build a narrative (Van Dijk, 2001). Keeping in mind that audience attention

is the highest at the start of a presentation (Young, 2006), the COA is strategically using this slot to highlight the economic integration of immigrants.

Although economic integration remains an important aspect to integration, it should not be the focal point of resettlement programs. There are various aspects to integration (social, economic political, cultural) and focusing predominantly on one aspect marginalizes other forms of integration (Hynie, 2018). In addition, immigrants' settlement narratives are widely diverse. For some individuals, economic integration is only fully reached after other forms of integration have been fulfilled. Indeed, social integration allows newcomers to fully participate in their communities and increases civic culture (Simmons, 1999), which in turn has the potential to increase employment among newcomers. The focus on economic integration can lead to emotions such as shame or guilt as newcomers may be seen as a failure until they are economically integrated. Moreover, immigrants tend to value social integration; in a 2016 COA survey administered to twenty-five family class immigrants and FSWs after a pre-arrival orientation session the top five most requested topics were social services (53.5%), health care (51.7%), and education (49.5%). Indeed, these newcomers would have liked COA facilitators to spend more time explaining these topics, which demonstrates how immigrants value these services as much as finding employment.

The COA orientation session also suggests that it is the responsibility of the immigrant to take charge of their career; slogans such as "it's up to you" and "let's get to work" are prevalent. This supports an individualist approach to economic resettlement despite how resettlement is seen as a public concern that requires settlement policies in Canada. This phenomenon indicates how a strong focus on economic integration, influenced by neoliberal ideologies, can encourage self-reliance and self-sufficient values, despite window-dressing policies framing resettlement and integration as shared social issues. The handbooks and factsheets provided to immigrants during the COA training follows a similar economic ideology. The central theme of resources provided to newcomers on the COA's website (under the "Newcomer Resources" section) is employment. Among the first documents listed on their resources page are: "Planning to Work in Canada?" and "Canada Job Bank". Again, supporting the notion that immigrants must be economically independent upon their arrival, without taking in consideration other aspects of integration or difficulties that newcomers face upon their arrival as stated by the interviewed participants bellow.

Newcomer textbooks developed by host countries are known for often maintaining the primacy of work (Eastmound, 2011) and the COA program is no exception. The COA pre-arrival initiative is part of Canadian immigration policy strategy to meet long/short-term economic objectives. This illustrates why FSWs are the main clients benefiting from the program (35.8%) and why live-in caregivers are also included in the program as they represent a flexible labour force that can potentially fill market shortages (Krahn, 2014).

When asked whether citizenship is a core principle addressed in the COA sessions, an IOM employee that facilitated COA training sessions explains:

> "I think that when we are talking to people about contributing to society through employment, engaging in education, being a good civil citizen, it goes beyond that piece of paper you get at the end. For that reason, I consider it [citizenship], and more directly, Canadian principals as the core of the training."

This discourse is strongly focused on the economic contribution of immigrants and how they can be of value to their host society. This implies that newcomers must be hard-working and fulfil their duties and responsibilities to be considered as "good civil citizens". The analysis of the interviews conducted with both IOM employees confirmed that "Canadian values" and the "Candian way of life" are central elements in the COA training especially in sections addressing employment and the Canadian labour market. When asked about ways the COA program addresses citizenship, a former COA employee explains:

> "We [do] talk about the expectations so how to work towards citizenship. But also, that that's something that is down the track and become a Canadian doesn't automatically happen when you get that piece of paper. It's a couple of years later, when you are *contributing to society*. So, we talked about values and principles and how you can apply for citizenship at X date"

Therefore, the notions of citizenship presented by the COA are closely linked to themes linked to one's productivity. In fact, notions of economic independence become instilled in the figure of the "good" or "ideal" citizen. This simultaneously creates the image of a "failed" citizens and newcomers fall under this category if they do not comply with particular conditions based on

"ideal" citizen portrayal. When incapable of achieving national ideals of citizenship and economic independence, newcomers can feel rejected from their national community. Indeed, feelings of disappointment were a common theme among interviewees. Participant 2 explains he realized he did not feel welcome in Canada right away:

> "[I asked myself] why weren't we told that we really are not welcomed here? […] finding a job was very difficult. Because of this I felt like an outsider"

Moreover, themes of disappointment were expressed by both participant 2 and 3 when the latter explained the difficulties they faced while leaving their old professions for new ones. Indeed, difficulties in accessing Canadian labour market is common among newcomers (Wilkinson & Garcera, 2017) and when employment and economic effectiveness hold a significant place in citizenship discourse, immigrants can easily feel excluded from society. This creates a "citizenship gap" (Nyers, 2004; Brysk & Shafir, 2004) as notions of belonging and economic participation are associated with the Canadian citizenship discourse, which ultimately creates a divide between "citizens" and "non-citizens" and in turn reinforces the "us" versus "them" ideology (Appollonia & Reich, 2008; Jackson & Parkes, 2006).

The 2012 Evaluation of Overseas Orientation Initiatives conducted by CIC, today known as the IRCC, made recommendations to develop a strategy in order to harmonize its overseas orientation services with relevant departmental policies and programs. In addition, the EOOI suggests the implementation of a clear structure of roles and responsibilities and accountabilities in order to ensure effective decision-making between IRCC branches and federal/provincial governments. Another central suggestion made in this Evaluation is for the IRCC to implement a consistent approach in pre-departure orientation sessions, as they can widely vary considering the worldwide scope of the program. When analyzing the COA program, the EOOI found evidence demonstrating that "pre-departure orientation helped individuals gain knowledge about life in Canada" (IRCC, 2012 p.37). However, these surveys were only administered to individuals immediately after the COA sessions and no follow-ups were made with immigrants once they resettled in Canada. Moreover, "knowledge about life in Canada" is, as demonstrated above, highly focused on the economic integration of newcomers.

The strong focus on immigrants' economic integration through the COA program demonstrates the Canadian government's active efforts to transform individuals into productive citizens, portraying the "ideal" neoliberal citizen as one contributing to the economy. Hence, this program is part of a larger set of policies that are aimed at socializing newcomers into a neoliberal model of citizenship. Considering the government continues to contract the IOM to offer the COA program, demonstrates its satisfaction with the program. Indeed, a neoliberal vision is shared between the IOM and the Canadian government which ensures continuous collaboration between these parties. Neoliberalism strategies encourage individuals to be mobile in order to maximize human capitalization (Kalm, 2010). Notions of multiculturalism are also an underlying component in the portrayed image of the "ideal" citizen, as the next section will demonstrate.

5.1.2 Canadian Identity & Multiculturalism Through the COA Program

A fundamental element of Canadian society that is largely promoted by its government is multiculturalism. The purpose of a multicultural policy is to preserve individuals' cultural freedom through recognition of diverse ethnic groups (Lee, 2013). The COA program is highly embedded in notions of multiculturalism which demonstrates how the Canadian government is taking active measures to ensure newcomers are made aware of this political philosophy, even prior their arrival on Canadian territory. The significance granted by the Canadian government towards multiculturalism is revealed through the discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews conducted in this research. The former employees that were interviewed in this research, confirmed that multiculturalism is a "core principle" of the COA. The orientation is structured in a way that promotes equality and respect among different cultures in Canada and suggests that cultural plurality is a central principle in Canadian citizenship discourse.

Despite the cultural and linguistic diversity of immigrants that attend COA sessions, this program is displaying unidirectional image of Canadian culture and identity through the promotion of specific neoliberal Canadian values and responsibilities including the knowledge of an official language and being politically, economically and socially active in Canadian society. Barriers to citizenship are also stated during the orientation session; the COA explains how citizenship will not be granted if immigrants fail to comply with certain criteria. Canadian identity, through the COA pre-arrival program, is therefore constructed with a top-down approach and multiculturism

does not erase the existing power dynamics in a society. Immigrants who attended the COA orientation sessions also confirmed, through semi-structured interviews, that the core principal around which was based the orientation session was multiculturalism. While describing the workbook activities carried out by COA staff, participant 4 explains:

> "Some of the exercises were trying to highlight multiculturalism but in an odd way. In one of the exercises for instance, there were five or six portraits of people from different ethnic backgrounds (white, black, indigenous) and the question was: "who amongst these do you think is Canadian?

Although the exercises in the COA training workbook want to highlight Canada's cultural openness, the orientation still fails to address social, cultural and economic challenges that may be faced by newcomers due to racial inequalities. As argued by Banks (2020), structurally excluded groups including "ethnic, racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups" (p.154) usually experience a "failed citizenship" (p.155) considering the state does not view them as a valued member of society. The newcomers that were interviewed for this project indeed in seem to experience a "failed citizenship" as feelings of exclusion was a recurring theme. In addition, the notion of inclusiveness promoted during the orientation session is sometimes inconsistent with immigrants' lived experiences in Canada. According to COA Participant 4, the COA orientation:

> "made it sound like everybody is welcome [in Canada] […] The core principal around which the entire seminar was ran is multiculturalism. How everybody is welcome and how there is no racism […] Personally, I have had a few xenophobic and homophobic incidents here. The program doesn't ever mention that you can experience this in even Canada"

By providing an idealistic and multicultural image of Canada, the COA program fails to recognize the existing power dynamics and inequalities within a nation. Despite claiming how cultural groups can retain and foster their identities, there are still multiple barriers that prevent immigrants to fully participate in Canadian society (Lee, 2013). When asked how Canadian citizens were portrayed, participant 2 confirmed that it was in a "multicultural way" and added it was "a little bit too sugar quoted" considering their lived experience in Canada. The dichotomy between "real

Canadians" and "non-Canadians", hence "full" or "partial" citizens, is still present despite Canada being labelled as a cultural mosaic (Abu-Laban, 2017). This undoubtedly creates social exclusion, which the following section will explore.

5.1.3 Social Exclusion Through the COA's Citizenship Discourse

The image of an "ideal" Canadian citizen is, thus far, embedded in economic effectiveness and multicultural principles. Although "inclusive" and "multicultural" labels are often associated with Canadian immigration/citizenship policies, based on the way it is communicated to newcomers through the COA program, Canadian identity is not a free choice. Participants in this study faced multiple integration challenges during their resettlement which led to social exclusion due to a white-dominant and mostly monolingual Canada, elements that were not covered during the COA orientation session. Furthermore, the COA program does not explicitly acknowledge the importance of maintaining one's cultural or linguistic heritage or the different cultural networks that exist in Canada. The content of the COA program suggests that the Canadian government is attempting to shape immigrants' identities to conform to Canada, which leads me to question whether programs like the COA are in reality a tool promoting assimilation instead of integration. The former occurring when a refugee experiences a complete loss of his personal identity and fully adopts the cultural norms/practices of his host society, and the latter implying that one's cultural identity is retained (Berry, 1989).

The COA program can be seen as a larger political tool aimed to influence a national Canadian identity and encourage the assimilation of subjects even prior their entry to Canada. While the COA program presents important information about Canada and ultimately equips newcomers with tools to help them transition into their new lives, citizenship is still at the core of the program. Indeed, Canadian citizenship is framed as the ultimate goal for newcomers and measures to acquire citizenship (from permanent residency status to full citizenship) are highlighted in the orientation session. By constructing individuals as national subjects, it reinforces binary division within a society; "citizens" versus "excluded others". This division is also present in the COA program. As previously mentioned, the COA sessions can last between three and five days according to the type of immigrants attending the orientation. While federal skilled workers, family class immigrants and live-in caregivers receive a one-day training, refugees' orientation sessions last longer. The

difference in the length of the program between immigrants suggests that refugees are seen as a lesser group of individuals needing more guidance to become "Canadian". In addition, the IRCC claims that "priority [in accessing the COA program] is given to resettled refugees" (IRCC, 2012) which, again, reinforces the idea that refugees require more attention and training in order to become "complete" Canadian individuals. This being said, it is important to note the exceptional conditions that create the status of "refugee" (war, persecution, etc.) which can require a tailored approach to training from the host country. Indeed, when compared to economic immigrants who qualify via the points system, refugees resettle in Canada in more difficult circumstances. The government of Canada ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which recognizes the right of individuals to seek asylum[13] and sets out the responsibilities of host countries for resettlement (UNHCR, 2020). Despite the Canadian government's humanitarian engagement, it is important to note how refugees still represent the smallest percentage of immigrants in Canada, despite the recent intake of Syrian refugees initiated by the Liberal Party of Canada in 2015-2016. Among recent immigrants (between 2011 and 2016), 11.6% were refugees, whereas 60.3% were economic migrants and 26.8% were family sponsored (Statistics Canada, 2016). This reflects how the Canadian government's acceptance or rejection of immigrants can be determined by economic, political and humanitarian factors (Dirks, 1997), however, economically productive immigrants are mostly favoured (Lawor & Tolley, 2017).The analysis of the semi-structured interviews also revealed how participants found it strange that COA facilitators, employed through the IOM, were not immigrants themselves. Indeed, some COA facilitators are Canadians, whereas others can be from the country in which the COA was being administered. Participant 3 describes:"[the COA facilitators] were telling us what to expect, but how can they relate if they are not immigrants?".

Regardless of the diverse nationalities that deliver the COA program to newcomers, they follow a similar protocol and receive training (from Canadian IOM staff) (COA, 2019). When asked the following question: "Considering how the COA program is facilitated by the International

[13] An asylum seeker is an individual who solicits international protection "whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed" (UNHCR, 2020). It is important to specify how all refugees who participate to the COA program are entering Canada via resettlement, which means they are being transferred "from an asylum country to another State [Canada] that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent settlement".

Organization for Migration, not every COA facilitator is Canadian (or has ever been to Canada). Do you believe this creates distortions between what the Canadian government wishes to accomplish through the program and how it is delivered on the field?", IOM employee 1 responded:

> "Not all COA staff are Canadian but they have been to Canada, they go there for intense training it's part of the program. I think what's important to mention is that part of the program, and the Canadian government pays for that, is that they get people to come to Canada […] there is a global that runs every two years and brings together all the trainers and facilitators around the world. It's quite an intense training and we visit centres that work with migrants, the different areas like health and education, we try to engage and meet with the partners in Canada. Personally, I was at an advantage because I've lived it and it's very familiar to me, so I don't think that I've learnt about Canada [during this global training]".

Hence, it seems as though there is a difference of perception between the IOM staff's ability to relate to newcomers and the experience newcomers who participated in the COA. As previously highlighted, the participants interviewed in this study did not feel they could relate to the IOM facilitators considering none of them had lived an immigrant experience (specifically in Canada). Despite not all IOM staff having lived an immigrant experience, these members present a similar set of Canadian value to newcomers. The IOM is indeed contracted by the Canadian government and the COA program is based on Canadian principles and values. The COA is a globally run program and to mitigate disparities between COA training sessions, the COA program initiates IOM staff training, with the support of the Canadian government. Therefore, the IRCC, through the COA program ensures that Canadian values are delivered in a consistent way. Based on the analysis above, this reproduced a unidirectional national identity which encourages the assimilation of subjects even prior their entry to Canada. The country's colonial history, and therefore its white normative identity, is entrenched in these Canadian values (Lee, 2013) which are in turn instilled to newcomers through pre-arrival programs. IOM employee 2 who worked with the COA in Beirut and Istanbul supports these claims; this employee believes that the COA program is built on colonial values considering "it was created by white Anglo-Saxons" who did

not live the immigrant experience. This interviewee stressed: “I believe in pre-arrival but not in the form of the COA”.

By failing to include staff members who have lived the immigrant experience, the COA program unavoidably embodies a white Anglo-Saxon ideology. Moreover, it ignores the social exclusions that can be present in a society. In addition, the program claims to provide “accurate information” (IRCC, 2019) to newcomers to facilitate their transition in Canada. However, the accuracy of this information can be questioned if those who are presenting it have not lived the immigrant experience. Providing factual information about Canada (e.g., weather, geography) is not a cause for concern. What is worrisome, however, is how Canada’s colonial history is only partially highlighted in the COA sessions and modern forms of discrimination are not mentioned. Although the orientation session’s purpose is to assist newcomers during their transition in Canada, presenting a solely “idealistic” view of integration is not an accurate representation of this experience. It can, as demonstrated in the section above, cause feelings of deception among newcomers. Failing to address the challenges faced by newcomers could be linked to the lack of immigrant staff members in the COA. Admittedly, every newcomer has a different immigration story, nonetheless they often share common integration experiences especially within their first few years (Kalich, Heinemann & Ghahari, 2016). Hence, by omitting to include this immigrant experience narrative in their orientation sessions, the COA program is not providing completely accurate information.

5.2 A National Framework of Canadian Citizenship Discourse

Citizenship guides offer prospective citizens general illustrations of values and identity that create a national community and intend to help newcomers learn about Canada and prepare for their citizenship test. *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship* developed in 2009 by Harper’s Conservative government replaced its predecessor *A look at Canada,* created by the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien in 1995. The goal was to update and improve the previous guide while further promoting Canadian values (Tonon & Raney, 2013). The discourse analysis performed on these citizenship guides and the Oath of Citizenship text unveiled the national citizenship discourse communicated by the Canadian government to newcomers.

5.2.1 Neo-liberal Ideologies & Conservative Values

The discursive analysis of *Discover Canada* demonstrates its blatant focus the on neo-liberal ideologies. The "Rights and Responsibilities" section of the guide emphasize on the economy and individual self-reliance. This section clearly states that individuals have the "full responsibility" to economically contribute to the economy; "getting a job" and "working hard" are considered as "important Canadian values" (Discover Canada, 2009, p. 9). Later in the citizenship guide, a history of Canada's economy is provided and labelled as a nation of trade. The three main types of industries in Canada are also specified (service, manufacturing and natural resources). When comparing *Discover Canada* to the previous citizenship guide (*A Look at Canada*), variants of the words "work" and "responsibility" appear multiple times in the former compared to the latter. Indeed, the Liberal guide used the word "work" 17 times and "responsibility" 9 times, while in *Discover Canada* the word "work" appears 22 times and "responsibility" 41 times (Tonon & Raney, 2013). As Shapaizman (2010) describes "the privatized Canadian immigrant policy was designed for the self-reliant immigrant" (p.20) considering neo-liberal concepts of personal responsibility and self-sufficiency are a predominant theme in immigration policies. These in turn influence citizenship education tools including citizenship guides.

The current citizenship guide (*Discover Canada* 2009) also advances a more conservative set of social and economic values. Its high emphasis on the responsibilities of individuals and the rule of law is apparent. *Discover Canada* strongly values disciplined and hard-working individuals (Chapnick, 2011). Considering conservatism tends to focus on tradition, it explains why the Canadian citizenship guide offers substantial historical facts including Canadian military history. In addition, within the first few pages, the citizenship guide encourages military service. It states how joining the army is not compulsory, but it is a "noble way to contribute to Canada" (Discover Canada, 2009, p. 9). When the citizenship guide was first released, in November 2011, it omitted to address rights of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities and it was only after receiving public criticism that the guide was updated (in March 2011) (Tonon & Raney, 2013). The initial neglect of including LGBT rights in Canada demonstrate typical conservative value towards gender. Another conservative trend that is evident in this citizenship guide is how it spends little time recognizing minority groups in Canada including Aboriginal Peoples, Acadian and Quebecois populations. Aboriginal Peoples are labelled as one of the three "founding peoples"

of Canada, with the French and British. In the citizenship guide's historical overview of Canada, the systematic discrimination faced by Aboriginal Peoples is only briefly highlighted. In addition, the guide portrays this group in a positive way, highlighting:

> "Aboriginal peoples enjoy renewed pride and confidence, and have made significant achievements in agriculture, the environment, business and the arts" (*Discover Canada*, 2009, p.11).

As though to claim that how this group of individuals is no longer discriminated, when in fact, despite the progress Canada has made since the colonial area, systematic discrimination still exists within the political sphere (Hanrahan, 2017; Miller, 2017). This discrimination the political, economic, and socio-cultural spheres in Canada. While depicting the official languages in Canada, *Discover Canada* briefly acknowledges the Acadian and Quebecois populations as being the decedents of French colonists. Nonetheless, these minority populations are only mentioned in a few paragraphs and the overall discourse analysis revealed a strong focus on Anglo-Saxon history. The same observation was made on the mention of black communities in Canada. *Discover Canada* only briefly mentions how black Loyalists, during the XVIIIth century, fled the oppression of the American revolution resettled in Canada. A larger section of the citizenship guide is however dedicated to the abolition of slavery. The Guide proudly states:

> "In 1793, Upper Canada, led by Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, a Loyalist military officer, became the first province in the Empire to move toward abolition […] Thousands of slaves escaped from the United States, followed "the North Star" and settled in Canada" (Discover Canada, 2009, p.15)

Indeed, this represented great progress for black communities, and it makes up an important part in Canada's history. However, only highlighting the abolition of slavery without addressing the multiple challenges faced by this minority group since then (Maynard, 2017) is also contributing to the idealistic image of Canada. This ignores the fact that racialization and systemic racial discrimination are still pressing issues in Canada. Racial inequality and socio-economic exclusions are embedded in legislative, administrative and judicial spheres in Canada (Sheppard, 2017).

Indeed, “racialized groups within Canada are victims of structural and systemic racial inequality in a country that prides itself as a protector of human rights and promoter of equality” (National Anti-Racism Council of Canada, 2007, p.7). Similarly to the COA program, the citizenship discourse in the *Discover Canada* is strongly focused on Canada’s multicultural ideology while ignoring the socio-economic and cultural inequalities in the country.

5.2.2 Citizenship Discourse As a Nation Building Tool

Although *Discover Canada* (2009) introduced more conservative values, Chapnick (2011) suggests that the guide has not significantly changed compared to its predecessor. The common element that can be highlighted between both study guides are neo-liberal values. The extension of these ideologies between the previous and the new citizenship guide demonstrates how core Canadian principles are persistent through time despite the change of governments. Considering how the citizenship guide has not been modified since 2009, despite the election of a Liberal government, also supports this claim. This suggests that despite changes in immigration policies and programs introduced by different ruling parties, citizenship discourse in study guides remains (relatively) similar. For this reason, citizenship guides can be seen as a nation-building tool that construct a country’s narrative, regardless of the ruling party. This narrative is founded by using specific historical facts, symbols and mythologies and its purpose to shape future citizens’ ideology about Canada and transform them into “perfect” citizens. Immigrants taking citizenship tests have to essentially prove they worthy of acquiring the “Canadian citizen” title (Abu-Laban, 2017).

A second common theme, present between the former and the current citizenship guide, is multiculturalism. Despite the conservatism that was introduced in *Discover Canada*, ideologies linked to multiculturalism and pluralist philosophies are still displayed in the citizenship guide. Multiculturalism is claimed to be:

> “[a] fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity. Canadians celebrate the gift of one another’s presence and work hard to respect pluralism and live in harmony” (Discover Canada, 2009, p. 8).

The guide claims that diverse groups make up today's Canadian society but indicates how these groups share a common "Canadian identity". This collective identity is however based on obligations and duties that are expected of future citizens which include obeying the law, taking responsibility to find proper income, serving on a jury and being civically engaged through federal, provincial or local elections (*Discover Canada*, 2009). Hence, citizenship discourse becomes a nation building tool inspired by neoliberal values. I therefore argue that the conventional theory (normative discourse of citizenship based on liberal democratic values) explored in the theoretical framework, can be rejected as Canadian citizenship regimes are not yet egalitarian. Although I do not argue that these regimes are influenced by racism, I allege that the neoliberal ideal citizen can indirectly support unequal practices towards newcomers, which can in turn support racist practices in Canadian citizenship regimes. For instance, a growing number of democratic states require immigrants, regardless of their socio-economic conditions or education, to pass language tests in order to become citizens (Shohamy, 2009). Imposing proficiency in the national/official language(s) of a state is a "biased, discriminating and unattainable [requitement] that can lead to invalid decisions about the rights of people in societies" (Shohamy, 2009, p. 45). In addition, providing points for language proficiency to applicants will undoubtedly favour some and disadvantage others. Therefore, these disadvantages can be still be present even in a society that claims fully embracing multiculturalism.

Using the narrative of a "Canadian identity" allows the Canadian government to justify state-sanctioned actions that influence decisions linked to citizenship. This research ultimately demonstrates how the state holds the power to determine what values and principles are deemed important for the country. The results of this study are therefore in line with the current literature analyzing Canadian state culture (Wilton, 2010). My analysis helps us understand this dynamic in a deeper way: the advancement of Canadian values and the search of productive immigrants is part of a larger international screening process based on neoliberal ideologies. Canadian citizenship discourse is therefore crafted in the international field through the COA program and this discourse is part of larger set of migration management strategies conducted by the IOM. The focus on economic assets and human capital in Canadian pre-arrival programs demonstrates the government's active efforts in implementing neoliberal ideologies in immigrants, prior their arrival in Canada. Hence, this study confirms the role of neoliberalism in managing migration as it only

grants permanent residency (hence citizenship) to immigrants that seem productive and self-reliant. Moreover, my study reveals that notions of economic independence are present even with refugees, despite the Canadian government claiming to welcome them for humanitarian purposes. Citizenship discourse allows the Canadian government to determine who is included, and simultaneously excluded, of the national community. By constructing an "us" (Canadian citizens) the Canadian government is creating an "other" category (non-citizens), which perpetuates a dichotomous divide of society and leads to exclusionary practices. It is important to note how exclusionary practices can still be perpetuated and feeling immigrants can still feel alienated from society despite having obtained citizenship (Koning, 2019). This phenomenon is linked to systematic inequalities which are present in the Canadian political, socio-economic and cultural spheres (Hanrahan, 2017).

5.2.3 Oath of Citizenship Ceremony

The oath of citizenship ceremony is a legal and symbolic event embodying the last step before officially acquiring Canadian citizenship. Applicants become Canadian after affirming their allegiance to Canada (specifically the Queen) and signing the Oath of Citizenship (Government of Canada, 2020). The oath of citizenship is as follows:

> "I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada, and fulfill my duties as a Canadian citizen."

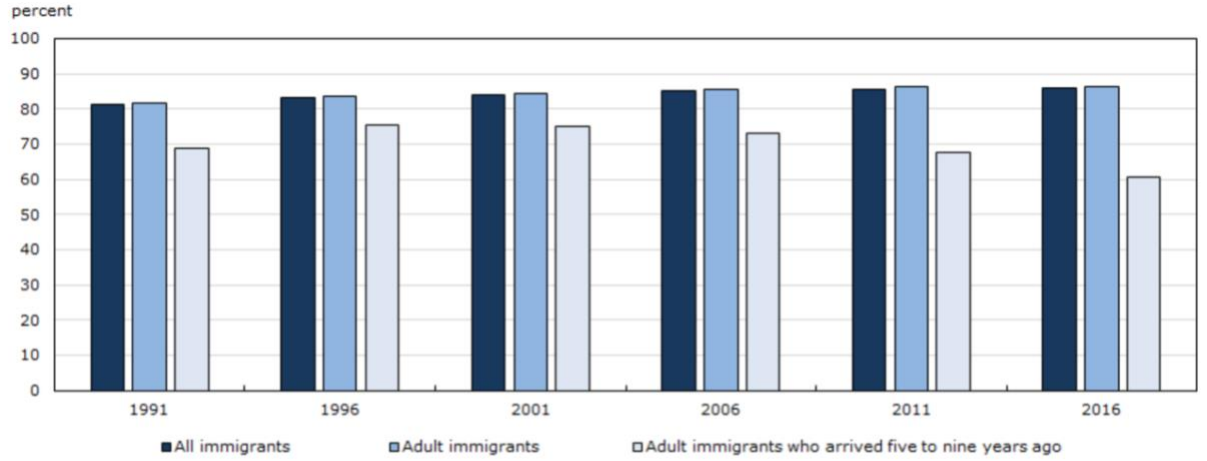
The three main pillars of the current oath are: (1) Queen Elizabeth the Second (2) Canadian law and (3) duties as a Canadian citizen. By publicly declaring the oath, the Canadian government ensures applicants are ready to incorporate and internalize Canadian values and traditions. Despite its symbolic character, the oath of citizenship ceremony holds significant meaning as it reminds the applicants of the Christian and British traditions that historically founded Canada. In addition, pleading allegiance to the Queen, is indirectly supporting an institution that is against democracy and considers individuals as subjects rather than citizens. Hence, the predominant discourse in the Oath of citizenship text, similarly to the citizenship guide, is how immigrants must comply to a

uniform Canadian culture (e.g., the economic and political contributions to Canadian society, knowledge of one of the official languages and develop a Canadian pride). Once more, this demonstrates the dichotomy between promoting multiculturalism and requiring immigrants to abide to a set of rules in order to obtain citizenship. The current oath also fails to recognize the existence First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples. In 2019, the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship (Ahmed Hussen) introduced Bill C-99: a proposed change to the current Oath of Citizenship in order "to include clear reference to the rights of Indigenous peoples" (IRCC, 2019). This reform is part of Canada's commitment to reconciliation with First Nations; however, it is important to be conscious that slightly modifying the Oath does not erase the historical repression lived by Indigenous peoples in Canada. In addition, the oath stresses the "duties" of Canadian citizens that are in line with the duties stated in the citizenship guide. The oath of citizenship does not explicitly state these duties, but similarly to the citizenship guide these include: the economic independence, jury duty, civic engagement). The Canadian government expects future citizens to abide by these laws and duties and to demonstrate, during their stay in Canada, their economic contribution.

5.2.4 Citizenship Rates in Canada

After having analyzed the different citizenship education measures implemented by the Canadian government, it is pertinent to observe citizenship rates in Canada. Although, among Western countries, Canada holds one of the highest citizenship rates "evidence indicates that the rate has been falling among recent immigrants to Canada" (Hou & Picot, 2019). Indeed, the overall increase of Canadian citizenship between the '90s and 2016 is due to immigrants that have been settled in Canada between 21 and 30 years. The citizenship rate of those in Canada for five years decreased from 68.1% to 43% between 1996 and 2016 (see Table 4) (Hou & Picot, 2019).

Table 4: Citizenship Rates of Immigrants Who Met the Minimum Residency Requirements



Note: The minimum residency requirement was three years from the time of the 1991 Census up until the time of the 2011 National Household Survey, but four years at the time of the 2016 Census. Adult immigrants are individuals aged 18 and older.
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 and 2016 censuses of population, and 2011 National Household Survey.

Source: Hou, F., & Picot, G. (2019)

This decrease can be linked to the changes in immigration policies and the rigid construction of citizenship discourse communicated by the Canadian government and imposed to newcomers. It is this particular discourse that allows the Canadian government to exclude applicants from the national community. In 2011, approximately 6,042,200 foreign-born individuals in Canada were qualified to obtain Canadian citizenship, however, only 85% (5,175,100) of them were granted citizenship (Statistics Canada, 2011). It is evident that variation exists among each citizenship applications and that certain citizenship restrictions do exist (e.g., prohibited individuals) however, it is crucial to observe the link between citizenship rates and Canadian citizenship discourse. Indeed, citizenship rates are higher among immigrants who are the closest to the image of the "ideal" citizen. This demonstrates how citizenship discourse portrayed by the Canadian government, through its international and national immigration programs, is a strong factor in accepting or rejecting immigrants. First there are significant differences between the citizenship rate of immigrants that have official language abilities (e.g., English or French as a mother tongue) compared to those who do not have these skills (Statistics Canada, 2019). Moreover, levels of education and income also impact citizenship rates. Indeed Hou and Picot (2019) noticed a "greater decline in the rate among immigrants with a relatively low income, a low level of education, and poor knowledge of English or French, and little change in the citizenship rate among immigrants with high income, a high level of education, and command of English and French". Hence, the

most advantaged group of immigrants are individuals who are economically independent and can be productive for Canada. The Canadian government strongly values post-secondary education considering immigrants with a diploma have a higher chance of getting employed. However, educated immigrants' credentials are usually not recognized, which leads them to occupy jobs for which they are overqualified, or to continue their education in order to work in their area of expertise (Wassermann, Fujishiro & Hoppe, 2017). Regardless of these two scenarios, the working or studying immigrants are contributing to the Canadian economy. Hence, Canadian citizenship discourse not only determines the acceptance/rejection of immigrants in the country but continues to shape their lives once resettled in Canada as they face social exclusion.

5.3 Discussion: International and National Implications of the Canadian Citizenship Discourse

Based on this analysis, it is evident that notions of Canadian citizenship are a multilayered procedure first transmitted to newcomers in the international sphere through the COA program and continue to be communicated in a national context, through the Canadian citizenship test and the oath of citizenship ceremonies. Canadian citizenship discourse in the national and international levels are part of a larger set of policies, imbedded in biopolitics, that are aimed to socialize newcomers and transform them into "ideal citizens" (Bloemraad, Korteweg, Yurdakul, 2008) who are productive for the Canadian economy.

When comparing the COA program and the citizenship guide *Discover Canada*, many similarities arise. Considering the COA program and the citizenship guide are both immigrant citizenship education programs, they share the same values. Indeed, they both strongly focus neo-liberal values and on the economic integration of immigrants. In addition, both programs promote characteristics of ideal citizens such as education and language proficiency. Although one may think it is too early to promote, in a detailed manner, Canadian values to immigrants prior their arrival, the participants interviewed in this project confirm that the COA program covered these during orientation sessions. When asked to describe how themes of citizenship were addressed during the COA session, participant 4 confirms: "I remember that very well, they described the conditions immigrants must meet, including the language [criteria] before obtaining citizenship". Multiculturalism is also a central theme in both the COA program and the citizenship guide,

however my analysis revealed that Canadian immigrant citizenship education does not explicitly highlight the importance of maintaining one's cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, cultural pluralism and multicultural practices can be considered as decorative policies that ignore existing power dynamics in a society. This finding is therefore in line with the literature analyzing this issue (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002; Abu-Laban, 2017; Bantink & Kymlicka 2010 Moosa-Mitha, 2016). Although the COA program and the citizenship guide hold many similarities, it is important to note a slight difference between both programs. While the citizenship guide promotes neo-conservative values, the COA program does so less explicitly. Indeed, the COA program promotes the rights and responsibilities of Canadian immigrants however, contrary to the citizenship guide, the pre-arrival program does not put emphasis on Canadian tradition, historical facts and the importance of military service.

The rise on neoliberal ideology in Canada that began in the '80s (Giroux, 2018) impacted immigration policies and programs. This ideology is what pushed the Canadian government to expand its pool of immigrants when the country was in need of labour force. Indeed, the Canadian government applies a market-oriented rationality (Brown,2006), to its immigration policies and programs. Privatization and reduction of social spending not only has an impact on immigrants once established in Canada (e.g., fewer social services), but these neoliberal implications are also indirectly present in the citizenship discourse stressing the need for newcomers to be economically independent and identify this as a core responsibility of citizens. Canadian citizenship discourse also seems to be influenced by liberal assimilationist conceptions, visible through multiculturalist policies. Indeed, through its citizenship discourse, the government is promoting an overarching set of ideals, values and goals to a diversity of immigrants. By claiming we are all equal and promoting multiculturalism, it allows the government to ignore the differences and inequalities present in a society (Jansen, 2013). This project confirms that the Canadian government is presenting a singular image of Canadian citizenship and neglecting the importance of social integration of immigrants (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007; Abele & Stasiulis, 1989; Vang & Chang, 2019). Market mediated citizenship regimes truly values ideas of self-reliance and self-sufficiency while constructing the image of the "ideal". Indeed, neoliberal ideologies in immigrations policies becomes an area where states can reassert its authority on national subjects. However, this results in multiple forms of social inequalities considering citizenship is " is used by states to manage people in arbitrary ways

and thus represents a violation of basic civic and human rights that reinforces and perpetuates social classes and creates terminal 'second class people'" (Shohamy, 2009, p. 45).

My analysis revealed how the current citizenship discourse though the COA, the citizenship guide (*Discover Canada* 2009) and the oath of citizenship ceremony is more in line with formal citizenship despite portraying a substantive citizenship. The current Canadian citizenship discourse promises, through citizenship education programs, the equality of rights and opportunities and life conditions for its new immigrants namely through its multiculturalism. However, this thesis reveals how Canadian citizenship discourse is manly focused on a traditional form of citizenship (formal citizenship) considering it is centered on the rights and obligations of individuals in the political community. A central element of substantive citizenship is the membership in a community (Marshall, 1950). However, because of the systematic inequalities, historically part of Canada's legislative, administrative and judicial environments, newcomers cannot become full members of the Canadian community. Indeed, a citizenship gap can still be present despite the acquisition of citizenship by immigrants (Banks, 2020). The different procedures linked to the acquisition of citizenship and who is (un)able to become a citizen "reveals ideals of citizenship, membership and statehood in specific states, and how the nation/state community is imagined" (Anderson, Shutes & Walker, 2014, p.8). Bearing this in mind, it becomes evident that the Canadian government values a more traditional form of citizenship.

Similar observations were made while applying Banks (2020) framework of analysis- (1) failed citizenship; (2) recognized citizenship; (3) participatory citizenship; and (4) transformative citizenship. Bank's analytical framework is specifically designed for individuals from different cultural environments. Hence, it is pertinent to apply it to the Canadian citizenship education measures as they too are designed for newcomers that have may have different cultural environments. When applying Bank's framework of analysis, it becomes evident that Canadian citizenship educational programs in the international and national frameworks portray both a "recognized citizenship" and a "participatory citizenship". Indeed, Canadian citizenship education programs promise to newcomers a full inclusion in society. Citizenship education programs highlight that every citizen is a valued member with full rights and equal opportunities. However, the lived experience of immigrants, as revealed through the semi-structured interviews,

demonstrate how these newcomers live a "failed citizenship" as they feel excluded from society. Banks (2020) highlights how "marginalized and structurally excluded ethnic, racial, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups experience failed citizenship because they are denied many of the rights of full citizenship and consequently develop com- plex identities and ambivalent attachments to the nation-state" (p.154). The individuals and/or groups are structurally excluded from socio-political systems and their participation to polity is therefore lessened (Banks, 2020; Cho, 1999; Morales & Giugni, 2011). Moreover, Canadian citizenship education measures strictly emphasize on the rights and obligations of citizens instead of promoting moral principles that go beyond laws and conventions. Despite celebrating multiculturalism, the Canadian citizenship discourse does not fully recognize cultural rights of its citizens, considering it is mainly centered on the liberal assimilationist conceptions (e.g., economic contribution, citizenship duties).

This creates feelings of exclusion for immigrants, even after having obtained citizenship. In fact, new Canadians can feel like they don't belong to the national identity, since they do not meet the criteria of "ideal citizens". In the context of immigration, social exclusion can be operationalized through material, legal, and discursive dimensions. However, legal exclusions are usually linked to material exclusions (Samers & Collyer, 2016). These can include exclusions from financial institutions, educational systems, waged employment, adequate house, health and social services and even leisure spaces such as parks (Samers & Collyer, 2016). The socio-spacial exclusion of immigrants can be considered as cultural marginalization (Fangen, 2010) as they are seen as the "other" incapable of assimilating or integrating due to their cultural differences. As a result, immigrants can be trapped in this marginalized socio-spacial dimension which inhibits them from developing into emancipated citizens that have the ability to exercise their full substantive rights.

The current immigrant citizenship education offered through Canadian programs and policies is far away from being a "transformative citizenship", the latter allows "citizens take action to promote social justice even when their actions violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws, conventions, or structures" (Banks, 2014, p. 9). I argue that building social cohesion and a national community with a diversity of citizens must go beyond simply highlighting multiculturalist ideologies in citizenship discourse. Within societies, there is a historically embedded hierarchal differentiation between whites, indigenous peoples, immigrants and refugees and the

Multiculturalism Act does not change these dynamics. Canadian multiculturalism has in fact been criticized for reproducing a white normative identity based on the country's colonial history (Lee, 2013). The COA pre-arrival program, citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies seem to be a state-sponsored attempt to design a unified nation by managing minority identities and ensuring they are economically productive. Immigrants are hence seen as blank canvases that can be transformed into an "ideal" Canadian citizen. We notice how both the international and national spheres apply a top-down approach in the construction of Canadian citizenship.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has sought to better understand the procedures undertaken by the Canadian government to shape and create Canadian citizens as an outcome of the immigration process and to explore the main citizenship discourse manifested/reflected in particular interventions related to the acquisition of citizenship by newcomers to Canada. This problematic was analyzed through three main policies/programs developed by the Canadian government including the (1) the Canadian Orientation Abroad pre-arrival program (2) citizenship tests/interviews and (3) the oath of citizenship ceremony.

This project demonstrated how the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants is the result of specific immigration and citizenship policies. Since the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act (which resulted in the establishment of a legal status for Canadians), multiple Acts and policies have influenced immigration and citizenship procedures in this country. The literature review highlighted how nation states play a crucial role in creating and shaping their ideal definition of a citizen. The sense of identity built by the Canadian government, namely through its state culture, is constantly competing with other forms of identities including regional and ethnic. The literature review revealed that, in Canada, citizenship tests have gained a symbolic meaning of civic integration and that citizenship can ultimately become a tool that includes and excludes individuals.

To help us analyze citizenship regimes in Canada, this project applied a Foucauldian understanding of political governance and neoliberalism. In addition, my analysis included a critical neoliberalism literature. I argued that the dominant liberal democratic discursive framework fails to account for Canadian immigration policy; rather liberal democratic theories of citizenship function as normative window-dressing for polices that do not produce a liberal democratic normative reality. The project demonstrated how Canadian immigration policies are better explained as forwarding neoliberal constructions of citizenship. Through qualitative research methods, involving discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews, this project confirmed that the construction of Canadian citizenship discourse is a multilayered process that begins in the international sphere, through the COA program, and flows in the national context through citizenship tests/interviews and oath of citizenship ceremonies. This research is valuable to understand the influence of neo-liberal ideologies in Canadian citizenship discourse. “Ideal”

citizens, according to the government of Canada, are ones who can quickly contribute to the Canadian economy and who do not represent an economic burden. It is important to note how the same standards are not as strictly imposed to native Canadians. Indeed, in politics and media coverage, immigrants are the first group who are mentioned when discussing the use of social services (e.g., health) (McDonald, 2004; Choi,2006; Sainsbury, 2012), which reinforces the dichotomous divide between "Canadians" and "immigrants".

Economic and racial factors have historically been the most important in the decisions to accept newcomers to Canada which explains why the government strongly values newcomers' economic integration. Multiculturalism and pluralism are also central themes in both international and national Canadian citizenship discourses. Through semi-structured interviews, this study revealed how the construction of a unidirectional Canadian citizenship, focused on the obligations and duties of individuals, can create feelings of exclusion among newcomers. Hence, these findings are consistent with much of the existing literature highlighting social exclusion of immigrants (Koning & Banting, 2013; Moosa-Mitha, 2016; Preston & Murnaghan, 2005). However, this thesis has shown how this exclusion is also based on the "ideal" citizen image. Furthermore, Canadian citizenship discourse instill notions of "ideal" citizens prior the arrival of immigrants in Canada which increases the pressure for their successful economic integration.

Despite the multiculturalist policy claiming to protect cultural freedom through the recognition of diverse ethnic groups, the Canadian government does not explicitly recognize this factor in its citizenship discourse. The citizenship guide, *Discover Canada*, acknowledges that settlers and immigrants have, for four hundred years contributed to the diversity and identity of the country. Nonetheless, apart from highlighting the cultural mosaic that creates Canada, the COA program and the citizenship guide do not offer specific cultural resources for newcomers. Instead, they focus on showcasing the multiple ways newcomers can economically, socially, and democratically contribute to Canada. Moreover, the COA program fails to include an immigrant perspective in their orientation sessions while the oath of citizenship reaffirms Canadian citizens' responsibilities and omits to highlight Canada's history with First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples. The analysis also revealed how citizenship tests and the oath of citizenship ceremonny are a nation-building tool that construct a country's narrative through historical facts, symbols and mythologies. This

ultimately shapes future citizens' ideology about Canada which can be seen as an attempt to transform them into "perfect" citizens.

The main limits of this study are firstly the relatively small pool of individuals that were interviewed. It would be interesting to conduct this study with a larger sample of participants (IOM employees and immigrants) as it could provide a deeper understanding of the issue. Time constraints and social distancing laws, due to COVID-19, made it difficult to recruit a wider range of participants and I was unable to attend Oath of citizenship ceremonies. Conducting interviews with the different types of immigrants benefiting from the COA program (refugees, family class immigrants, FSWs and live-in caregivers) would have been pertinent as it would have allowed me to analyze whether citizenship discourse and the perception of Canadian citizenship varies among these groups. Furthermore, conducting an observational study on the oath of citizenship ceremony would have strengthened the project as it would have provided more qualitative data to analyze. Finally, conducting an observational study on COA sessions held overseas (fieldwork) would have deepened the analysis as it could have uncovered further information on the construction of Canadian citizenship discourse in the international sphere.

By providing a larger portrait of Canadian immigration/citizenship procedures this project reminds that citizenship discourse goes beyond national borders. This thesis attempted to fill a gap in Canadian citizenship literature and challenge the traditional views on citizenship construction. This project is also a reminder that researchers must be wary of over-celebrating multiculturalism; when nation states try to construct collective identity with a diversity of immigrants, this creates a liberal assimilationist conception of citizenship. The holistic framework incorporated in this project creates a strong base for further research. A comparative analysis with other pre-arrival programs such as the Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) and the Norwegian Cultural Orientation Programme (NORCO) would also be interesting. Further research on this subject can eventually be transformed into recommendations for the Canadian government's immigration policies, programs and services.

7. Appendix

7.1 Interview Guide- COA Participants

1) When did you arrive in Canada?

2) When did you participate to the Canadian Orientation Abroad (COA) program?
- **a)** Where was the session held?
- **b)** How many days (or hours) did the session last?
- **c)** Was the session in your mother tongue? If not, which language was used?
- **d)** Are language facilitators present during these sessions?
- **e)** How large was the group? Was it mixed?

3) How did you hear about the COA and what led you to participate to this orientation session?

4) Can you describe your overall experience with the COA program?
- **a)** Was it pertinent in your preparations prior your arrival in Canada?

5) What were the main topics covered during this orientation session? How was the session organized?

6) What type of material (e.g: handbooks, worksheets) were handed to you during this session?
- **a)** Where they useful? How?

7) How was the theme of citizenship addressed in these orientation sessions?
- **a)** Does the training specifically address notions of citizenship and how to eventually become a "Canadian citizen"? If so, in which ways?
- **b)** Do immigrants learn about citizenship procedures? If so, how?
- **c)** How are "Canadian citizens" portrayed during these sessions? Considering the time, you have spent in Canada, do you believe it was a representative portrayal of "Canadian citizens"?

8) Do you feel like you have gained and learned something by attending this pre-arrival session?

9) Were you able to give feedback about the COA program either during the session or afterwards?

10) Do you recommend the training to future immigrants?

11) What changes would you bring to the program if you were able to make any?

7.2 Interview guide- IOM employees

1) How long have you been working/did you work for agencies involved in the COA program (e.g. the government of Canada or the International Organization for Migration)?
2) Describe your (former/current) role at the government of Canada/IOM?
3) How would you describe the COA program?
   a) What is its main objective?
   b) What role does it play in the immigration process?
   c) Why was it developed in 1998?
4) How can immigrants participate to the COA program?
   a) Is there a selection process made by the Canadian government (if so, what is the selection criteria)?
   b) Is there a minimum or maximum age limit?
   c) How are decisions made about where the program will be implemented and where it will not?
5) Approximately how many training sessions are given per year?
   a) By whom?
   b) In which language?

6) What are the main topics covered during this orientation session?
7) What type of material (e.g: handbooks, worksheets) is provided to immigrants during this session?
8) Can you describe a typical COA "training" day schedule?
   a) How large is the group?
   b) Is the group mixed?
   c) Do some training sessions last longer than a day? If so why?
   d) Do training sessions differ from region to region (in the COA 12 permanent sites) or do they follow the same generic template?
   e) Does the program provide different training sessions to refugees, economic immigrants, and family class immigrants? Why or why not?
   f) Are language facilitators present during these sessions?
9) How would you say the theme of citizenship is addressed in these orientation sessions?
   a) Is it at the core of the training?
   b) Could you share the definition of a "Canadian citizen" provided during the training? **c)** What are the values of Canadian citizenship, according to the COA program?
   d) Do immigrants learn about the citizenship procedures?
   e) Do participants discuss the issue of Canadian citizenship during the sessions, or do they simply receive the information provided? If discussions on citizenship unfold, what themes or questions have you seen raised?

10) How would you say has the program evolved since its creation in 1998?
    a) Do you believe these changes have been effective?
    b) According to you, how can the COA program improve or adapt to today's reality?

11) Considering how the COA program is facilitated by the International Organization for Migration, not every COA facilitator is Canadian (or has ever been to Canada). Do you believe this creates distortions between what the Canadian government wishes to accomplish through the program and how it is delivered on the field?
12) Is there a follow up made with the immigrants that attended these orientations?
    a) Can they give feedback about this program (either during the training or afterwards)?
    b) If yes, how is their feedback taken into account?
13) Has the program ever been evaluated by an external committee? If so, what insights were c highlighted from this process?

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