Plurality, promises and practice: A case of Nepali immigrants' transliterating and

translanguaging in Canada

by

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Author's declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Plurality, promises and practice: A case of Nepali immigrants' transliterating and translanguaging in Canada is a community-based study among sixteen Nepali immigrant students in graduate and undergraduate programs that have intensive writing, research and communication components. It combines group discussions, interviews, case studies and participant observations to explore the ways featured migrants adapt, appropriate, repel and repeat dominant practices of meaning making in academic and social spaces. Participants' phenomenological experiences and narratives consist of difficulties in navigating unfamiliar academic and social expectations, especially at the transitional stage; the lack of appropriate support mechanisms; the presence of direct and indirect forms of racism; the resolve to challenge existing strange-making practices; and the hope for a better future. This research further shows that migrants' hybrid literacy and epistemological practices go beyond what can be contained within the established academic writing grids. While the research problematizes a romanticized narrative within some multilingual scholarships: that multilinguals 'carry' mobile and portable language and communicative resources available for an uncomplicated usage and seamless blending; it stresses the need to *actively* and *qualitatively* approach difference in ways that appreciates diverse ways of meaning making, doing, being and valuing that the sheer presence of our students, particularly those marked as linguistic and cultural Others, demand of us.

The central ask of this dissertation is to diversify our practices from what appears to be more of the same in different guises. For example, various language and cultural difference-based approaches including the bi-multi- pluri- turns have been identified as not significantly punctuating Eurocentric privileges. More specifically, participants will help us know that English monolingualism persists in academic and institutional settings despite translingual realities, for it

is defended, encapsulated and framed in the depoliticized language of "needs", "demands", and the "reality outside"— of students, communities, markets, success, growth, mobility, global connection. Participants in this research join diversity and plurality debates, including multiculturalism, and suggest ways in which to pluralize and diversify existing additive-accretive and discrete-separate ways and views of plurality and diversity.

Acknowledgements

My maternal uncle, Kamal Pandey, is my literacy godfather, and to him I will always remain indebted. To allocate one sentence for his contribution to who I am today is just unjust. My brother-in-law Dhakeshwar and sister Shanti has always been a source of inspiration for me. He long-wanted to me hold a doctorate degree and has been cheerfully taking on more than a son's share of responsibilities, looking after our entire family in Nepal. I must remember my next brother in-law Chiranjivi and sister Kalpana for their unceasing family support. Without these people, I would have long terminated my terminal degree and returned to Nepal. My partner, Bimala, is another narrative into this support and care system and the family net I am lucky to have. She is beside me all this time with steady support, never doubting my abilities and constantly encouraging me to keep the calm and to remain balanced, a hard skill to acquire and maintain for someone prone to the philosophy of volatility. Bimala is a story of sacrifice. She would have long completed a PhD with all the stuff of grit and focus she is made of. Ayan, our little one, was relatively late to arrive, but when he did, he brought all the missing blisses, changing the whole dynamics of how I see the world, how I worked, and how I viewed relationships. Family matters.

My final words are for my dreams and meditation. There is something personal, ideolectic, idiosyncratic, but also something collective and archetypal about my dreams. I have developed a pattern of understanding them in all myriad complexities; in all metaphors and metonymies; in all moods and modes. Dreams deliver. A rookie I am to meditation, but not a rookie to insist, "Take my words for it: start mediation now." Meditation matters.

Dedication

This is for

my grandma

whose

grandson couldn't fulfill the

promise

to

return before she left

only to return in dream more real than the real

my maternal uncle

who

gave me the gift of literacy

and

my mom and dad

who

have sacrificed all their life

for

my education

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Introduction

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> I embody both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing and this is the knowledge that informs my research. Despite my desire for epistemological purity and decolonized Indigenous ways of knowing, my reality dictates hybrid ways of knowing. Sometimes I go back to the injustices of Western way of knowing that marginalizes and ignores the legacies of diverse histories and cultures of my indigenous knowledge. I reflect on how Western knowledge is exercised as power for the production of otherness and reproduction of strangeness. Western knowing needs my indigenous knowing in order to exist. That means the two ways of knowing are bound together forever in this play of inequitable power relations. (Kishor)

> They expect you to write in a certain way, speak in a certain way, listen in a certain way, behave in a certain way, to use the semiotics, linguistic nonverbal, you know, the language in a homogenous way. This is what stands out to me when it comes to the academia. … The reality is that English is no longer a language of any particular country, any particular location or any particular group of people. It has becomes a lingua franca internationally, globally [and] people have their own different languages. … But the problem is that the people whose native language is English… they want everybody else to speak the same way and to write the same way, to use English in a very homogenous way. So when the multiplicities of Englishes are practiced in reality but the practice here is just the opposite to this reality. (Ram, personal communication, April 24, 2016).

In the auto-ethnographic text above, written for his graduate course explaining his

methodology and later published in a Western journal, Kishor, one of the key informants of this

research, articulates his "hybrid ways of knowing". He positions himself differently from

someone who desires "epistemological purity" and "decolonized Indigenous ways of knowing".

Drawing on the decolonial insights from the likes of Ahmad and Young, Kishor makes a point

that Western ways of knowing have historically (re) produced "otherness" and "strangeness". He

denies the assumed self-sufficiency of "Western knowledge"; instead, he relativizes and

symptomatizes it to the extent that "western knowing needs *my indigenous* knowing in order [for

it] to exist." Similarly, Ram, another informant, stresses the need to make social and academic

insiders aware of the plur(e)ality of language use and communication in the world *outside*, where "multiplicities of Englishes are practiced."

While discourses around linguistic and cultural pluralities have occupied the forefront of critical discussions for more than four decades, plurality has often been treated in a numeric and additive sense—of more than one languages, cultures and literacies, and modalities added discretely together—rather than being treated as productive of novel meanings, relationships, and exchanges. Simplistic pluralizing approaches cannot sufficiently challenge the existing monolingualism, ethnocentrism, and Eurocentrism they aim to problematize. In fact, they become another permutation of a monolithic view of language, rhetoric, literacy, and culture. For example, while accepting the localization of English and deviation of standard norms, English as a Lingua Franca and World Englishes approaches tend to recreate a stable linguistic core. As Kachru and Nelson (2006, p. 2) mention in introducing the World Englishes (WE) approach they advance, multilingual approaches including "world English" (Griffer, 2002), English as an International Language (EIL) (Jenkins, 2000), and English as Lingua Franca (ELF) (Seidlhofer, 2001) "idealize a monolithic entity called 'English' and neglect the inclusive and plural character of the world-wide phenomenon" (cited in Pennycook, 2008, p. 38). Kachru and Nelson's WE is not without problems, however. WE is known to be a nation-based model; it sees English varieties responsive to the concentric circle, namely the English-speaking nations, from where outer and expanding circles are imagined. According to Pennycook (2008), in both WE, which assumes a "centrifugal focus on local variation", and ELF, which adopts a "centripetal focus on the development of regional varieties", the main focus lies "largely on form rather than meaning" (Pennycook, p. 39).[1] For Pennycook, the reliance on a stable core and the priority of form and

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[1] Jenkins points out that we need "mutual phonological intelligibility" or "lexicogrammitical core" to avoid "anything goes" (cited in Pennycook, 2008, p. 37).

structure over practice and usage makes these seemingly plural approaches not qualitatively different from English monolingualism.

Bi- and multi-lingualism seem similarly to be presented as more than one language added together. For that reason, Pennycook (2010, p. 10) calls multilingualism a pluralization of monolingualism and Heller (2002, p. 48) calls bilingualism "double monolingualism" (Paudel, 2015). Such quantitative, "glossodiverse" approaches do not consider the diversity of meaning or "semiodiversity" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 33). Going beyond these discrete imaginations of language and literacy, the plurilingual approach developed by Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR, 2001) recognizes the plurality of meaning, but it tends to romanticize plurality, eliding the frictions and struggle language 'Others' face in their act of mixing and crossing (Canagarajah, 2016). Moreover, plurilingualism relies on the idea that language users bring to communication their "resources" and "repertoires". Although foregrounding repertoires and resources challenges a deficit view associated with other language users and places learning and proficiency in terms of continuum and process, a heavy reliance on what I term the "resource assumption" may lead to a view of resources as portable and pre-existing sets of skills that language users have at their disposal.

Finally, a translingual approach to language difference recognizes that monolingual dispositions have shown the resilience to creep into seemingly pluralistic approaches, and encourages language teachers and learners to approach diversity qualitatively, for example, by respecting linguistic and rhetorical differences, reading with patience, and developing an attitude of receptivity and deliberate inquiry (Horner et al., 2011, p. 304). Translingualism takes into account writer's agency by foregrounding an inquiry into *how* and *why* writers make choices, and under what circumstances. However, in the last few years of its circulation, translingualism

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has inspired a number of criticisms; namely, that it has not been radical, political and decolonial enough (Cushman, 2016; Gilyard, 2016), that it is complicitous with neoliberal pluralism (Kubota, 2015), that a reliance on code-meshed texts as an illustration of translingual writing is problematic in the context of language continuum (Milson-Whyte, 2013), that it may essentialize difference and promote "linguistic tourism" (Matsuda, 2014), that it ignores and misrepresents a rich history of second language writing and its stance toward pluralism on the one hand (Matsuda, 2014; Williams and Condon, 2016) and the past struggles of the people and scholars of color, such as Students' Right to Their Own Language (SRTOL, 1974) on the other (Gilyard, 2016). Teachers of Second Language Writing also have shown their wariness for making language mixing the main pedagogical priority reasoning that doing so will distract the marginalized students from successful learning of Standard English, which they eventually need to succeed in life, and, in this way, will further ghettoize them (Rucker, 2014).

This research does not promise to seek, address, and resolve all these criticisms. Rather, by exposing participants' language use[2]— what I am calling "transliterating and translanguaging"— in different contexts and exploring their opinions and experiences of dwelling linguistic, cultural, literacy and epistemic differences in social and academic lives, it re-assures us of the need to value, respect, and foreground students' acts of meaning making out of differences that they both bring and make. It explores the ways featured immigrants adopt, appropriate, repel, and resist dominant expectations and practices of language, literacy and meaning making specifically in academic literacy contexts. In other words, it pays attention to the ways the immigrants' literacy traditions and practices comingle and collide with established

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[2] The participants in question are Nepali skilled immigrants', a voluntary minority. For the distinction between autonomous, voluntary or immigrant minority and involuntary and nonimmigrant minorities, see Ogbu and Simons (1988).

knowledge and practices underlying academic writing and communication in the West, with the specific examples of immigrants' literacy practices within the context of academic literary in writing- and research-intensive programs. However, I also attend to participants' literacy 'outside' the academic literacy context, such as observable in social media, in ways that complicates the artificial boundary between the academic and nonacademic.

This research exposes some of the problematic spots in translingualism, pushing it to be reflective of transliterate and translingual labor of the immigrants in question and of the need to diversify it beyond its current preoccupation as primarily a response to monolingualism in the context of U.S. composition. The goal is to account for the missing qualitative approach to diversity and the transnational, translational, transformational, and associational characters of language and literacy diversity. I adopt an integrated and laminated approach to literacy, supported by the participants in this research, one that allows us to acknowledge the traversal between academic and nonacademic domains and spaces, something I believe merits more serious attention in rhetoric and composition research than is generally accorded. [3]

I retain the qualifier "skilled" to represent the immigrants' immigration route or category, as they migrated to Canada as "skilled immigrants" under the category of Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP, more on this to follow). The term also respects one of the overarching narratives of immigrants in Canada who migrated through the Program: that they are systemically de-skilled in the country of migration. It also helps me to re-articulate the gap participants have identified between plurality promises and actual practices.

While making primary research its knowledge staple, for I triangulate group discussions with interview, case studies and participant observation, I have enmeshed the primary data with

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[3] I emphasize this point because perhaps for matter of consistency, there still is a tendency to focus on academic literacy occurring in academic contexts as different from literate practices 'outside' academic contexts and domains labeled non-academic.

the secondary in the hermeneutic process. Thus, while I try to "follow the actors themselves" (Latour, 2005, p. 12), what they say *in their own terms* made most sense to me only when I could relate my participants to existing understandings of language difference and plurality, making this dissertation, I hope, a more nuanced work. In terms of methodology and insights, this research also benefits from scholarly discussions around language and cultural plurality in a confluence of fields including sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, literacy studies, writing studies (composition), postcolonial criticism, discourse analysis and philosophy. As community-driven research, it treats language and communication not as isolated sets of skills that are detached from their very association with sociality, contextuality, situatedness, and interestedness in power and politics, but as mediated by and wedded in such configurations. Community-driven research embraces dialectic understanding of language, language use and language users and critiques language either thought to be independent of its users (a "languaged" view of language where users are mere effects of language and discourse), or to be merely used (a "languager" view of language, in which agency lies in the agent). A "language-in-use" view, for me, makes it possible to see the dynamic and reflexive relationship between language and languagers in which language users are not merely languaged but also change the context, content, characters and purpose of language.

I think that my interest in this research stemmed from a graduate seminar, titled "Politics of Language in the Teaching and Study of Composition" offered by Bruce Horner in Fall 2009 at the University of Louisville. This course offered us a mélange of readings from sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, New Literacy Studies, and a range of topics intersecting the politics of Standard English, the English-Only Policy, and several movements and re-conceptualizations of language and cultural diversity. It also introduced me to an exciting range of scholars including

Keith Gilyard, Jacqueline Jones Royster, Ellen Cushman, Suresh Canagarajah, Paul Kei Matsuda, Vershawn Ashanti Young, Damián Baca, and Scott Richard Lyons, John Trimbur, Min-Zhan Lu and their work. This was an impressively inclusive body of scholars contributing to the field of composition from different scholarly positions and interests (Indigenous, Asian immigrants, Mestiza, African Americans)[4]. The seminar culminated in Watson Conference 2010 and not only saw the heightened debate among scholars about code-switching and code-meshing but also resulted in what can be considered the translingual manifesto, namely, "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach", published January 2011, in *College English*, authored by Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur and endorsed by several others.

Coming to study in Canada to specialize in writing studies made me more aware of the geo-political contexts in which literacy operated,[5] which I discuss in Chapter Two, in light of writing studies in Canada vis-à-vis the States. My unique experiences as an immigrant student inhabiting an 'outsider' location and confronting issues of diversity only needed an apt pretext to revisit discussions around language diversity. Thus my revisit to questions related to diversity, it now seems to me, was only waiting to be translated in this form.

The disciplinary division of labor that Matsuda (1999) very well articulates reminding us of segregated intellectual labor between mainstream college composition and ESL and basic writing work, combined with insightful research on communication in multilingual communities, in the context of World Englishes, and creole continuum; the inspiring ideas emanating from the area New Literacy Studies, the complexity and flexibility of post-colonially and de-colonially inspired, community-based, ethnographic research have percolated this dissertation to which it *returns*. In particular, this research benefits composition and literacy teachers and scholars

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[4] I know these identities are problematic not just because they are broad, but also because of the inherent problem of naming.
[5] I am indebted here to Jay Dolmage's Spring 2013 graduate course.

helping them reshape composition in light of my primary inquiry: What can we learn from what and how language others do with and to English (additional research questions to appear later)? Revisiting some of the persisting and pressing problems underlying identity, agency, and, overall, doing difference, with a specific focus on language difference and how we might go about reimagining agency in ways that avoids the undue emphasis placed on standard view of language, this dissertation also calls for participating with difference in its own terms and foregrounding an ethical view of difference; it, thereby, engages in and anticipates more complex and productive discussions in this direction. It reaffirms existing understanding that we need to value, respect and build on the strengths students both carry and construct in making meaning and forging identities. It urges us to attend to differences more carefully, more closely and more rewardingly, making differences the center of our work and making our work reflective— and in the service— of differences.

(Re) defining translingualism as transliteracy

The definition of translingualism is in process. It is not a homogenous movement, for its energies derive from a convergence of fields. As Canagarajah (2015) reminds us, what he calls the "translingual orientation" includes insights from many disciplines as applied linguistics (García, 2009); sociolinguistics (Heller, 1999); new literacy studies (Gutierrez, 2008); comparative literature (Pratt, 1991); translation studies (Liu, 1995); and comparative rhetoric (Mao, 2013) (p. 421).

In their opinion piece, "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach", Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur (2011) recognize that traditional approaches to language ignored (a) different Englishes; (b) historical fluctuations in English; (c) readers' role in defining what is correct or not; (d) how ordinary language users redefine and transform

conventions and "revise knowledge, ways of knowing, and social relations between specific writers and readers" (p. 306). The more tolerant approaches, such as multilingualism, according to Horner et al., remain problematic even when they acknowledge language difference and "grant individual right to them" in that they reproduce some of the older problems and present languages as discrete (p. 306). From there, these scholars developed the translingual approach to language difference. According them, the translingual approach "sees difference in language not as a barrier to overcome or a problem to manage, but as a resource for producing meaning", adding that "When faced with difference in language, this approach asks: What might this difference do? How might it function expressively, rhetorically, communicatively? For whom, under what conditions, and how?" (pp. 303–304). As they further write, the translingual approach encourages us to "read with patience"; "respect perceived differences within and across languages"; develop "an attitude of deliberative inquiry"; "question language practices more generally, even those that appear to conform to dominant standards"; ask "what produces the appearance of conformity, as well as what that appearance might and might not do, for whom, and how"; and "acknowledge that deviations from dominant expectations need not be errors, that conformity need not be automatically advisable, and that writers' purposes and readers' conventional expectations are neither fixed nor unified" (p. 304).

Some proponents of the translingual approach see in the approach the inclusive capacity to cover more than language. As Canagarajah (2015) posits, echoing Horner et al., "the prefix ("trans") reminds us that communication transcends individual languages, and goes beyond language itself to include diverse modalities and semiotic systems […] that language and meaning are always in a process of becoming, not located in static grammatical structures" (p. 419). Identical to Horner et al., Canagarajah differentiates the "translingual orientation" from

"subtractive" (monolingualism) "additive" (bi/multilingualism) "recursive" (plurilingualism)

approaches (p. 421), arguing that "even the recursive model doesn't go far enough in

accommodating the complexity of translingualism". Canagarajah elaborates, introducing the

question of competence, that in the translingual approach "languages are not treated as separate";

language acquisition is treated as "multi-directional", not linear; competence is viewed as

"integrated, with all languages in one's repertoire making up a synthesized language

competence… [and] proficiency as always evolving" (p. 423).

Perhaps because this approach is evolving and reshaping itself, taking on new semantic

weights and nuances as it grapples with unfolding critiques, there still exits a confusion

regarding whether a translingual approach is an "approach" or "disposition" or an act (as in

translanguaging). Another, and related, nebulousness surrounding this approach involves the

question of how translingualism looks as a pedagogy. There is also yet another confusion

surrounding whether translingualism is only just a code-meshed writing. More recent writings

that try to defog these confusions suggest that translingualism should be taken broadly to be a

disposition of openness, flexibility, and receptivity (Horner et al., 2013), and that such

dispositions are to be seen as different from neoliberalism (Canagarajah, 2016). Horner and Lu

(2013) suggest further that while translingualism is a disposition, it foregrounds action, practice,

and agency by enabling us to look at how, why, and with what resources trans*languagers

language*, this recent usage emphasizing doing and action. As just mentioned, more recent

scholarship (e.g., Canagarajah, 2017) looks at translingualism in connection to "place",

"ecology", suggestive of the prefix "trans"-.

In this dissertation, I define translingualism as both a disposition, orientation, philosophy

and an act, practice and strategy for meaning- and identity-making actualities, conditions, and

possibilities that are mediated by and implicated power and politics and constitutive of and realized in verbal and nonverbal, strategic and unintended, residual and emergent rhetorical acts and efforts, matters, materials, emotions, energies, ecology, chances, beliefs, and values. To move beyond— in fact to complexify— the "language" focus of translingualism, I offer trasliteracy, aligning with the idea of broader/"border" thinking of literacy and accounting for the epistemological question initiated by my participants beyond language crossing. This makes me introduce Mignolo's "border" metaphor to highlight "dwelling in the border". Mignolo draws on Anzaldua's *Borderland/La Frontera*; Fanon's phenomenological experience and "consciousness of being seen as a Negro", the function of *sociogenesis* as captured in Du Bois's "double consciousness", and his own "experience of inhabiting the border" (Mignolo, "Interview", 2017, p. 13). Border is a site of conflict, collision and comingling rather than a divisual binary. Border re-evaluates the Andersonian imagination of nation as "sovereign", and a "community" of "deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, pp. 5–7). For Mignolo, "border" is an alternative to European, imperial, territorial epistemology which presumes a "frontier"; and border consciousness and border thinking denies the epistemic privilege of the West (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 206).

By *transliteracy*, thus, I mean a border-conscious and *raced* conceptualization of knowledge and literacy. A transliterate view enables us to analyze multiply-implicated, uncanny, competing, contested, therefore also productive, language, literacy, and epistemological routes and borders that multilingual students scholars navigate. Transliteracy re-reviews literate acts as deployment of free floating, pre-set, race innocent linguistic and epistemological resources that are thought to be transferrable rather than an outcome of constant (re)negotiation, conscious or un-self-conscious.

Further, transliterating challenges literacy's rational grounding, following the Western, Enlightenment tradition and consequent mapping of the world (or what Spivak would call "worlding") into the civilized and the uncivilized (Mignolo, 2011). I propose transliteracy in particular to unsettle the centrality of "system", "language" and "rationality" formerly and residually lodged in the literacy of and in English. This, in turn, is an argument for the redistribution of rationality and intelligibility across languages and rhetorics. Taking a fuller account of meaning entails looking into relationship of power involved in meaning making; that is, understanding who holds an enunciatory position. This further necessitates uncovering the colonization of meaning and then decolonizing it. I propose transliteracy as an argument for the redistribution of rationality and intelligibility across languages and rhetorics. With the transliteracy option, I also join Lewis' call for "teleological suspensions" of Western thought, Western "epistemic regime" and "shifting the geography of reason" (Gordon, 2006, xii; Blancetti-Robino & Headley, 2006).

While acknowledging that the translingual approach is persistently critical of monolingualism and its shifting permutations, I attempt to give this approach the missing decolonial and critical edge that critics such as Gilyard and Cushman have pointed out, pushing the approach to be a more robust theory of difference beyond language difference and offering much more transgressive and decolonial possibilities above and beyond the bland postulation that all languages are translanguages and all languagers are translanguagers. Pluralistic approaches to language and literacy must account for what Latour (2005) would call the associational aspect (or "associology", p. 9); foreground "language as the creature and creator of human society" (Halliday, 2002, p. 6) and "how people exchange meanings by 'languaging'" (Halliday, 1985, p. 193), going beyond the idea of language as code. I add that although socially-

situated and practice-oriented understanding of language and literacy such as translingualism has questioned code, norm, and structure, it is still language-centric, English-centric, anthropocentric, and U.S.-centric in its focus on "meaning", "interpretation", "agency", "knowing", "will", "intention", and "symbol" and in its primary location in the U.S. composition. I also argue that diversity needs to be seen in connection to ethicopolitical, a word witch represents for me the inherency between ethical and actionable values of meaning and meaning making and making of the world. The question of diversity, including language diversity seen as an ethicopolitical project will have us focus on the "how", "who", "with what effects or consequences" of languaging and the questions around knowledge-power (Foucault), something that translingual approach accounts for but could do more toward complexifying itself by making it more amenable to racialized and minoritized sentiments.

Situating the study and a brief literature review

Demography and the context of migration

Canada introduced points-based skilled immigration system in 1967, moving past the existing immigration system, which was known as an unequivocally racially and nationally biased policy. The "objective and transparent" merit-based system (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2010, October 28) opened up doors to eligible candidates to apply for migration "based on their ability to succeed economically in Canada" (CIC, para 1, 2012, December 19). An earlier publication prepared by the Evaluation Division, CIC, titled Evaluation of the Federal Skilled Worker Program (2010, August) shows a close alliance of government policy with neoliberal economic priorities. It says, "With the introduction of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) on June 28, 2002, the selection system for skilled workers was changed to respond to the dynamic labour market associated with today's knowledge-based, global

economy" (p. 1). The Government's goal has stressed the need to build a fast and flexible

immigration system meeting Canada's economic and labor market needs and placed "a high

priority on finding people who have the skills and experience required to meet Canada's

economic and labour market needs" (CIC, 2012, May 25).

Most Nepali immigrants who moved to Canada as permanent residents were qualified

under the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), the selection criteria for which included

demonstrating official language ability, age, education, work experience, and adaptability, or

work experience or education acquired in Canada. Today, an estimated number of 25,000 Nepali

immigrants live across Canada. Although the actual data is difficult to find, Census Canada

(2016) shows the number of Nepali immigrants to be 18,275 and Nepali speaking population to

be 21,380. Except for a very small number of Nepali who migrated before, a majority of the

immigrants moved to Canada starting in 2008 under the "federal skilled workers" category. In

terms of the sheer number, this population, accounting for approximately 0.6% of the total

population, may not comprise a critical mass in a State's eye. However, it is a highly literate,

self-motivated population actively seeking opportunities for better education, employment, and

social integration, all in an attempt to be a productive part of Canada's intellectual and social

fabric and to better *return* to their place of birth[6]. Belying this community aspiration is the fact

that a majority of Nepali in Canada are forced to join entry-level, "survival jobs"; and if things

remain the same, they fear that they will be in a perpetual "transition industry" (Allen, 2014, p.

231), in a perpetual *state* of "limbo", as articulated by some participants.

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[6] The term "integration" is often used without attention to the role unequal power relations plays in deciding that it is the minority who are integrated into the majority, into "'our' culture and values" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 194). This leads to a slow, gradual, therefore, unforced assimilation. Eventually, integration means that those with less power submit their differences for the sake of greater national, social interest.

Rationales and relevant literature

Skilled immigrants are the most desired population in the Global North mainly because they drive the economy of the receiving countries. The economic drive has thus attracted attention of policy-level studies on immigrants on economic and "integration" questions, invariably at the cost of immigrants' language and literacy practices whose benefits extend far beyond economy and integration. Even when language receives an attention, it is accorded a partial and tangential one.

As Canagarajah (2013) fittingly points out,

> Though proficiency in the medium of communication in the host community is assumed to be an asset according to human-capital perspective, language hasn't received in-depth exploration in studies on skilled migration. The few studies we have show that there is a correlation between expertise in the dominant language and levels of success as measured by the income of migrants in the land of settlement [and vice versa].... Needless to say, English and the elite varieties of that language are the assumed linguistic capital in such studies.... Research based on these orientations contribute to the popular discourses of Global English and lead to the frenzied acquisition of English language in many countries, as governments prepare their citizens for higher education and professional advancement and, in many cases, migration and remittances as the path to development.... (p. 159)

We should be little surprised, given the general lack of studies on migrants' language and literacy, to know that there is no extant study focusing exclusively on Nepali migrant students. This population, and their language, does not qualify as a critical capital and quantitative mass capable of exerting global impact. To go a little bit back in time, if we were to map Nepali into Graddol's (1997) pyramid of hierarchical order, it falls neither in the category of "big" languages such as English and French nor "regional" languages such as Chinese, Spanish, Russian, German. In de Swan's (2001) cartography of language system, only English enjoys "hypercentral" language position, with Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swahili and Turkish comprising "supercentral"

languages. Minority languages such as this occupy the periphery of the peripheral position. Besides the linguistic numbers, this population is often lumped into the regional sweep of South Asia, which often means India, and elides in effect the multiple and constantly changing rhetorical and discoursal differences even within one specific rhetorical and discoursal formations. This research is only a small step and gesture to address these gaps.

Western models of academic writing and the metropolitan insistence on Standard English have continued to maintain traditional linguistic, cultural, and racial boundaries, despite claims otherwise — that such boundaries have been rendered permeable by global flows of people, languages, cultures, and texts. A language of power, socio-cultural and symbolic capital, English has a 'promise' for many people around the world. On the darker side of that promise or what Graff and Duffy (2011) call "literacy myth" (also see, Pendergrast, 2008; Mignolo, 2003) is English's homogenizing sweep over other languages. An ongoing concern, particularly among non-Western circles, is that the world's 'other' literacies and knowledge are subsumed and sublated by English literacy. It is in this context that Cushman (2016), a Cherokee Nation citizen and activist composition scholar who follows Cherokee ethic of "ᏍᏣᎵᏒᎤᏓᎤᎿᏅ" (reciprocity), asks, "How can teachers and scholars move beyond the presumption that *English* is the *only* language of knowledge making and learning?" (p. 234). This, in turn, is also my question. As such, this research covertly or overtly responds to three distinct responses to diversity: (a) the centripetal desire that contains excesses through various systematizing and canonizing measures including the mandates of 'standard' English and Western genres of academic writing; (b) the centrifugal, radical claims about plurality, multiplicity, and contingency that flattens differences; and (c) a defensive position that seeks some kind of an unalloyed communicative and social relations (Pennycook, 2010; Otheguy et al., 2015).

Existing contrastive and comparative efforts have significantly contributed to our understanding of language and literacy of migrants. However, of the studies conducted thus far, the target populations have either been refugees, "grassroot" literates (Blommaert, 2008) or professional migrants, or second-generation migrants, or visa students, often in isolation. For example, Pandey's (2006) dissertation *Imagined nations, re-imagined roles: Literacy practices of South Asian immigrants*, an ethnographic study, triangulates data obtained from 68 South Asian immigrants in Mid-West US to "show that immigrants use multiple literacy acts not only to (re)produce communities and nations but also to (re)negotiate individual identities within those nations and in response to the perceived needs and anxieties of the host society" (v). Despite his choice of multi-sited literacy practices and care for power differentials within the immigrants along the axes of gender, race, religion, caste, the broad sweep of South Asia risks homogenizing the vast diversity within and inadvertently sidelines the differences that it aims to account for. Included, more problematically, in this population are refugees who may share with other migrants a sense of ethnolinguistic and cultural solidarity and a desire for returning to original home, but they may hold widely different attitudes and motivations for their existence, identity, achievement and progress than voluntary immigrants (Ogbu, 1988). Following a similar trajectory, Lamsal's (2014) dissertation *Globalizing literacies and identities: Translingual and transcultural literacy practices of Bhutanese refugees in the U.S.* draws on a wide variety of literacy sites including the refugees online conversations, creative writing outside academic contexts; and other cases of language mixing by refugee youths, their parents with 'no English', and those with only 'functional literacy' in English. Lamsal's ethnographic study covers all ages of Bhutanese refugees and triangulates data from a wide variety of literacy engagements, making it a complex work although, some readers may find that the expansiveness has occurred at the

miss of the 'necessary' focus. Despite these good moves, this work does not readily provide for the voluntary immigrant population in my research, as well as my focus on academic literacy.

In a study related to skilled migrants in the Global North (UK, USA, and Australia), Canagarajah (2013) shows that multilinguals have the agentive capacity to negotiate and change the contexts and norms surrounding correct usage rather than simply yield to standard rules. In doing so, Canagarajah shows the inadequacy of spatiotemporal scales, as employed in sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2011), to describe how the migrants negotiate translocal spaces of diaspora. Canagarajah contends that although Blommaert's scaler metaphor allows us to (a) appreciate the "the role of power in shaping the uptake of resources in shifting social contexts" and (b) to reject "romanticized orientations to globalization and transitional relations" (p. 202), this model relies on (a) a highly stratified and hierarchical vision of social spaces and languages; (b) holds onto a predetermined view of spatiotemporal scales as non-negotiable; (c) "assumes normative orientations to languages"; and (d) discounts the possibility that new language norms and practices lead to new orders in indexicality (p. 202). Canagarajah's own research suggests otherwise: "migrants negotiate spatiotemporal scales to their advantage, redefine the translocal space, and reconstruct new orders of indexicality in intercultural communication" (p. 202). This finding leads him to complement the scaler metaphor with de Certeau's (1984) "strategies/tactics" and Pratt's (1991) "contact zone," in which different language users hold asymmetrical power relations, yet they negotiate their resources (pp. 221–222).[7]

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[7] De Certeau distinguishes between strategy and tactics, reserving the latter to be the purview of ordinary people, who appropriate a controlled space or environment, constantly adopting, adjusting, assessing and reassessing their actions, ready and agile to take advantage of unpredictable changes. Strategy is a domain of the controllers. Pratt's "contact zone" imagines the classroom as a space where students from different language communities confront each other. This approach does not shy away from acknowledging differential status of power among the participants.

Canagarajah's point that "indexicality" does not explain migrants' reordering of the contexts and codes is an important addition. What distinguishes this research from Canagarajah's is that whereas he samples "professional" migrants, this research focuses exclusively on migrant students at the struggling phase of their life in diaspora. Besides, my study focuses on recent migrant students (2008 onwards). Perspectives of skilled *professional* migrants may differ significantly from those who are still grappling with their movement to a new society.

Several studies outside the skilled migrants category focusing on language minority and international students have revealed unique and divergent ways such students negotiate their different meaning making resources. To give what is now a classical example of negotiation, Leki's (1995) "Coping Strategies of ESL Students", a qualitative study of five ESL visa students (three graduate and two undergraduate) in the first term at a U.S. university, identified the following coping strategies adopted by these students: clarifying strategies, focusing strategies, relying on past writing experiences, taking advantage of first language/culture, using current experience or feedback, looking for models, using current or past ESL writing training, accommodating teachers' demands, resisting teachers' demands, managing competing demands (p. 240). Debunking the deficit view of ESL students, Leki found that these students "consistently showed themselves to be resourceful, attentive to their environment, and creative and flexible in their response to new demands" (p. 253). I have found Leki's study very useful in this study of skilled immigrant students. There are several things in common as well. For example, just like one of Leki's students who used "a combined strategy of resisting the professor's request and of reliance on her special status as a Chinese person" (p. 253), some participants in this research have mobilized self-perceived or marked deficits as resources. Most of Leki's students seem to have effectively employed successful resources from the past,

suggesting that there is a positive transfer or reusability of resources into new contexts with some

alternations, which, however, could be a troubling spot, troubling if we consider the fact that

while multilinguals are flexible, adaptive and tactical enough to encounter and address new

situations, past resources do not always get as easily negotiated as is sometimes presented. I have

tried to account for concerns, motivations, attitudes toward difference and agentive potentials of

the skilled immigrant students in question.

In a different study, Canagarajah (2011) reports on codemeshing strategies adopted by a

graduate student in a literacy narrative course on the teaching of second-language writing.

Canagarajah presented the strategies adopted by the student writer in the following four broad

types:

> (a) recontextualization strategies: gauging the congeniality of the context for
> codemeshing and shaping ecology to favor one's multilingual practices; (b) voice
> strategies: basing communication on one's own positionality and making textual
> spaces for one's linguistic strengths and resources; (c) interactional strategies:
> negotiating meaning on an equal footing with readers and helping them negotiate
> effectively; and (d) textualization strategies: orientating to the text as a
> multimodal social practice and adopting process-oriented composing strategies for
> effective text development. (p. 404)

Both Leki's and Canagarajah's discussions of L2 writers' negotiation strategies shed light

on how multilingual writers adopt "contextual, personal, social, and textual" strategies (p. 404),

findings that are relatable in this research. However, unlike Canagarajah, I do not have an

identical code-meshing in the context of academic writing. Unlike Leki's focus on L2 students,

student population in this research comprises resident students from a mix of graduate and

undergraduate levels. This research is more open, in terms of coverage, and includes a range of

topics that go beyond coping strategies to include overt and covert interventionist strategies.

What I have discussed in the last few pages represents only a small body of empirical

studies that demonstrate that writers and communicators repurpose available resources to meet

the goals they set for themselves, that they can adopt resistance and negotiation strategies to bend rules, norms and codes, with a varying degree of risk, success, challenges, and failure. Such studies challenge broad generalizations about cultural patterns behind writing and thinking and the one-size-fits-all formulae. For example, Kaplan's (1966) "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education", a contrastive study of paragraph development in English by approximately six hundred students from different cultural backgrounds, questioned the limitation of the recognition "of the existence of cultural variation to the level of sentence… to level of grammar, vocabulary, and sentence structure" (p. 12). However, his finding— that Anglo-European expository writing follows a linear path; Semitic languages feature parallel structures; Oriental writing is characterized by indirectness; Romance and Russian languages develop paragraphs in digression (p. 10)— is believed to have contributed to an essentialized view of rhetoric and writing. As LuMing Mao (2003) points out, in Kaplan's contrastive approach, the Native English speaker ideal remains a privileged position in spite his belief that no language is superior to other language, that they are only different. Besides, contrastive rhetoric lumps Chinese, Thai, and Korean speakers in one "Oriental" group and "conflates rhetorical patterns with thought patterns" (Mao, p. 402).

Recent versions of contrastive rhetoric and intercultural rhetoric have tried to articulate "alternative nondichotomizing and nonessentializng approaches to cross cultural study of second language writing" (Cahill, 2003, p. 172) by focusing on the "ways people shuttle in and out of cultures in local contexts to construct hybrid identities" (Canagarajah, 2013 p. 204). However, as Canagarajah adds, the new articulations are not sensitive enough to the issue of power that limits "identity construction and rhetorical interactions" (p. 204). As I mentioned earlier, while a part of geographic and cultural South Asia, there are certain specificities to this community in terms

of literacy and identity that deserves a separate attention. This is not to categorically deny the

fact that South Asian communities share certain undeniable philosophical traditions that may

have lead 'outsiders' to believe that they are a homogenous community flat out.

The bare fact that institutions of higher education in the Global North are witnessing an

exponential growth of international students and that these institutions are increasingly reliant on

international students forms another exigency of this research. Internationalization of higher

education and growing reach of US Composition, growing migration pattern in the Global North

from the Global South means that literacy providers, teachers, writing program administrators,

and educators in general will encounter international students and resident migrants who are an

unavoidable part of higher education in global metropoles.

In 2016 alone, 1.2 million international students attended US colleges and universities.

That is an increase of 6.5 percent from the year before and the highest number ever (Alpert,

2017). The 2014 Open Doors Report from the Institute for International Education calculated

that there are 51% more international students in the U.S. now than there were a decade ago. In

Canada, foreign-born permanent residents are more than 20 percent of the country's population,

and newly arrived immigrants now account for more than 50 percent of annual population

growth, as Challinor (2011, September 15) informs us.

The international student population at Canadian universities almost doubled in the

decade from 2004/2005 to 2013/2014, rising from 66,000 students to 124,000, an 88% growth,

compared to growth rate of 22% for Canadian students. An additional break down shows that in

2013/2014, international students represented 11% of all students on Canadian campuses, with

the majority of these students coming from Asia, up from 7% in 2004/2005 (Statistics Canada,

2015). These students contribute the major share of educational revenue. Tuition revenues for

international students increased by 107% between 2012 and 2016 (Crawley, 12 July 2017). In 2012, 265,400 international students spent a total of some $8.4 billion, helping sustain 86, 570 Canadians (Government of Canada Global Affairs, 2014, pp. 7–11). The new strategy aims $16.1 billion international student expenditure by 2022 (Johnstone & Lee, p. 1066). Citing the national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* (2014, January 16), Johnstone and Lee posit that this speaks to Canada's interest "in a global rush for the brightest minds" as "a path to the nation's prosperity" (p. 1066). Thus, the gains are more than economic. For example, the outgoing International Trade Minister of Canada Claudette Bradshaw (2014) thus acknowledged the importance of international students to Canada: "access to global talent is a key to the country's future productivity and trade, for the skills students can bring to the work force, their economic impact while studying and their potential as informal ambassadors in they return home" (cited in Johnstone & Lee, 1066).

In the context of global knowledge economy, western nations continue to exploit on the superiority conferred to English language and the western education system. In the context of Canada, Johnstone and Lee (2016) posit that as an active member of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an organization of developed countries who set up educational policies, standards, and scales of language and literacy proficiency and competence, Canada's education policies can be best explained within the neo-imperial, neoliberal order of "progress and economic expediency" (p. 1063). OECD's active desire for global dominance in education "creates and maintains a global market for knowledge production and expands the soft power of western nations" (p. 1063). The historical development in the last 25 years in Canadian education has shown that its priority has shifted from what once used to be defined within the welfare state and national culture frames to the one that aligns snuggly with neoliberal paradigm,

in which education equates training in occupation and business. In the postnational, global market stage, decisions regarding the global governance of education and educational policies go in the hand of supranational organizations such as OECD, the United States Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the European Union (EU) and the World Bank (p. 1064). These policies are often defined in terms of a natural response to fast-growing technology, global competition and motivation of individuals and families for social and economic mobility. Hidden beneath the neutralizing, depoliticizing narratives of global governance of education is, it can be safely argued, the political motivation for global expansion and capital accumulation.

This research supports the call for democratizing learning spaces. The growing influx of international students in Western higher education has created pressures on the institutions to revise their teaching methods and evaluation measures. In this context, College Composition and Communication's "Statement on second language writing and writers" (2009) has recommended inclusive placement, curricular, assessment and relevant institutional arrangements. At least this development has suggested that higher education should respect different semiotic resources rather than impose monolithic linguistic norms on multilingual students.

The global spread of English has left no one unaffected. Beyond the Global North, where English is the default modus operandi, educators, scholars and literacy policy makers in the Global South are trying to grapple with the growing craze of English, or what Park (2009) calls "English fever". In these contexts, the English way of life takes on a modernized, progressive character, more than a passport or ticket to a better future. The sweeping spread of English-medium instruction in China, where English is "exalted" to "a highly commendable reform initiative and cornerstone of quality education" (Hu, 2009, p. 47) is just one of many examples

that attests to the "English fever". In a bid to compete for a global share of market, countries such as China, Korea, and Brazil are pumping a significant portion of state funds into English education. As Hu writes, in Mainland China, what is introduced as "Chinese-English bilingual education" has replaced traditionally regarded bilingual education, namely the education of ethnic minorities in their native language and Chinese: "from kindergartens to tertiary institutions, bilingual education has become part of the everyday vocabulary not only of educationists but also of ordinary people" (citied in Hu, p. 28). Mao (2012) reports on the language purge in action in the context of the Shanghai World Expo, 2010 and 2008 Summer Olympics. As Mao elaborates, anticipated to draw more than 70 million visitors over its six-month run, the Shanghai Commission for the Management of Language, which was "modeled on Beijing's effort to eradicate 'unruly' uses of English for the 2008 Summer Olympics", launched a language campaign of two years with an aim to "to eradicate various forms of localized, or what was deemed to be Chinese maladaptations of, English and to minimize misunderstanding between Chinese hosts and their English-speaking guests" (p. 513). The result? Mao tells us that the campaign fixed more than 10,000 public signs, rewrote English-language historical placards, and assisted hundreds of restaurants in revising their offerings (p. 513). As we can see, education in English becomes not only the cornerstone of quality education, but also an indispensible move toward modernization, economic progress, and creating persuasive ethos for the Western worlds.

Little surprise, then, that as of 2013, an estimated 1.75 billion people were learning and using English worldwide and this figure is projected to rise to two billion (The British Council, 2013). More than 300 million were the Chinese learning English in 2015, and an estimated 100,000 native English speakers were teaching English in 2012 (International TEFL Academy

[ITA]). In South Korea alone, 24,000 English speakers work as English teachers (ITA). The English language industry is such a big industry on its own.

Given that English language alone shows an ever increasing and unstoppable global fever and frenzy, complemented by the popularized image of the language as a language of modernity, a global link and everyday need, the internationalization of education has become a "hot commodity" (Donahue, 2009, p. 212). The aggressive campaigns and expanding reach of the call for literacy in English represented by the numbers above attest to the modern form of colonization through language and culture. There exist, therefore, although not matching the drive of the "English fever", anti-currents to English literary. Mao (2012) writes, drawing on Rohsenow, that "[a]lmost parallel to this language story (shown in the previous page) is how Chinese cultural nationalists are reevaluating past language reforms, which began in the May 4th Culture Movement at the turn of the twentieth century, in order to promote traditional or full-blown Chinese characters (*fanti*) (p. 513). Amid this apparent tension, this research is with Donahue that as educators and scholars we need to disrupt the colonial mentality by challenging the export/import model of education and replacing it with a dialogic, interactional, cross-cultural model, which allows us to go beyond the "us-them" dichotomy (Donahue, 2009, p. 214). As suggested earlier via the border metaphor, I like this research to be a moment for the Global North to "think about where our work fits in the world rather than where the world's work fits into ours (Donahue, p. 214). Cross-cultural, border-crossing practices are both facts and moral imperatives. I pose the following questions to help me explore and address the gaps I have identified:

1. What challenges and opportunities do immigrants identify in the higher education institutions in Canada? How do they negotiate and navigate cultural, linguistic and rhetorical differences?

2. What do immigrants' diversified histories, subjectivities, and "porous" borders mean to how and what they do *to* and *with* English?

3. What is translingual and transliterate about the immigrants' use of language? Or does a translingual framework explain the language practices of the participants?

4. How can we put students' linguistic, cultural, and literate backgrounds, resources and repertoires to use in ways that values and promotes those resources and initiates productive dialogues across differences?

Although the primary grounding of this research is in language, literacy, composition/writing studies in the Global North as gleaned from a recent immigrant student population in undergraduate and graduate programs in Ontario, the globalization of the knowledge economy, the corporatization, neoliberalization and supranationalization of language and education as the new aggrendization of global power; capital accumulation and imperialization; and the cumulative impact these dynamics have on world's linguistic and cultural diversity, leading to the unequal distribution of human capital (brain drain) and further ghettoization of minority identities, the areas and concerns this research draws from and constitutes, should be of interest to not only those in writing studies, linguistics, language policy, but also to those in migration and diaspora studies in the larger context of the Global North. Having said that, the limitation of this research lies in the bewilderingly expansive, if closely mediated, areas it draws on and responds to. The resulting eclecticism, although warranted by participant conversations, has also in part to do with my passion for making connections to my

interest areas, my training, educational background and my own experiences of living difference. If my passion did not meet my readers', I am the one to blame. The broadness has also largely to do with the methodological diversity and the rich interaction of studies and fields that this research engages with, including rhetoric and composition, post/decolonial criticism, and diaspora and migration studies. I also admit that, as I join conversations around diversity, which in itself has inspired a puzzling range of responses from all different areas, I feel that my presence has been one of mediation between my participants' conversations and disciplinary conversations. I hope that students and scholars in the Global North (receiving nations) beyond literacy and writing studies will find this research interesting and useful and relate in some ways to some of the conversations.

I would he happy if this research made sense to teachers and scholars in writing studies, literacy studies, post- and de-colonial studies including diaspora and migration issues, and if they could draw something from here. As captured in the four layers of questions in the previous page, my main goal is to inform us, as literacy and writing teachers, of some of the feelings and concerns that this population has had grappling with how difference is treated and what they have to say about these experiences; in other words, how the featured participants have responded to how their linguistic and literacy differences are received, what their languaging means for current discussions around language difference (such as translingualism), and most importantly, how we can put students' linguistic, cultural, and literate backgrounds, resources and repertoires to use in ways that values and promotes those resources and initiates productive dialogues across differences.

Methodology

The main information sources of this research are focus group discussions, interviews, case studies, and observations from a convergence of individual and collective literacy sites, activities, and identity works among Nepali communities and featured immigrant students. The multiple methodologies I have adopted are responsive to, and can help us better capture, the layered nature of language use and ideology in diasporic and translational context (Rosa & Trivedi, 2015). I use ideology in the sense of how our view of what is real, desirable, valuable and expectable is shaped by systems of beliefs (Therborn, 1980). Therborn identifies three fundamental modes of subjection-qualification in expounding this concept of ideology: what exists (and does not); what is good/right (and is not); and what is possible (and impossible). Therborn further identifies four dimensions of ideological subjection-qualification: inclusive-existential (related to our being a member in the world); inclusive-historical (tribe, nation, kinship); positional-existential (gender, forms of individuality); positional-historical (occupation, education, political position, class (p. 133). This, to me, covers a range of ideological constructs including power-knowledge, disciplinary community formations (Foucault, Fairclough, in critical discourse analysis), and a variety of strategies of control, management, and domination.

Participants

Participants in this research comprise a total of 16 students, eight graduate students and eight undergraduate students, in the humanities, social sciences and management programs located in various universities in Ontario that represented the higher concentration of Nepali students. Humanities, social sciences, and management disciplines integrate strong communication essentials as their components: writing, assignments, presentation, and various genre-related writing and communication tasks. Graduate students are expected to produce

something close to publication, appropriately aligning with disciplinary practices. Undergraduate programs initiate students into disciplinary knowledge. Together, this mix of population provides for a complex understanding of their academic literate work. For consistency, the following criteria were used to select the participants:

- Must be skilled migrant in Canada within the last five years — this is to account for the transitional state of academic and diasporic experiences

- Be enrolled in a graduate or undergraduate programs that have strong writing, presentation and communicative components

- Have progressed at least through the second term/semester in the program— this is to account for student progress over the term and relative disciplinary familiarity

- Have experience in some EAP/ESL course, visited college/university writing centers

- Have experience working or volunteering or seeking a job[8]

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (Waterloo Region)					
Name (Pseudonym)	Education (Nepal)	Education (Canada)	International experience (Nepal)	Past/current Canadian experience (Canada)	Other Canadian experience
Ram (also featured in oral interview)	MA, English	MA	Univ. lecturer, intl. media (full-time)	Security guard, counsellor	Volunteered
Birat (in case study)	More than 1 Master's	HRM, MSW	lecturer, admin	Social worker	Volunteered
Kisor	More than one Humanities, SS	Social Sciences, US	College instructor	TA/RA, independent teaching	Volunteering
Sita	Social science (India)	Social science	INGO (women and marginalized)	Seeking job	Volunteering
Kumar	MA, Humanities	MA, Humanities	Univ. lecturer	TA, Factory work	Volunteering

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[8] Volunerring merits special mention here, as my participants, some of whom call it "voluntarism", emphasizing its ideological function, see it as flawed system at least in two respects. First, they feel that it is forced upon them. Most complain that recommendation for volunteering seems to be motivated not so much by the intention to help them familiarize with institutional practices as the pretext to deny them direct access to jobs, cohering with Allen's discussion of neoliberal policies (Chapter Two). Second, because this kind of involuntary volunteering is contradictory to its own name, other than adding an additional line to volunteers' resume, it fails the function of institutional immersion for the volunteers.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (Greater Toronto Area)					
Kranti (oral interview & case study)	MA, English	College, social work	Univ. lecturer	Security guard, factory work	Volunteered
Dipesh	M.Ed.	College degree, ESL	College instructor	Security guard	Volunteered
Bigyan	MA, English	College, CE	Instructor	Security guard	Volunteered
Gita	MBS	Care sector	Instructor	Nursing practitioner	Volunteered
Mangal	MA, English	College, Hospitality	College instructor		Volunteered
Interviews (Waterloo + Guelph, Northern Ontario), outside focus group					
Dilip (oral + written (online)	MA, English	MA, CSW	Univ. lecturer, Translator	Security guard	Volunteered
Prem (online)	MA, MPhil M.Ed.	MA	Univ. lecturer, English	--	--
Rita	MA, Sociology	Social Sciences	Univ. lecturer	Social worker	Volunteered
Ranju	MSC	Care sector, customer care	College instructor	PSW	--
Interviews (GREATER TORONTO), New and outside focus group					
Himal	M.Ed.	College, CE	Instructor	Security guard	Volunteered
Dibesh	MA social sciences	College, CE	College instructor	--	Volunteered

Table 1: Featured participants

Recruitment, data collection, and data analysis

I met some of the participants during various community-organized programs. In addition, Nepali locals in GTA offered to solicit additional participants matching my selection criteria. Data were obtained from two focus group discussions, seven interviews (oral and written), observations of writing in academic and non-academic spaces, and observations of several community programs, including talks and Non-resident Nepali Canada (NRN-C) annual general meetings. The variety of data sources was meant to ensure a more complex picture of language, literacy, and identity that a single data source would not have availed. Focus group

discussions lasted between 120 and 150 minutes. They were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Four of the group participants were interviewed following focus group discussions. All face-to-face interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Each interview ran between 45 and 90 minutes. The interviews were meant to work as a follow-up on the focus group discussions. Discussion prompts were reused during the interview; however, the order of prompts, foci and variations depended on interviewees' reactions to the questions and the natural course of the interview. Questions and foci were also repurposed based on the participant's previous views.

I kept the interview questions open-ended (see Appendix A). The open nature of conversation was meant to generate new and unique perspectives not anticipated in the interview guide and outside of group dynamics. Researchers (e.g., Kitzinger, 1994) indicate that group discussions and individual conversations are occasions for members to express anything atypical, unique, eccentric or idiosyncratic. I followed this suggestion to tap into potential unique opinions although the result was a mix experience.

I also conducted five face-to-face interviews and two written interviews with participants outside the focus group to maximize the chance of eliciting a diverse range of opinions by using different communication channels. My assumption was that participants would find it more convenient to respond in writing, as I thought that it would allow them an opportunity to express their opinions in a more organized manner than it would be possible in the face-to-face interview context, and that it response in writing allow them to make a desired number of revisions and communicate outside the pressure of oral 'spontaneity'. However, this did not happen; perhaps because written questions lacked clarifying components such as follow-up and complementary questions, on-the-spot guidance, and participants' cross-influence in forming opinions and interpretations. Overall, in this case, the face-to-face medium led to more productive discussions.

In addition to the focus group discussions and interviews, I looked into the written texts of two student writers, consisting of academic writing by a graduate student and composition in social media by a community member, then an undergraduate student. I had a chance to be in constant conversation with the graduate student and learn about his involvement in co-curricular activities and projects through which he seemed to compensate his perceived lacks, negotiated and even took advantage of his *difference*. The second case is interesting in its own right, because it includes compositions written outside academic venues, free from the pressure of evaluation, thus potentially generative of quite a different set of meanings than would be possible from the more rigidly assigned tasks. Complementary questions organized around flexible prompts enriched the cases studied (see appendix B).

Finally, I took fieldnotes from community programs including Non-resident Nepali Canada's (NRN-C) general conventions, space where they discuss current challenges facing the community and set up future action plans and visions. These programs drew a wide range of resident Nepali, including professionals and students in Canada and in the U.S., delegates from the Nepali Embassy in Canada, and invited guests outside the community. Participating in various community programs and taking notes helped me to familiarize myself with issues that matters the community. Issues emerged included empowering the community by mobilizing community resources through mentoring and networking support, soliciting funding and research support for community enrichment and literacy program for the young ones, identifying and addressing problems underlying the community, supporting Nepal in its transition to a federal democratic republic[9], and most importantly, exploring ways in which to contribute to Canada's multiculturalism. Meeting individual members during informal gatherings was an opportunity to

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[9] In 2006, a unified People's Movement (a) deposed monarchy and (b) led the foundation for Nepal as a republican country, ending, most importantly, (c) ten-year long Moist Revolution (1996-2006).

listen to their stories of discrimination. This familiarization helped me to reflexively set up agenda for discussion prompts. The goal was to (a) elicit participants' experiences in Canada as they transitioned into new academic milieus; (b) understand linguistic, rhetorical and communicative strengths and challenges; and (c) learn about how they navigated and negotiated linguistic, cultural and epistemological differences.

All data obtained through these multiple methods and sites were coded using Charmaz's (2006) revised grounded theory and involved open coding, select coding, and thematic coding. Emerging themes were revisited reflexively over time. This research also utilized critical discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis, as general methods to derive meaning.

My initial plan was to diversify the sample by including all kinds of Nepali immigrants, but I eventually decided to focus on the student population. I must admit that leaving out those members within the community who have not made it to Canadian higher education and are still languishing in the "transition industry" (Allen, 2014) makes my method vulnerable to critique from a strict representational angle. However, as most migrant students I have cited here have had experiences in some sort of entry-level jobs that they speak to explicitly in the research, I like to think that the sample is representative enough.

I must acknowledge the low representation of women participants—four of all participants. However, the low presence of women does not seem to be directly indicative of the continued inequality of women in this community or in this country. Inversely, women participants in this research felt that they were less discriminated in Canada. In fact, the low representation has to do with my research criteria, as most women are in the field of care, such as nursing and personal support worker (PSW), early childhood education (ECE), a result in many ways of immigration policy rather than choice. But the fact that more women than men are in

vocational and job-secure fields and more men than women are in "academic" fields suggests that there is something disproportionate about what women are doing, what they think they can and are expected do, given the legacy of gender stratification in jobs. Vortovec (2006) shows that women migrants are mostly to be found in domestic or health services and that "many basic features of super-diversity—especially the interrelated patterns surrounding immigrants' country of origin, channels of migration, employment, legal status and rights—tend to be highly gendered" (pp. 19–20). Given her gendered responsibility, the default, deeply rooted received position and expectation about her as mother and wife, combined with their moral subjugation naturalized over long history of domination contributes to continued differentiated roles. Aside from the 'default' gender roles and responsibilities, the gender division remains to be a vital indicator of what job and education options are available for women in migration. Thus, the fact that a majority of migrant Nepali women take some care-related professions instead of pursuing a university degree speaks to gendered life and work in diaspora.

A note to being an insider researcher

I am both a native to Nepali community, but also mediated by and constitutive of the observer-observed continuum. There are more commonalities between us than there are differences. As a member of the community, I have access to most aspects of the community's life, have taken on community roles, and know expected and approved rules or behaviours within the community (Moss, 1992, p. 161). I hold continued relationships and contribute to the community and its interests. However, certain indexes, such as my non-residence status in Canada and my researcher role, my disciplinary training, and the privilege associated with being a researcher, marked me differently from other members. As a counter, some of the participants are researchers in their own right, and they understood and even anticipated challenges

associated with conducting research *with/in* a researcher's own community.

As Dibesh comments rather insightfully,

> Of course, research and finding of research is also political agenda and who is the researcher not only who are the researched on, who is the researcher also determines the objective and goal of research. You and me are from the same background, same country; [this] also plays the vital role. Sometimes what happens [is that] we lack vital knowledge. We as a Nepali researcher and researching on Nepalese issues, we may miss some good but small matters thinking that we already know [about the] people who are researched on. Some vital issues … we may take for granted. Like, to give an example, cultural ceremony Dashain. If the white people or non-Hindu people research on Dashain, he will explore every detail, but if I do research on Dashain, I will research on different way. I think that people already have this knowledge and I will take it for granted. That would make very different in the researching field. (Dibesh, personal communication, April 10, 2016)

Dibesh is making important observation— that an 'insider' researcher may *assume* meaning and "take [things] for granted". An entirely insider's approach is thought to lack the other side's perspective and could be taken as an ethnocentric, culturally solipsistic, self-preferential, inward, and hermetically sealed approach. This awareness invites me to the critical and reflexive role as a researcher conducting research on my own community to minimize biases arising from insiderism. In this regard, Moss recommends researchers to make sure that they verify an assumption, meaning or tentative conclusion with the people in the community (Moss 1992, p. 168). Following this recommendation, I made sure that the agenda and processes for this research evolved from my participants, that they participated fully in most stages of research— right from identifying issues pertinent to them, to conducting discussions and interviews. I showed my participants manuscripts in which their contribution was interpolated, analyzed and interpreted to avoid misinterpretation. Member checking, debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Braun & Clarke, 2006) and follow-up interviews were employed to ensure participants' intended meaning was not misrepresented and under- or over-emphasized.

My position as a researcher is intersectional, which rejects the insider/outside dichotomy. In this context, the Pilipino American historian researcher Coloma (2008) mentions three research positions; namely, the "compartmental", the "intersectional", and the "constitutive subjectivity" positions (p. 15). Of the three, Coloma favors the constitutive position. As Coloma explains, while the compartmental model relies on the insider/outsider, observer/observed dichotomy, leading to "deterministic essentialist suppositions" (p. 15), the "intersectional" position rejects dichotomous and discrete positions, acknowledging the simultaneity of insiderness and outsiderness. Researchers employing the intersectional position have addressed their situatedness in various overlapping, conflicting and competing subject positions and coordinates including nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, class. The final research position, the "constitutive subjectivity", as Coloma asserts, is neither like '*coming and going home*' as in the compartmental model nor like *standing at the crossroad*, as in the intersectional model; it is explained as a bridge and *bridging differences* (p. 21). Coloma argues that we need to understand subject and object positions "as *always already refracted within and through each other*" (original emphasis, p. 20).

For Coloma, the constitutive subjectivity position *bridges* the writer's multiple, complicated, and competing selves. However, this multiply "refracted" subjectivity position does not strike me as distinct from the intersectional subjectivity position stemming from critical race and feminist theories. Besides, Coloma's "situatedness" with his 'research subjects' is different from mine. In his visit to the research site, the Philippines, Coloma was marked as an outsider, someone who had "been gone for [too] long" to represent the locals. He was advised to take caution, to follow the norms in order to re-belong and "not negatively stand out" (p. 14). His mother in particular advised him "to grow out my hair, keep my mouth closed and not speak in

public", noticing that "my shaved head and my American-accented Tagalog marked me as a non-Filipino or someone from abroad" (p. 14). In this sense, my intersectional position is different from that of Coloma's. Coloma strikes to the locals in the Philippines as an outsider by virtue of his U.S. citizenship, accents and ways of life marked as an outsider's. My accents and features of writing, as open to evaluation and description now, indicate that I am a partial outsider and partial insider to the somewhat flattened idea of the Western knowledge. I also refrain from a position of bridging subjectivity, between, say, the West and my nativity. I think that the bridge and refraction model that Coloma develops to describe complex subjectivity such as his is complementary to the idea of intersectional subjectivity rather than it being a unique contribution. In this research, I see myself at the intersection of knowledge and epistemic border between Nepal, and its location in the broader/border Indian subcontinent, and Western academia.

Chapter highlights and summary

Language and literacy are not just what people acquire as neutral and transparent toolkits. They are embroiled and enmeshed in ideology; operationalized for naming, labeling, and assigning values to people and their abilities. As participants in this research encounter new contexts of English and academic literacy in a more or less the "one language and one culture" paradigm, they became aware of their identity as strangers. This research proposes to foreground diaspora as a descriptor to analyze literate movements across space and time. Such an emphasis will enable us to redirect our attention to movements and exchange of language and literacies and the *movement* that the unmooring and disavowal (of meaning and identity from fixed and assigned locations and positions and purisitic lines of inquiry) engenders, this in complement to such concepts as hybridity, syncretism, créolité, mestizaje, and palimpsestic transnationalisms so

long as these conceptualizations make it possible for us to imagine and live new relationships in the uneven world of our own making but in caution, even opposition when/if these terms are misapprehended and misused and valorized and idealized.

A significant part of this dissertation concerns not just creating conditions and opportunities for doing, meaning, being, valuing differently but also pushing us to go beyond the rhetoric of opportunity and permissibility. To that end, I triangulate participants' sense of the construction and organization of diasporic identity and **language difference**. Diaspora, in that sense, is not a space of simplified hybridity, but one of a contact zone (Pratt) in which to routinely witness the staging of power inequality in various manifestations, struggles for being recognized and for differently meaning. Such a perspective calls for understanding the nexus between language, race, and identity in a racially complacent Canada, with its official multicultural policy that makes it hard for some of us to ordinarily see and unravel the comforting fiction of multiculturalism and inconvenient truths it has for immigrants (e.g., Fleras, 2014).

Against the desire, demand and expectation for language homogeneity, in which agency is mapped onto correct language and discourse use, my participants have enabled me to understand difference as the basis of agency and foreground ethical principles, openness–and unabated receptivity–to difference. The ethical and *difference-as-a-norm* view of agency that I forward in this dissertation, building on participant opinions and research, **decolonizes diversity** from what is now the neoliberalist paradigm, and pays attention to negotiating, listening to, and working across linguistic, cultural, interpretive differences (e.g., Ratcliffe's "rhetorical listening"). Last but not the least, I **revisit translingualism** in light of immigrants' literate

practices and performances of translanguaging and transliterating that show more open options and avenues for meaning-making differently than seem to be currently available.

Chapter One, "The diasporic topology: Re-narrating the uncanny and untranslated" introduces the problem of strange(r)-making, de-skilling, de-credentialing, discouraging, and containing. This chapter introduces us to participants' 'self'-identification and 'self'-representation although "self" is something of a misnomer, given that our selves and subjectivities are a result of self-other mediation, relationality, web of associations, and the process of "subjectification" (Foucault, 1991). This inherent associationality involves the dialectic of self-making and being made. Participants 'self-identify' as e(stranged), devalued, discriminated, vulnerabal*ized*, ascribing these offshoots to dominant language and literacy practices inscribing immigrants within the schemes of normative, homogeneous language use, deep-seated colonial bias and the self-assumed Western superiority. But they also re-describe and re-define identity crisis, estrangement, vulnerability as being a source of energy, in ways that challenge "hidden signs of racial superiority, cultural hegemony, and dismissive 'othering' of people and language" (Morrison, 1992, p. x), a point I discuss more explicitly in Chapter Two, by pointing out various discouraging and containing measures. Participants show an awareness that they are vulnerable to being exposed and evaluated as deficit, but they are not ready yet to give up on their different English. Participants have supplied us with social critique of the ongoing colonialism and racism as enacted through language and, in this case, the language-race-migration interface. This chapter ends with a suggestion that we need to pay attention to diaspora as a productive and conflicual site of hybridity and difference.

Chapter Two, "Human capital: Neoliberalization of education and migration", deals with corporatization and neoliberalization of education, work, and life, as the once Keynesian social

welfare State Canada is gradually switching into a market-ruled neoliberal State (Johnston & Lee, 2014; 2017; Mulvale, 2001). More specifically, this chapter looks into two instances of neoliberalization: the neoliberalization of higher education and the neoliberalization of migration, which will allow us to view migrants as literacy, pedagogy, human capital, and policy subjects within the scheme of governmentality and technology of the self (Foucault), language featuring as a prime organizer in the scheme of subjectification. As elsewhere, it brings participants into dialogue with existing research on immigration and the internationalization of higher education in view of policies and programs targeted to immigrants. The focus lies specifically in neoliberal management of subjects along the vectors of language, education, and immigration and settlement policies. Altogether, here I weave raciolinguistic framework to help us understand the ways language-race-immigration operationalize with other governmental rationalities whose function it appears to ensure that the marginalized, left out and left over spaces and positions are reserved for and occupied by immigrants and minorities.

Chapter Three, "Decolonizing diversity: Toward a view of difference as agency", discusses resistance and agency in a select body of writing scholarship followed by an analysis of participants' resistance to existing agency-denying structures and dispositions. I yoke existing research with participants' own kinetic (agency as acts) and potential agencies (agency as possibilities) and active and implied forms of resistance. This chapter also questions language-centric (that also alphabetic, graphocentric, that also English monolingual regime) agency and considers agency-denying and agency-thwarting situations that have, paradoxically, contributed to participants' agency. Of the two sections in this chapter, the first section discusses agency and argues for moving toward a view of agency as difference and the second section revisits problematic spots in multiculturalism, postcolonialism, and salient pluricentric approaches to

language and literacy in order to argue for decolonizing the liberalist and relativist framework of agency and ethics, one which I hope accounts for a more nuanced view of difference.

Chapter Four, "Diversifying translanguaging: Toward transliterating", grounds translingual approach in the *different* language labor of the immigrant students as gleaned from their writing (case study) and their opinions as linguistic others, for lack of a better term. A growing body of scholarship in composition and writing studies have pointed out the reality that English is appropriated, adapted and localized around the world in ways that it is neither possible, reasonable, nor ethical to withstand the logic of practicality, standardness, and "need" for holding onto a putatively homogeneous view of language. As a living and contact language, English has evolved over time rather heterogeneously, taking various regional inflections, allowing for new accents, dialect, vernacular usage, rendering the very idea of Standard English a myth (Matsuda, 1999; Horner & Trimbur, 2002). Writers like Horner & Lu (2007; 2013), Canagarajah (2013), Young (2007, 2009), Horner et al. (2011) have argued for actively promoting language diversity in academic writing by attending to deviations and differences. Participants in this research join voices and forces with some of these calls for action and change.

Proponents of the translingual approach believe that it allows us to move beyond, in Canagarajah's (2016) terms, the problematic monolingual, the *additive* multilingual, and the *recursive* plurilingual models of language teaching and literacy acquisition to a more complex understanding of crossing. However, in light of the critiques I pointed out in the beginning, this research decolonizes translingual approach and expands the gamut of translingual writing by taking it beyond its scope from it current primary locus and focus on U.S. composition to include a wide range of codemeshing necessity and possibility. By revisiting translingualism, this chapter

calls for and suggests ways in which to make translingualism more open to differences as they happen elsewhere.

In the concluding chapter, "Re-languaging academia, re-literating literacy, re-policing policies", I consider what translingual scholarship would mean to the participants in question; what it offers, or does not, to our understanding of what and how my participants have engaged language, cultural and epistemic differences and why and how they have questioned language difference as one, if main, instance of Eurocentrism. I first de-conflate translingualism with code-meshing (Young, 2009). Then I propose to re-read translingualism in terms of transliteracy, which I define as the convergence of apparently different literacy and meaning-making resources *and* practices. By destabilizing code and exposing the arbitrariness of codes, transliteracy disrupts the equation of literacy with English Literacy and the ongoing centrality of English language (Anglocentrism) over *othered* languaging and meaning makings. Finally, and most importantly, I revisit the previous chapters and draw some participant-driven recommendations for "re-englishing English, re-literarting literacy, and re-policing 'faulty policies'", for pluralizing social, academic and institutional spaces, thereby urging them to be more responsive to differences they are an inescapable part of. Overall, this dissertation argues for taking difference beyond permissibility, right, and opportunity to our endless responsibility for the Other's irreducibility to us (Lévinas). It argues for difference in its own terms.

Chapter One

The diasporic[10] topology: Re-narrating the uncanny and untranslated

This chapter explores how Nepali immigrants identify themselves as they navigate social and institutional demands and expectations in Canada. We will encounter participants' articulation of tacit, normalized, and naturalized relationships of domination and hierarchy underlying the policies that cleverly mask the workings of power, leading to a question of how ideology operates through de-politicized and de-racialized language and shapes people's view of what exists or is real, what is good or valuable, and what is (im) possible (van Dijk, 1998, p. 8; Myers, 1986, p. 156; Therborn cited in Berlin, 1988, p. 479).

The Nepali diaspora embraces Canada as their कर्म थलो (place of work and action), an experiential, existential and intellectual space, for Canada is their *acquired* home, a collective result of their qualifications and accomplishments, as well as a home always in the making. This कर्म (karma) is not to be confused with the *karma* in the Hindu theistic tradition, in which *karma* is fate and consequence of one's past deeds, a consequentialist view of moral justice that provides for social sanctions, reward and punishment (Berkley Center for Religion).[11] Like other minority

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[10] Diaspora and transnationalism have been used interchangeably although they represent distinctive genealogies and semantic differences (Faist, 2010). Diaspora scholar Faist identifies three notable differences between diaspora and transnationalism: (a) "the scope of groups", (b) "identity and mobility" and (c) "temporal dimension" (pp. 21–22). Whereas diaspora concerns national, religious, cultural and ethnic groups, transnational has a wider network of relations: "not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organizations" (p. 9). Diaspora is often paired with "community", "group", "collectivism", and "solidarity" whereas transnationalism is paired with "spaces," "fields" and "formations". Transnationalism stands for cross-flow of cultural customs and practices that transcend international borders and everyday *practices* and *activities* of migrants and (Faist, p. 13, p. 11). As a whole, diaspora literature emphasizes the cultural distinctiveness and cultural autonomy of diaspora and minority groups; transnational literature concerns migrant "incorporation"/ "integration", "social cohesion", transnational "practices" and "activities" and processes. Faist observes, however, that both universalizing and particularizing processes are co-present in diasporic and transnational approaches. Sideri (2008) writes that whereas diaspora signifies em-place-ment or reterritorialization of space into "a more personalized, historicized and localized experience", the transnational refers to the process of "various communities taking into account their deterritorialization and non-essentialist identity" (pp. 36–39).

[11] "Non-theistic strands of Hinduism believe karma to be cause-and-effect which does not require a deistic mediation" (Berkley Center for Religion). From the perspective of agency (Chapter Three), to rely on karma is to allow past actions determine our present and future existential possibilities and choices. Individuals are not an

communities, it wishes that the mainstream society treated them as equal members who could equally contribute to the wellbeing of Canada. One of the overriding concerns among the community members is that this country has not recognized, or perhaps does not want to recognize, the different resources of immigrants from which it could gain in more ways than just economically. This misalignment between immigrants' perceived self-worth and institutional and social non-recognition, between self-oriented identities and other ascribed identities, power relations, and voice (Hua, 2017, p. 123) is evident in the words the participants have used to describe themselves, the underlying tone in which they voice their disappointment, and the semantic scope of the words and metaphors they have deployed to grapple with their conditions. Members of this community speak of identity crisis, of inhabiting a vulnerable position, of being subject to constant evaluation and human capital and employability metrics, and of the uncanny consciousness arising from a simultaneous dwelling in the familiarity and the unfamiliarity in language, literacy and identity contexts that are, if we were to reverse Bhabha's (1984) analytics of the colonizer's take on the colonized, "almost the same but not quite" (p. 126). In a sense, this misalignment represents the tension not only between the two worldviews that are perhaps not necessarily irreconcilable, but also between, as Bhabha has a better way to express it for me, "the synchronic panoptical vision of domination—the demand for identity, stasis—and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history—change, difference…" (p. 126). I will say that the diasporic lived reality of shuttling between languages, cultures and worldviews represents this tension. As we will see, participants will have us redefine the apparently 'negative' semantics underlying the marginalized, the vulnerable, and the uncanny, as they invite us to appreciate their embracement

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aggregate of what they have done and can do in the present, as they carry the past from their predecessors, but they have the ability to craft the future and their posterity. In a sense, a value place on karma makes individuals responsible for their actions, a view that, I think, needs to be read as different from the ideology underlying "individualism", which blames the victims and makes them responsible for the social situation they are in.

of ongoing struggle for survival and existence, and a zeal for growth and visibility, and the resolve to regain confidence as meaning makers, scholars, and world citizens.

Much of what I am presenting in this chapter emerged from my participants' responses to several interrelated prompts employed during discussions and interviews in order to tease out how the participants self-represent and self-identify; perceptions of what they had and what they lacked; the positive and negative consequences of perceived and real differences and how they negotiated those differences; their strengths and resources as student writers and scholars and whether and how they had capitalized on their strengths and resources; things that stood out to them as exciting or challenging about academic and social contexts (see Appendix A). The discussions and interviews were open and fluid, with participants almost self-conducting the discussion throughout the process. There was no expectation of chronological order in which the matters were to unfold. Rather than the order, I was interested in discerning the consistency (or inconsistency thereof), resonance (or dissonance thereof), and the emotional intensity in the participant narratives and phenomenological experiences of living Canada.

In reviewing this community's perceptions of life, work and study in Canada that are specifically grounded on their experiences of engaging difference and being perceived as different, I have adopted the raciolinguistic framework (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Rosa & Flores, 2017). This framework attends to the increasingly vexed relationships between race, ethnicity, and language useful for my purpose here (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016). The raciolinguistic framework theorizes and analyzes language and race together.

In their research, Rosa and Flores (2017) deploy the raciolinguistic framework to explore:

> (i) the historical and contemporary colonial co-naturalization of language and race; (ii) perception of linguistic difference; (iii) regimentation of racial and linguistic categories; (iv) racial and linguistic intersections and assemblages; and (v) contestations of racial and linguistic power formations. (p. 621)

The raciolinguistic framework challenges the deficit view of language and culture associated with minoritized populations. The dehumanizing epithets used to describe language minorities and the pathologization of others as verbally deprived (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966), culturally poor (Lewis, 1959), "noble savages", mentally deficient and irrational have been central to the division of humanity across civilizational and developmental maps, the human-animal-like-subhuman schema; and to the building of nation-state, cultures, and governmentality (Mignolo, 2011; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Mills, 1997; Fanon, 1961).

Overall, this chapter re-narrates and rearticulates participants' self-identificatory notations and phenomenological experiences, such as a sense of estrangement, a simultaneous feeling of "familiarity and unfamiliarity" ("uncanny") and devaluation ("non-transfer", "non-translation") of skills and qualifications, by explaining these discriminatory measures in terms of nationalistic and neoliberalistic production of literate and policy subjectivities, which I further develop in the next chapter. I discuss diaspora life-worlds of featured immigrants and the community, focusing on their life, work and study experiences in Canada.

Di-mensions of raciolinguistics in North America

In Canada, *language* more than *race* has been central to the question of plurality and inclusion (Hugan & Siemerling, 2000). Canada's official multicultural policy, first introduced in 1971 and subsequently given a formal shape in Canadian Multicultural Act (CMA, 1988), makes it difficult for us to ordinarily blame the system on the racial ground, deflecting our attention from Whiteness as a persistent norm (McIntosh, 1989; Fleras & Elliott, 2002). However, we must acknowledge that language-based racism is insidious, one that vies for attention alongside phenotype-based racism, and that racism may assume new permutations, establish new norms and criteria, and find new bodies in which to reinscribe itself—hence the relevance of the

raciolinguistic framework in connection to governmentality, a concept that Foucault develops to describe various arts and rationalities of governing. The rise of neoliberalism, knowledge economy, and the push for entrepreneurialism has given language an active and complex role in the project of difference making/marking. We will see later in the next chapter that neoliberalism neutralizes racism by packaging it in the rhetoric of market demands and in the dictates of "excellence", "best practices", and "employability".

After situating the analytical frameworks deployed in this and the next chapter, it is time to turn to the diaspora community in question and what they have to say about how they have navigated Canadian social and institutional spaces. I will first discuss what the contested term "diaspora" means to this community, followed by the deliberation of the themes that emerged from discussions, interviews and participant observation.

In an (e)strange(d) state

Diaspora life-worlds: Living, working, and studying in diaspora

Observing the community's political, civic and community engagements and reading the constitutions of several regional community associations in Canada, I have gathered that conversations in the Nepali diaspora in Canada are saturated with a sense of nostalgia and active reconstruction: a feeling that life is not going to be the same again, an awareness that they cannot return to their place of birth, that a return can only take symbolic or imaginary expressions such as by imbuing, re-placing and re-signifying the present with the past; a premonition that while they will perhaps never be fully accepted into Canadian societies, they will sacrifice and devote the rest of their lives to their children who would be able to live a more respectful life.

From the featured student members, I gathered their views and experiences specific to Canadian higher education and job markets that I present under two headings: social, work and

academic life-worlds. I must note, however, that although such a classification allows for an easy navigation of this chapter, it should not lead us to a misconstrual that the work, social and the academic worlds are discrete, self-contained experiences; conversely, several of the participant experiences suggest an overlapping, dynamic and mutually-informing aspects shared by the apparently different lifeworlds. I use "lifeworlds" in a phenomenological sense of the world as lived, in the sense of life *conditions* and *being-and-becoming-in-the-world*.

Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide to conduct thematic analysis, which includes such steps as becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, was my guide as I worked though the themes. However, I must admit that I found the recommended processes of deriving themes more mechanical than intuitive, partly because I had taken notes and highlights during the actual discussions and interviews. Transcribing the entire conversation gave me much-needed further familiarity with the emerging themes. I used NVivo to code, annotate and take reflective notes. NVivo allowed me to capture the entire range of topics that came up during the conversations (also see the figures below). The themes selected for our discussion here is not a total representation of the data.

Member checking and debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Braun & Clarke, 2006) allowed me to ensure that I did not overemphasize or underemphasize the problems that emerged from the data. To give an example, one of the participants had used the term "uncanny" in focus group discussion to refer to a mix of familiar and unfamiliar feeling of being a part of academic conversation, to capture a sense of being here and there while also being in neither places, or occupying a hybrid position. The word functioned as a meta-term to suggest the West's production of others by various alienating technologies including the non recognition of

immigrants' educational credentials, skills, experience, and most importantly, language, which led me to a critical, philosophical inquiry into the uncanny, the self-alterity duality, and social and academic estrangement. Debriefing and follow up interviews helped me understand these other aspects to uncanny. While I have attempted to let the actors speak for themselves, following the actors themselves (Latour), I acknowledge that I am not immune to the subconscious process of extrapolating components of the narratives that were of particular interest to me.

A note on diaspora.

The Nepali community here in Canada uses the "Nepali diaspora" to define their identity and existence in a loose sense of the term diaspora; that is to say, not in the same prototypical, conventional sense that diaspora stands for. In the traditional sense, diaspora represents national, religious, linguistic and cultural roots and origins, a preoccupation with the past and the nostalgic, and a fixed notion of belonging. Drawing on diaspora scholar Safran and others, for example, Cohen (1997) sums up, in *Global Diasporas*, that diasporic populations can be characterized in the following ways:

1. a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements;
2. an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
3. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;
4. a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
5. and the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. (Cohen, p. 29)

I should add that, except for a small number who came as refugees during the Maoist insurgency in Nepal between 1996 and 2006, the time frame and the population that are outside my participant selection criteria, the Nepali community in Canada is not a diaspora community

in the same sense that other forced, involuntary, indentured, slave, and labor diasporas such as

the Jews, the Sikhs, and the Africans are. A recent and voluntary migration, it is not a "victim,"

"labour", imperial and cultural diaspora; it can be called more appropriately a "trade" diaspora

(Cohen, 1997, p. x). Even so, the common features of diasporas, such as co-ethnic solidarity and

affiliation, the idealization of the past and a wish to return[12], are expressed and emphasized in

Nepali communities across Canada. To mention one, Nepali Associations in Canada share a

common idea of "fostering positive communication, mutual respect and cooperation among

Nepalese, and individuals or organizations of similar objectives and interests" (NCAO, 2001,

amended 2011).

I found that far from holding onto a rooted view of diaspora and diasporic identity and an

insular sense of community, the Nepali in Canada have shown multiple commitments:

commitment to motherland, to new home in Canada and to co-ethic affiliations. They are ready

for productive exchanges and mutual benefit. In the following, from Nepalese Canadian

Community Services (NCCS), the highlights are "integration", "preservation" of cultural

heritage "within the framework of multiculturalism", and the "liaison" with local, provincial and

federal organization in Canada:

- To facilitate the integration of Nepalese in Toronto, in Canadian society and to foster the retention and development of their cultural heritage within the framework of multiculturalism.
- Assisting new immigrants in their initial settlement by providing orientation services and information on housing, education, health care, job and business opportunities, legal aid and other services.
- Maintaining liaison with relevant public and private agencies, Local, Provincial and Federal organizations to promote the flow of information and services.
- Encouraging and promoting individual and community development initiatives by providing support in terms of facilitation with private and public institutions and giving technical advice. (NCCS)

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[12] Return in a symbolic rather than in a literal sense, such as through imaginary return (see Rushdie's *Imaginary Homelands*) and returning something to the motherland.

The newer understandings of diaspora take multiple identities, belongings, affiliations and border-crossing as natural aspects of mobility and movement, emphasizing the role of what the anthropologist James Clifford and Paul Gilroy would call *route* (over root). From fixity and stability, these metaphors redirect our attention to dynamism, movement, and process. Although a majority of the points by Cohen I selectively re-presented above correspond with traditional typologies of diaspora, several points in the list are relatable with how the Nepali diaspora community in Canada views itself. Several Nepali community initiatives have as their objective to facilitate the community's socio-economic integration in Canada. An example of this is the Professional Nepalese-Canadian Mentorship Program that aims to change an "all too familiar story" of community members like PD (alias), who have no choices but to accept low-paying, entry-level jobs to make ends meet in Canada despite their high qualification (Jain, 2013, September 6).

On this note of clarification, I present the general themes that emerged from focus group discussions and interviews. While each theme merits an individual attention, in the interest of space, I must adopt a selective approach to representing the themes that are of wider scope, association, and relevance.
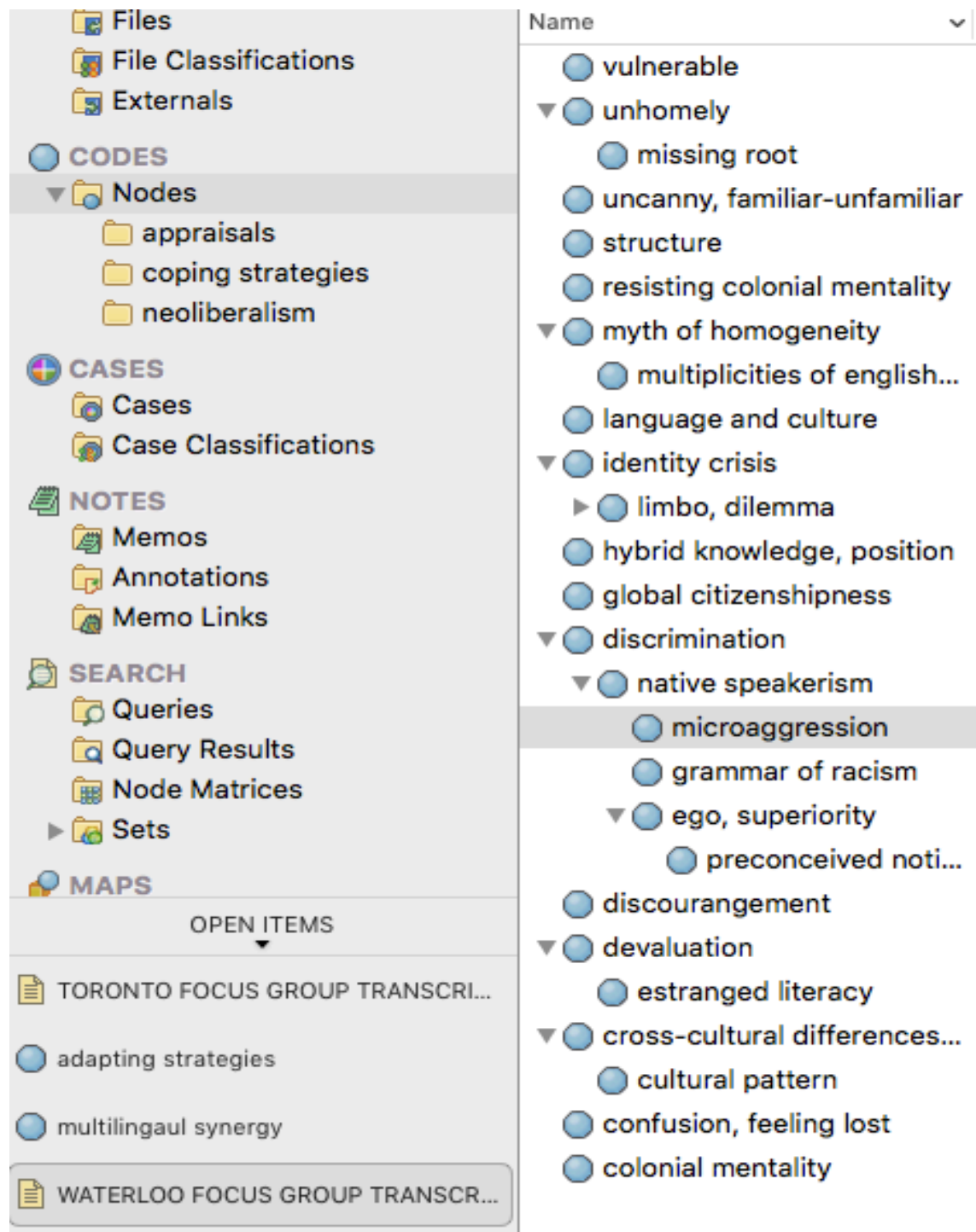
NVivo-coded themes representing focus group discussions

Student participants were appreciative of the aspects of academic and work lifeworlds

that they found to be more permissive, accessible and resourceful, and democratic than what was

available in Nepal. They critiqued the positions and conditions that they identified as

contradictory and unbefitting of a country they had in their imagination. As we can see in the

theme codes above, they come up with terms such as "vulnerable", "unhomely", "uncanny",

"structured", "colonial mentality", "homogenous expectation", and "discouraging" to describe

their general feeling of living as a language minority.

In representing their experience as students, most participants started positively and

appreciatively speaking of the specific programs: of the opportunity to learn new things and

develop new knowledge and skills; of the interdisciplinary nature of programs and courses; of

the wide range of courses available; and of the possibility to switch between disciplines and

subjects. Some lauded the fact that Canadian education trains students to the need of the market,

emphasizing practical, applied, and skills-developing knowledge.

As Mangal mentions,

> So, basically they also try to provide an individual in the ground of their *soft skills, what is basically demanded in the Canadian business industry, industry standards and technology*, of course. They always try to focus on writing, reading communication and behavioral parts as well which are mostly demanded in the business or on the job tomorrow. So it seems like it's more practical industry based, industry standard. (emphasis added, group discussion, February 16, 2016)

We will return to Mangal's point of "soft skills" and "industry standard" in more detail in

the next chapter in light of corporatization and what I would like to call the "skillification" of

education.

Let's look at another participant, Ram, adding a point that the courses offered are

interdisciplinary in nature:

> … courses are designed in such as way that they also intersect with other disciplines right? so the demarcation between specially the humanities and the social sciences is getting blurred. So this I really find very interesting here.

When it came to instructor attitude, approach, and disposition, participant responses show

mixed feelings. While some mentioned that professors recognize their different resources, others

spoke of the opposite. For example, Kishor says, "[some] professors really appreciate your writings but there are some others who don't" (group discussion). Another participant shared his aborted attempt to negotiate a topic he was familiar with and motivated to write on, citing the professor's unwillingness to allow him to write on the topic on the ground that he did not have expertise in that particular area and so could not evaluate and validate the student work. One could empathize with the professor that this was a responsible and professional stance to take. But by the same token, how ever anecdotal this case may be, it could also be taken as a gesture of unwillingness to negotiate student need, strength and motivation as well as the stance of distrust meted out to graduate-level student work.

Language-identity; language-culture; language-thought.

The interrelatedness between language and identity, language and culture, and language and thought was one of the key themes that emerged from the conversations. Participants spoke with noticeable discomposure and emotional intensity of the role of English language, accent and *how* one speaks the language, to render them as distinct (distinct in a deficit sense) from the speakers of "the language of wider communication" (Smitherman, 2017).

Participants thus spoke of how the English language has caused identity crisis and even the loss of identity:

> I am very sorry that I lose my identity. So yeah what I was there and what I became, what I transferred to be here, is my identity. So I went through identity crisis for long… (Bigyan)

> I enjoyed high prestigious job and high prestige at the society … Here we don't have this because we have to start from the bottom or from the ground level or root level. I couldn't find any job market over here and in the job market it is very hard for me to become competent as like the native speaker of the English so I left it and I chose the new career. (Dilip)

> In our back home English language was as a luxury. It was kind of power. When we spoke English, it was recognized as a good person, a kind of personality, a

> kind of masculine power, something like that … In my back home I was uh I was almost like a hero. (Dibesh)

In all these excerpts, not "becoming competent as like the native speaker", or what Holliday (2006) might call the "native speakerism" effect, is identified as the main source of identity crisis. When Bigyan says "I went through identity crisis for a long time", hidden beneath this expression is a positive note, as indicated by the past verb "went", meaning that the crisis is not permanent, that people learn to get accustomed to it, or forge new ways to re-make themselves. Dibesh's note— that the English that conferred him "heroism", "power" and "masculinity" back in Nepal no longer holds the same promise of power and privilege associated with masculinity in a place where "everyone speaks English", even kids, as the joke goes—begs a special mention here because none of the female participants ever associated "strength" in English with "masculinity" and "heroism." As we could see, Dibesh is naturalized to associate strength with masculinity and weakness with femininity. It seems as though being weak in English is losing masculinity. I imagine, and there is a bit of digression in order here, this gender allusion in itself opening up for us an entire range of conversations— something outside the present scope— around how certain language, discourse, and certain metaphors inscribe gender, ability, sex, race and class and how they become a site of battle over identity and prestige (see, e. g., Brodkey, 1989). It should be noted, however, that the women participants suggested that diaspora has significantly interrupted some socially sanctioned male privileges. They credit this change to the opportunity available for women to contribute to family income, 'to be like male', as it were. They reported no noticeable gender-based workplace discrimination, adding, instead, that that there exists a positive bias for women in their fields, namely, social work and care sectors. They found themselves to be positively motivated in schools, during job search and in the job, most likely because these places were women-led.

While some participants simply complained about what they identify as the ongoing

hegemony of English, others took a resolute stance against imitation and approximation:

> NO NO I never focus on tone and accent because it's just an imitation. Even it does not make you language natural at all so if you don't speak your language naturally there is a psychological obstruction. You feel somewhere difficult yourself. Why to put myself in difficulty. (Kranti, group discussion)

Avoiding "imitation", participants such as the one above strive to actively retain their

"natural" tone and accent, as it carries with it their distinct identity and implies a stance of non-

submission to the forces, visible or invisible, of homogeneity.

Dibesh is disconcerted that the fluency in a given language has been the measuring rod of

immigrants' overall strengths and abilities: "while speaking with people, people perceive us

through our language; they will not explore our knowledge, our attitude, anything else but *how*

we speak with them. That matters" (my emphasis, Dibesh, personal communication).

Dibesh further illustrates the challenge for immigrants like himself for getting a job due

to language-based evaluation:

> Suppose I have to seek the job, I have to introduce them within ten seconds, you see, within ten second introducing myself is challenging. I have to uh I have to persuade them, I have to assure them I am a good person for their company, for their institution, for their organization—that's the big challenge for us. (Dibesh)

As for Ram, he did not even make it to the interview stage because of racial bias, a point

to which we will return again and again:

> when you submit an application for a position, when employers and the advertisers, they look at your name look at your first name or second name right? instantly right? You are taken out of the list. What is the reason? The reason I think is your language. (personal communication, May 6, 2016)

Dilip, another participant, observes that he is not surprised at facing new challenges in

Canada, as he seemed prepared for it. He explains that different contexts demand different sets of

skills. However, he also admits, "As an immigrant I went through a severe period of transitional-

liminal period" (written communication, May 3, 2016). This was because, as he continues, "past

skill-sets, knowledge and experience get temporarily suspended/do not work, and new skill-sets,

knowledge and experience yet to be acquired."

Dilip is relatively neutral. In contrast, Dibesh is emotional about the changes:

> I perceive myself as an inferior person due to language barrier and people also *perceive us as if they are people without knowledge*. We come here for the sake of money? That's not the reality. *We came not only for the money*. We came here for the knowledge, to see the technological advancement, how people survive, how people live, how people of their so-called developed country are experiencing their life. (Emphasis added, to replicate the actual tone)

To me the puzzle "We come here only for money?" is a humanistic response to the

economistic Canada which objectifies "skilled workers" in terms of their economic worth, only

to the extent that they can contribute to "Canada's economic and labour market needs" (CIC

Minister Chris Alexander cited in CIC, 2014, December 14).

In the process, Dibesh not only challenges the reductive, unreliable and biased methods

of assessing employ-ability, but also re-evaluates the strong version of Sapir/Whorf hypothesis;

language *determines* thought:

> And the language not only (that is, does not) determines our thought, I think. We have different vision, we have different ideas . . . We immigrants people, we speak English as a second language, also have similar or more knowledge than they do. So in my personal opinion, the attitude, the perception they determine on the basis of short communication is biased. They have to change their attitude of evaluating people on the basis of ten-second interview or three-second resume scanning. (personal communication)

The criteria of evaluating immigrants' abilities based on what transpires from a brief

encounter is particularly misleading, even dangerous, especially when the dominant language

provides the norm for native-like fluency and correct usage, something scholars who look into

the nexus of language, literacy, culture, racism, modernity and colonialism have been pondering

(Mignolo, 2011; Alim, Rickford, & Ball eds., 2016, Rosa & Flores, 2017, Lewis, 2011). In his

own way, Dibesh essentially reminding us of the division of humanity, cognitivity, and

rationality along lines of ethnicity, gender, geography, language, and culture, and its wide

ranging consequences.

Dibesh is disturbed by the practice that one's ability is measured in the scale of "three-

second resume scanning", or a "ten-second interview." In essence, he resonates with Smitherman

below that it takes more than surface-level evaluation to decide whether a language or a language

user has rich and complex resources,

> it's okay to criticize somebody's pronunciation, slam them when they "break" a
> verb, low- rate they use of language. What really lies behind comments like
> "Black Language is nothing but a lazy, ignorant way of speaking" or the Arabic
> language is nothing but "gibberish" are racist beliefs about Black people
> themselves as "lazy" and "ignorant" and speakers of Arabic as "backwards and
> uncivilized." (p. 8)

He then cautions, "They should change their attitude of evaluating people" on insufficient

grounds, and thus calls for the dispositional (Dibesh's word "perception") and attitudinal change

that equates non-fluency in English with idea and knowledge deficiency.

Language homogeneity.

Some of the participants pointed out that although it has long been challenged, even

considered a *myth*, "language homogeneity" has a persistent power; is an alive and actively

functional as a *real* decider of many people's future and *real* divider between US and THEM.

As Ram observes, contrasting the sociolinguistic reality of language plurality with the

persisting language homogeneity and monolingual bias,

> … but the problem is that the people [with English as a] native language
> especially here the Canadians, they want everybody else to speak the same way
> and to write the same way, to use English in a very homogenous way. (group
> discussion, December 30, 2015)

Kishor shares his experience of homogenous expectation in a slightly different manner. Drawing attention to the ideational- and epistemic-level homogeneity, Kishor says, "…professors who really appreciate our way of writing, they are very great because we all of us don't have homogenous ideas … because we are from different social location, different background, different culture …but there are some others who don't" (group discussion, December 30, 2015).

In response, Ram makes the point that there is not only the expectation of linguistic homogeneity, but also of the way of thinking and behaving:

> So this homogenized expectation, linguis I mean linguistics expectation: *they expect to write in a certain way, speak in a certain way, listen in a certain way, behave in a certain right*? to use uh you know the semiotics, linguistic nonverbal you know the language in a homogenous way right? This is what stands out to me in my opinion and when it comes to the academia…The grading system of you know grading so they disqualify you. Not only in job market but also to continue your education, to upgrade your literacy, to transition your literacy from your country of origin to Canadian academic literacy practices. It's stands [out] to me because they disqualify you. You are not qualified to be admitted to class… also you know our job experiences. All cases are not absolutely translatable into the Canadian degrees or to Canadian jobs. So this is also you know big problem. (my emphasis)

Thus far, we discussed participants' assessment that English and homogenous expectations of English use has created all kinds of problems they could account for: identity crisis, negative evaluation of their ability and strength, leading to the critique of deterministic and deficit views of language difference.

Living as the untranslated and unrecognized.

Supporting the observation that there exist subtle forms of social, institutional, and systemic racism in Canada (Fleras, 2014), participants in this research have reiterated the point that it is not only the English language, but also their previous location in the 'Third World' on which the dominant society creates their identity and fixes the identity to racialize immigrants, to

evaluate their abilities, and to assign them a separate labor and space (e.g., ESL class, entry-level jobs). The non-recognition of their credentials and qualifications in Canadian academia and workplaces has subjected them to the position of the untranslated and unrecognized. Participants use "non-transferable" and "untranslatable" to refer to institutional reluctance to accept 'foreign' credentials as an indirect method to defer and deny certain people access to institutions and as the instrument of "containment" and "discouragement" (Blommaert & Verschuren, 2002, pp. 27–28). Consequently, the untranslated lots relentlessly update their skills and qualifications.

As Kranti expresses:

> I'm always haunted by one question that is about credential assessment system in Canada. *And I call it as a nonsense practice in so-called First World*. Because I have read, somewhere I have read that in Statistics Canada there are five hundred Indian doctors driving cabs in Toronto. …Students mainly in the bachelor and master degree programs they are preventing to join the bachelor degree and master degree program due to language problem or the structural requirement they have constructed. So that is preventing the people to enter into the opportunities. It means their credentials, their experiences of their back home are not recognized here… (personal communication, April 10, 2016)

Kranti identifies that the problem of wilful non-recognition of others is a dis-ease felt not just by his community but all immigrants and minorities in general. In the process of sharing experience, Ram told me a story of his unrelenting effort to convince a program director that the marks shown in his transcripts from Nepal were neither equivalent to the grading scheme in Canada and most Global North nor the best guides to his abilities. Until about a decade or so ago, in most Arts and Humanities disciplines, more so in English, in Nepal, to cross 60% aggregate score was marked as an exceptional achievement. The good news, in Ram's case, was that after all this telling and negotiation, he was finally accepted to the program. Ram is only one of many in the community who won the hard battle; several others deserving candidates are yet to make it to the higher education of their interest in Canada.

Based on his struggle to get into graduate school, Ram urges the graduate programs in Canada to be more flexible in their arrangements: "admit students, accept credentials; …don't disregard the credentials earned by people elsewhere in the developing world, at least give them an opportunity to come to school and study, produce knowledge; [don't] act as a gatekeeper, [or] prevent people coming to academia" (Ram, personal communication). Rita speaks disapprovingly of the contradiction, resonated by other participants, that while the same categories of selection made immigrants eligible to migrate under the "Federal Skilled Worker Program" (FSWP), they were marked as disqualified, both for education and labor market, upon their arrival and this remained the case until and unless they fulfill a chain of new requirements. She suggests, resonating other participants, that validating credentials outside Canada is the first important step to ensure that the once qualified immigrants are not disqualified again.

Racism; discrimination; mis-education.

While some the participants mentioned "racism" in discussions and interviews, others used the term "discrimination" based on difference to convey their felt sense of ascribed identities. Illustrations of racism mainly included perceived instructor attitude and disposition rather than tangible forms of discrimination.

This is how Kranti illustrates how racism operates in academic settings in Canada:

> So regarding my academic experience in Canada, I would like to say that there is tacit racism that I experienced in the classroom. Either type; what we talk about the interracial conflict or the intra as well. So, for example, if I deal with the white teacher or the white professor, they treat me differently. But if I deal with the immigrant professor, they treat me differently. What it means, for example, sometimes immigrant professor gives me good grade. That I understand as generalization. Just generalizing he is a[n] immigrant from the poor country, he has to get chance here. And at the same time even white professor sometimes they give me less mark thinking that he does not know anything. So there are problems in both part: both in the case of white professor as well as immigrant professor so that is [an example of] intraracism as well interracism in academic setting.

Going beyond the dominant-dominated, perpetrator-victim binaries of understanding racism, where the dominant abuse their privileged position to impose their values and views of normativity on the dominated, the victim, this speaker urges us to *not* elide intraracial power relations. Racism needs to be understood in this instance as having *also* to do with one's predisposition. This tacit aspect of discrimination, embroiled in naturalized, invisible habits and *dispositions*, is more difficult to bring to edict and jurisdiction than obvious forms of racial discrimination. In this context, Rita gives an example of micro aggression to illustrate a similar kind of discrimination she experienced in the context of her placement. During the search for a matching agency for her social work placement, she came face to face with an immigrant woman supervisor, originally from South Asia, in a local settlement organization. Rita assumed that this woman "is like me in many ways and she must have undergone identical struggle while new to Canada" (Personal communication, April 18, 2018). To her surprise, the supervisor asked Rita, "Do you have Canadian experience?" as if to suggest that Canadian experience is better than other experiences, perhaps because it takes place in English? Rita's dismay was not so much about how some people could be so amnesic of their own past or how could they be so indifferent to and unsupportive of people like themselves as it was about "How could I have Canadian experience when it was obvious that I was new to Canada"?[13]

Several respondents reported that some of the instructors were overly concerned about grammar and punctuation in their writing. TP reports, for example, that one of his instructors *only* suggested grammar changes, assuming that he is an ESL speaker and needs to know English grammar. The obsession with grammar is an unpleasant reminder that although long-discredited, it has a strong residual presence. As Smitherman (2017) comments on the pervasiveness of the

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[13] Further details on Canadian experience will appear in the next chapter.

"mania for correctness" (p.4), in "Raciolinguistics, 'Mis-education' and Language Arts in the

21st Century",

> A major area of linguistic mis-education occurs in language arts classrooms where teachers be obsessed with teaching "correct" grammar, spelling and pronunciation rather than teaching students what language is and allows human beings to do, the socio-historical formation of their language, its communicative and social functions, and particularly teaching students to understand and master the power of language—which is about way more than whether yo verbs and subjects agree. The power of language is manifest in what speakers do with it, how they use it in rhetorical persuasion, how they manipulate it in social interaction, and deploy it to empower themselves and/or to disempower others. (p. 6)

Another participant thinks that racism could take the form of what he calls the "halo

effect" or the authority effect:

> Here in the classroom teacher has more authority and sometime they use their authority according to their perception so more halo effect is there so I find more halo effect. Just like that halo effect could be the racism, it could be the personal, it could be the sexual… (Dipesh, group discussion, February 16, 2016)

All these participants stressed, however, that they did not feel racism among their white

friends.

As Kranti mentions,

> When I taking about either racism or oppression or whatever, I am talking at the structural level, not individual Canadian. I have white friends. They are very very very good to me. And they are really good. I'm not pointing to any individual friends. What I am talking about is the structural racism, systematic racism, racism that exists in institutions.

Mangal joins the conversation. He never mentions the word "racism"; he mentions

"discrimination" instead. In response to his co-participant's remark about racism, Mangal says:

> in terms of discrimination, it is implied. It may not so much tacit and tangible; … of course there might be some feelings of the professors those who are native or those who are immigrants…some cases of discriminations seem to prevail…

As we saw, some of the participants read grading, evaluation, and the kind of relationship that unfolds between the instructor and the student, or the supervisor and the applicant, even the tendency to patronize, as having to do with tacit discriminatory and at times micro-aggressive practices. They articulated their dissatisfaction with the undue focus on grammar and mechanics linking it to residue colonial mentality and in a certain sense "mis-education", as used by Smitherman, which occurs when language ignores that it involves "way more than whether yo verbs and subjects agree", way more than "'correct' grammar, spelling and pronunciation", urging educators, in effect, to orientate to communicative, agentive, rhetorical, manipulative, and empowering/disempowering functions of language and literacy teaching.

Living the familiar-unfamiliar or the uncanny?[14]

> Just adding to some of the ideas what Birat and Sita said about "familiar and unfamiliar", I remember Frantz Fanon's uncanny, familiar and unfamiliar, homely and unhomely. In academic setting here in North America, I found professors they are very liberal and they really appreciate our way of writing. They are very great because we all of us don't have homogenous ideas to put down in our paper so because we are from different social location, different background different culture. But at the same time there are some professors who don't appreciate your writing because they require their own structure, within their framework. …Since …[I] have idea about the theories or philosophers like what is postmodernism or modernism or what does like postpositivist paradigm say or something like that …But at the same time when some of the professors who did not like the way, *how*, I was writing… I was somewhere kind of familiar with the assignment or what they want, what they mean in their question but at the same time when they

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[14] Uncanny means different things for different people. German psychiatrist Ernst Jentsch (1906) defines the German *unheimlich* as "intellectual uncertainty", "a lack of orientation", and the difficulty of the establishing a complete conceptual link between the previous "ideational sphere" and the new thing, leading to the failure of intellectual mastery of the new thing (Jentsch, p. 4). He explains, "the brain is often reluctant to overcome the resistances that oppose the assimilation of the phenomenon in question into its proper place" (p. 2). Freud (1919) develops, after Schilling, a complex understanding of uncanny as being both about "what is familiar and agreeable" and "what is concealed and kept out of sight" (pp. 221–225). From the colonial discourse in which the colonized are depicted as the uncanny, to the intellectual uncertainty and cognitive dissonance (Jenstch), to eerie feeling arising either from too familiar and repetitive sights and experiences, to the association of the uncanny to the domain of the id, unconscious, repression and subject of taboo (Freud), anxiety stemming from graduation from the semiotic, pre-linguistic stage to the symbolic, linguistic stage (Kriestiva), to the more recent insertion of the uncanny in cyber gothic and the related themes of the double, split personhood, and alter-egos (Rahimi, 2013), to the negotiation of cultural difference in "new cultural encounters" (Bhabha, 1992, pp. 142–144), the uncanny has rich and layered meanings.

do not it was you know I used to think "Oh I read those but they don't like *how* I am writing." So I was kind of familiar and unfamiliar. (Kishor, group discussion)

Kishor seems more interested in *disciplinary,* discursive, and *structuring* aspects and epistemological questions ("*how* we know what we know"), questions that go beyond "correct" language. In this instance, the "uncanny" is a metaphor for the simultaneous experience of feeling familiar and unfamiliar and a sense of déjà vu ("Oh I read those") coupled with "but they don't like how I am writing." While he is the only respondent to come up with the word "uncanny" alluding to Fanon, the word pretty much captures equally unsettling feelings expressed by other participants. For example, Dipesh says, "I feel it strange, for example, that if I talk with any Japanese student—I never met the Japanese before I came to Canada. I came here and I met the Japanese once— but when I speak English that Japanese understands" (group discussion, February 16, 2016). As a multilingual speaker, it is easy for me to relate to Dipesh's strange feeling, only that I am too enured to find such experiences and scenes strange anymore.

Curious to know more about Kishor's use of the uncanny and the uncanny-Fanon connection, I set up a follow-up interview. Kishor showed me his published work in which he suggests that the uncanny is an expression of inescapable boundedness between the western and the nonwestern. Kishor uses "uncanny" to uncover the desirable and ineluctable Other of the West and its self-acclaimed moral superiority (Said); and by way of that connection, the uncanny can also be expressed in terms of Žižek's definition of the Other as symptomatic of the West's desire to fully, but never successfully, assimilate its other, given the West's structuring of the subject by virtue of what it is not, what it lacks, what is absent (see Chow, 1933, p. 30). Bhabha (1994) would add that an active, ongoing, and anxious, paranoid, repetition, reconstruction and reproduction of the Other is fundamental to the West's narcissistic moral superiority. A pedagogical extension of this formulation could be described in the paradox underlying the

West's construction and organization of pedagogical and scholarly conditions within itself that the Rest must confirm to if they wished to become legitimate insiders on the one hand and the West's need to reproduce the Other for its self-validation on the other hand. This paradox— the projection of the Other as "noble savage", tamable and civilizable on the one hand and something that remains unchanged and poses a constant threat on the others— represents the "ambivalence" of the colonial discourse.

In sum, what started as a less theoretical uncanny, which helped describe a simultaneous experience of knowing and not knowing, being recognized and not being recognized, graduated into a more theoretical formulation of the uncanny as the overarching Western practice of reproducing others.

Living the vulnerability.

Unlike Bigyan and others I cited earlier, Birat and Sita state that having to use English in public spectacle for them is equivalent to entering into a vulnerable zone because of their feeling of being evaluated. Besides English, which becomes the main source of his vulnerability, Birat identifies other contributing factors to vulnerability, as a student. These include the lack of orientation to available plans, programs, and options and the inadequate knowledge of learning tools, technologies and communication etiquettes. These lacks become Birat's *vulnerabalizers*.

As Birat concludes his conversation,

> I haven't got my identity stand along with me so I have compromise everywhere as a student as a learner. And also what I found as Ram said I also struggled with the grading system… And there are some other issues. For example, I *could not be able to*[15] approach the academic system easily. I couldn't understand the system, the procedures, the plans and the programs of Canadian academy. So all these things made me, you know, very confused, very puzzled, and AND AND, to be very honest, I, because of all these things, I found myself pretty vulnerable as a

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[15] Here I recall Lu's (1994) "Professing Multiculturalism: The politics of style in the contact zone", an incredibly important contribution to our re-reading of 'errors' through her exceptional analysis of a Chinese student's "can able to" usage and the several implications underlying the otherwise incorrect usage.

student in the Canadian academic atmosphere. (My emphasis, Birat, discussion, December 30, 2015)

What Birat calls "vulnerable" is a "challenge" for Sita.

As she says:

> The things that basically just give[s] me the challenge is always about the language, of course. We *cannot be* so much competent in matters of framing the words, presenting them in a very organized way, because English is our second language. Of course, it takes lot of time for us to be *compatible*, to be *adaptive* to the teacher's *interest*, their flow of thought and then their *expectation* from a student. (My emphasis, group discussion, December 30, 2015)

Sita reminds us of interlingual thought processing common to users of English from different language backgrounds. By implication, she asks instructors to be patient with ESL writers. Birat adds that students who are new to academic work in a different context should be properly guided. He says, "Before expecting such type of assignment from us, they at least have to guide us, tell us that this is the pattern of your assignment… So that sort of thing make the international immigrant students very offended, intimidated very vulnerable" (group discussion). Sharing his transitional experiences, another participant says, "I did not know most of the system in the blackboard and assignment due dates", adding, "I started learning gradually and then the most interesting and the most exciting just for me was to do with research like finding the research articles and then reporting the assignment, term papers" (Mangal, group discussion, February 16, 2016). Whether it is related to "speaking fast," or using "difficult vocabulary" (Sita, group discussion), or the lack of proper guidance for writing assignments (Birat, group discussion), these participants felt that they were vulnerable to stress and low self-confidence, if also excited about new learning opportunities (e.g., Mangal).

It can be gleaned from the discussion thus far that the things that make the population vulnerable mainly is English and the perception that they are under evaluation all the time,

evaluation that has serious consequences for how they live the rest of their lives and what

priorities they set up for the future. However, further discussion suggested that vulnerability has

to do with more than language and the sense of being evaluated. Whereas "vulnerable" generally

represents a marginalized position, with little or no agency ascribed to the position, participants

in this research show that a vulnerable position need not be an incapacitated and hypostatized

one. Note how Mangal quickly moved from a phase of familiarizing and locating materials and

resources to a phase where he enjoyed conducting research, reporting, writing term papers: "the

most interesting and the most exciting just for me was to do with research like finding the

research articles and then reporting the assignment, term papers." As we will see in the next

chapter, a vulnerable position for them is a "valuable" position: it is a window to seeing the

world from a unique position, a space and moment of identification, and, most importantly, an

awareness and education position and moment as a necessary first step to mobilize their energy

toward a goal of regaining what was lost and denied and achieving a new ground of understating

life and world.

Becoming valuable.

> There are so many things we have to improve. We have to fight as immigrant. As
> immigrants we are not only immigrant students, we are also lover of this country.
> Because we have sacrificed our home country not only for the sake of bread, and
> we'll not (be) satisfy(ied) with bread. We need our identity. We need dignity. And
> we have to create our potentiality, or we have to get the field to explore our
> knowledge or potentiality. So we'll not stay by being reserved within the
> periphery or rule and regulation constructed through language. We have to cross
> the boundary. We have to knock the door of concerned authority. Your policies
> are faulty, you have to reconstruct or revise it or restructure the policies.
> Otherwise there are so many immigrants, they are knowledgeable, they are
> fruitful, and their knowledge will decay and they will feel agitation and if that
> happened. Canada will be a good society in future or good community that links
> people with the country. If not, the contradiction will arise and it will slowly and
> gradually poison not only our life but also the knowledge, the technology, and so
> many other. (Dibesh, personal communication, April 24, 2016)

In this quote, which I will return to in the conclusion, Dibesh urges the policy makers to "reconstruct or revise" faulty policies that can facilitate the growth of different language and cultures to make Canada and several communities rich and united, not segregated. Dibesh questions the putative, illusory superiority of English (Ashcroft et al., p. 37). He sets new boundaries for immigrants and for the host nation. For the community he challenges to regain and reconstruct their lost "identity" and "dignity", to prove their *value* beyond monetary and human capital value; for the host nation, he urges to benefit from the resources and knowledge immigrants have.

Altogether, participants' sense of identity crisis, estrangement, vulnerability and devaluation stem mainly from dominant language and literacy practices inscribing immigrants within the schemes of normative, homogeneous language use, which they describe in terms of deep-seated colonial bias and Western superiority. Participants show an awareness that they are vulnerable to being exposed and evaluated as deficit, but they are not ready yet to give up on their different English. Rather than let dominant expectations—such as 'correct' language use, rigid, established patterns of writing, fluency— drown their sense of self and ability, participants have supplied us with social critique of the ongoing colonialism and racism as enacted through language and, in this case, the language-race-migration interface.

That language use in social-institutional sites, scenes, and settings construct the *other* as different and unfathomable is nothing new. What brings it to more visibility, however, is the irony underlying the fact that whereas participants inhabit the global metropolis marked by "super-diversity" (Vortovec, 2006, 2007; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Blommaert, 2013, 2015), a term migration scholar Vortovec uses to refer to diffuse nature of diversity, that is, diversity within diversity, it is precisely in these glorified sites of diversity that they feel more

estranged and marked as different due to different English. Participants like Kishor help us

understand that estrangement has been a necessary aspect of Global North, both during colonial

period and now in neoliberal supranationalism, and the consequent push for the

internationalization of western education, the massive brain drain, and growing inequality of

knowledge flow (Canagarajah, 2002). As it will become more evident in the next chapter,

estrangement could be taken to be a part of the process of the push for internationalization of

higher education, the push for the *colonization of the mind* through the hegemonic expansion of

Western knowledge and culture (Fanon, 1961; Freire, 1968; Ngũgĩ, 1986; Gordon et al., 1996;

Canagarajah, 2002). The Global North has enjoyed its uneclipsed control of power, politics, and

economy since the colonial period. Language, culture and higher education only ensure that this

remains. These soft means of colonizing the mind by mis-educating, teaching and training

people to devalue their own languages and cultures, to be loyal to preferred civic and citizenry

values, and to prepare a class of people who, to repurpose the oft-cited Macaulay Minute on

Education (2 February, 1835),

> may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, – a class of
> persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals
> and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of
> the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the
> Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying
> knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Participants contributed to critical discourses in language, particularly those that engage a

postcolonial lens; for example, the way the West constructs its others as its lack. These

discussions contributed to my understanding of (a) the construction and institutionalization of

migrants as incommensurable subjects; (b) the estranging practices discernable in social and

institutional scenes and settings which include government policies, social service practices and

public perceptions of immigrants (c) ontological and epistemological differences that go

unaccounted for in Western academic and communicative domains, where the dominant

assumption seems to be that writers, irrespective of their linguistic, cultural and epistemological

differences and different communicative needs, goals and motivations, approximate and conform

to rules, norms, and standards. The awareness that their language and resources are marginalized

but this marginalization is not justified has become participants' source of critical energy to both

learn and oppose unaccommodating demands and expectations.

In other words, that my participants have not entirely lost their self-value in spite of being

devalued in Canada and facing identity crises warrants us to understand the self-identificatory

descriptors such as untranslated, vulnerable, marginalized *not* in a negative light, as conventional

wisdom would have it, but in light of the critical, agentive, affiliatory, and ethical enunciatory

positions, functions, and affordances that these otherwise negative values avail. The fact that

they were most vocal in resisting what they identify as unfair and unjust practices and ideologies

suggests, as Coloma (2008) reminds us, summarizing Lorde and Minh-ha, that

> The desire to speak-for oneself is especially important for marginalized
> individuals and communities that have been imagined and represented by those
> who occupy dominant positions of power. For the marginalized, at stake is the
> right of self-definition and self-determination. The refusal to be silent is a
> necessary and vigilant act of affirmation and resistance. (p. 11)

Participants generally agree that a certain level of exposure to the institutional and

working culture is a reasonable expectation, even desirable. They feel, however, that a lifelong

demand on re-education and re-literacy for immigrants constitutes a neoliberal strategy of

discouragement so they remain in a perennial state of "limbo" (Ram). Interrogating the

institutional demand on *literate others* or the *differently literate* to comply with what he

identifies as monolingual and monocultural expectation, Ram thus vents his dissatisfaction: "So

what about the literacy of the Canadians? Why don't they need to go through the literacy that we

have to?" (Ram). Disparaging the unidirectional demand of knowledge, Ram quips, "This is Canadian literacy", implying that Canada has unnecessary roadblocks for immigrants. Another contributor resents the uneven literacy demand placed upon immigrants, calling this practice "a nonsense practice" (Kranti). He suggests that 'Canadians' are not unequivocally more literate than immigrants like himself when it comes to contextual literacy like academic writing. Implied here is the point that academic writing is no one's native language, and that everyone learns it through practice, disciplinary and genre immersion. So instead of unfairly imposing additional requirements such as ESL class or showing an attitude of sympathy and condescension upon immigrants, participants think that inversely it is the "Canadians" including educators who need to develop literacy on "global citizenship" and "cosmopolitanism" (Kishor) so they could learn to remain open to differences. Overall, participants suggested that literacy has been employed as a way to control and manage *different* people.

As we saw, participant discussions around the questions of how they see themselves and how they perceive being seen shows serious misalignments between self-ascribed identities and assigned identities, the gap they contest in all possible range of vocabulary, tone and emotions — from "uncanny" to "vulnerable" to valuable— to which they give new meanings. For example, the "uncanny" in participants' hand is not the Western colonial gaze on the Rest as "uncanny" but the Rest reinvesting the West's uncanniness: the fact that there is expectation of homogeneity in a country that officially celebrates multiculturalism, the paradox that immigrants are forced to go through new series of qualification even as they were *qualified* to migrate and conduct work under the "skilled worker program."

The discussion thus far reveals to us the discrepancy between the presentation of Canada as a welcoming and generous country and the lack of genuine support mechanisms and

opportunities for immigrants' reasonable integration and resettlement. The positive image of Canada to the outside world has perhaps never been any more conspicuous than when it offered to resettle over 40,000 Syrian refugees between November 4, 2015 and January 29, 2017, at a time its powerful neighbor and European allies imposed newer and much stricter sanctions against refugees fleeing for life, blacklisting certain populations, tightening border security and surveillance to 'protect their own people' when our humanity is looking for the best in us. "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength", thus tweeted Justin Trudeau on January 28, 2017, a day after Donald Trump signed an executive order indefinitely suspending admissions for Syrian refugees and barring nationals from six other Muslim-majority countries for 90 days ("Canada will welcome you", 2017 January 28). Trudeau has set an example of showing generosity in the time of need. While these humanitarian gestures demonstrated by Canada in times of such global crises are commendable, when it concerns skilled immigrants, Canada's reputation as a welcoming country remains moot, especially so if one is aware of the various containing measures in place for specific immigrants.

The drives of containing, disciplining, and micromanaging differences are at odd with difference that diaspora represents. Contrasting the demands of the state and market to ensure unity, standard, homogeneity, efficiency, measurability, surveillance, and control, diaspora presumes hybridity and difference. Diaspora is difference. It is about being aware of and living and enacting difference. As Hall (1990) observes, diaspora identities constantly remake themselves "not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity" (p. 235). As Bhabha (2000) writes in *The Location of Culture*, diaspora has disrupted

the "singularities" of nation, language, race, gender as the "primary conceptual and

organizational categories" and made us aware of "those moments or processes that are produced

in the articulation of cultural differences" (p. xx). Brah (1996) adds, "Diaspora should be seen as

conceptual mapping which defies the search for originary absolutes, or genuine and authentic

manifestations of a stable, pre-given, unchanging identity; for pristine, pure customs and

traditions or unsullied glorious pasts (p. 193). For Brah, diaspora difference is about such

questions as "What are the processes in and through which ideas about 'difference' acquire

meaning and social significance? … How do we construct politics which do not reduce

everything to the economy of the same and which do not essentialise differences?" (p. 14).

Questions like these have led Brah to cenceputalize difference in terms of the four foci, namely,

(a) "experience"; (b) "social relation"; (c) "subjectivity"; and (d) "identity" (p. 14). Diaspora

existence has linguistic and cultural syncretism, the mixing, meshing, and mashing of linguistic

and cultural codes, foiling, in effect, the long-held views of normativity, (e.g., Hall, 1990;

Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 2002).

As multilinguals, featured immigrants embody diversity of languages and cultures that

reject ostensibly unalloyed view of language and culture. In other words, diasporas can be taken

as centrifugal forces that interrogate centripetal desires underlying nationalism and

neoliberalism, a topic for the next chapter. However, we should note here that not all diasporas

are created equal, and, therefore, that not all of them have same goals and visions and same

understanding of what is considered to be transformation or ossification; mobility or fixity; home

and belonging or the otherwise and "not so"; receptivity or the question hybridity and syncretism

and insularity, as I mentioned in the previous chapter differentiating the older understanding of

diaspora as somewhat insular, nationalistic, essentialized, root-oriented with the newer

understandings of diaspora as more cosmopolitan, receptive of multiple belongings and cultural syncretism. An additional note concerns who sets up the criteria for what is thought to be insular and what is cosmopolitan, since there are highly contested terms and we must ask the question who the namer is all the time.

Closing remarks

In this chapter, I offered to read the Nepali diaspora in Canada through the lens of raciolinguistics in order to understand the processes of marginalization, minoritization and othering. The immigrant population in question passed language, education, skill, and experience tests to be eligible to migrate. Yet, they are subject to a new series of tests and trials, systemically, even systematically, de-credentialed, de-skilled and discredited of their 'foreign' skills and qualifications. The various strategies of containment and discouragement participants have recognized include the nonrecogniztion of immigrants' past resources, the mapping of their language and literacy abilities to existing ideology of standard, and the creation of endless barriers for further studies and employment.

More importantly, however, participants redefine the apparently 'negative' semantics underlying the marginalized, the vulnerable, and the uncanny; as they invite us to appreciate that they embrace the ongoing struggle for survival and existence; see value in challenges, if also be critical about why and how they exist; look for opportunities for growth and visibility despite systemic barriers; and have a grit and resolve to regain confidence as meaning makers, scholars, and world citizens.

This misalignment between immigrants' perceived self-worth and institutional and social non-recognition, between self-oriented identities and other ascribed identities is evident in the words the participants have used to describe themselves, the underlying tone in which they voice

their disappointment, and the semantic scope of the words and metaphors they have deployed to grapple with their conditions. Participant experiences showed a mixture of anger, emotion, and resolve when they mentioned being in a disadvantaged position, losing identity, and taking up challenges as opportunities to develop adaptive, "coping strategies" (Mangal, group discussion; also see the theme table above and diagram, Appendix C). Bigyan is "*sorry* to lose" his identity; Mangal finds an exposure to new contexts in Canada "*not* like *a problem* but I've taken it as a kind of challenge and a kind of *opportunity*" (group discussion); Dibesh asks emotionally, "We come here for the sake of money? That's not the reality. *We came not only for the money*."

Participants have reiterated and rejected the general (mis)representation of immigrants and minorities as underprepared, constantly teachable, and permanently 'correctable'—"uncanny", "untranslated", "vulnerable", "lost", to use participants' own terms. Kishor and Ram turn the signifier "uncanny" on its head by redefining homogenous and structured language use as the West's uncanny celebration of its self-assumed linguistic and cultural superiority, conveying the paradox of being eligible and qualified for work and migration and being put always in a transition industry. They then point out, to take one instance from Dibesh, "Your policies are faulty, you have to reconstruct or revise [or] restructure the policies. Otherwise there are so many immigrants … knowledge will decay and they will feel agitation and if that happened." In this sense, the "uncanny" could very well be the name of neoliberal duplicity of "welcoming" immigrants and then subjecting/subjugating them to assigned roles, responsibilities and identities so that existing hierarchical relationships remain inviolate. The word could also represent the reality that these people have been subject to neoliberal conditions: be always ready to self-upgrade, to be in the transition industry, to be in a vulnerable and precarious position and subject to differential treatment.

If this migrant community is any indication, academics have a long way to go to make the outliers feel at home and included. As we will see in the concluding chapter, participants offer several recommendations for literacy providers in Canada and the Global North generally. The fact that institutions of higher education in Canada do not easily accept *other* credentials shows that they are less welcoming to outsiders than the way they self-advertise. Participants analyze these and similar examples we examined as the continuation of "colonial mentality" (more on this in the next chapter). The devaluation of academic credentials and work experience in the Global North can be read as the neoliberal mandate on outsiders to actively upgrade their skills and education and continue to build their portfolio, which serves, among other things, to maintain Euro-American and whiteness values.

Furthermore, in this chapter, I have laid the groundwork for thinking about diaspora as difference that challenges the essentialist and homogenous view of language, literacy, and identity, against centripetal forces and homogenous designs, such as the presentation of English as an unavoidable global language for economic success and transnational mobility at individual, national and supranational levels, diaspora demands plurality and multiplicity. If we were to follow the cited participants, we need more people, more places, more programs and more policies that appreciate the fact that "all of us don't have homogenous ideas … so because we are from different social location, different background different culture" (Kishor).

The questions that remain despite the plethora of discussions including this are: How do we go about re-informing pedagogical, national and economic policies in ways to ensure a space for deviation, difference, hybridity and incompatibility? How and why should we promote differences, excesses, and singularities in their own ontological terms rather than policing,

purifying, and sanitizing them? These questions become only more germane as we progress through the following chapters.

Finally, participants in this research have given a renewed understanding of terms such as diaspora, uncanny, vulnerability, marginalization, and devaluation. Whereas being devalued, to take one, has had social and psychological consequences (e.g., feeling lost, being in a limbo), these members have heartily accepted new challenges as opportunities. Continuing, in the next chapter, I discuss two concentric and assimilatory forces and functions—nationalism and neoliberalism—and their consequences beyond the featured immigrants in the Global North. Specifically, I show that de-skilling and de-credentialing we discussed in this chapter and official demands and interests in academia and workplaces we will discuss further in the next chapter are part of "bio-political" mechanism and "the technology of self" to manage and develop a "docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1995, p. 136).

Chapter Two

Human capital: Neoliberalization of education and migration

In *The University in Ruins*, Readings (1996) observes that the university education in the West has evolved through three salient stages and corresponding ideals: first, rationalism and intellectualism inspired by Kant and German Idealists; then, the national culture ideal inspired mainly by the educationist Humboldt; and now the neo-liberal, techno-bureaucratization of education, with stress on "excellence", "performance" and "professionalization". According to him, the rise of transnational governance and globalization caused a "relative decline" of the previous pedagogical center: national culture. Brown (2015), in *Undoing the Demos*, likewise, contends that the university education has shifted its attention away from, first, "developing intelligent, thoughtful elites and reproducing culture" and, then, "enacting a principle of equal opportunity and cultivating a broadly educated citizenry", to what is now the neoliberal production of "human capital, thereby turning classically humanist values on their head" (p. 24).

This chapter brings participants into dialogue with existing research on immigration and the internationalization of higher education with a specific focus on neoliberal management of immigrant subjects along the vectors of language, education, and settlement and immigration policies. It retakes some of the concerns raised in the previous chapter, in particular, how literacy and immigration policies and priorities are operationalized as "technology of the self", "governmentality" and "techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour" (Foucault, 1997, p. 81) in the service of neoliberal dictates of productivity, competition, efficiency, self-evaluation, self-responsibilization, and self-surveillance. I will analyze how immigrants become pedagogical and policy subjects within the scheme of governmentality and the technology of the

self, language featuring as a prime organizer in the scheme of subjectification.[16] Adding an aside,

that there are systems of subjectification does not mean that there is no resistance and no agential

possibility. I indicate in closing that what I am calling "diaspora-difference" rejects totalizing

and homogenizing impulses and desires, as a prelude to the next chapter where I forward a

difference-based view– and praxis– of agency.

Paying attention to the coordinates of race, language, diaspora as governmental

technology and instrument of meaning- and people-making, making and marking

others/THEM/rest from the West/US has become even more germane today, ironically. Take, for

instance, the symptomatically nationalist, protectionist policies and the evidently ethnocentric

rhetoric in which the RAISE Act,[17] introduced in February 13, 2017, is framed. In an era of

"US/America First", this Act is believed to introduce a merit-based immigration system,

following Canada's and Australia's suit and to ensure that the US benefits from immigrants

"'who speak English', won't 'collect welfare'" (cited in Stracqualursi, 2017, August 2), are able

to support family and immediately contribute to American economy, all these without taking

away 'OUR people's' jobs. Evident in such a rhetoric, which re-inscribes the stereotypical image

of immigrants as recipients of social welfare, problems for social security and social cohesion,

and unprepared for jobs in host countries, is the tendency to create a division between good and

bad immigrants and, more importantly, to racialize and minoritize linguistic and cultural others.

Interestingly, the Canadian system that the US is looking up to is understood as a

technology to ensure— through neoliberal economic rationality— that "whiteness" remains a

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[16] I use subject in the sense used by Foucault. Foucault sees subject as implicated in circuits of power, and simultaneously undergoing and exercising power: "certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be constituted as individuals" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Subject in this definition is neither a radically self-made, free agent, nor a mere effect of power structures, but one who participates in power relationship while occupying a subject position (Foucault, 1988).
[17] Reforming American Immigration for Strong Employment

privileged and inviolate position. Within the context of the US, Justin Gest (2018, January 18), the author of *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*, reminds us that the points- or merit-based system would not be immune to racism, just as it is not immune in Canada. "While points-based systems are designed to reduce racial bias, they reproduce this bias in more subtle ways", as Gest writes, with reference to Laura Hill and Joseph Hayes' (2011) simulation of the proposed comprehensive immigration reforms, which showed that if the points-based system were introduced, only 1% Latin Americans, 6% Europeans and central Asians, 12% East and South Asians, and 14% Canadians would pass the test. Gest provides further evidence from Economist Tito Boeri's (2012) study that "the population of immigrants admitted on visa for 'highly skilled' workers across highly developed countries is heavily skewed toward migrants from other highly developed countries—nearly all of which are predominantly European or Anglo-origin." That is to say, the points-based system functions as an instrument of governmentality that further ensures Anglo-European racial superiority, consolidates the power of English, and restructures education—not only in global centers but also, and more alarmingly, in the peripheries and aspiring centers—around this 'world language'.

Neoliberalization of education

I will start with Brown, who builds on the Foucauldian idea of governmental rationality to observe that neoliberalism is more than just a simplistic permutation of prior versions of economic and political liberalism; it is a new form of rationality that radically transforms, reprograms, and reconfigures the "relations and purposes" of "the social, the state, and the subject" (p. 9, p. 56).

Brown invites us to understand neoliberalism as something more than

> the Global North imposed on the Global South—something that reconfigured as it intensified North-South inequalities, something that resecured the South as a source of cheap resources, labor, and production in the aftermath of colonialism … something that could be carried out with the velvet glove of International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization governance." (pp. 50–51)

That is, for Brown, neoliberalism is "a distinctive mode of reason, of the production of subjects, a 'conduct of conduct,' and a scheme of valuation" (p. 21), as it was for Foucault, who foresaw "the market as a new site of veridiction for governing and a new way of organizing, limiting, measuring, and legitimating government" (Brown, p. 58). The market, as Brown introduces us to Foucault's notion of new governing rationality, "produced, organized, managed, and consumed individual freedom, all without touching the subject" (p. 58).

In other words, neoliberalism reconfigures all aspects of human existence into subjectification of *homo oeconomicus* and "transmongrifies" human being into "human capital" (Brown, p. 10), binding all "heretofore noneconomic domains, activities, and subjects" into the relationship of "economization", a term used by Koray Caliskan and Michel Callon to refer to this phenomenon (Brown, pp. 30–31). Humans become "human capitals" who must be self-investment–, self-entrepreneurialization–, self-responsibilization–ready (pp. 32–33). Inequality and competition is the new creed, in fact, the very foundation of neoliberal governmentality (pp. 64–66). It is easy to understand that against such a milieu, higher education no longer produces critical, ethical citizenry; it only produces "human capital, thereby turning classically humanist values on their head" (p. 24). Little surprise that the university life is quickly saturated with "neoliberal rationality, metrics, and principles of governance" (p. 198):

> the best university scholars are characterized as entrepreneurial and investment savvy, not simply by obtaining grants or fellowships, but by generating new projects and publications from old research, calculating publication and presentation venues, and circulating themselves and their work according to what will enhance their value. (Brown, p. 50)

Overall, neoliberalism has reshaped everything in the image of human capital, as "public goods", "democracy", "subjects", and "knowledge, thought, and training" are reconfigured in terms of "market metrics and economic valences" (Brown, pp. 176–177).

In "Democracy's Nemesis", Giroux (2009) similarly discusses how "market rationality" has "reshaped" institutions of higher education, turning them into "storefronts" and reconfiguring governance under "business model" (p. 669). Academics are viewed as business entrepreneurs, trained to act in accordance with "principles of finance, management, and marketing", and to develop "brand identity … of a high quality product"; students, likewise, are positioned as customers. Amputated in such a climate is the higher education's promise to foster "critical inquiry, public freedom, common deliberation… democratic ethos an politics" (p. 670).

These observations cohere with the Readings observation I started with: that the university education in the West has been organized around three principles: "the Kantian concept of reason, the Humboldtian idea of culture and now the techno-bureaucratic notion of excellence" (p. 15). The Kantian concept of reason, Enlightenment rationalism and national culture exerted persistent control over educational goals under which the role of the modern university was to produce *cultured* and *reasoning men* of affairs, to protect national culture and create citizens in the image of desired national culture, character and disposition, goals which were often achieved through the teaching of permanent art and aesthetics and the superior minds and tastes that represented superior culture and superior history of achievements. Whereas the universities until the Cold War prioritized the idea of "national culture" following German Idealists including Kant and Humboldt, the end or post-Cold War has heralded a post-national era marked by a definite shift in university education, a shift defined by transnational corporations (TNCs) and post-Fordist, fast capitalist, neoliberal, and globalization regimes

(Readings, p. 12). As Readings explains further, post-Cold War universities opted for the

discourse of "excellence" and became a site of "human resource development" for the

marketplace (cited in Readings, p. 12). Thus, according to Readings, with the rise of

neoliberalism as a prime organizer of academic activities, universities become the aides of

transnational corporations and neoliberal governmentality. Note that Brown identifies the

identical three stages in academic history in North America: First a focus on "developing

intelligent thoughtful elites and reproducing culture"; then a focus on "enacting a principle of

equal opportunity and cultivating a broadly educated citizenry"; and now "produc[ing] human

capital" (Brown, p. 24).

Readings point is contentious, however. Gerald Graff (1995) remarks that his view that

education in the West generally speaking was defined by nationalism before the post-national

development is "Canadianocentric", not true to the United States.

Graff explains,

> Unlike in Canada and Europe, the idea of the nation-state never effectively took
> hold in United States universities, despite strenuous attempts to enforce it. It is
> symptomatic that when the Greek and Roman classics gave way to the study of
> national literatures in American schools and colleges at the turn of the century, it
> was English literature and not the native literature of the United States that was
> institutionalized at the center of the humanities curriculum. Even when American
> literature won curricular and scholarly respectability after World War I, it failed
> to displace English literature from center stage, and the very phrase 'native
> literature of the United States' continued to seem something of a contradiction in
> terms until the triumph of American world power after World War II (p. 494).

The same could be said about Canada. Canada's inward-looking, anxious soul searching

for "Canadian identity"— away from its imperial connection and continental orientation on the

one hand and from its southern border, from which it self-defines as the more virtuous north of

North America on the other—began relatively late. Until the 1970s, Canadian nationality

remained outward looking, to its European heritage, and more specifically, to the English ways.

As Nan Johnson posits, nationalism for a long time meant for Canada "the English way of life" (cited in Clary-Lemon, 2009, p. 94). Canada's embrace of "philosophical *idealism*", with its root in English and continental philosophical traditions (contrasted with "American *pragmatism*") (Brooks, p. 675) separated its literacy priorities from US-based composition. The same patterns can be seen in both national-literature study, and literacy and writing studies, largely because of the strong sway the programs in literature and culture exerted on other aspects of literacy education. Leading Canadian scholars including Northrop Frye held a "nationalist anti-American sentiment" (Clary-Lemon, p. 95) marked by the fear that the US model of writing could pose a threat to Canada's national identity and intensify "corporate and political influences on higher education in Canada" (Brooks, p. 677). This worry about the triumph of liberal-capitalism in the global economy and the apparent weakening of the nation-state notwithstanding, higher education in the 1970s in Canada began to be defined in "economic rather than nationalist terms" (Brooks, p. 685).

Consequently, academics were faced with the need to combine traditional liberal arts education with information-age skills and redefine university missions in terms of "the language of business rather than national culture" (Brooks, p. 685).[18]

Using Canada as a case study, Johnstone and Lee (2016) examine how global tactics of power and governance strategies in international education policy have influenced and shaped education and immigration policy within this country. These authors argue that in the age of global knowledge economy, "western nations compete for the best knowledge workers, while positioning English language and western education as superior" (p. 1063). Education has become "a site to maintain a neo-imperial agenda concealed by a neoliberal rhetoric of progress

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[18] For a more clear understanding of the history of writing studies and research in Canada beyond this rather sketchy summary, see Brooks (2002); Smith (2006); Clary-Lemon (2009).

and economic expediency" (p. 1063), as globalization has reconstructed the world as a marketplace in which people are subjected to the role of human capital and producers of economy. Johnstone and Lee add, drawing on Connell (2010), that such terms deployed in business principles and public administration are in fact neoliberal guises to impose "fiscal stringency, privatization, commodification and quality control principles" (p. 1065).

What does this apparent shift (adaption?) of education from nationalism to neoliberal economic policy—with both sharing a rather cozy relationship with each other rather than maintaining a relationship of what once was defined in terms of antagonism— and the increased instrumentalization of education mean for immigrants? My view is that alongside the more basic discrimination by skin color — despite arguments otherwise, in 'colorblind', 'post-racial' imaginations (what is real is that black people are still the easiest target of police brutality)— neoliberalization has added new, complex and just as dangerous forms of discrimination through language and discourse: identity based on new criteria of measurable skills, excellence, and employability, in which the language of wider communication and circulation plays a key role. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the age of knowledge economy, English has exercised more global popularity and control than it did during the direct colonial stage, with an increasing number of established and aspiring world economies aggressively funneling educational funds to make its populace English literate.

The deployment of non-political terms such as "human capital", "best practices", and "benchmarks" impart an illusion that the policies in place are neutral and transparent. To go back to Brown, "human capital's constant and ubiquitous aim whether studying, interning, working, planning retirement, or reinventing itself in a new life, is to entrepreneurialize its endeavors, appreciate its value, and increase its rating or ranking" (p. 36). The depoliticized business model

helps maintain racist and monolithic linguistic and cultural norms while leaving un-interrogated

the global craze over English or immigration to the Global North, a phenomenon which is often

described as nations' response to individual, family, national and/or economic motivations and

reasons (Johnstone & Lee, p. 1065).

Neoliberalism and migration requirements

Let's look at a few observations:

> More important than the drilling of armies, more important than the construction
> of navies, more important than the fiscal policy of this country *is the question of
> who shall come to Canada* and become part and parcel of the Canadian people.
> (emphasis added, William Scott, the superintendent of immigration, Canada, from
> 1903 to 1924 cited in Knowles, 2006, p. 9)

> *[T]he best place to have a heart attack is in a cab because there'll be a doctor
> driving that cab.* (Margaret Eaton, executive director of the Toronto Region
> Immigrant Employment Council, cited in Dharssi, *Calgary Herald*, Sep 14, 2016;
> also se Li's (2012 March) "Who Drives Taxi In Canada"

> The most common explanation for the so-called 'immigrant wage gap' is
> language. The evidence from the census suggests that immigrants who don't
> speak English or French as a first language will have a harder time finding
> permanent, well-paid work than immigrants who do. But language is only part of
> the story. Canadian employers tend to assess the skills and experience of
> prospective hires on the basis of where they come from — immigrant workers
> from outside the US and Europe face significant mark-downs in terms of their
> employability. (Maxwell, 2017, December 11)

The first quote by Scott underscore the sense of unavoidability of immigrants in nation

building and forecasts rightly the importance of the question of who shall migrate and become

Canada's social fabric, a question emphasized by succeeding number of government and policy

personalities and documents. While Scott's context was pre-WWII, a lot must have changed

between this time and 1975, when Richard Tait, chairman of the Canadian Immigration and

Population Study (1975), echoed Scott,

> A hundred years from now, I don't suppose people will care all that much
> whether we legalized marijuana or not. But decisions about *who you let into*

> *Canada will decide the kind of country we have 100 years from now*. (emphasis added, cited in Knowles, p. 9)

Different times; pre- and post- World War II, pre- and post-merit based immigration system, introduced in 1967, but only a slight difference in priorities in which to frame the importance of the question who shall migrate. The most recent example I have is from Chris Alexander, the outgoing Citizenship and Immigration Minister of Canada under the Conservative government:

> …our government is ensuring our immigration system is addressing *Canada's economic and labour market needs* …The launch of Express Entry … will be a major step forward in attracting the skilled workers *we need and have them working in Canada faster*. (emphasis added, 2014, April 23)

The de-racialized neoliberal rhetoric and language in which Alexander has packaged the "Express Entry Program" has a resounding similarity with former Minister Jason Kenney's promise to fix the backlogs resulting from "the endless infinite billions of prospective immigrants."

Here's an excerpt from Kenney,

> As the result of the strong measures that our Government has taken since 2009, we have seen a very steep decline in Canada's immigration backlog, helping us to move towards a *just-in-time fast* and *flexible* system where we will be able to admit applicants for immigration less than a year after their application. (cited in Bhuyan et al., p. 58, original in Government of Canada, March 26, 2013)

These examples illustrate that the question of "who we let into Canada" has remained always a central question throughout the history of Canadian immigration; especially more so after the immigration was open for the populations outside European origins.

Canada's early immigration policies were explicitly racist (e.g., Thobani, 2007). The points system has been touted as a transparent method of selection. Critics suspect, however, as also mentioned earlier, that while claiming to provide the labor market with adequate labor

supply, this system retains qualities and dispositions that are historically associated with

whiteness, liberalism, and masculinity (Allan, 2014, p. 50). Bhuyan, Jeypal, Ku, Sakamoto, and

Chou (2017) add that the country has historically adjusted immigration controls to preserve the

'Whiteness' of the nation. Bhuyan et al. propose to just have a look at the priority list of

nationalities that were allowed to migrate and acquire citizenship in Canada to know its race-

based treatment toward non-White immigrants. They illustrate that whereas the non-Whites and

historically excluded groups such as Japanese, Chinese and Indian immigrants, and African

slaves, and most troublingly, First Nation, Inuit, Métis and indigenous groups were simply

barred from citizenship (Bhuyan et al., p. 49), there were also gradations within the Whites. For

example, before World War II, White settler immigrants from Great Britain, the USA, France

and some northern European nations were desired over the 'non-preferred' immigrants from

Europe including Italy, Poland, and Greece. The merit of post WW II Canada's 'White policy'

and priority on such decisions can be assessed from the following quote by Prime Minister

Mackenzie King:

> I wish to make quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting
> the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a 'fundamental
> human right' of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of
> domestic policy' (cited in Bhuyan et al. p. 49).

We just saw via Brown that neoliberal, late capitalistic, post-Fordist economic policies

emphasize entrepreneurial dispositions; define skills as multiple, flexile, portable or

transferrable; and encourage an attitude of life-long learning, self-responsibility, individualism

(also see Gee, 2005; Mark, 2008). It is these shifting priorities of neoliberalism that shape not

only its pedagogic policies but also immigration, civic, and citizenry requirements.

To reiterate the point, Whiteness is preserved through several neoliberal rationalities.

"Human capital" and employability metrics are measured in English language proficiency,

Canadian experience, flexible and portable skills, and even such an abstract concept as lifelong

(self)-learning. Language and communication receive undivided attention in the post-Fordist,

neoliberal knowledge and service economy, and changes to Canada's more recent points system

reflect neoliberalism, monolingual and native speaker bias, and presumed supremacy of

European values. The exclusive focus on the English language as the key to integration has

intensified, along with it has the purely economic value of immigrants, as evident in the excerpts

above. For more evidence, The Economic Action Plan (EAP, 2012) titled "A Fast and Flexible

Economic System" (note the neoliberal terms "fast" and "flexible" in this title) has as one of its

goals to reform the points system that existed earlier in which Federal Skilled Workers were

assessed on the basis of factors such as education, work experience, age and language abilities.

The changes were meant to ensure that "younger applicants and persons with greater language

proficiency" get more points." Notable changes included the following:

- Minimum official language thresholds and increased points for official language proficiency, making language the most important factor in the selection process;
- Increased emphasis on younger immigrants, who are more likely to acquire valuable Canadian experience, are better positioned to adapt to changing labour market conditions, and who will spend a greater number of years contributing to Canada's economy;
- Introduction of the Educational Credential Assessment (ECA), so that education points awarded reflect the foreign credential's true value in Canada. (CIC, 2012, December 19)

These changes reflected the recommendations from the report *Not Just Numbers: A*

Canadian Framework for Future Immigration, which imagined language as "key determinant of

success, in terms of both employment and successful integration … full participation in Canadian

society (*Not just numbers*, 1997, p. 58). Several other reports including *Into 21st Century* present

language as a greatest barrier or a greatest tool for success. As a result of the EAP 2012

recommendation, the Express Entry program, introduced in January 2015, raised scores in

"language" and "age" components under "human capital factors" (see the table below).

Factors	Points/factor with spouse or common-law partner	Points/factor w/o spouse or common-law partner
Age	100	110
Education	140	150
Language proficiency	150	160
Canadian experience	70	80

Table 2: Maximum possible score under human capital, as per Express Entry 2015 (CIC)

As we can see, the language component receives more value than what is arguably the more important category: "education". Language is a "single most important factor" of immigrants' employability prospects, Canada's economic success, and social cohesion and integrity, as stressed by former Immigration Minister Jason Kenney in the Conservative government (Kenney, *CBC News*, April 11, 2012 cited in Allen, p. 239). Several internal government reports and policy documents highlight the role of inadequate proficiency in official languages to slow down the process of economic and social integration and encourage exclusion and ethnic enclaves (Allen, p. 240). Proficiency in English is "equated with both the freedom to act entrepreneurially and to realize oneself through economic success and with the ability to integrate into the 'Canadian mainstream economy' and society" (p. 240).

An equally insidious governing rationality in Canada is "Canadian experience". A separate subcategory called the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) was introduced in 2008 as a new immigration stream for skilled temporary foreign workers and/or international students who have a record of employment in Canada (Bhuyan et al., 2017). As Bhuyan et al. chronicle it, in August 2012, emphasis on 'Canadian experience' was further institutionalized in a major overhaul of the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), Canada's main economic immigration class. The revised FSWP reduced the value of international education and work experience but

added Canadian experience as a key criterion for immigrant selection, this despite that fact that

> Within Canada, the concept of CE plays a controversial role as an employment
> barrier for skilled immigrants. As early as the 1970s, media reported cases where
> immigrants were denied jobs because they lack CE. Research on the
> discriminatory effects of CE on immigrants led the Ontario Human Rights
> Commission to recognize the use of CE by employers as a form of discrimination
> in 2012. ((Bhuyan et al., p. 48)

Bhuyan et al. further demonstrate, through an analysis of the discourse of CE that

appeared in print media and government documents, that

> the brand of CE serves to re-envision Canada's White policy within a neoliberal
> context. Rather than selecting immigrants based on physical traits within the logic
> of biologically based racism, the discourse of CE relies on the capacity of
> immigrant others to embody traits of Whiteness in a neoliberal era: self-
> sufficiency, autonomy, flexibility and utility in the market place. (p. 60)

The quote is self-evident: CE is just another form of neoliberal soft racism garbed in a

non-racist language of "self-sufficiency, autonomy, flexibility." As I showed via Rita in the

previous chapter, even for a placement purpose, she was asked if she had "Canadian experience."

Dibesh, another participant, echoes and wonders how come newcomers have a Canadian

experience and rejected an entry into job just because they don't have it. For him, to ask, "Do

you have a Canadian experience" to newcomers is to unequivocally subject them to

discriminatory requirements.

"Quickly contribute to Canada's economy," "have them working in Canada faster"

"efficient", "flexible"— these are the terms permeating most government reports and documents,

after the language of neoliberalism. As mentioned previously, 'employability', 'flexibility', 'life-

long learning', and 'excellence' are neoliberalism's key terms. 'Employability' means

conforming to neoliberal and fast-capitalistic dispositions of readiness, competition, hard work,

self-reflexivity and self-responsibility, progressive mindset, attributes that privilege

Eurocentrism and benefit capitalists. Knowledge workers today are expected to have flexible

time and knowledge, unlike in the Fordist order, which highly stratified work. Placing demands on flexibility and lifelong self-learning means no responsibility for the employer and all self-responsibility for the employee including the demand for self-investment into training and skill development (Gee, 2005).

To give the mantra "lifelong learning" a context, meant to provide for regional development and integration, modernization and the promotion of human capital and employability, the Commission for European Communities (2000) emphasized the idea of "lifelong learning" in the wake of neoliberalization. In his contribution to *Foucault and Lifelong Learning*, Olssen (2008) link the discourse of "lifelong learning" with a "technology of the self" (Foucault) that enables businesses and governments to avoid their own direct responsibility for the employees and to make workers be self-responsible for their job (in) security, to be versatile and flexible for adding new skills and abilities, and be ready to moving and relocation anywhere and anytime (p. 39). Olssen adds that "lifelong learning" relaxes legal restraints over conditions of work and employment and dismissal, and reduces controls over employee rights, job security and job protection (pp. 38–40).

> At Tribhuvan University, I taught English literature. Teaching was my passion but when I came to Canada I came to know that I will not do teaching here. It's too tough. Then I was FORCED to change. I say I was forced to change (with stress) my career from teaching to social work. I cannot follow my passion here. …There's no home at all.

The participant experience in this excerpt illustrates one of several cases of how immigrants are being subject to lifelong learning. This participant was "forced" to take a different area of study from his pursuance, and while already an MA in English literature and experienced teacher, he had to start his study from the undergraduate level, let alone finding the job that matched his previous qualification.

'Excellence', similarly, ensures that those who can afford their education and have access to privileged codes can access the best jobs, perennially leaving immigrants and minorities at the "transition industry" (cited in Allan, p. 231).

Drawing on Williams (1977), Allan adds that in Canadian labor and migration, flexibility and readiness means for immigrants to be ready for the contingency, whims and precarity of the market: "The more sanguine term for precarity and insecurity is 'flexibility', a keyword in the post-Fordist-neoliberal regime" (Allen, p. 22). 'Self-responsibility' and 'self-reflexivity' allow the governing bodies to blame the victims for the alleged unpreparedness, lack, and deficit of migrants and minorities, putting the burden of unemployment into the unemployed while absolving themselves of the failure to socio-economically integrate these populations. Casting systemic barriers in terms of lacking skills also helps to justify the problem as non-ideological or neutral, thereby shaping the image of market as transparent and neutral (Allen, p. 23). Self-responsibilization allows the government to leave social, structural and political inequality out of government consideration, and to reconstruct the political problem in non-political and neutralizing language and rhetoric such as "benchmarking" and "best practices" (Brown, pp. 135–136), terms that the private sector in the early 1980s devised, to be taken up soon by the public, nonprofit, and NGO worlds (Brown, p. 136). As Allen concurs, "Immigrants are asked to make self-investments in the present, anticipating future returns, while being rendered responsible for any potential failures and miscalculations, despite uncertainty" (p. 23).

Neoliberal policy demands that immigrants demonstrate their English language proficiency that it deems essential for everyone's success. Proficiency in English overshadows immigrants' other qualities and skills. Further, the English language is presented as isolated, decontextualized, and depersonalized medium of knowledge and economy. The presentation of

the English language as the global language of communication and connection, business, trade, international relations, and a neutral medium of communication belies its imperial history and ongoing ideological function (Street, 1985). While neoliberalism pretends its respect for diversity, pluralism, cosmopolitanism, self-reliance, flexibility, readiness, personalization and localization, its main target is efficiency and surveillance. Therefore, flexibility, reflexivity, adaptability and other attributes in neoliberalism are not to be confused with open disposition and readiness for the plurality of languages, cultures and worldviews. As Canagarajah (2017) illustrates, while bi/multilingual options exist in educational institutions and public service sectors, the mixing of two or more varieties of languages is discouraged, because mixing is thought to result in inefficiency, confusion and unexpected outcomes.

Even within multicultural and bilingual contexts, it is the monolingual regime that determines communicative practices. For example, Cummins (2007) observes that Canadian multilingual classrooms actively reinscribe "monolingual instructional strategies" guided by three interrelated assumptions: "(a) the target language (TL) should be used exclusively for instructional purposes without recourse to students' first language (L1); (b) translation between L1 and TL has no place in the language classroom; and (c) within immersion and bilingual programs, the two languages should be kept rigidly separate" (p. 221). Cummins terms these three misguided assumptions "direct method" assumption, "no translation" assumption and "two solicitudes" assumption respectively (pp. 222–223). Several ESL, "bridge" and "link" English programs targeted to multilingual students in Canada have adopted English-only policies that adhere to the assumptions pointed out by Cummins (Neupane, 2016). These realities speak back to the observation that bi/multilingual approaches are only new permutations of monolingualism (see Introduction).

For Blommaert and Verschuren (1998), the host of barriers created for immigrants constitute "discouragement" measures adopted by the state to "contain" diversity (p. 13). Placing extra demands upon immigrants, which they must fulfill in the path to become an eligible and legitimate member and to participate in a desired field, helps the government to discourage and contain the unwanted people from access to resources and privileges. Passing the legitimacy test involves a lengthy process, costs money and time, and worse still, always remains uncertain. According to staff at the Centre for Newcomers in Calgary, "it can take immigrants in many professions at least three years to transfer their qualifications, if they succeed at all" (Dharssi). This in spite of the knowledge that, as Dharssi quotes Michael Bloom of the Conference Board of Canada as saying, "Our problem is that, since about 1990, we have not been able to fully make the best use of our immigrants."

From her study of settlement, job fairs, volunteering positions and language training programs, Allen derives that these programs "were merely stops in their long-term un(der)employment trajectories" (p. 230), the goal being to produce flexible workers, reserved often for new immigrants who would be ready to 'flexibly' accept precarious labor: short-term contracts, temporary, part-time, and low-wage jobs– whose insecurity was relatively greater (p. 228). As such, language training and integration programs for skilled immigrants "encouraged new immigrants to become responsible immigrants/future-citizens through active unemployment: to entrepreneurially invest in their future potential … through 'active' un(der)employment one strove to always be available for work, to be 'work-ready", and be always in what Barbara Ehrenreich (2005) calls "transition industry" (cited in Allan, p. 231). Allan's study shows that integration programs "increased the regulation of the un(der)employed

and attempted to shape subjectivities in line with values dubbed 'Canadian', which were integral to post-Fordist forms of labour, and (neo)liberal rationalities of government" (pp. ii–iii).

These discouraging and containing measures also help the state to ensure that migrants pose no harm to the social fabric of the receiving country such that the exiting white supremacy remains inviolate.

The following scene from Allan's study is illustrative:

> While attending a migrant activist fund-raiser held in a union hall, I noticed two sets of fictitious resumes taped to the concrete wall. One was by a Canadian-born applicant, the other a new immigrant. The Canadian-born applicant listed the following skills: "excellent cross-cultural communication although mono-lingual; traveled overseas." Scribbled across the resume at the top in red pen, were the comments of a fictitious employer: "has overseas experience", "excellent candidate". The new immigrant's resume was marked up with: "No recent experience," "will not be considered," although the resume listed a wealth of recent experience in a foreign country. (p. 228)

Overall, such programs as 'soft skills' training and training in 'Canadian workplace culture' construe individual immigrants as skills deficient, so that the government could "focus on reforming individual immigrants" rather than intervening into in the labour market (Allan, 2014, ii).

Featured participants resonate with the findings we just discussed. They sense that active containment, discouragement measures are taken through such processes as "de-skilling", "de-credentialing" and through such requirements as "Canadian experience", "voluntarism", and relentless emphasis on "continuing education", "language training" and similar other obstacles created by Canadian immigrant support system. As we just discussed, Canadian experience is identified in policies as carrying "the promise of economic and social integration", which makes "the discourse of CE remains ideologically deracialized" and conceals "discriminatory effects that this discourse is shown to have for racialized immigrants in Canada" (Bhuyan et al., p. 47).

My participants reaffirm the deduction that 'Canadian experience' is a neoliberal soft racism to preserve the traits of Whiteness.

> I went to many places in search of job. And they perceive or they scanned my resume as if I have gain[ed] nothing throughout my life. …I have to present myself with a resume as if their requirement is not actually met through our resume because most of our knowledge and experiences are due to our back home. And they say, "You have any Canadian experience?" And I say, "I don't know. I am immigrant. How can I have Canadian experience without working, without opening the gate for the opportunity?" And they say, "Do you have work experiences? Without getting work, how can I have work experience?" That is a big challenge for the immigrants. Even today, the highly intellectual immigrants are working odd jobs, survival jobs, by restricting themselves in a narrow path. This submerging the potentiality will not be good to the individual and for the nation as well. (Dibesh, personal communication)

For my informants, discouraging measures are adopted to perpetually defer and slowly assimilate immigrants and minorities. "Canadian experience", as seen by participants, is just another ploy to construct immigrants' as deficient. Immigrants who do not have 'Canadian experience' must join voluntary labor and keep upgrading their education, following the neoliberal precept "life long learning", a response which coheres with Bhuyan et al.'s (2017) finding that "the branding of 'Canadian experience' in Canadian immigration policy [is] a rhetorical strategy for neoliberal nation-building" (p. 47). Realizing this need, one of my female participants advises fellow immigrants to get Canadian education as soon as possible, reasoning that doing so would enable them to gain practical knowledge and Canadian experience, especially if the programs have service-learning, voluntary and placement components (Rita, personal communication). Rita refers to two other ways of tackling the inequality and discrimination that the requirement of Canadian experience has perpetrated; namely, validating other experiences and making candidates' names anonymous. The latter approach she suggests was launched as a pilot project by Public Service Commission Canada in April 2017, following similar studies in Australia (2011) and the U.K. (2015). Curious, I researched on the topic only to

know that the name-blind hiring meant to survey the effect of "employment 'unconsciousness bias'" showed that "visible minorities were short-listed at roughly the same rate through a name-blind recruitment process (46 per cent) as through a traditional process (47 per cent)" (Harris, 2018, January 23). "Hiding ethnic-sounding names from resumes has no real bearing on who's picked from the pile of applications for jobs in the federal public service", as the report suggested (Harris). The report added, however, that reviewers' awareness that they were participating in the blind recruitment project "could have potentially affected their assessment" (Harris, 2017, April 20), noting further, "when all candidate's information was made available, reviewers discriminated in favour of female and visible minority candidates" (cited in Harris). This mixed review was also supported by Australian Public Service, which pointed out, similarly, that "de-identifying applications at the short-listing stage did not appear to help promote diversity" (Harris, 2018, January 23). This suggests while the State should and need to challenge and address the longstanding racial discrimination in the workplace in new ways, it takes more than launching a simplified project or a policy to effectively challenge discrimination in all its multiple and nuanced forms.

Wrapping this section up, in this section using Foucault's concept of governmentality, we read how language, literacy education, and migration policies as historical instrument for assimilation have been further streamlined by neoliberal economy and ideology. From the perspective of governmentality, de-skilling and de-credentialing is part of "bio-political" mechanism to manage subjects. The official demands and interests in academia and workplaces are, in Foucauldian term, "the technology of self" aimed to develop a "docile" body "that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1995, p. 136).

Through Canadian immigration policies and participant experiences, I showed that neoliberal economic drives and motivations are apparent in shaping policies and programs in literate, academic and social contexts. While I say this, I am not necessarily arguing that universities are the mere pawn of neoliberalism or that they have not or cannot do anything to resist undue economic and cultural forces. Yet, contrary to being critical sites and resources where issues of inequality and injustice are routinely discussed, debated and researched about, academic institutions today have allowed the market sway their decisions as to what programs, plans and policies to offer, giving up on traditional roles of leading and in-forming the society and the market.

Closing remarks

By bringing participants in conversation with other migrant stories represented in media outlets and with neoliberal economic policies that construct others within centripetal and standardized demands of literacy, job, migration and settlement, in this chapter, I highlighted how language, education, and experience requirements contain and manage immigrants.

Under neoliberal policy, expectations of immigrants are constructed and measured against their real and potential contribution to the economic drive, to social cohesion and integration, and readiness and potential for actively living up to the promises of self-standing, seeking no social support, of maintaining dispositions deemed necessary for success and non-interference of existing relation. English proficiency and Canadian experience are presented as necessary steps to ensure and achieve the goal of social cohesion, smooth transition, economic contribution as well as efficiency, measurability, fairness and transparency. However, the reality we saw through changing immigration policies is that such a language depoliticizes underlying racism to help maintain the virtues and traits associated with whiteness.

PLUARITY, PROMISES AND PRACTICE

Language, literacy education, and migration policies as historical instruments for assimilation have been further streamlined by neoliberal economy and ideology. Participants' identification of the homogenous language use in academia, the sense that their education and experience are devalued, leaving them with no option but to start everything from scratch, attests to the prevalence of containing, discouraging, disciplining, and managing, and governing rationalities. The devaluation of academic credentials and work experience in the Global North can be read as the neoliberal mandate on outsiders to actively upgrade their skills and education and continue to build their portfolio, which serves, among other things, to maintain Euro-American and whiteness values.

The neoliberal rationality of self-governance (Foucault, 1982, p. 212) is apparent in the number of strategies that discredit international education, skills, and experiences acquired in the Global South and subject immigrants to life-long learning, adopting flexible disposition to, literally, unemployment, and so on. Diasporic subjects thus become subjects of/to "plan, management and economy" and policy and pedagogy (Agamben, 2009, p. 7). The various strategies of containment and discouragement participants have recognized include the nonrecogniztion of immigrants' past resources, the mapping of their language and literacy abilities to existing ideology of standard, and the creation of endless barriers for further studies and employment. Going back the point we discussed in the previous chapter, neoliberal economy has a way of naming different subjects and subjecting/subjugating them to assigned roles, responsibilities and identities so that existing hierarchical relationships remain inviolate.

Chapter Three

Decolonizing diversity: Toward a view of difference as agency

Nepali in Canada have demonstrated, in their own ways, that they are also agents, not mere effects of a system, lest the previous chapter gave us such an impression. As a community and as individuals, they are engaged in different activities ranging from connecting communities to spreading the message of social awareness, solidarity for humanitarian, social, and civic causes that go beyond national, religious, ethic and political ties and affiliations. In Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Guelph, and Ottawa, for example, they have run Nepali language and literacy programs for young children with an objective that the young ones remain connected and attached to their parents, their family back in Nepal, and their language and culture. Language connects and disconnects. A deep, immediate concern and fear among Nepali immigrant parents, including those featured in this research, is that their children are increasingly getting further and further detached, disconnected, and distanced from them and the community. As a partial and temporary damage repair measure, they have conducted language classes with the hope that this would narrow the growing gap between them and their children.

Whether it is by using public spaces for running literacy programs and community enrichment initiatives, or by *returning*— metaphorically, imaginatively, materially, creatively and aesthetically— to their place of birth, or by remapping and reimagining Canadian times and spaces in their own terms to remain connected to the past—psychologically and viscerally—this community has something to tell us about the various ways agency can be imagined and exercised.

Respondents in this research have demonstrated that they are capable of negotiating differences despite, in fact *because* of, namelessness and invisibility. Outside the community-

driven and socio-psychological occasions of agency, participant students have resisted what they identify as overt and covert forms of racism. They have questioned the gap between Canada's multicultural promise and its actual practice, interrogating and resisting policies and practices at odds with the promise of a country that prides in being accommodative of differences. In such enunciatory moments, they show that subjects are not mere *effects* of power structures.

Divided into two sections, this chapter shows how featured immigrants have negotiated and navigated challenges and barriers in the changing contexts and possibilities of identity and meaning. A much-contested, slippery term that has been looked at from an array of perspectives—from psychological, cognitive to sociological, ideological, political, material, rhetorical to pedagogical—agency in rhetoric and writing studies translates into meaning- and identity-making, voice, authority and ownership of knowledge. Building on the scholarship of agency in relation to meaning- and identity- making across language and culture difference, I foreground difference-based agency, one that is predicated on a qualitative approach to difference that essentially values the radical otherness of the Other (Lévinas). The difference-based, critical and ethical approach to agency redefines the relationship between humans, less humans, and nonhumans *not* as one of the binaries— of naming and named, interpreting and interpreted, civilizing and civilized, host and guest—but one bound by an inescapable associationality, meditationality, and transformationality, to adapt Latour (2005). A critically-ethically-invested approach elevates the heretofore other-*wised*, *leftout,* and *added-on* into the status of agentive coevals, disrupting traditional agent/non-agent dichotomies, as well as the mistaken faith in agentive autonomy and autochthony.

In Section I, I offer an overview of agency, as a prelude to participants' perceptions of how diversity is received and managed within the multicultural framework of Canada. After that

I discuss agency in connection to a much narrower nonetheless very important focus: language-culture difference (Horner, 2015; Lu and Horner, 2013). Unsettling the anthropolingual and anthropological view of agency, I both draw on and complicate the view of agency as emergent and practiced, arguing that whereas agency as emergent, practiced and performed allows us to question the undue advantage ascribed to isolated language skills and overreliance on the past as the (re)source of agency, agency is a combination of transferrable, repurposed, redesigned, resources as well as emergent and improvised attainments and potentialities. I bring participants in conversation with various conceptual positions of agency and resistance. This section concludes with a suggestion that we need to return to the questions such as who is allowed to speak and "whose voice is heard" (Kumar). In other words, we need to return to agents themselves so as not to (a) elide the untapped articulations of agency and (b) avoid adding another layer of abstraction and generalization with the result of skirting the questions of race, sex, and class, and the political reality of difference-based discrimination (Mills, 1997).

In Section II, I discuss decolonizing options and strategies. Decolonizing in this instance has us problematize some of the assumptions and working grounds of postcolonialism and neoliberal multiculturalism, and redirect our attention on ethical grounds of agency in which difference is the norm rather than an exception, rather than something to be accommodated and appeased. In that manner, after establishing why the decolonial option is a more viable option, I discuss the problems underlying multiculturalism in general and academic and pedagogic manifestations in particular. I argue for bringing existing multiculturalism to be accountable for what Kranti calls the "real dimension" of multiculturalism (group discussion). A difference-based agency can only be realized in a de-neoliberalized and de-relativized multiculturalism. This is essentially a call for diversifying diversity by making it responsive to how identities are

contested and staged in real life and by re-imagining diversity beyond the question of rights, tolerance, and permissibility. In continuation with the theme of resistance and agency discussed in Section I, we will encounter participants' view of "racing" and de-neoliberalizing multiculturalism, interrupting and unthinking Eurocentrism that have permeated their lives in all sorts of ways: from systemic to individual to dispositional to micro-aggressive. As a participants-driven theme, "multiculturalism" turns out to be a critical moment where they could discuss racism in all its nuances. Participants' suggestions for decolonizing the Western ways cover these and other-centric (or *allocentric*) ethical approaches to difference, including an emphasis on "rhetorical [and meditative] listening", "listening" to rhetorical and cultural differences, and making our pedagogical and institutional 'requirements' and practices reflect these differences. For example, as Birat says, as instructors, we need to understand that "a person's language, a person's way of studying, way of learning largely depend you know is largely guided by his or her cultural pattern" (group discussion); and this understanding, I will add, should not mean essentializing, fixing and freezing differences and conflating differences with communities and cultures.

Thus my re-presentation of participant resistance to multiculturalism, in consort with existing literature, pushes current practices of multiculturalism beyond reductive and representational schemas, in which headcounts come before a qualitative approach to plurality, so that it is possible to think all of us and how we do, be, and value as qualitative contribution to our society, world, and our co-existence and common fate.

Section I: Difference and agency

From a philosophical, rationalist, metaphysical-idealist, Enlightenment humanist position, which carries the Protagerasean "[m]an is the measure of everything", endowed as he is

with the natural ability to make rational decision and free-willed as he is to act in accordance

with his own volition; to structuralism, which sees the erstwhile idealized human agents as mere

effects of power structures, interpellated to the roles determined by "institutional status

apparatuses" (Althusser, 1971), language and discourse (Foucault, 1980), social, material

(Marxist), and psychological conditions (Freud, Lacan) so much so that true action/agency is

either unavailable or, even if it is, it is always already manufactured and absorbed by dominant

forces; to Burke's (1969) dramatistic pentad model of understanding motives in which act

(what), scene (where), agent (who), agency (by what means), purpose (why) divide their share of

ratio for an outcome; to those who seek a middle path between the longstanding structure/agency

dichotomy, arguing that structure and agency dynamically interact with and interanimate each

other through "practice" (Giddens, 1979) and "habitus" (Bourdieu) rather than being opposites;

to a poststructuralist view in which neither agents "have" or "acquire" agency, nor agency

"possess" or "precede" the agent (cited in Miller, 2007, p. 143); to the posthumanists,

network/knotwork and system theorists, who see agency as complexly layered into humans,

language, objects, matters, technology, and networks;[19] to a view of agency as "the *kinetic*

energy of rhetorical performance" (original emphasis, Miller, 2006, p. 147), emerging out of

performance in a given rhetorical event, language and rhetorical difference-based agency seems

to receive less attention than it deserves. Posthumanistic, socio-culturally and ecologically

sensitive approaches have shown that agency, agents, and contexts (or "scene" for Burke) are co-

participants, as the terms network/knotwork, "assemblages", "actants" suggest. However,

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[19] Latour defines an actor as someone/something "made to act by many others... An 'actor'... is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it" (2005, p. 46). In this definition, the actor is not a willing, intentional act-er. Thus the Burkean action-motion demarcation to distinguish humans from nonhumans is suspect from this position. Latour says, "An 'actor in ANT is a semiotic definition–an actant–, that is, something that acts or to which activity is granted by others. It implies no special motivation of human individual actors, nor of humans in general. An actant can literally be anything provided it is granted to be the source of an action" (7). Actor-network theory challenges traditional association of agency with such terms as motivation, volition, voluntarism intentionality, purposefulness, and teleology.

language difference becomes only a tangential focus in these theories as well. If equally

tangentially, in his introduction to *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke acknowledges that "dramatism

… treats language and thought primarily as modes of action" (xxii). However, his grammar, for

its universal focus, misses the language difference that I attend to this section. The language

difference focus enables us to address questions such as who's allowed to speak, whose voice is

heard, whose resistance counts and so on. The shift toward agency vis-à-vis language difference

has attracted questions such as who/what is marked as different and making difference; what

kind of writing qualify as marking difference; who makes a decision regarding what is counted

as an effective difference; and, most importantly, how to situate difference in a way that helps us

to move beyond our current preoccupation of making and marking, rewarding and punishing

difference to imagining difference as a basic denominator of thinking, action, and action-ability

(Lu & Horner, 2013; Horner, 2015).

Language difference and agency in academic writing

In academic writing and literacy, student agency means more than one thing:

empowering oneself by acquiring rules and conventions of academic writing/literacy (such as

advocated by accomodationist, pragmatist tradition), "voice", "owning one's writing",

"authority" (e.g., process pedagogy); writing against the grain, resistant writing, making and

marking difference (critical pedagogy, diversity approaches). From a pedagogical standpoint, we

can identify a number of approaches that represent different positions on language difference and

matter of agency. To illustrate, Lu and Horner (2007, see Appendix E) looked at four approaches

to language difference in what they call "eradicationist", "SLA" (second language acquisition),

"accomodationist", and "multilingual" stances. Canagarajah (2016) discusses "subtractive"

(monolingual approach), "additive" (multilingual approaches), "recursive" (plurilingual

approach), and "translingual" approaches to language difference and writer's agency. These approaches represent the various scales in which language difference is punished, tolerated, permitted, and encouraged.

Briefly explained, the normative approaches locate agency solely in the "correct" language. Such models are intolerant of difference. Deviation from the norm is marked as a sign of incompetence and idiosyncrasy. Correct language, rather than how a language uses language, ("languager" hereon to suggest agency) is what constitutes agency in such models. In what I call the correctiontist models, agency lies in users' 'proficiency' in *conforming* to, rather than *re-forming*, the standard variety of language. Consequently, such approaches stymie crossing, merging, appropriating, and meshing languages, rhetorical conventions, and discourse communities (Canagarajah, 2002).

Supporters of normative approaches include those who believe that depriving the minority and 'non-traditional' students of the opportunity to learn the dominant language/discourse is further marginalizing them and denying them the agency they could acquire from the mastery of a prestige language (Delpit, 1993; Atkinson et al. 2015; Ruecker, 2015). This apparently pragmatic stance informs a variety of approaches including English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) (Canagarajah, 2002). In Canagarajah's understanding, EAP *asserts* discourse boundaries even as it acknowledges that there is no homogenous academic discourse; contrastive rhetoric *respects* discourse boundaries and reinforces cultural determinism, even as it rejects the orientalist position, which places Western cultural and rhetorical traditions above and beyond all other non-Western traditions. Still other approaches, including the social process approach and the transcultural model, while they allow for the *crossing* and *merging* of and *shuttling* between language and discourse

boundaries, they may run the risk of *simplifying* the role of power, lead to a romanticized view of boundary crossing, overlooking, thus, the material and historical realities governing languages and discourses.

For Canagarajah, only Pratt's (1991) *contact zone* model acknowledges asymmetrical relations of power held by students from different language communities whose relationship in this model is imagined as being one of collision, conflict, and interaction. A contact zone pedagogy allows students to "appropriate" the dominant language through exercises in "autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression" with the consequences of these acts of appropriation ranging from "miscomprehension" to "absolute heterogeneity of meaning" (Pratt, 1991, p. 37). Commentators generally agree that the contact zone approach is useful for today's multilingual class where it is considered normal for students to have conflict and yet have productive dialogue across differences and inequalities. Agency in such a context lies in students' appropriation of the dominant language, "selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis", and oppositional strategies (Pratt, p. 35). The writer's agency from this perspective would be one involving conflictual relationship and negotiation.

Evaluating pluralist approaches to language including English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and World Englishes (WE) in terms of agency, it seems that while they strike us as plural, these approaches are monolingualist and correctionist in orientation. According to Pennycook (2008), these approaches "idealize a monolithic entity called 'English'", rely on separate and stable cores of English, and prioritize structures over practice and usage. Pennycook observes that ELF and WE ignore the fact that languages transform as they are practiced and come in contact with other languages—by the traffic of meanings, by translation (cited in Pennycook, 2008, p. 38).

Bi/multilingualism and multiculturalism are not pluralistic just because they sound plural, because these approaches contribute to a *quantitative*, additive view of diversity or the diversity of forms ("glossodiversity") rather than a *qualitative* approach to diversity, or diversity of meaning ("semiodiversity") (p. 33). A more progressive approach, plurilingualism, offers an alternative to the numeric, additive model of bi/multilingualism and foregrounds "resources" and "repertoires"; however, an attendant problem here is that "resources" and "repertoires" seem to be presented as if they were pre-existing sets of skills language users bring to their use freely and independently. There is an overemphasis on repertoires, resources, metalinguistic awareness, strategic choice, intentional, conscious use, and rhetorical purpose. Such a view downplays the role of constraints and power dynamics that language users and meaning makers have to confront everyday.

Several scholars in literacy, writing, and linguistics have adopted semiotic and semiodiverse perspectives that enable us to comprehend all meaning-making resources and repertoires (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook, 2010; Horner et al., 2013). These qualitative approaches diversify agency beyond "(In the beginning there was) the Word" and language, or what could be called *logo-ego-grapho-centrism*—appropriating the likes of Derrida, Kristeva, and Kress, who facilitate my understanding of *difference-centric* agency beyond the Western-logical-thinking-man (logo); individualism-intention-Western; writing-literacy-progress-West nexuses. In complement, an attention to non-Western rhetorical and communicative traditions—which focus less on winning, suasion, and egocentrism and more on "allocentrism" (Oliver, 1971), unlike in the Aristotelian rhetorical tradition, pose a challenge to dominant, normative approaches to language, literacy, and rhetoric.[20]

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[20] I note the role of digital affordances and exigencies for representing and diversifying meanings and confess that it is outside my scope here.

Translingual approach to language difference that has inspired some zeal among composition teachers and scholars is an important contribution to this end. In their opinion piece, for instance, Horner, Lu, Trimbur, and Royster (2011) observe that traditional approaches to language difference have ignored readers' role in deciding what is "correct" or "acceptable" and language users' role in challenging and transforming language conventions, revising knowledge, and determining social relations (pp. 306–307). These writers forward a translingual approach to language difference and recommend a careful reading of difference and deviation rather than dismissing uncharacteristic usages as an example of unsuccessful language practice.

In particular, Lu and Horner (2013) call for a robust view of agency as difference and difference as a norm rather than an exception, building on concepts such as "recontextualization" (Pennycook), "practice", "habitus" (Giddens; Bourdieu) and "performance" (Austin; Butler), and repetition with a difference (Deleuze). Lu and Horner believe that we need to shift our attention to "the ways in which individual language users fashion and re-fashion standardized norms, identity, the world, and their relation to others and the world ... always responding to and shaping [contexts and codes]" (p. 28). Practicing difference as a norm and "an inevitability rather than an option, [can] change our question from one asking whether to allow difference in writing to asking what kind of difference to attempt to make in our writing, how and why" (Horner et al., p. 335). In this way, the question is not one of whether or not to choose "contact zone" pedagogy but that of "recognize[ing the] classroom as always already a site of differences, 'contact'" (Horner, 2015, p. 335), of "how do we do language and why?" (Lu & Horner, p. 23; p. 27).

To sum it up, in this section I pointed out that the longstanding debate of structure and agency and the various philosophical and theoretical standpoints that inform this debate seems to lack an engaged discussion of agency in relation to language difference. Taking up the missing

language discussion, I then reviewed a number of language teaching and pedagogical approaches

that show various degrees of tolerance of and openness toward language difference—from

approaches that are avowedly eradicationist, correctiontist and monolingualist, to pragmatist,

accomodationist, instrumentalist, to those that advocate for language and discourse mixing (e.g.,

translingualism). I made an argument that although apparently pluralist, World Englishes,

multi/plurilingualism re-inscribe the dominant language as the agent/agency. I then suggested

that while a sustained discussion of, and the need to revisit, language difference and agency is

long overdue at a time of the global 'flow' of almost everything, a return to semiotic and

semiodiverse view of difference and taking account of all meaning making possibilities is an

urgency.

From this prelude, I now turn to how this discussion of agency and resistance translates

to the featured participants.

Participant agency performances and potentials

> ... because as you said that there are so many hidden unseen discrimination but
> there in a very intellectual level you know, discrimination but in an intellectual
> level. Just to share one an experience. One of my professor here asked me share
> his or her experience saying that "I know English is your additional language and
> I know you might have so many…lot[s] of difficulties to understand and write in
> English because English is your second or third fourth language because I have
> the similar experience somewhere in one of the countries the professor told and
> then but I responded saying that English is you know just language is just for
> communication, so don't need very sophisticated vocabulary to understand or to
> write because uh it's just the medium you can understand if you do not speak in
> English or if you do not speak English we can imply communicate through our
> symbols, sign right?. So language is just to communicate and what I did is uh and
> from the very day when we had that discussion, and I was the first to submit my
> assignment and we are supposed to publish our paper as a part of our final
> assignment that we had at least submit to any journal so and I was the first to
> finish that paper, submit to the journal and my paper was accepted very first than
> my cohorts *so because I resisted them*. (Kishor, group discussion)
>
> I submitted the same paper for a journal and peer reviewed journal and the
> feedback I received from the reviewers was that they wanted me to mention

clearly my theoretical perspective and my methodology. And it was not based on any predefined, preconceived theory, preconceived structured methodology. I talked about the discourse of … based on my lived experiences, based on what I saw with my own eyes where I lived, grew up. So is not that knowledge? Is that knowledge invalid? Do I need to develop or color it or look at it through the lens of specific theory, methodology? So is not that a valid way of producing knowledge? …They ask you to come up with a set of methodology. They have structures, patterns, but your experiences, they do not grow or develop always necessarily into patterns. They do not like to think in terms of fluidity, fluidity of experiences uh your emotions. So this is just an example. …. I resisted. …because it is all based on my experiences and I don't have any uh any structured methodologies, predominant methodologies as in western academia. (Ram, personal communication)

I *had to take* that course. I was *worried about my grade* because the professor was very deliberate. (Kumar, group discussion, December 30, 2015)

AND I TIME AND AGAIN SAY THAT IF I HAVE TO UNDERSTAND YOUR LANGAUGE, OH MY DEAR PROFESORS, I HAVE PAID AND YOU HAVE TO UNDERSATAND MY LAGUAGE AS WELL! That is what I call multiculturalism. This is how I have perceived multiculturalism. (Kranti, group discussion)

Kishor proves the professor's hasty conclusion wrong: that just because English is his "additional" language, he must have difficulty in engaging academic discourse. Kishor and other participants I have cited above challenge the general tendency to view others as charity- and generosity-deserving at best and worth lower expectation and condescension at worst. Ram recounts his experiences of being either patronized or totally dismissed. As for Kishor, he proved his professor wrong, being the first to submit the assignment paper and getting that same paper published in a peer-reviewed journal.

Ram, sharing his experience of writing for publication in a Western academic journal, resists his reviewers' recommendation that he should have a clear methodology. He interprets the demand for clear methodology as the product of West's traditional reliance on "rigid patterns", explaining further, "[our] experiences, they do not grow or develop always necessarily into patterns". He realized that established patterns limited the "fluidity of emotions" that he wished

to represent in his composition. For these reasons, Ram disparages "predefined, preconceived theory, preconceived structured methodology" (group discussion), reiterating this point in the personal interview, in which he explicitly commented on "homogeneity of knowledge production" in Western academia and then protested "… the whole pedagogy, composition, writing techniques … all of these technicalities and strategies related to writing, composition, they are very much grounded on this language, English and western culture." He resisted and unsettled some of the "deeply entrenched" attitudes and dispositions toward ESL users (Ram, personal communication).

Based on his own example, Kishor advises his fellow-participants to resist when they feel that their abilities are doubted or challenged. "Challenge" in this instance provides an occasion for action (c.f., Burke's motives). He shares this understanding—"because I resisted them"—with Kumar who strikes him as escaping from resistance and consequently missing a chance to prove his ability. Kumar confesses that an outright resistance route was not available for him, reasoning if he had resisted the "very deliberate" professor overtly, he would have risked his grades and even jeopardized his future. As Kumar reveals, "for me I *had to* take that course I was *worried about my grade* because the professor was very *deliberate*" (group discussion).

Kranti sounds by far the most actively resistant, and by certain standards, the least tactical of the three. He challenges professors: "If I have to understand your language oh my dear professors, I have paid and you have to understand my language as well." We don't know if he really used the exact same words in the actual conversation. He likely did not. This question is not even important. If not the tone, Kranti captures the sentiment felt by several other participants. Kranti counters the expectation that the *others* are the only people accountable for the onus of communicability and intelligibility. He demands a reciprocal relation from the other

communicative end so that understanding becomes a mutual labour rather than a one-way effort

and a unidirectional demand. Reciprocity and mutual sacrifice is key to communication for

Kranti even when interlocutors share an asymmetrical power relationship.

In his conversation, Kranti hints at the institutional level dispositional and perceptual

change necessary to approach difference, beyond just the individual instructor, a point made by

Leki (1992), in *Understanding ESL writers*:

> It is not the students' texts that need to change; rather it is the native-speaking
> readers and evaluators (particularly in educational institutions) that need to learn
> to read more broadly, with a more cosmopolitan, less parochial eye. The infusion
> of life brought by these ESL students' different perspectives on the world can
> only benefit a pluralistic society which is courageous enough truly to embrace its
> definition of itself. (pp. 132–133)

Kranti's direct style essentially underscores the puzzling question as to why students

marked as others are seen as needing training and education. Benesch (1994) underscored this

point a long time ago by saying that there exists a tendency to view it as natural and "realistic"

for second language students to adopt the cultures, world views, and language of the university

and "unrealistic" for institutions "to adopt itself to the cultures, world views, and languages of

nonnative-speaking students" (p. 711). What gets lost in this *nonexchange* is the possibility for

these students to recontextualize and transform the very institutions they occupy. Kranti

negotiates like a consumer ("I have paid") and insists that the professor must, therefore, try to

understand his different English. In essence, though, this statement unsettles language

homogeneity and a unidirectional expectation and measurement of "intelligibility,"

"proficiency," and "competence". In short, resists the assimilation of differences into the Same.

The four examples of resistance cited above represent four different responses to

challenges to agency, responses that also reflect a particular individual's assessment of what

option is available and what consequences a given moment of resistance may entail for the

individual. I am calling this kind of resistance "rhetorical resistance", after Kumar. Rhetorical resistance complicates Giroux's grid of "accommodation", "opposition" and "resistance", in which each category is defined as a distinct response to the dominant. Giroux (1983) posits that not all oppositional acts of students qualify as resistance. If we take from Giroux, the situation in which Kumar found himself calls for an *accommodative* response given his assessment that "the professor was deliberate", meaning that there was high risk involved in resisting.

Kranti seems to merely *oppose*, from Giroux's postulation. Kishor may qualify as *resistant* proper, because he showed by example that he not only beat everyone's expectation by submitting his paper first in class but he also published the same paper in a peer-reviewed journal, well beyond the professor's (under) estimation of him. Kranti sounds a bit radical and militant in his opposition, more reactive than proactive, shall we say, from this standpoint.

In the latter half of the group discussion, Kumar discloses his resolve to do something about his apparent inaudibility and namelessness by taking up strategies to fight "against the grain". As he says, "academically to fight against these, particularly (through) *rhetorical opposition* (is by) *publish[ing] journal article*, not from here but from outside, *present paper against them and in favour of them*." This is a nuanced "rhetorical opposition", something that would amount to resistance (Giroux). The mention of "against them and in favour of them" perhaps means for Kumar that opposition does not entail opposing everything uncritically; it involves responsibility and respect for the resisted.

Kishor reminds Kumar that the best way to deal with agency-denying and difference-assimilating forces is not by quitting or escaping but by resisting. Kranti does not succumb to the unidirectional approach to intelligibility. This feeling is supported by another speaker who speculates that the reason behind the unidirectional expectation is that "They might have this ego

upon them, so maybe they *might have think*, 'I'm perfect, they're not. They should be perfect or they should improve themselves?" (Himal, group discussion). Ram's negotiation of his methodology that could adequately represent the "fluidity of emotions" with the methodology that demanded rigid "patterns" and "structures" was an excellent example of resistance as well. His challenge makes sense given certain normative and template-like methodologies do not simply translate into all compositional, communication needs, particularly when it involves affective, experimental, and expressive needs.

Since every one of these participants is resisting in a different way, these responses underline the situated nature of resistance and agency and underscore the point that resistance and agency cannot be neatly mapped onto a universal grid. Suggested in these responses is also a point that a discrete model of resistance fails to provide for understanding the complexity of resistance and agency. My intention was not to evaluate the merit of the participants' resistance and agential capacity at all: to make an evaluation as final based on these partial conversations and contexts would near misinterpretation. One thing is clear however: participants in this research resisted the dominating forces one way or another, and we can and should learn from these responses.

The listening.

Despite structural constraints and demands for conformity, these speakers are capable of resistance and agency, sometimes overtly, covertly other times:

> There is a kind of overall irony about Canadian education, North American education: *you have liberty in the classroom* (correcting) *you have freedom, you can speak. But the point is– Are you heard? Is your voice recorded? Is your voice given space? That's what really matters*. (Kumar, group discussion)

While most participants appreciated the fact that as students they can express their own perspectives, "who they are" and "what their stance is" (Birat), what matters to Kumar is

whether or not your "voice is heard" and "given space." When we think about resistance and

agency, we think of them in relation to power, freedom, and equality. This speaker prompts us to

reflect on questions such as: Is there true freedom? Or is freedom designed and manipulated

somewhere from outside? Does resistance represent a genuine challenge to structure, or is

resistance structure-absorbed and structure-accommodated? To him, freedom of expression has

no meaning as long as the dissident voice is *heard* and given a *space*. We are told that system has

the flexibility to dismiss outright or tolerate, even anticipate, resistance. Given this reflexivity of

the system to manage resistance and agency, Kumar realizes that a reasonable way to deal with

systemic (overt) barriers is not by waiting for systemic changes to occur in the form of an

epochal event or by seeking macro level changes, but by initiating something at the micro, local

form of everyday resistance, following De Certeau (1984), and, perhaps, by being aware of the

"capillary" form of power enacted, produced and reproduced in every possible exchanges

(Foucault). Everyday resistance is less overt than collective and political movements but is

nonetheless quite effective in its deployment of "tactical" resistance.

Kumar finally comes up with an uplifting, ennobling way of resisting, what he calls

"writing against the grain"; and I repeat him:

> So nowadays I am wondering how I can resist to that kind of hegemony which is
> there in Canadian education, North American education. One of the ways,
> because when you one-to-one face-to-face, you cannot do this. You have to use
> such strategy that allows your voice to be beyond the policy making level… So I
> think *academically to fight against [in] rhetorical opposition [is by] publish[ing]
> journal article*, not from here but from outside, present paper against them and in
> favor of them... They are not ready to accept you but ultimately I think they will
> be ready to accept it. I think what we *lack in the meantime is to protest against the
> grain because the grain is already colonial mentality*.

Kumar adds in this quote that although resistance can be exercised locally, it should aim

for something bigger than too local and too specific a focus. He reaffirms this point, "one-to-one,

face-to-face, you cannot do this [resist, change]. You have to use such *strategy* that allows your voice to *the policy making level*." He alludes to postcolonial and decolonial approaches in his mention of "writing against the grain" and "colonial mentality" as a way to challenge the self-proclaimed intellectual and cultural superiority of the West. Not only does this speaker complicate what appears to him to be the superficial expression of freedom in academia but also offers academic, scholarly, and "rhetorical opposition" strategies that students like him could use to challenge the condition of invisibility. He offers a learning moment from his encounter with the agency-denying or agency-thwarting individual and institutions. While he mentioned earlier, with reference to his dealing with a professor that he could not resist because his grade was at risk, he now has developed a way to best resist agency-denying conditions. He is hopeful that finally "they will be ready to accept you".

Unlike Kumar's more nuanced view, a majority of participants point out that a systemic and structural change can only bring about desired changes towards the social and institutional disposition accorded to 'outsiders'. And to me this coheres with the idea that "inequalities and biases tend to be *systemic* and institutional rather than *systematic* and personal, in large because they are deeply embedded within the opportunity structures of the system" (emphasis added, Fleras, 2014, p. 80). In a few cases, discriminatory bias surfaced itself at the personal and systematic (deliberate) level; however, what we consider to be descriptive, attitudinal, intentional, covert rather than systemic and overt forms of bias are deeply political, having to do with the history of colonialism and racism. Interestingly, contradicting the sense of racism as deeply political, systemic and institutional, most examples of resistance my participants presented are suggestive of local, individual, everyday forms of resistance, micro rather than macro level changes, changes that matters to them *now*, such as how a particular course could be

best taught, what a particular professor could do to be receptive of difference across languages and cultures, and concerns related to everyday negotiation practices and attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities. A direct corollary of this suggestion can be found in Canagarajah's (2006b) conviction that "teachers don't have to wait till […] policies trickle down to classrooms. They have some relative autonomy to develop textual practices that challenge dominant conventions and norms before policies are programmatically implemented from the macro-level by institutions" (p. 587). For Canagarajah, as for several others, classrooms constitute "a policy site" (p. 587) from where to begin change.

In spite of the fact that they brought into their conversations several examples of everyday racism, and suggested ways to contest them, during group discussions participants agreed that change must be effected at the structural level for it to be effective. Birat asked me to specifically take down परिवर्तन संरचनामा हुनुपर्छ न कि स्वरूपमा, meaning change should take place at the level of *essence* or *structure* rather than form. Kranti insisted, likewise, that micro level bodies represent and are responsive to the system at large. Given this, they thought that it is useless to blame individual actors of agency for not making learning spaces *other*-friendly. Participants' belief that change must start at a higher level (top-down approach) has to do with their belief that individual, micro-level actors of power do not have their own agency to bring about change even if they so desire. But they also refer to "colonial mentality" to suggest a "dispositional" change, meaning that a major tectonic shift should take place at the systemic level, which needs to be further supported by dispositional change in society and individuals.

Resisting English monolingualism.

Participants demand that English monolinguals should review their position as the providers of the norm, articulating further that it is not only those considered linguistically other

such as ESL learners and multilinguals but also those identified as English monolinguals who

should benefit from learning an additional language:

> Why are not they required to learn literacy like us? (Ram, group discussion)
>
> I think they need to learn cosmopolitanity. (Kishor, group discussion)
>
> He must understand my language. You guys says that Canada is a multicultural
> country, if I have to understand his tone, his English, then he must also
> understand my English. (Kranti, group discussion)

Ram's quip "Why are they not required to learn literacy like us" challenges those

identified as monolinguals to be open to learn other languages. Resonating with Ram, Kranti

challenges his audiences to understand him by the same measures he understands them. Kishor's

reference to "cosmopolitanism" essentially means being *co*–receptive to difference. The myriads

of ways agency derive from and constitute suggest that we must read agency and resistance

within the scope of the people it concerns, rather than rely on preexisting analytical models.

Without proposing any grand solutions, we can see that one thing that needs to happen more in

composition is to ground resistance and agency in ethnographically rich data.

Section II: Decolonizing diversity: Practicing plurality

This section argues for decolonizing literacy and pedagogy. The decolonial move I am

proposing neither seeks epistemological purity, nor does it consist of an argument for a radical

political agenda. Yet it is radical in the sense of what Ronell calls "radical passivity", defined as

"a space of repose and reflection, a space that would let the other come" (cited in Davis, 2005, p.

247); and in the sense of recognizing and appreciating the radical otherness of the other

(Lévinas). Distinct from liberal versus radical divide, or the gradualist, piecemeal approach to

change versus a radial approach to change, this *radicality* has to do with being in the service of

difference, being constantly vigilant of and critiquing a tendency to obliterate differences and

stressing the fundamental inescapability of our interdependence to one another. By using "decolonial", I also join the impetus to undo what Ram calls "Eurocentric bias" and what Kumar calls "colonial mentality" that persist in the tokenistic "neoliberal multiculturalism". The multicultural inquiry, in this way, would represent "a shorthand for a body of scholarly work…that critically engages issues of power relations rooted in the practices and discourses of colonialism, imperialism, and racism" (Shohat & Stam, 2003, pp. 6–7).

The decolonial puzzle I am putting together here evolved essentially from the prompts that solicited participants' response to how they engage their differences in academic and social spaces in Canada, how their differences are received, what challenges and opportunities immigrants identify in the higher education institutions in Canada, and how they negotiate and navigate cultural, linguistic and rhetorical differences (see Introduction p. 22; Appendixes A and B). As we will see, participants' spontaneous 'digression' into multiculturalism and the questioning of monolithic, bounded, and normative approaches to meaning-making call for "unthinking Eurocentrism" (Shohat & Stam, 1994), a comprehensive term to cover a range of supremacist ideologies that continue to organize dominant institutional and everyday life.

First, I establish the ground for why we need a decolonial option. I then discuss the problems underlying multiculturalism in general and its academic and pedagogic manifestations that are not the examples of "real dimension" of multiculturalism (Kranti). A de-neoliberalized and de-relativized multiculturalism encourages and supports difference-based agency. It diversifies diversity as it is currently practiced, unstripping diversity from how identities are contested and staged in real life, re-imagining diversity beyond the question of rights, tolerance, and permissibility, and grounding it in our co-*be*coming, co-meaning, and co-existing. These

decolonizing gestures are best read as the continuation of the theme of resistance and agency discussed in Section I.

Why decolonial?

Although postcolonial scholars have interrogated various forms and relationships of domination, they have been charged for being "post-ideological" and for conflating race and class with postcolonialism (Goldie cited in Sugars, 2004, p. 21); assuming the presence of European colonial contact as *raison d'être* of postcolonial writing (King, 1990, p. 189); flattening all experiences of colonialism and the consequent "ahistorical and universalizing … depoliticizing implications" (Shohat, 1992, p. 99); failing to "address the politics of location" and their indebtedness to the West[21] (Shohat, p. 99); "recreating grand narratives" (McLeod, 2000); and, most importantly, unproblematically propagating the discourse of "hybridity".

To take the last charge, as one of the most debated topic and one that's relevant in this research context, Bhabha uses hybridity as an enunciatory third space that allows languages, cultures and signs to be "appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha, 1998, p. 55). Hybridity from this perspective destabilizes primordial, pure, static, and universal notions of cultures, languages and signs. Critics have pointed out that hybridity is valorized as an emancipatory position, overlooking the history and ongoing struggle for hybrid subjectivities and glossing the sentiment of certain "communities that have undergone brutal ruptures" and their need to retrieve and reinscribe the past as "a crucial contemporary site for forging a resistant collective identity" (Shohat, p. 109). As Shohat writes further, "hybridity" position has been coopted by dominant forces as an "anti-essentialist" position that seeks to dismiss "all searches

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[21] That is, all postcolonial writers occupy American universities and they draw on Western theories; for example, Bhabha draws on postmodernism, Freud and Lacan, and Spivak on deconstruction. In this context, Meenakshi Mukharjee observes that the concepts and nomenclature of postcolonialism have been in Western universities and are not always adequate to meet the contemporary needs of countries with a history of colonialism (see McLeod, 2000).

for communitarian origins as an archaeological excavation of an idealized, irretrievable past" (p. 109). Puri (2004) realigns the postcolonial discourse of hybridity from a Caribbean perspective, arguing, in *The Caribbean Postcolonial*, that Caribbean hybridities counter much of the metropolitan-centered orientation to postcolonial hybridity, insisting, thereby, on the need to localize, contextualize and historicize hybridity, grounding it on lived practices and historical specificities of the people and their history of political oppositions, rather than simply joining the "instantiation[s] of an abstractly desirable anti-essentialism and cultural hybridity" (p. 164).

From a language perspective, while the hybridity orientation calls into question the native speaker norm and modernist, essentialist, "atomistic" and "segregationist" view of language and identity, the conceptual features of hybridity overlap with neoliberal celebration of diversity, plurality, flexibility, individualism, and cosmopolitanism (Kubota, 2015, pp. 474–476). Besides, Kubota states that, the neoliberal idealization of hybridity generates binary equations such as hybrid-good/desirable versus non-hybrid- parochial/undesirable and open/cosmopolitan versus closed/insular cultures or societies.

I must add that postcolonial and decolonial projects are not competitors; rather they share a concern with domination and control brought about by colonialism and its legacies. As Mignolo (2011) explains, the difference between postcolonial and decolonial projects lies in how they each operate with concepts or tell stories about colonialism (p. xxvii). This is because, they share different "genealogy of thought": postcolonial projects "emerged from the experience of British colonization" and were influenced by "postmodernity" while the decolonial projects emerged in South America, the Caribbean, and among Latinos/as in the United States, and the concept is of currency among Arabo-Muslim intellectuals" (p. xxvi). For me, a decolonial approach: (1) rejects "Eurocentrism" and the "colonial matrix of power"; namely, (i) knowledge

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and subjectivity, (ii) economy, (iii) authority, (iv) racism, and discrimination based on gender and sexuality (Mignolo, p. 9); (2) remaps the division of the world in which peoples, cultures, languages represent different developmental schema, hierarchy and progressive/regressive temporalities (Mills, 1997; Mignolo, 2011); (3) remains vigilant of one's politics of location, questions innocent and tacit knowledge positions, and politicizes one's position if necessary; and (4) grounds our thoughts and actions (agency) in difference.

Multiculturalism and agency: Racing and decolonizing the Western ways

Multiculturalism and agency: Scholarly outlooks.

Opinions are divided as to whether multiculturalism in a given national context has united societies, ameliorated negative conditions and created opportunity structures for minoritized communities or whether it has divided societies, creating isolated linguistic, cultural, and affiliatory enclaves, and exacerbated their negative conditions. As can be imagined, multiculturalism is a fraught term, debated and discussed endlessly, "polysemically open to various interpretations and subject to diverse political force-fields", as Shohat and Stam (2014, p. 47) put it. Shohat and Stam explain that for neoconservatives, who operate under "an imagery of purity and 'standards' …multiculturalism is code for 'left opposition' and 'people of color'" (p. 46). In the eyes of neoconservatives, multiculturalists Balkanize the nation and transform ethnic communities into "hermetically sealed enclaves" (p. 47). For militant nationalists, who deploy "originary metaphors of roots, of cultural wellsprings, regard multiculturalism ambivalently, both as cooptable by officialdom and as a strategic instrument for change and national regeneration" (p. 46). Finally, liberals "invoke the well-behaved 'diversity' dear to college brochures, but reject the anti-Eurocentric drift of the more radical versions of multiculturalism" (p. 46). Thus multiculturalism has for some a promise to challenge linguistic cultural monoliths

and for others it is prone to commodification, fetishism, and tokenization, and exoticization of cultural Others and diversity (Huggan & Siemerling, 2000).

Bannerji (2000), a woman scholar, activist and critic of Canadian multiculturalism, tells us that the discourse of diversity and politics of multiculturalism "has worked actively to create the notion and practices of insulated communities", "leaving out problems of class and *patriarchy*" (my emphasis, p. 48). She posits, "the third world or non-white immigrants are not the beneficiaries of the discourse of diversity" (p. 47). In the diversity discourse, Bannerji argues, "there is no theoretical or analytical room for social relations of power and ruling, of socio-economic contradictions that construct and regulate Canadian political economy and its ideological culture" (p. 50). Žižek argues that multiculturalism is liberal racism deployed by liberal pluralists to sideline real issues of race, language, and class. As he contends, "… insofar as [multiculturalism] translates problems of economic and political struggle into problems of fundamentalism and tolerance, it obliterates the actual roots of intolerance—that is, it's not radical enough… this patronizing, naive attitude of 'Learn to cope, learn to tolerate each other'" (cited in Olson & Worsham, 2001, p. 278).

Allen (2014) and Kubota (2015) argue, in a similar vein, that liberalist multiculturalism promotes good vs. bad models of diversity, and differentiates desirable immigrants, comprising often of middle-class, who are believed to contribute to a nation's economy, from the undesirable ones, often those representing the poor and the marginalized, who are deemed to need social services and considered to be burden to the State. Multiculturalism discourses also present Western nations and Western democracies as "locations of tolerance where all cultural practices are happily accommodated" (McLeod, 2000, p. 227). As Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) aver, "tolerance and openness are self-ascribed attributes of most mainstream Western societies"

(p. 31).

So far as "Canadian multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" is concerned, in addition to the problems outlined above, the multicultural "official, largely cosmetic government programs [in Canada were] designed to placate the *quebecois,* Native Canadians, Blacks, and Asians" (Shohat & Stam, p. 47). On this note, I will turn to my participants.

Racing multiculturalism: Participant opinions.

The rhetorical vs. real disparity mentioned by Kranti in the following quote represents a common voice among the participants.

> Multiculturalism in Canada has two distinct dimensions: One is rhetorical dimension, next is real dimension. But it has worked much more rhetorically than real. There should be the real aspect, real practice. (Kranti, group discussion)

Following his observation of the two dimensions of multiculturalism, Kranti further illustrates how racism takes place in the classroom (and here I repeat Kranti's mention in Chapter Two)

> I would like to say that there is *tacit racism* that I experienced in the classroom. Either type, what we talk about the interracial conflict or the intra as well. So for example, if I deal with the white teacher or the white professor, they treat me differently. But if I deal with the immigrant professor, they treat me differently. … Sometimes immigrant professor gives me good grade. That I understand as "generalization": Just generalizing "He is an immigrant from the poor country; he has to get chance here." And at the same time even white professor sometimes *they give me less mark thinking that he does not know anything*. So there are problems in both part, both in the case of white professor as well as immigrant professor.

 Others join the conversation:

> a kind of, unseen kind of discrimination is going on …(Kumar, group discussion)

> Here in the classroom teacher has more authority and sometime they use their authority according to their perception so more halo effect is there so I find more "halo effect". [That] … halo effect could be the racism; it could be the personal. (Himal, group discussion)

Kranti acknowledges all possibilities of discrimination: sympathetic and paternalistic, implicit and explicit. So, both the non-white professor, who generalizes about immigrant students' needs and realities, thinking that the student "is an immigrant from the poor country; he has to get chance here"; and the white professor, who assigns poor grades to immigrant's writing, thinking that "he does not know anything" deserve criticism. Such discriminatory gestures, however they manifest or potentiate, create differently desired habits for different subjects at the general level, if not at institutional and ideological levels.

Although it seems that the conversation is moving from multiculturalism to racism and an apparent disconnect between the two, what started the conversation segued into racism, suggesting that multiculturalism, racism and colonialism are "in relation", and in this case, perhaps we need to race multiculturalism. Kranti says categorically that the "real dimension" of multiculturalism is missing, which he illustrates from his everyday life, in the example above, from how his instructors treated him. Kranti, Kumar, and Himal collectively mention tacit racism. Such difficult-to-mark, "intellectual", and "tacit" forms of discrimination take shape in symbolic gestures and hedges that are open to multiple interpretations, difficult to combat and to bring to jurisdiction and accountability. In terms of the history of racialization, tacit racism can be insidious in the everyday lives of differentially racialized peoples.

Ram describes racism as emanating from "Eurocentric biases" and what he and Kumar call "colonial mentality". In this context, Stam (1997) points out that Eurocentric bias or Eurocentrism feeds tacit racism by constructing the 'normal' consensus view of history; "as a result, it is quite possible to be antiracist at both a conscious and a practical level, and still be Eurocentric" (p. 194). The "conscious" and "practical" operation of Eurocentric bias that feeds racism is what Kumar thinks lies behind the "overall irony" that while students are free to speak,

including minority students, this does not mean that 'white' teachers—even immigrant teacher in

Kranti's case—even ardent anti-racists, are immune to racist biases that filter their sense of who

is heard.

Here's an everyday example of racial discrimination that Kranti shares with his fellow-

respondents:

> So when I speak, sometimes I notice some of the people laugh. They don't laugh
> very loud (correcting) loudly, but I have noticed that. One thing I clearly tell them
> even in the classroom when I see them laughing "OK", then I say, "You can laugh
> because you always perceive us as different, OTHER, and it is inherited in your
> even in your gene." (group discussion)

This is a prototype of Eurocentric bias normalized, of which people within it are unaware,

because, as Kranti declares, it is "inherited in [their] gene."

Collectively, participants trouble the idea of an idealized notion of Canada as a

multicultural nation and show us the gap between rhetorical multiculturalism and real

multiculturalism. Dibesh points out the current tokenized version of multiculturalism and calls

for brining it to account for different knowledge:

> I directly challenge the issue of multiculturalism. In my opinion, Canada is
> recognized as a multicultural country in terms of …different feasts and festivals.
> But you see how immigrant people are slowly melting toward English culture? Is
> Canada a multicultural country in the sense of holistic way? Multiculturalism is
> only … exposed as for media hyperreality (perhaps meaning hyped). *In a real
> sense, to be multicultural, they have to recognize our knowledge* … because it is
> not only for us; it is great loss for the Canadian government and Canadian society
> too. (personal communication)

In this quote, Dibesh understands that true multiculturalism is a "holistic" practice, above

media hype and glamor. His point is that the current state of multiculturalism is shallow,

cosmetic, and tokenized, and that as long as English monolingualism is used to evaluate and

scrutinize people's knowledge and intelligence, Canada cannot become a truly multicultural

country. He stresses that to be truly multicultural, "*other* sources" and "*other* factors" should be

valued. Immigrants' talent and intelligence must not be glossed over simply because they speak

English "in a different tone, in a different way."

Decolonizing the Western ways.

To start with, I will reproduce the quote that opened Introduction:

> I embody both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing and this is the knowledge that informs my research… Sometimes I go back to the injustices of Western way of knowing that marginalizes and ignores the legacies of diverse histories and cultures of my indigenous knowledge. I reflect on how Western knowledge is exercised as power for the production of otherness and reproduction of strangeness. Western knowing needs my indigenous knowing in order to exist. That means the two ways of knowing are bound together forever in this play of inequitable power relations. (Kishor)

In the passage, Kishor denies the self-sufficiency of "Western knowledge". He relativizes

and symptomatizes it when he says "western knowing needs *my indigenous* knowing in order to

exist". Kishor reveals that the West and non-West are "bound together forever in this play of

inequitable power relations", something Shohat and Stam (1997) would agree with when they

observe "the triumphalist discourse of Plato-to-NATO Eurocentrism makes history synonymous

with the onward march of Western Reason"; however, " [t]he 'West,' … is itself a collective

heritage, an omnivorous mélange of cultures; it did not simply 'take in' non-European

influences, 'it was constituted by them'" (p. 14). Kumar's is a qualified decolonial view of

epistemology because he stresses on a hybrid, essentially mediated methodology, neither a

celebratory, privileged knowledge position to be proud of nor the one to be ashamed of.

These conversations lead us to an argument that if we want to go beyond recognizing

differences as a matter of rights, inclusivity, charity and tolerance to make room for productive

engagement of difference, we need to disengage current state of receiving difference from the

rhetoric of charity and tolerance that informs neoliberal multiculturalism. Some participants

advise that this entails the process of listening *to*, and learning *from* and *with*, difference.

Listening to difference.

> If you really give THE SLOGAN OF MULTICULTURALISM in Canada, at least even if you don't understand ask for two times, three times, yeah, LISTEN VERY CAREFULLY, BE ACTIVE LISTENER, [then] you understand. That's important. That's all because after all communication is only between the speaker and listener. If there is a communication between them, if there is rapport between them, it's possible. It's not difficult, but people make it difficult. (Kranti, group discussion)

Kranti takes all communication as an understanding between the speaker and the listener; more specifically, as a matter of shared willingness to be an "active listener" who "listen[s] very carefully." The "listening" in the first statement in this quote reads like literal "listening" (listening once, twice etc.), but then the speaker connects "listening" to something more profound: related to being active, being patient, and developing a disposition of "care" for others. We could locate this careful listening tradition in meditation that Kranti has incorporated into his life (personal communication, January 27, 2016). ध्यान (Dhyāna) or meditation for Kranti is a mediation or connection between oneself, others, and the entire cosmos.

Kranti's remarks take me further to Ratcliffe's (2005, 2011) "rhetorical listening", defined as "a stance of openness that a person may choose to assume in relation to *any* person, text, or culture", which she believes provides us with a more responsive approach to difference than is available in Burke's "identification" (original emphasis, Ratcliffe, 2005, p. 17). Ratcliffe points out that, for productive exchange and dialogue in "cross-cultural encounter" wherein we meet people's uneven "history" and unequal "power dynamics", it requires more than "common ground" or "metaphoric relations", terms central to Burke's concept of "identification" (2005, p. 1-2). "Rhetorical listening", she argues, can attend *both* to "commonalities" *and* "differences", metaphor *and* metonymy, juxtaposition *and* association, and identification *and* non-identification (p. 98). Rhetorical listening demands that we: (1) promote an *understanding* of self and other

that informs our culture's politics and ethics; (2) hold onto to a *responsibility* logic; (3) locate

identification in discursive space of both *commonalities* and *differences*; and (4) accentuate

commonalities and differences not only in *claims* but in cultural *logics* (2011, p. 204, original

emphasis). The self-other relations, the commonalities-differences dialectic, and the

responsibility logic are key to Ratcliff's rhetorical listening.

Kranti suggests that to attend to differences across languages, culture and meaning

making, we must first be ready to listen to others. Ratcliffe suggests in striking similarity that

rhetorical listening has "the potential to function productively as a code of cross-cultural

conduct" (p. 197). The rhetorical listening that Ratcliffe argues for includes the kind of care

Kranti encases in "listen CAREFULLY", with a stress. I take Kranti's to be a critically-informed

position that he has developed as a multilingual speaker and thinker. He mentions that

understanding between people is not difficult, but only "people make it difficult" (group

discussion). Whereas Ratcliffe challenges the traditional bias toward "ocularcentrism", or our

obsession with seeing, by alluding to Mary Daly's reversal of logocentrism: "In the beginning

was not the word. In the beginning is the hearing" (2011, cited in Ratcliff, p. 201, p. 195), Kranti

challenges his professor to listen to and understand his student's different accent and different

English he and fellow participants call "Nenglish."

Learning from/with difference.

> Canadian academia, it should be mindful, right (?) about uh the fact that so a person's language, a person's way of studying, way of learning largely depend you know is largely guided by his or her cultural pattern, right? (Birat, group discussion)

> They totally ignore your linguistic background, your cultural background. They ignore … different linguistic, cultural background and …different ontological or epistemological *countervening*. (Ram, personal communication)

Birat urges educators to be "mindful" of "his or her cultural pattern" because one's way of language and learning "largely depends" on the cultural pattern. In a sense Birat is conversing with Kaplan's "cultural patterns" hypothesis, influenced partly by the Whorfian hypothesis (language determines our thoughts), which Dibesh critiqued in Chapter One, when he says that English (language) should not be the sole criterion to determine one's intelligence. Note that Birat uses the qualifier "largely" before "depend" (instead of "determine"), making it a less than deterministic view. Birat's word "mindful" in the quote resonates with Kranti's "careful" in the passage we just discussed. Rather than invoking cultural determinism, Birat is essentially underlining a fundamental principle of cross/inter-cultural and rhetorical interaction.

Continuing this discussion, Himal wonders, in the following passage, why is it that a Chinese, an Indian or a Caribbean understands his English but not a native speaker (note that we came across this point in the discussion of the uncanny).

> … but the Japanese also has a different English tone, I have the different English tone, he understands. And we have the very smooth relationship means friends relationship. And one Caribbean can understand this. One Indian can understand this, Chinese can understand. Chinese language is totally different from my tongue; they can understand my English, but the native speaker do not understand my language. But I understand their English MORE than they understand my English. … Maybe they think "Ok we're, I should not have to correct myself." They might have this ego upon them so maybe they might have think, "I'm perfect, they're not." They should be perfect or they should improve themselves. They might have to think. (Himal, group discussion)

This "I'm perfect, they're not" mentality is what Kranti thinks explains the attitude of those who "pose [themselves] as native-speaking", for they have internalized dominance and assume self-superiority, making them less accountable, nonnegotiable isolates in an act of communication.

Kranti adds,

> One important thing to understand is that there are two terms in theory: what is called "internalization of dominance" and next is "internalization of suppression". He indicated very good point that everyone, every *Other* understands our language. Either from Japan or from China, or from any other Caribbean countries, but these native people don't understand us. But I say *they pretend not to understand*. It is because of internalization of dominance. They think themselves as superior . . . "dominant group of Canada!" *That– psychology–is– always–with–them*. They want to pose as native speaking, yeah?

Read this and Kishor's reference to "cosmopolitanity" I cited earlier together and we get a generally agreed-upon message that the time for native speakers to learn from others is long overdue. One way in which to answer Himal's puzzle above—why is it that native speakers of English do not understand his English but most outside this category do—complemented by Kranti's, is by referring to research in multilingual communities. Sociolinguists studying multilingual communities have suggested that interlocutors from such backgrounds do not stick to rigid rules and structures and are more disposed to consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive roles such as what Firth calls "let if pass principle"; meaning that these interlocutors overlook idiosyncrasies by focusing on what Planken calls "no man's land", which stresses on co-occupancy, co-ownership, and mutual responsibility for communication; and what Khubchandani calls "synergy" and "serendipity", or cooperation, collaboration and taking accidents and chances as the natural to communication (cited in Canagarajah, p. 926). Another way to understand the question posed by Himal is, well, what he and Kranti call the history of domination.

As I understand it, participants are ascribing the ongoing racism and unequal distribution of agency more to the dispositional level of discrimination that concern their everyday lives. Earlier we witnessed examples of discrimination also taking place at the personal level (individual instructors). However, this problem is far from simple one. If we listen to decolonial thinkers, they will direct us to the history of colonialism and Eurocentrism to understand the

psyche of "dominant group of Canada", taken as a metaphor here for the Western domination.

Closing remarks: Personal reflections and implications

In this chapter, I reviewed existing perceptions, receptions and deceptions of diversity within academic and pedagogical contexts and argued for decolonizing diversity by questioning several discrete approaches to language teaching, such as ESL and EAP approaches, pointing out that such approaches preserve language, culture and discourse boundary and maintain a view of agency based on "correct" language. I reviewed different approaches to diversity with a specific focus on meaning making and identity and the extent to which they "allow", "encourage", and "advocate" for, shuttling between languages and cultures and the consequent semiodiversity. I pointed out that although pluralistic in form, the numeric approaches to linguistic and cultural plurality, such as bi/multi/plurilingualism and multiculturalism, are not pluralistic in terms of diversifying meaning; consequently, these approaches also reproduce traditional boundaries and fail to intervene into linguistic and cultural superiority of English. Missing in all these approaches is semiodiversity, the question of how students negotiate meaning diversity. One example of this is Ram's narrative, in Chapter One, of his inability to negotiate a topic of his choice with his professor, who rejected the student offer citing his unfamiliarity with the proposed topic. I have my own experience being in a class that taught counter-canonical literacy texts, but paradoxically, I narrowly escaped a punishment for responding to a paper in a counter-canonical way. I was asked to confirm to established convention even when I explained that my choice was *intentional*, not ignorant; that I wrote that way not necessarily because I did not know how to write *normally*. Illustrations of participant resistance and agency against reductive logic and homogenizing demands suggest that as educators and researchers, we must learn to be open to student negotiation of difference.

Higher education institutions today are so engrossed in creating an image of themselves as the most diverse institutions, as diversity has become a catchword, hot commodity. They lay claim to being the most diverse programs in all possible ways— from student to faculty diversity, from curricular offering to multimodal teaching. But they fail, to go back to our participants, the "real" dimension of diversity. As literacy providers and scholars, we are so attracted to the thought of incorporating new, innovative ideas into our practices that, more often than not, we end up with a simplified version of diversity; for example, adding a thing or two to what and how we do. This reminds me of the writer of *Disability Rhetoric* Jay Dolmage (2007), who thus underscores the urgency of making our programs, policies and structures reflective of students' different abilities, beyond reactive and additive pursuits:

> We *react* to diversity instead of planning for it. We acknowledge that our students come from different places, and that they are headed in different directions, yet this does *little to alter* the vectors of our own pedagogy. Instead, we *add* one week of readings on issues of gender, one week on issues of race, and we often place these weeks near the end of a course, where they might be pre-empted if other concerns spill over. (my emphasis, p. 21)

Additive approaches, as Dolmage suggests, do "little to alter the vectors of our pedagogy" and leave alone existing relationships and existing ways of doing, being and valuing and thinking, including our view of agency/ability. The same can be said about multilingualism ("within the bilingual framework"), which, unless complexified and *really* diversified, ends up being only a *means* to achieve monolingual and monocultural goal: proficiency in English and English ways. The same can be said about multimodality, which simply ends up being texts and images added together rather than it helping qualitatively alter existing ways of knowing, knowledge-making and knowledge-sharing. These practically *atomistic*, discrete and additive approaches promote a sense of agency derived not from engaging and enacting difference but being (in) the same, being occupied with whether and to what degree to permit, tolerate and

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accept difference rather than asking ourselves how to make difference work for those who are historically punished for their differences (Horner, 2015). In other words, we should not lose sight of the various subtle ways the dominant reshapes itself into new forms and realizations to re-inscribe, not to diffuse, traditional hierarchies. Our efforts should always be guided by the questions of power, agency, ownership, and labor underlying the production knowledge and meanings.

Participants urged us to move to a view of agency beyond *allowing* or the absence of coercive forces, beyond creating *opportunities* to exercise difference and agency, to a view of difference as agency. Ratcliffe's "rhetorical listening", and the stress on responsibility, accountability, which is reinforced by Kranti *in his own term*, is particularly insightful in the context of the global movement of people and consequent cross-cultural encounter, where everyone is called in to the role of being responsive to others. True diversity, it can be developed from the discussion we have had so far, lies in respecting the irreducibility of the *other* (Lévinas) into the Same.

As I reflect the process of my research, I feel that we do not often get to hear such kinds of conversations around agency and resistance ordinarily, because, as Ortmeier-Hooper (2008) observes from her research,

> Students may be hesitant to talk about their pasts, and teachers hesitant to ask. … often our knowledge of our students is reduced to a simple survey of questions at the onset of the course with the question on "speaking English as Second Language," embedded between "Favorite Book" and "Intended Major." (p. 413).

In our discussion, Kumar did not want to take risk resistance because he did not want to jeopardize his future by provoking the intentional teacher who he thought would mete out such an with a vengeance (a low grade). Many students may not even be aware, despite the ritualistic mention in the syllabus, that they can complain on cases of discrimination. Even aware, too

many do not want to make things unpleasant for everyone involved. Too many remain silent and politely concede given the amount of time it takes and the legal complexities and perceptual differences involved.

On these reflective notes, I conclude this chapter with a few implications and suggestions for us as teachers, program administrators, and institutions to make our work reflect the diversity of student population we serve as higher education and as a nation.

Participant critiques of multiculturalism suggest that Canada needs to move beyond a cosmetic multiculturalism and the reductive approach to linguistic and cultural diversity, which is found to be often complicitous with neoliberal scheme of the management of diversity. For these reasons, neoliberal plurality (e.g., multiculturalism) needs to be scrutinized just as other uncritical celebrations of diversity. Doing so is a step toward diversifying the current neoliberal state of diversity, in which diversity is either tolerated, or managed, or capitalized. In this context, participants cohere with existing scholarship that multiculturalism needs to be put in the context of people's lived experiences and material reality rather than as an abstract discourse that promises but does not deliver.

The implication of this discussion correlates with the view of difference as a norm rather than an exception (Lu & Horner, 2013, Horner, 2015). With difference as a norm, as Horner (2015) observes, the question is "no longer whether to allow previously excluded difference to 'enter' the academic sphere in order to achieve its transformation. Instead, it is a question of what kinds of difference and transformation to pursue, given their inevitability" (p. 335).

Further, Ram's allusion of the "Eurocentric bias" and other participants references to tacit, soft racism remind us of how everyone of us is vulnerable to colonial bias, if by colonial we mean the relationship of domination. The discussion around agency and participant

experiences— ranging from writing for publication to having to use language in evaluative and at times coercive situations— suggest that agency lies in the negotiation of difference.

Several examples of resistance and acts of agency discussed lead us to see "difference," "agency", and "ethics" as mutually informing.

Kumar's example of how he challenged, by doing, a deficit view of an ESL student shows that we need to apply caution on how we frame student problems; and that we should refrain from assuming and assigning identities *for* them, since these identities are value-laden. Scholars in second language studies have been insisting all along that such "elusive" and "enigmatic" categories as "ESL", "ELL" (English Language Learner), ESOL ("English Speaker of Other Languages) and "resident" students are "often problematic and mask a wide range of student experiences and expectations" (Ortiemier-Hooper, p. 389). Not only do such terms designate immigrants in deficit terms, needing additional services, such as the writing center, but also misrepresent far too many people, for whom English may be the second, third, fourth language in terms of the temporal order in which they acquired the language, but not necessarily secondary or tertiary language in terms of the order of importance. The use of first, second and so on informs our sense of hierarchy of importance. This is so illustrative in Ortiemier-Hooper's research participant who says, "English may be my second language, but I'm not 'ESL'", also the title of the essay. Besides, the same person may have different levels of proficiency within English; for example, some people may 'write excellent English', while their spoken English may show indications that English is not their first language and vice versa. Ortmeier-Hooper's wisdom is "proceed with prudence" (p. 410) in dealing with the "delicate nature" (Ortmeier-Hooper, p. 391) of ESL designation.

The "delicate nature" of ESL designation is exemplified by the different ways featured immigrants negotiated their ESL identity. In Kishor's case, to be identified as an ESL student is to be received in sympathetic and generous terms, to be challenged, to be setting a lower expectation about their abilities. For, Mangal, Sita, and Birat, who self-identify as ESL students, their language identity demands practical wisdom or "prudence" and patient approach to teaching: using the vocabulary everyone understands, speaking slowly enough for some students to catch up, and treating student problems on a case-by-case basis, not putting everybody in the same "box".

In most participant examples related to academic work and student-teacher relationship, it becomes evident that sometimes we tend to deemphasize the point that a little care we invest in our students can have a huge impact on shaping positive image of teachers and institutions and initiating a good—perhaps even enduring—relationship between the two. For example, even what we may consider to be complementary may be offensive and (d)evaluative for some students. "'Oh you speak good English' is not a complement for me at all", says Ranju (personal communication, January 18, 2018). My own examples in an academic context included such comments as "Good writing *but errors typical of an ESL writer*", which I find all right generally, if a little belittling at times. In other words, going back to the Lévinasean suggestion, an encounter with the other invites us to the role of unending accountability. At the risk of sounding preachy and redundant, I say this because a lot of times we may be working under the stress to make our course the best one, or to make our rubric incontestable, but while being overly busy in these supposedly greater roles, we may miss the small things that matter.

This chapter also showed that identity negotiation is a vital aspect of communication and that as instructors of writing and communication, we need be aware of the sensitivity of how we

address our students and what name we give to our student problems *and* strengths. This speaks to the need for educators in the West generally speaking to learn from and about language and cultural differences in ways that encourages and creates opportunities for them to negotiate differences they both carry and create. Once again, participants reaffirm that we need to base our practices not so much on "assigned" identities—by self and our environment and social interaction— but on how people negotiate those identities, how they accept or reject, comply with or resist (Brooke, 1991), or even 'take advantage of', as Leki's (1995) student Ling did in her confession: "I am Chinese. I take advantage". Ling confesses to taking advantage of (a) "her special status as an international student" and (b) her "the first language/culture" that she incorporated "into every piece of her writing" (p. 242).

This discussion also suggests that we should make our inquiry of agency and resistance ethnographically rich. What I have accomplished, or not, in this dissertation, is to try only a small step in this direction, which I hope to carry on further in my future projects. The next chapter looks at respondents' translingual, transcultural, and transnational work and builds on and offers some critiques to translingualism, all in the light of participants' work and existing scholarship in translingualism.

Chapter Four

Diversifying translanguaging: Toward transliterating

They expect you to write in a certain way, speak in a certain way, listen in a certain way, behave in a certain way, to use the semiotics, linguistic nonverbal, you know the language, in a homogenous way. …The reality is that English is no longer a language of any particular country, any particular location or any particular group of people. It has become a lingua franca internationally, globally. [And] people have their own, you know, different [englishes]. … But the problem is that the people whose native language is English …they want everybody else to speak the same way and to write the same way, to use English in a very homogenous way. (Ram, personal communication)

Growing numbers of U.S. teachers and scholars of writing recognize that traditional ways of understanding and responding to language differences are inadequate to the facts on the ground. Language use in our classrooms, our communities, the nation, and the world has always been multilingual rather than monolingual. Around the globe, most people speak more than one language. Indeed, they speak more than one variation of these languages. In addition, these languages and variations are constantly changing as they intermingle. The growing majority of English speakers worldwide… know other languages, and, through interaction, the Englishes they use vary and multiply. (Horner et al., 2011, p. 303)

The reality that "they want everybody else to speak the same way and to write the same way, to use English in a very homogenous way" is at odds with the reality that native speakers lost their majority in the 1970s (Graddol, 1999, p. 58), as well as with Ram's stress in the quote above: "English is no longer a language of any particular country, any particular location or any particular group of people." While "people have their own different [englishes]" and use increasingly mobile and fluid language resources in their literate acts, as Ayash (2016) observes in the "postmonolingual" academic context of Lebanon, "drawing on and tapping into these resources in productive ways remains fraught with tensions, since such attempts get refracted through a monolingual structuring principle and regulated by the monolingualism of academic

gatekeepers" (p. 555).[22] As I read it, the epigraph by Ram confronts linguistic homogeneity and native speakerism, thereby challenging the role of English as norm provider.

Ram questions nationalism ("particular county") and racism ("particular people") underpinning hierarchical constructs like native and nonnative speakers, showing further incongruence between pluralities of English use and what seems to be an ongoing native-speakerness as the desirable and acceptable ideal, in spite of the fact that English itself has been historically amenable to relocation, relocalization, and recontextualization. It does not seem to matter that "the people who were once colonized by the language are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way they use it…carving out large territories for themselves within its frontiers" (Rushdie, 1991, p. 64).

Ram's comments are similar to those of Horner et al.'s. (2011) "Language Difference in Writing", which arguably set the momentum for translingual scholarship although the genealogy of the term goes back to Williams (1994) (Baker, 2011, p. 288).[23] Ram is not aware of translingual scholarship; nonetheless, he is in rich conversation with the discourse of language plurality and the politics of English monolingualism in showing the gap between "multiplicities of englishes [that] are practiced in reality" and the expectation of homogenous language use in academic and social contexts.

As evident now, in this chapter, I want to highlight the discrepancy between participants' understanding of language as always already plural and unstable and the dominant social and institutional demand on an apparently uniform and homogenous English, academic writing or academic literacy. My goals are simple. I want to analyze student cases in their own right as well as in light of translingualism, to which I will return in the first half of the concluding chapter.

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[22] Ayash's use of postmonolingual appropriates the idea of postcolonialism as a continuation of, not an end to, colonialism.
[23] See García (2009); Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012); Portolés and Martí (2017).

Featured writings make a case for pluralizing writing and communication. These writings call for an end to understanding codes as stable boundaries and evaluating the linguistic *others* from monolithic standards. Further, featured writings redirect our attention to (1) the performance and practice aspect of literacy and questions of agency; (2) the ways writers mobilize diverse semiotic resources from different languages, cultures, and values; and (3) writers' ability to merge different resources in situated interactions for making meaning across languages and cultures (also see Canagarajah, 2013, pp. 1–2).

Case I: Birat

Birat came to Canada with more than one Master's degree from Nepal. He was quick to continue his studies in Canada. The first year of his arrival, he completed a program from a local college in the Waterloo region. After that he joined a graduate program in the Social Sciences, which he completed and immediately landed on a well-paying job in his field of study. When this project started, he had just completed the first year of his two-year program. While we would meet in the community frequently in an informal situation, the idea of soliciting him as a case occurred to me only in the end of 2015.

During his studies, he frequently shared his learning-related experiences both in academic contexts and outside. I had the privilege of being a truly 'English guy', who was not totally emasculated, going back to how Bigyan phrased the prestige and power associated with English in Nepal (Chapter One), because I was specializing in writing in an English-speaking country. I listened to Birat's problems and excitements very attentively and shared my wisdom from what I could garner being in North America at the time for over seven years. For these reasons, Birat found in me the confidant he was probably looking for, someone who he must have found, in the manner of self-promotion I fear, both approachable and emotionally supportive. Whenever he

had assignments, writing projects and presentations that were daunting, wrapped in dense, theoretically knit prose, therefore difficult to break down without an external support, whenever he wanted to make sure he understood the task at hand or wanted a second or third opinion on, he would come to see me. Together, we brainstormed ideas and navigated expectations involving a particular task. Birat confessed to having made the best use of available resources in the community with his exceptional social and networking skills. He believed that "networking is a very very important technique to survive in Canada" (Personal communication, 30 November, 2015). "Survive", if not thrive! He can easily relate to new people and does not hesitate to take risk, initiate and assume roles and responsibilities that aid in his growth. A strong proof of this was his ability to enlist what could be called "a network of reviewers" and have a backup plan in case chiefly I or someone else in his aide list was not available. Birat was actively involved in more than one committee in his university program. In these roles, he further honed his networking and communication skills through practices in writing and responding to e-mails, convening meetings, and even drafting minutes. He was able to maintain a relationship of a friend with some of his professors, a relationship that benefitted him psychologically and even materially, during his job search later.

In addition to these compensatory strategies, Birat's other negotiation strategies included, as in the Leki's student case, using ESL and his immigrant position to garner positive favor in times of difficulty; writing on topics in which he had more knowledge than his target audience so he could write with more confidence and authority; and creating ethos and the persona of a proactive, inquisitive, and motivated learner hungry for learning anything English but more importantly English "idioms" and "typical" Canadian English (Birat, personal communication, February 13, 2016).

In several of our conversations, Birat admitted to having found the entire study period overwhelming. Before, in Nepal, like most Nepali friends, he had little or no exposure to "academic writing" in the form they are taught here— despite his multiple degrees. To join the Burkean parlor, of academic conversation, he had to "invent the university" (Bartholomae, 1986), enter into a bewildering range of genres: reflective pieces, position papers, journals, report writing, annotated bibliographies, abstracts, research essays, and proposals; and assume the persona, tone, and language of an academic. One can apprehend the labor, patience, and motivation it takes to write like an insider of a discipline, to gain familiarity with genres and discourse conventions and rhetorical contexts typical of the discipline, and to acquire appropriate voices and styles, themselves very confusing (see Zawacki & Habib, 2014). Initially, the thought of writing more than a page or two was for him a scary experience, bordering on trauma. While writing is literally a "labor" even for the most accomplished of writers, it is more so for writers with little or no past experience. This fear gets only compounded when the writer has internalized the awareness of audience and their role as evaluators.

In my observation, looking from standard qualities of academic writing, Birat's early writing was characterized by 'loaded' terms and 'lofty' ideas rarely parsed: He jumped from one abstraction to another, one idea and claim to another, without supportive details and examples. He had important things to say, some really critical, as we will see; he had some arguments to make. But he clearly lacked practice writing in English, especially considering the fact that he is a fluent multilingual, equally resourceful in Hindi and some regional languages from Nepal. He is a good performer as well, with the ability, for instance, to turn a dead party into full of life. His conversations seamlessly blend cross-cultural, mythic, and folkloric resources, *slokas* and *sayaris*, and precepts from Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu and local languages.

Birat was new to the task of presenting ideas and organizing thoughts intelligibly and with rhetorical awareness—in English. Apart from generic and rhetorical issues that he would have to acquire appropriate for a graduate student in a western university, the particular social science program was a new field for Birat in terms both of critical concepts and theoretical perspectives he had to learn and social work practices he had to familiarize during his internship. Birat's case was, therefore, unlike Kishor's, who mentions that he had learned "the theories or philosophers like what is postmodernism or modernism or what does like postpositivist paradigm say" (group discussion). His case was even unlike Dilip's.

For Dilip,

> As an experienced person with higher degrees obtained in both the hemispheres, I found a wider horizon of my knowledge/content that, I think, always helped me click new ideas in class interactions and enabled me to critically examine issues from different angles. I rarely found the ability as such in my native Canadian counter-parts who have experience only in this hemisphere.

Whereas Dilip and Kishor claim to have been in an advantageous position over their 'English native' counterparts because they had learned theoretical concepts required to succeed in the course confidently, Birat was a 'newbie' in the field. Dilip did not take study in Canada with the same degree of stress partly because he had had experience doing "significant practices" in reading, writing, and research. He seemed also to be mentally prepared for the fact that certain difficulties are natural parts of transition. But more importantly, Dilip mentions that he was exposed to critical theories and research methods, which not only eased his transition, but also gave him the confidence that "immigrant students can gear up their education efforts such as writing, reading or doing researches much faster than their native counter-parts after they cross the transitional period of their educational efforts."

But for Birat, he had to familiarize and digest a surprising stock of terms and theories,

which took him a considerably longer time than it would for someone who had a background in the disciplinary knowledge.

Despite challenges, Birat completed his degree in time and quickly after got a respectable job, that also matching his study. He "lives happily hereafter", as the classical archetypal plotline containing a transformative narrative would have.

From a long list of the writings Birat had composed by the time he had progressed into the third semester of his program, I have selected a reflective essay out of many, and an evaluation paper, to analyze. I chose the reflective essay, because in this essay Birat writes about his experiences as a student and as an immigrant, from an other's perspective. The more rigorous genres, such as report writing, do not provide such a personal space.[24] The evaluation paper I have chosen offers constructive comments on the course offered, again, from an other's perspective. My aim here is not to chart Birat's writing neatly into some kind of preexisting theory of writing, but to show a version of literate acts by a migrant and see if it has any teachable moments for us as educators. Since I also wanted to see the revision process at work and what do we make of the changes affected to an earlier draft, I selected two versions of the same assignment, an earlier draft and a revised version. I will analyze this reflective essay, starting with the revised draft followed by the earlier draft, before going onto the second writing sample, an evaluation paper.

Here is a good part of the revised draft.

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[24] And here I propose for making language-crossing possible beyond narrative genres.

Marginalization and Oppression: A Narrative of an Immigrant Student

The course … has been enriching and insightful for me as student of social work. I found the whole class comfortable, inclusive and dynamic, where a diverse body of students discussed various forms of marginalization and oppression. The role of the instructor has been highly appreciative because she always made sure that the class became a space where students feel comfortable to express their opinions and actively participate.

However, as a new immigrant coming from non-English speaking world, I felt a little bit uncomfortable in expressing my comments, offering alternative views … mainly because I thought that my English language is poor. I was constantly hounded by a feeling that I would be marked for the linguistic ability. The feeling of hesitation came to me even though I was aware that my level of English has to do with the context I came from.

Below I write about why Nepalese immigrants like me normally feel hesitant to speak and write in English in a proficient manner. I reflect on this issue in connection to social, cultural and/or political history of English education in Nepal…

Most importantly, the use of English language is historically linked with our resistance to colonization. On the other hand…Nepalese immigrants level of English is also the by-product of rulers and other political power of Nepal. On the plus side, the non presence of direct colony saved Nepal from the linguistic domination. However, it disconnected the country and its people from the rest of the world. A historical perspective is an important step to understanding why a people like me are the way they are.

Conclusion: I have found some people commenting that Nepalese immigrants are weak in English. Although this comment is neither based on any research nor on proven facts, it has been a means of underestimating Nepalese immigrants. As a Nepalese immigrant, I feel that comments like this can provide support for ongoing discrimination and exclusion to immigrants. I argue that before passing a judgment about a people's linguistic inability, it is important to know the reasons behind the inability.

I think that this issue should be an important part of discussion in xxx class, as it helps us examine the lived experience of people like me. This is not only my personal story, or the story of some Nepalese immigrants, but also the common story of all those immigrants who feel oppressed because of English. If we do not pay attention to such matters, we might simply continue to be part of the oppression and marginalization that English has been for many people since its colonial history.

In this reflection, the writer uses apt words to describe his impression of the course: "enriching", "insightful", "inclusive", "dynamic", "diverse body of students"; tailors the response to the main theme of the course in question; provides a quick sense of the quality of the course and the quality of instruction; and, most importantly, frames the feedback in the "sandwich method", positive feedbacks followed by critical responses and future-directed conclusion. If we evaluate it from the genre perspective, it generally meets the expectations of an evaluation genre.

The writer meets other expectations of academic writing of this nature: he has a strong "thesis statement" around which the entire over eleven hundred words are deployed. There are some great observations here and there.

For example, when the writer says,

> "A historical perspective is an important step to understanding why a people like me are the way they are"

> "comments like this can provide support for ongoing discrimination and exclusion to immigrants"

> "If we do not pay attention to such matters, we might simply continue to be part of the oppression and marginalization that English has been for many people since its colonial history"

The organization and structure is clear to readers; there are clear transition markers, and rhetorical cues to signal argumentative and organizational shifts. For example, the second and third paragraphs provide turn signals, with the "However" starter in the second paragraph, signalling a critical turn and the announcer, "Below I provide…", signalling that the writer is going to historicize and contextualize English education in Nepal. The dominant organizer of the essay is the chronology of English literacy in Nepal, and this chronological organization matches the historical overview of English in Nepal that the essay promised to offer.

The writer explains his difficulty in English in terms of his past background. He mentions that he could not contribute as a fellow-participant in the class as much as he had wished to. The writer makes an important observation that fluency in English alone cannot represent a person's overall ability. Overall, evident in this writing is an analytical writer who is capable of demonstrating his content knowledge, argumentative moves, the ability to show details and audience awareness.

The writer provides an excellent historical overview of English education in Nepal, distinguishing its unique geopolitical contexts and realities from that of the once-colonized India. In between the writer provides a mature understanding of how language has been a colonial means of control over other people. The writer offers two reasons for why proficiency in English in Nepal was not as much important as it was in India: (a) Nepal was not a colony, which meant that English education was not an official requirement and (b) English was held with resistance in Nepal for its colonial history. This second point offers a different reading of the "reality" that Nepalese immigrants' English is not at par compared with, presumably, the immigrants with the English colonial history, as Birat is making a case for. The writer goes onto making a point that "the non presence of direct colony" resulted in a paradox: while it "saved Nepal from the linguistic domination … it disconnected the country and its people from the rest of the world."

The writer's critical abilities shine in several places. He argues that we need to historicize a phenomenon to understand its deeper complexity, to know the contributing factors, rather than pass a quick and superficial judgment on a people in a very dismissive and "orientalist" (Said) way. As we can see, Birat's point sums up the common sentiment expressed by other participants in this research. He then gives a snapshot picture of English in Nepal, which, again, is of a great service for my purpose in the research. He differentiates the geopolitics of language in Nepal from countries that were under direct colonization. He also evaluates very insightfully the pros and cons for Nepal not adopting English as an official language. In between, he makes a point that within Nepal, the Nepali language reigned supreme over other local and tribal languages.

The essay ends by reiterating the main point, "A historical perspective is an important step to understanding why a people like me are the way they are". This passage alone could conclude the entire reflection, but the writer adds a conclusion below it, which ties with the

course theme of diversity, marginalization and oppression. The writer encourages the instructor to foreground oppression and to be aware of its own oppressive possibilities.

This was the best out of a pile of Birat's writings and would, therefore, barely represent his writings as a whole. There could be several reasons that this writing stood out among several other mediocre and not so well-written pieces. It could be that the topic was important to him, or that he had the content-level knowledge on this topic, requiring him only to take care of his language work; it could very likely be because he took extra help from his support group. These possibilities remain open, in light of the various coping and negotiation strategies writers can summon in a given literate act (Leki, 1995).

While we discussed extensively the generic and academic aspects of this revised draft, it is important to see the writer in process and analyze what changes are made, with what gain and loss in the process. I do not have access to the earlier drafts and processes than what I am reproducing below, which I am calling an earlier draft. I am interested in making connections to the several points raised in the preceding chapters: such as questions of resistance and agency, the role of English in measuring people's abilities, language-based racism and discrimination, and overall, Eurocentrism. The following is the earlier draft.

English language and Nepalese immigrants

In relation with proficiency matter, some people comment that Nepalese immigrants are comparatively weak in the use of English language. Although this comment is [not] based on any research…, it has been a means of underestimating Nepalese immigrants. As a Nepali immigrant, I take it as a racist comment directed towards discrimination and exclusion. I argue that before passing a judgment about a people's linguistic inability, it is important to know the reasons behind the supposed inability. Below, I reflect on this issue in the light of social exclusion experienced by Nepalese immigrants in regard of English proficiency.

In the colonial period, language of the colonizers was the first and foremost means of imposing their rule to the colonized people. The colonizers knew that through their language they could control their colonies and establish cultural superiority. The legacy of the supremacy of English language in the colonial period continued even after the colonial era. Actually, the people of colonized countries have already accepted this language as the part of their culture and the important means of getting access to be associated with developed western world politically, economically and culturally. Most of these countries have been using English as their official language. India and Pakistan are the examples in South Asia.

But, Nepal was never colonized…This has been the ground reality of Nepalese society regarding weak control over English language. …As a result, Nepalese immigrants are finding themselves back in getting admissions in educational institutions, and getting job [in Canada].

… Language is only a means of communication but not end. It is true that English language is important to study and to get job but regarding proficiency matter if anyone demands English language with typical Canadian style, that will be against the norm of inclusion and multiculturalism. Main thing is skills, knowledge and expertise and these things are not limited only within the periphery of English language.

On the other side, the immigration policy of the Canadian government is responsible for this. Especially talking about the Nepalese people immigrating to Canada on the skilled worker category, they have already passed the gate of IELTS while applying for permanent residency. Isn't it the measuring rod of their English proficiency? If it is not, why has the government been validating this test to come to Canada?

Similarly, after the immigrants come to Canada, they need to be given English language training. The training given by immigrant serving organizations such as YMCA is not sufficient for this. It gives only the basic level training which is insufficient for those people coming on the skilled worker category. In fact, they are already equipped with basic level English in speaking and writing. On this note, they need advanced level of training for dealing with their career development in the assigned professional field. Where is this provision in Canada?

It is true that Nepalese immigrants also want to be competent. For this, they are trying to upgrade their professional standard but they are not getting any support…

From this earlier draft, the writer has made a number of modifications in the revised draft, analyzed above, toward pitching the writing to a moderate tone. Consequently, the revised writing has dulled most of the critical edges and vital messages. In the earlier draft, as we can see, the writer (a) was unpretentious in his response to the "racist comments" about immigrants' poor English; (b) charged the Canadian government for discriminatory immigration policies; (c) demanded supporting organizations such as YMCA to offer more than basic level and redundant services; and (d) showed the gaping gap between the idea(l)s of multicultural Canada and the insufficient resettling opportunities in place for immigrants. In the revision, several of these

things disappear. For example, the writer says nothing about the Canadian government for failing to introduce effective immigrant-friendly programs and the dual treatment it has shown toward immigrants by qualifying them to migrate under the skilled worker program but disqualifying them for the job under the categories they were qualified to migrate.

While one may take the revised draft as arguably a big academic leap in terms of its coherence to the course in question, the revised draft has *mostly* obliterated the writer's voice, position and location. In the revision, the writing veers into a different direction to historicize English literacy in Nepal and its consequences, which, while executed very well and strictly in line with his promise to provide "a context of English literacy in Nepal", is somewhat off from the title "Marginalization and Oppression: A Narrative of an Immigrant Student." The earlier draft that we just read is titled "English Language and Nepalese Immigrants"; it is more representative of immigrants' "lived experience", and shows more examples of marginalization and oppression than the revised version.

Both drafts have the main argument, which are appropriately placed, as expected of a Western mode of argument. For example, the earlier version has the argument in the first paragraph: "I argue that before passing a judgment about a people's linguistic inability, it is important to know the reasons behind the supposed inability." The revised version has a "cushioned" approach to argument. By sheer volume, the revised essay is nearly double the previous draft length. However, the earlier version contains more narrative and experiential details. It also provides feedback to concerned bodies from an immigrant's perspective. An additional downside to the revised version is that it spends a considerably long time giving historical context of English in Nepal. The revised draft may be called more pitched toward

academic writing, but the trade-off is that it hides a lot of the more spontaneous expressions from the earlier draft.

That is, the revised writing becomes academic at a cost. Arguably it adopts a moderate tone in criticizing racism and colonialism, has a better control, but it misses, at least, the following:

1. The spontaneous, natural tone evident in the earlier writing: "They (immigrants) are not getting any support".

2. There is a direct challenge, an interventionist stance: "Language is only a means of communication but not end"; clearly the earlier draft is unpretentious, upfront in its reaction: "I take it as a racist comment directed towards discrimination and exclusion"; It has a direct thesis— not that direct thesis is always a better rhetorical choice— "I argue that before passing a judgment about a people's linguistic inability, it is important to know the reasons behind the supposed inability".

3. There is a critical edge encased in the sentences that identify the gap in Canadian policies: "Where is this provision in Canada?"; "the immigration policy of the Canadian government is responsible for this. … If it is not, why has the government been validating this test (language test) to come to Canada?"

4. Constructive feedback and further gaps and contradictions exist between multicultural promise and ground reality: "It is true that English language is important to study and to get job but regarding proficiency matter if anyone demands English language with typical Canadian style, that will be against the norm of inclusion and multiculturalism".

The samples we just saw challenge the hasty evaluation that Nepali immigrants' English language is poor *by example*. The writer gives "linguistic inability" a name and contests

disabling programs and policies. He reiterates the communicative value of language, something

we discussed in the previous chapter via Kishor and other participants. Birat states that language

is a means of communication, not an end, and never should it be used as tool to exercise control,

coercion, and conformation.

Birat makes a qualified comment in this instance, conceding to the ground reality

It is true that English is important to study and to get job but …if anyone demands English language with typical Canadian style, that will be against the norm of inclusion and multiculturalism.

In this excerpt, we can clearly see how much in conversation he is with his fellow

participants in this research, particularly cited in the pervious chapter. He resonates in particular

with them that for an inclusive society that Canada claims to be, making stringent language

requirements is breaking its own, self-made rules and promises.

From a logical standpoint, there are some troubling contradictions in the revised version.

On the one hand the writer maintains that the evaluation that Nepali immigrants' English is weak

is "neither based on any research nor on proven facts"; on the other hand, he writes the entire

essay to validate the evaluation by providing a context that explains why their English language

is "comparatively" weak. Despite this lapse, the writer demonstrates quality writing and depth of

understanding and critical awareness, as well as a good grasp of the assignment and course at

hand.

When I examined a reflection paper by the same writer, unlike the previous examples, the

reflection has a number of issues to address, which is a little discomforting, because, in terms of

the timeline, this composition came later than the previous ones.

Participation Reflection
Background

My participation in the class of XYZ as a student was distinctive in terms of my social location. Coming from a South Asian country Nepal with carrying Eastern value system guided by holistic way of thinking including collectivism, and harmony, I found the XYZ class very fundamental in the entire ABC program. As such, my participation was active in listening to others and putting my views, ideas and experiences playing the role of finding out the equilibrium point(s).

Course of Study

I found the course of XYZ well structured in terms of course objectives and contents. It has focused a lot about power and privileges. However, course content is not so specific on the volume and intensity of discrimination, marginalization and oppression over immigrants and refugees. It is also weak in talking about the post-colonization and liberalization in the light of how are they being the causative factors to devaluate the self of all immigrants.

My instructor

I was highly privileged by the immigrant identity of my instructor in terms of her language pattern and tolerant and inclusive behaviour. I found her treating me on the basis of equity rather than equality which was a great plus point for me to tell other about myself. Besides these cons, I could not be well update about her content delivery because of her 'westernized set up of behaviour pattern. For example: Most of her examples were based on the west which were non-understandable for me with my eastern epistemology. Instead, I wanted her to talk about the Maoist insurgency of Nepal, poverty and deprivation of many African countries and miserable condition of the Middle East women.

My class fellows

It is my fortune as I got the opportunity to study with most of the White Canadians. This has been reflected in knowing about typical Canada. However, I always felt uncomfortable to raise questions and take part in the discussion actively thinking that they might not accept my views and logics because of white centric thought. Although everyone was highly cooperative to me, I could not mingle with them properly because of their mechanistic behaviour of welcoming the 'others'.

The writer establishes his social location and introduces readers, however briefly, to the "value system" he 'carries.' The very idea of participation to this writer is tied to the social values he 'carries' or embodies. The writer asserts that he "actively" participated, and implies that his participation propagates the value of working together (collectivism) and working in harmony. "My participation was active in listening to others and putting my views, ideas and experiences playing the role of finding out the equilibrium point(s)." Seeking out "the equilibrium point(s)" reverberates the theme of holistic thinking and harmony.

While the writer claims that he participated actively, he seems to weaken the active participation by using a passive construction: "My participation was active" instead of "I actively participated." This is not in sync with the general advice that copula be replaced with strong,

action words, to reflect action and inject a life into the sentence. One way in which to make sense of this 'peculiar' usage could be by tracing it back to the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. These traditions de-emphasize "I"; and over the capital "I" (by the way the capital I or individualism is also associated with capitalism), they celebrate allocentrism, togetherness, and harmony. This re-reading of "My participation was active" invites us to appreciate the writer foregrounding the "end result," "participation," rather than the "who" of participation. Note that this is not a total negation of "I" as "My" still stays. "My participation was active" also foregrounds overall परिस्थिति (situation, ecology) rather than कर्ता (doer, agent), whereby the "doer" is only one of the several co-participants and co-actants in the action or possibility of action. What would amount to an awkward phrasing in need of correction from a correctionist, sanitizing academic standard, this phrasing is revealing of quite few interesting meanings. To repeat it; first, the actor does not want to emphasize "I"-ness, I-value or the Capital I (both in the general sense of Western "I" which is capitalized and in the sense of how Capitalism is based on the Capitalization of "I"-individualism); second, the writer wanted to emphasize the end result "participation" as a consequence of working together, in unison and harmony: participation in this sense means everyone contributing and a collective effort; and third, the writer thought of participation as a materialization of favourable conditions, as in "all things being equal/remaining the same." In this sense, participation is not only collectivized, but also situationalized and ecologized. If we translate this part into Nepali, we get मेरो सहभागिता (my participation) सक्रिय/उल्लेख्य (mentionable, "active") रह्यो (remained, "was"). This is a typical way of saying it in Nepali. Therefore, and fourth, we need to read this sentence as a case of translating and transliterating where the other systems bleed into the translated in ways that beg for renewed attention to collocations and idioms.

In any case, the writer wanted to convey a sense, not just in this passage, but throughout the work, that he was active as a listener, as a respondent ("in putting my views"), and more importantly, as a seeker of "equilibrium point(s)", in words and in style that encapsulate "Eastern values", by which he alludes to the *Vedic* and Buddhist *ethical* traditions and the contribution of these traditions to how communication *should be* conceptualized and relationships *should be* held.

Further, unlike in the revised draft of the "immigrant narrative," in this reflection, the writer is rather direct and quick to make the in-the-passing evaluation, which is offered without a forewarning and cushioning. The writer is not indirect or circular, which is often marked as the feature of writing in South Asian students (e.g., Kaplan's "Cultural Pattern").

For example, under the subtitle The Course, Birat comments,

> However, course content is not so specific on the volume and intensity of discrimination, marginalization and oppression over immigrants and refugees. It is also weak in talking about the post-colonization and liberalization in the light of how are they being the causative factors to devaluate the self of all immigrants.

The writer notes that the course was not specific in terms of "the volume and intensity of discrimination … over immigrants and refugees." Earlier, he used the term "equilibrium"; now he uses "volume", "intensity." "Intensity" seems acceptable, as it gives a sense of degree. But do we measure discrimination by volume? Again, this somewhat "awkward" lexical choice needs some parsing. I have read it in two different lights: a choice of academic sounding, 'big', and 'lofty' words over idiomatically or collocation-appropriate words. Here I concede that we must respect the writer's choice and be prepared to learn if that was an intentional choice at all. By the same token, the writer felt that the course content did not have enough coverage ("volume") and did not go into "the depth of degree of discrimination and oppression meted out to immigrants

and refugees." He felt that the course was superficial in its approach to the serious issue of discrimination and oppression.

The writer comments in an upfront manner on the strength of the course. He observes, " [the course] is also weak in talking about the post-colonization and liberalization in the light of how are they being the causative factors to devaluate the self of all immigrants." What attracted me about this comment is not the phrasing difference (rather than a problem), not what could amount to be a 'failed' attempt to approximate academic writing misapprehended as abstruse, recondite prose (watch the phrase "in the light of how are they being the causative factors to devaluate the self…" instead of a frugal brevity "post-colonization and liberalization have devalued the self…"). I was interested in the writer as a commentator who is able to offer the insightful feedback that the course failed to highlight the rare point: that post-colonialism and liberalization have also devalued "the self" of immigrants, contradicting their own putative goal to oppose oppression regimes.

Another interesting instance is when the writer relates to the instructor's subject position. He feels "highly privileged by the immigrant identity of my instructor in terms of her language pattern and tolerant and inclusive behaviour." This is a common experience among my participants that they find both minority immigrant classmates and minority teachers mutually empathetic of their differences, tolerant and inclusive. The writer explains further, "I found her treating me on the basis of equity rather than equality which was a great plus point for me to tell other about myself." "Besides these cons", which Birat writes mistakenly for "Despite these pros", the instructor "could not be well update about her content delivery because of her westernized set up of behaviour pattern." In other words, whereas that student identified with and related to the instructor because of her "immigrant identity", he was also aware of differences

that would separate them: Unlike the student, who was a new immigrant newly exposed to the new context of language, culture and academic practices, the professor is an academic whose immersion into western "set up of behaviour pattern" or academic practices created a critical distance and unequal power dynamics between them as a knowledgeable teacher and struggling student. "Most of her examples", he explains, "were based on the west which were non-understandable for me with my eastern epistemology. Instead, I wanted her to talk about the Maoist insurgency of Nepal, poverty and deprivation of many African countries and miserable condition of the Middle East women." In these statements the writer represents the feeling of most immigrants and international students—that they *have to* write and discuss matters that are culturally unfamiliar to them. The writer states, "her examples based on the west were non-understandable for me with *my epistemology*" (emphasis added). This is a difficult phrase again, but it is *not difficult* to understand that he implies here that the process of deriving knowledge (epistemology) through unfamiliar examples was difficult for him to relate to.

Moving ahead from the instructor, the writer talks about his "class fellows", starting by appreciating them and then becoming critical. "It is my fortune as I got the opportunity to study with most of the White Canadians", as he writers approvingly of his "White" Canadian classmates with whom he got to "know about typical Canada." It sounds paradoxical that he strives to know a "typified" Canada both given Canada's cultural plurality and his critical stance against oppression. However, I gathered that he harbored an honest desire to know the other culture, to be an insider. He may have harbored an opinion that mastering the master's language is eventually the only way to gain "control" over many other things.

After writing positively about his classmates, Birat writes that he "felt uncomfortable to raise questions and take part in the discussion actively thinking that they might not accept my

views and logics because of white centric thought." He finds them to be "highly cooperative to me", yet he "could not mingle with them properly because of their mechanistic behaviour of welcoming the 'others'." He does not explain what "white centric" and "mechanistic behaviour of welcoming the 'others'" mean, but we can understand from his earlier observation on epistemological difference that he might be referring here to the fact that non-Western ways are generally ignored in the West. Mingling requires more than mechanical and pretentious behavior, something my newborn interest in ethics draws me to make connection to Derrida's concept of "unconditional hospitality" as an alternative to Kantian and Rowlsian versions of contractarian social justice and reception to the others. Unconditional hospitality disrupts the host/guest, the recipient/received, the helper/helped binaries. By implication, it disrupts immigrant/ nonimmigrant, native speaker/non-native speaker, and English poor/English rich binaries.

An important implication of Birat's case would be for revision. As writing teachers, we tend to assume more often than not that revision yields better results. As we saw, although Birat's came off a better writer from certain criteria: explaining in detail, giving readers a full context of English in Nepal and drawing conclusions about "why some people are the way the are", and adopting a more academic tone, the revised version loses the many critical bites that would better inform us how a student from a different position views our institutional and pedagogical practices. If a student equates the question of adapting an academic tone with being neutral and dulling the critical edge, we will lose a good critique in the writer. This requires nuancing the complicated idea of "stance" and "tone" sufficiently and discussing the trade-offs. Stance and voice and tone are difficult arts to learn. Besides, we tend to contradict in our instructions on stance taking. As Lancaster cites Soliday (2011) in his discussion of stance, students are advised to "take your own position" and offer judgments, avoiding sounding

"biased" (p. 272). Contradicting this message, they are also advised to show "commitment" and "passion" in their argument, but also remain "objective" or and "critically distant" (p. 272). More contradictory messages include: "Use your own voice, but do not be too colloquial", "write with authority, but do not forget that you're a student and lack expertise" (p. 272). This shows the importance of making stance taking and critical response more explicit for students so that they do not lose the natural and resistant tone they could bring to academic writing task.

Second, to repeat the point I raised in the previous chapter, Birat's writing sample establishes the importance of rewarding critical reflections and evaluations beyond course evaluation and course survey.

Third, and finally, I have mentioned that Birat's social and network skills could be taken as an effective coping and compensating strategy. What does this mean in terms of "adaptive transfer" (DePalma & Ringer, 2011), with reference to the supportive and interfering roles L1 on L2 acquisition?[25] In transfer theory, positive transfer may occur when the L1 form used in L2 production is part of the L2 norm. This relation reverses in a negative transfer (Odin, 1989). I am interested more in meaning, structural, inventional, planning, revising and editing transfers and strategies rather than form-al, such as grammar, transfers, in Birat's case. Studies suggest that learners who have already learned how to plan, develop ideas, revise, and edit their writing in their L1 may use the same strategies when they are composing in their L2 (e.g., Cumming, 1990; Uzawa & Cumming, 1989). More recent studies have shown that depending on L2 proficiency, which might mediate the successful transfer of L1-based strategies, learners transfer several L1-

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[25] DePalma and Ringer (2011) define "adaptive transfer" as "conscious or intuitive process of applying or reshaping learned writing knowledge in order to negotiate new and potentially unfamiliar writing situations" (p. 141). They further see adaptive transfer as "dynamic", its processes as "idiosyncratic", "cross-contextual", "rhetorical", and "transformative" (DePalma & Ringer, 2014, pp. 46-47), contending that this reconfiguration rejects stable sense of contexts; accounts for writer's agency and readers' role beyond decoders; and attends the ways writers reshape and reform learned skills.

based strategies including generative ideas or invention, metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective strategies to L2 writing across languages positively (Lower proficiency writers may not be able to easily transfer L1-based strategies when writing in an L2 (Karim & Nassaji, 2013, p. 129). The relatively higher level of anxiety and restlessness I found in Birat having to be 'in an English situation' and the relatively exalted view he had of English may have to do with his desire for positive transfer of his strong L1 to L2, the gap that he wanted to fill up fast, using all available means of gaining higher proficiency in English.

Most importantly for this dissertation, however, Birat and, even more evidently, Kranti, my next case, exemplify my central inquiries in this research, namely, how immigrant students adopt, appropriate, and resist dominant expectations and practices of language, literacy and meaning making; what do their diversified histories, subjectivities, and "porous" borders mean to how and what they do *to* and *with* English and what can we learn about putting students' linguistic, cultural, and literate backgrounds, resources and repertoires to use in ways that values and promotes those resources and initiates productive dialogues across differences. Other than the 'idiosyncratic' usages, questions about stance and tone, Birat is an added voice on my decolonial project when he reminds the instructor that the "course content is not so specific on the volume and intensity", as it missed (a) "discrimination, marginalization and oppression over immigrants and refugees", and (b) was also "weak in talking about the post-colonization and liberalization in the light of how are they being the causative factors to devaluate the self of all immigrants".

Case II: Kranti

Kranti was one of the key contributors to this research, in more than one way. He helped me recruit participants for group discussion and individual interviews in the Greater Toronto

Area. As we can see from his presence in the previous chapters, he also spoke openly on issues, initiated exciting discussions on issues he and fellow participants felt pressing and vying for fresh attention.

An English graduate from Nepal, in Canada, his reluctant and unmotivated literacy journey took him to different places: from a continuing education program at a local community college in Toronto to an undergraduate program in the social sciences. "I was forced to study" is what he says about this experience. Several of his job tries matching his previous study in English and his experience as college instructor in Nepal went in vain. Seeing no light in sight at the other end of the tunnel, he has been on an entry-level job since his landing five years ago in "Welcome to Canada!" As I was finalizing this chapter, he broke the news of his acceptance into a graduate program in English leading to PhD. This new development would not mean an end to his self-assigned vocation and lifelong commitment to social criticism, as gleaned from several of his online postings.

Kranti is extraordinarily candid and unpretentious about his opinions. He holds firmly that the end goal of education should be to develop critical citizenry (personal communication, September 18, 2017). He likes to write about the complexities of diaspora life, living cultural differences, the intersection of spiritualism and ethics across cultures. He is provocative, caustic. He plans to publish an anthology of several anecdotes he has posted on social media. More recently, he has started as a regular contributor to an English magazine focusing spirituality and as a columnist of a Nepali newspaper published from Nepal.

I have three of his online posts under analysis below. The select writings, some of which abbreviated for space, were written not in response to my research questions or requirement. I

only expressed my interest in his writings, and obtained his permission to reuse them for my

research.

> ### International Social Work and Be Positive (December 14, 2016)
> #### *(Setting is September 2016; a university in Canada in a classroom)*
>
> I was eagerly waiting for Godot. Unlike in Becket's drama, a Godot, who is supposed to teach us how to liberate people worldwide, appeared with a PowerPoint slide that read 'International Social Work.'
>
> Godot began her class with a question: What is social work or especially what do you mean by international social work? …Answers from different students seemed to be flattering the professor and profession as well. A lazy back bencher also raised his hand to answer the question.
>
> **BB (Back- Bencher):** Social work is a profession that prey on human miseries and it butchers the intelligence of the community in the name of expertise. It exists in different names as non-profits, charities and faith-based organizations. If the social work does it internationally, it is called international social work.
>
> **PG (Professor Godot):** How can you say so? Can you give me examples?
>
> **BB:** For example, the Red Cross, an international organization, launched a multimillion-dollar project to transform the desperately poor area, which was hit hard by the earthquake that struck Haiti in 2011. The Red Cross says it has provided homes to more than 130,000 people, but the actual number of permanent homes it has built in all of Haiti is 6. A faith-based organization, Christian Missionary, distributed Bibles to victims when Nepal was hit by the earthquake. At such natural calamity, food, clothes and shelters were necessary, not bibles. It was in April, 2015.
>
> **PG:** Oh yeah! I know what you mean but you should be positive.
>
> **BB:** It means I have to be positive to human miseries.
>
> **PG:** No, I do not mean that. I mean you should be positive for your life and profession.
>
> **BB:** Profession that teaches to feed on human pain.

Kranti puts blame on "social work" as a discipline and profession because he thinks that it "preys on human miseries" and "butchers the intelligence of the community in the name of expertise." This Back Bencher (BB) is not happy about the students who seemed to be "flattering the professor and profession"; so, he assumes the role of a critical questioner, to an extreme, some may find, but not quite so, I think, given his adoption of an invective mode to laugh at 'social service' profession in which he has no faith left. The BB presents his frustration simply unapologetically, knowing that things are not happening the way they *should*. He is not worried about his grades, about his job, because he does not care about the "dead knowledge written in

theories." He ends rather sarcastically, "I'm here for 'time pass'", an acronym of which makes his penname.

The context of this conversation and complex power dynamics between the Godot, a White female professor in a "First World"/Western academia in an authority position, and the BB, a nonwhite, "Third World" male immigrant student is too complex and layered to unfold simplistically. Should we take this interaction as an example of a 'Third World' male immigrant student questioning the authority of a 'First World' female professor? Or should we simply say that his anger needs to be read only in the context of colonial-colonized conflict, not in terms of the other layers of powers? Should we assume that BB's invective is not directed toward a micro level individual authority figure but to a macro-level authority— "disciplinary" and "institutional" matters— the female professor nonetheless represents. That is, is BB attacking the institutionalization of social work and knowledge production ("dead knowledge"), and the location of all these in the First World? Or is this text symptomatic of his own "internalization" of inferiority? What should we make of the professor's forewarning that the student should be positive— and by implication, respect the field's "interpellation" and "subjectification" process and the professor as an authority figure— if he wanted to be employed or at the very least get a passing mark? Is it simply a case of an eccentric, oddly-placed, and rebellious student trying all possible tantrums to impress his audience? These are difficult questions to navigate. What we can say with some surety is that Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* is a prototype of the absurdity of modern life, which the character of BB deploys as a synecdochal replacement of the absurdity underlying the professionalization and specialization of a field of knowledge: social work and social service.[26] In other words, it seems to him that there is nothing "social" and

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[26] It should be noted that BB conflates the field of "social work" work with "social service." However, this makes little difference in making sense of his meaning.

nothing "service" about the field. In a bigger picture, it speaks to growing corporatization of education and loss of ethics. My own interpretative temptation is to link BB to Latour's (2005) lament of the abstraction of the very meaning of "society" and "association" in the scientific turn of the social sciences (p. 9). Latour's is a methodological and ethical question of making our work accountable to the "missing masses" (p. 241) and assemblages, ties and ingredients that the "social" consists *in*; BB's is a provocative challenge to make social work responsive to the society it should primarily serve.

In a different post, one that builds on the previous one, Kranti make his abiding adherence to ethical thinking and conduct:

> **Kranti** now humbly asks his Guru if he could say something about social work. Baba speaks: most of social work theories today talks about strength-based (helping out a client find out his/ her own strength) and anti-oppressive (working with consciousness to better help marginalized population) approach.
>
> It is good; however, if you read Gita, you find everything there. Krishna, intervening a crisis, counsels his disciple Arjun to find his true strength as warrior and has approached a crisis in anti-oppressive framework, favoring the marginalized group called Pandavas. You should be a social worker like Krishna: counselor, psychotherapist, psychologist, community organizer.
>
> The saddest thing today is that social workers help to strengthen themselves. A true social worker is a robber who robs ignorance (masks) of humanity (clients) and helps him/her find wisdom (strength) as performed by Krishna and written by Khalil Gibran in his book 'The madman'. (Posted December 18, 2016)

First, the writer introduces readers to two social work approaches: "strength-based" approach and "anti-oppressive" approach. He then contextualizes these approaches to an anecdote from the *Gita*, linking social work to how Lord Krishna counsels Arjun, who faced an ethical dilemma of having to wage a battle against his own brothers-enemies until Krishna convinced him that the battle is not against his own clan, it is against oppression and colonization. Krishna provides an ideal springboard for the social worker due to his role as a motivator, good "counselor, psychotherapist, psychologist, community organizer." Finally, the

writer expresses his frustration, echoing the previous piece: "the saddest thing today … that social workers help to strengthen themselves."

This is an intertextual and intercultural text in which the writer complicates the modern-day social work practice by introducing an ethical approach derived from a Vedic text.

Sympathy and Empathy

I used the words 'sympathy and empathy' synonymously for a long time. My teachers used to say that there is subtle difference in each words and mastering that subtleties makes you a learned man. I did not bother myself with the advice because I neither had a dictionary nor had money to buy it nor had any desire to be a master of words. … I had learnt about these words through experiences in my life. *For me, it was not necessary to listen to any discourses from any professors in Canadian classroom but I was forced to…* A tall professor with jolly face appeared in the class, opened the computer, logged into his email account and downloaded the years-long Powerpoint.….As he was lecturing, I started thinking of the Gita where Lord Krishna becomes empathetic to Arjun…

Meanwhile, a friend called George nudged me and said, "Wow! How fantastic ideas! Exasperatingly I said, "Yeah! Good fantasy." George disturbed my thought and I started listening to the professor. He was saying the word sympathy refers to acknowledgement of others' suffering [as] an ego-satisfaction. It is a feeling of pity. *To have a pity over someone is to impose your ego*. It does not help people in real life and clients in social field sector. What you need is the empathy which refers to deeper feelings emerged out of love. *To have empathy over someone is to help selflessly, without expectations of the fruits you get from people or clients*. Developing consciousness is important … remember you find these attitudes and feelings in different sectors and in human relationship such as academia, social field, classroom, different professions, friendship, family… be empathetic everywhere which is my request to you.

Sarah who was sitting by me burst with a question, "If someone loses a mother and gets forced to miss three classes but the professor provides less than fifty percentage marks in attendance, what will it express in academia: sympathy or empathy? The jolly face of professor turned red and his ears was burning and with this facial expression, he said, "We will discuss this question next week" and left the class. Sarah looked at me for my response. I said her, "For the first time I am happy with you because today I experienced and saw how an experiential statement can collapse the whole bookish knowledge and discourse and … fails to have empathy over the suffering of people and pupil. I continued, "You know Sarah, it reminded me of Marx who states that ideology (discourse) is a false consciousness created by powerful to dominate the powerless. Someone from the class spoke, "Hey Til! Do not stick to classical Marxism. You know, Antinio Gramci says, "It is the same ideology that powerless can use against the powerful."

Annoyed, George says, "Hey guys! Whatever you are talking about Marx and Gramsi is also a discourse." I said goodbye to everyone and took a train. On the train, I started reflecting on the sentence of George. I remembered Hindu *Vedanta philosophy* that mentions a finger pointing to the moon… When I was typing this piece of memoir, I was in a job where I had to write online report. When I returned home at midnight and was ready to sleep, I remembered a mistake I did in a report: "Empathy and sympathy issued to unit # 2509." I could not sleep and shared it with family…

Irony is Kranti's usual weapon as it helps him point out the gap between the said and the thought, the promised and the real. The professor *preaches* on the value of empathy, but fails to translate his own preaching in practice. Again and again he returns to Vedic allusions that

deliberated on several pressing questions long before the modern discourses and disciplines came into existence.

The climatic turn in the "memoir" above occurs when George intervenes into the conversation as he responds to a classmate who reminds them that the classical Marxist definition of "ideology" as "false consciousness" has undergone a revision in Antonio Gramsci, who makes it possible for the powerless to use the "the same ideology … against the powerful". Not satisfied, George responds, "Whatever you are talking about Marx and Gramsci is also a discourse". As usual, Kranti returns to Vedant philosophy as his hermeneutic guide. When Kranti returns to these texts, he is returning to his home metaphorically, returning to his intellectual and cultural home, rather than invoking cultural, civilizational nostalgia and isolationism. Kranti productively summons upon the past with the present, the ancient with the modern, which gives him an interpretive vantage point to engage in a transcultural conversation such as this.

मलाई निराशाबादी, नकारात्मक र कुण्ठा पोखिएको साहित्य निकै मन पर्छ। पारिजातको (*Parijat, a Nepali writer*) 'शिरिसको फूल', दोस्तोवस्कीको (*Dostoevsky*) 'नोट्स फ्रम अन्डर ग्राउन्ड' (*Notes from Underground*) र कोहेलोको (*Coehlo*) ' भेरोनिका डीसाइड टु डाइ' (*Veronica Decided to Die*) जस्ता उपन्यासहरू मेरा खुराक हुन्। अनौठो लाग्ला तिमीलाई कि किन यो रोगी पुस्तकहरू पढ्छ? किन यो नकारात्मक बाटो नै रोज्छ? वास्ताबिकता के हो त मलाई थाहा छैन तर एउटा मिठो भ्रम छ: "रोग नबुझी स्वास्थ्य बुझीन ; रात नबुझी दिन बुझिदैन"। दोस्तोवस्की भन्छन्, "It is in despair that the most burning pleasure occur, especially when one is too highly conscious of the hopelessness of one's position" ।म आज सम्म एकतर्फी बुझ्दै छ; जुन दिन द्वै बुझ्छ र द्वै बाट माथी उठ्छ। मेरो कलम आफै बन्द हुन्छ।...

मलाई बुद्ध (*Buddha*) हुन पटक्कै मन छैन किनकि मेरो यशोधरा र राहुललाई पालीदिने शुद्दोदनको दरबार छैन; बिदेशमा दरबारको रखबारी गई।

कार्ल गुस्ताप युङ्ग (*Karl Jung*) भन्छन्, "हामीले जीवनको मध्यान्ह जीवनको बिहानी जसरी जिउन सक्दैनौ। जीवनको बिहानीमा 'सफल' वा 'प्राप्ति' ठानिएका कुरा वा वस्तु जीवनको साँझमा ब्यर्थ ठहरिन सक्छ। जीवनको बिहानीमा सत्य लागेका चिज जीवनको साँझमा भ्रम हुन सक्छ।" स्थान बिशेषसंग यसको लेनादेना छैन; शायद परिस्थितिको उपज होला। बुद्धिजमको (*Buddhism*) एउटा वाक्य मा ध्यान गर, "This being so, that arises. This no longer being so, that ceases."

मिशेल फुकोले (*Michel Foucault*) भने, "संसारमा सत्यहरू छन्; र पूर्ण सत्य छैन। केहि सहमति। फेरी थप्छन्, "पावरले सत्यको निर्धारण गर्छ" (Power determines truth) । पूर्ण सहमत। ... मानब इतिहासमा शासक निर्मित सत्यहरू निर्माण भएका छन् र मलाई शासक-निर्मित सत्यहरू बिरुद्ध कुण्ठा फाल्न मन लाग्छ (I like to deconstruct power-constructed truths) र यसलाई भूगोलको सीमाले बन्देज गर्न नसक्ला।

तिमीलाई लाग्न सक्ला कि मेरो अभिव्यक्ति केवल एक पागलपन हो; हजुर मलाई स्वीकार्य छ: "IN English, the word lunatic (pagal) comes from 'Luna', the moon. Just as the sea goes mad when the moon is full, my sea goes mad when my moon is full."

अन्त्यमा, छिटै तिमीलाई भेट्न आउँदैछ। भरतपुरको ओरालोमा साइकलको अगाडिको डन्डीमा राखेर पुल्चोक पुर्याउँछ। पानीपुरी खाँदै नारायणी पुलको मध्यभागमा पुग्नौला। साँझको अस्ताईरहेको सुर्यको पहेलो किरणको पराबर्तित सुन्दरता नदीमा हेरौला। त्यति बेला मलाई नसोध्नु कि त्यो सुन्दरता भ्रम हो कि सत्य।

हिन्दु दर्शनमा (*Hindu philosophy*) एउटा कुरो छ: "सत्यम्, शिवं, सुन्दरम्"। मेरो लागी सुन्दरम् भर्याङको अन्तीम खुड्किलो हो र यसमा मजा छ। किट्स (*Keats*) भन्छन्:
"Beauty is truth, truth beauty, — that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." (Kranti), my parenthetical gloss in TNR fonts)

In this writing, a letter addressed to his girlfriend, Kranti tries to explain why he likes to read literature containing pessimism, negativity, and frustration (from Parijat to Dostoevsky, to Coelho), and then explains seeming negativities in a positive light. While doing so, he draws eclectically, from the psychoanalyst Jung, to observe that our view of what is "achievement", real and illusion; to Buddhism, to make a point that meditation gives us a better sense of the world and ourselves; to Foucault, to insert that there is no whole truth and power determines truth; to even deconstruction. He defines lunatic behavior (pagalpan, transliterated from Nepali)

by referring to lunar activity in English. He then mentions that he is responsible for other and cannot indulge in the luxury to leave home and be "irresponsible" like Siddhartha, because unlike Siddhartha, who had all the necessary protection to care for his wife and newborn, he guards a palace in a foreign land, an allusion to his current job as a security guard. He then wishes to meet his girlfriend soon back home in Nepal. In the entire writing he tries to explain his audience that he is not 'negative' in his comments on general state of affairs in diaspora, on the political issues in Nepal, about how life in diaspora looks like and so on. He explains that being critical does not mean being negative. He adds that even being negative is not a bad thing; instead, he likes to read negativity as a drive for philosophical quest to understand life and the world.

As I am all set to discuss further the implications of Kranti's writing to the main theme of this dissertation, I anticipate readers asking me how Kranti's examples picked outside academic assignments per se make for an analysis that aims to educate us pedagogically. Evidently, his examples are so different from the other examples I have examined. My goal largely was to understand what would a self-directed, spontaneous writing outside the academic context look like, and what choices the writer would make to satisfy and perhaps also balance his writer-ly needs—to show that he is resourceful, to show his wisdom, to correct his felt-sense that people may have a negative image of him as someone who always criticizes, complains, and talks negatively about how things are— with his audience-need, his friends in Nepal and those in the diaspora, who may have been shy speaking out their life and work conditions (for example, he, a former college instructor, is working as a security guard in Canada).

I chose his writings because they allow me to approach diversity differently, beyond what is possible to see in the classroom, beyond the thesis-driven academic writing, often exhibiting

features following classical argument in the essayistic format. For example, the fluidity of writing in this context allows Kranti to jump from one poet-philosopher to another, to lack in details, and perhaps, to show signs and symptoms of what is called the "high context culture." Yet his writing allows him to give his diasporic life a meaning and argue that what may strike for his less philosophically-inclined readers as negativity and pessimism characterizing his writing is a sign that he is deeply indebted to an eclectic band of thinkers who see truth as only partial, having to do with power.

Overall, Kranti's 'non-academic' writing examples allow me to push my argument for diversifying diversity. Of course, there is more in the writing than that. For example, the longstanding question how do we address the academic/non-academic divide and the oral/ written divide. Kranti enables me to see literacy's and agency's dispersiveness that we have not been able to tap into and diversify outside the classroom, beyond Western*ly*-valued academic writing. If we were reading the last piece of Kranti's writing with an eye to diversity, his "details" and "argument" constitute the host of poets and philosophers accounted. Writings such as these beg for a renewed attention to diversity whereby we do not impose the ready-made formula of what qualifies as an academic writing. If we do so, we write off difference right at the gate, we ignore the writer's resourcefulness and their attempts to bridge various boundaries.

The previous two pieces by Kranti I discussed offer us a rare view of the sense of dissatisfaction, resistance, and the need to complicate western knowledge, from his locatedness as a student in western academic institutions. There are several takeaways here, some of which I already mentioned. First, Kranti's work makes us aware of the various ways agency and resistance manifests itself and consists in. As we saw in the "International Social Work and Be Positive" piece, he is unwilling to comply and silently agree with the professor's insistence that

he should respect and be positive about social work. What Kranti does in this instance and elsewhere is not just be critical of a particular academic arrangement but also disciplinary orientation to knowledge, the centrality of the West or Eurocentrism. The outside class space provided him with the opportunity to relate and re-contextualize his learning to his perception of how things are. Kranti's samples also serve as an illustration of making learning spaces more diverse. For example, the professor would have done a better job if she had allowed students from diverse cultural contexts to offer a view of social work instead of offering a lecture and relying on PowerPoint presentation. We know that Kranti would be able to draw on his meaning making resources from ancient texts to redefine modern contexts in Social Work, to question disciplinary practices and rising professionalism and corporatization of education, because he states that there is not much left of social in social work when it has become a profession or a calling that profits from victimizing the victim and "prey[ing] on human miseries", a profession that distributes the Bible to Earthquake victims— which is both real and works also as an allegory of Eurocentrism— while pretending to help them. He is articulating the dissent that many may often fear to speak out in the classroom.

If not these, Kranti is making the many sources of his dissent clear, and as such these writings serve as both expressive and critical functions for him. Going back to the point I made in the previous chapter, Kranti has a deep feeling that he was "forced to study" at a level below his previous study from Nepal. And he represents several other participants' feeling that they are devalued and their education and past experiences are generally not recognized. His resentment comes from what we discussed in Chapter One and Two: how the Global North, neoliberal economy and higher education construct immigrants and subject them to new learning through a combination of neoliberal values of "upgrading skills," "lifelong learning" and through

containing measures or governmentality. Kranti sees no value in being in a class that seems redundant, that does not meet his expectation of a Canadian class. That is not to be mistaken as arrogance and categorical denial of any opportunity to learn. That's an irony there. That is, second, we can imagine that many students who come from the "so-called Third World" have a very positive image of university education in the First World. Once they see the mismatch, it clearly takes the form some sort of conversation, which may not be always easily accessible. Some keep silent, others choose to talk about this behind the academic back, yet others, and I believe only few, such as Kranti, speak out in the public. Third, by adopting a historical and cross-cultural and civilizational approach to knowledge, Kranti is also "unthinking Eurocentrism" (Shohat & Stam), the mistaken idea that the West is the center of knowledge.

Fourth, he expresses his wish that the class would have capitalized on the resources it had; for example, Kranti could supply a critical resource and perspective on social work, introducing the class to ancient Indian roots of social service, and making the topic rich with cross-cultural engagement. Kranti was an MA and could relate to his understanding on how discourse shapes our everyday understanding of what it means to operate as a discipline (recall his Marx-Gramsci-Foucault connection). In other words, it seems that the class could offer a lot more than what it did— asking students to shut up and listen to what the professor has to say if they want to succeed. Fifth, Kranti's narrative also makes us rethink the ways we define (rationalize?) our choices as students. In this case, Kranti was not worried about his success. For him to be successful as a complying student, like many others, is to fail the critical function he held dearly. In the Sympathy—Empathy essay, Kranti introduces Sarah to suggest the preach–practice gap exemplified by the professor who lectures student on the advantage of empathy over sympathy while he himself fails to exhibit even the least bit of sympathy in his own doing. Sixth,

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and by repetition, Kranti's sardonic reference to "PowerPoint" and "lecturing" suggests that it is not a technology or two that we add to our teaching that makes it effective, but what approach we bring to the work of teaching and how and whether or not we mobilize critical resources already existing in the class. Seventh, so obviously and importantly, Kranti's writing also validates the need to find some ways in which to make our work across disciplines reflect the critical experiences of immigrants and international students. We do this in writing/composition courses, often through personal narratives, and in graduate level writing by encouraging students to foreground the role of social position and research location. Eighth, and very important in this chapter, Kranti gives his diasporic reality a meaning and in doing so he marshals all resources, philosophical and literary that transcend generic, geographical, and cultural boundaries. He blends the mundane with the transcendental, the profane with the sacred, the West with the rest, Keats' "beauty is truth and truth is beauty" with the Sanskrit script "सत्यम, शिवं, सुन्दरम। Kranti *trans-es*, if by "trans" we mean *trans*-disciplinary, *trans*-national, *trans*lational/ *trans*-relational.

Ninth, and for this I draw on Birat's explicit comment that what and how we do things in the classroom might reproduce inequality, discrimination, and injustice we aim to redress, and Kranti's implied suggestions that we will serve our purpose better to channel student resources and make them more involved, facilitate more connections and association, drawing on students' experiences, interdisciplinary knowledge, and in today's cross-culturally rich and dynamic classes, by simply giving less articulate students a voice, is an important takeaway. In fact, both Birat and Kranti awaken us to more consciousness and sensitivities pertinent to student diversity.

Tenth, both Kranti and Birat's writings show literacy as a dispersive and chronotopic act. By chronotopic I mean, following Prior and Shipka's (2003) appropriation of Bakhtin, dispersive, "multimotivational and multi-mediated" literate activities consisting in "fluid chains

of place, times, people, and artifacts" traversing "institutional settings, especially mixing home, community, and discipline" (p. 180). Going beyond the idea of "crossing", Prior and Shipka stress that literate activity is as much about "being in the world" as it is about reforming and transforming the world and given relations and mechanisms of representations. I see these qualities in Kranti's writing more specifically, which traverses home, community, disciplines and artificial geographical boundaries of knowledge. Both Birat and Kranti's writings also suggest that agency lies in being able to foreground one's location and being open to self and other criticisms, beyond the mastery of a dominant language (Chapter Three). Finally, these two cases illustrate decolonizing, critical and resistant energy at work. Birat reminds the instructor of the "missing masses" and missing targets of discrimination, of the need to make our pedagogical practices reflect diverse students' wish to belong to and to be given a respectable space in the classroom, coursework and discussions, especially in courses whose very objective it is to discuss explicitly issues of discrimination and inequality. They should live by example. Although online, Kranti's creative-critical work gives us a rare glimpse of what we cannot always expect to see in the classroom.

Birat identifies a racist attitude underlying the identification of a particular immigrant group in terms of their language abilities. When Birat says that racist comments like these are not "based on research", he takes us back to Said's oriental discourse as a practice to orientalize the others as lacking and deficient. If Birat gives the course discussed a decolonial edge, which recovers the loss of his critical edge in the "Narrative of an Immigrant Student" assignment, Kranti's work is decolonial on many counts: His critique of professionalization of social work, this challenge to be lectured on, his challenge to Western academia's knowledge superiority, and his implied message that knowledge work should begin with cross-cultural engagement.

Chapter Five

Re-englishing English, re-literating literacy, and re-policing "faulty policies": Conclusions

and recommendations

I would like to start with something I was promising but did not have a chance to go back

to: How do we situate translingual scholarship in the question of diversity and what it offers, or

does not, to our understanding of what and how my participants have engaged language, cultural

and epistemic differences and why and how they have questioned the demand for English

language as one, if main, instance of Eurocentrism? From the cases we examined and the

language with which the participants have peppered this dissertation, we can agree on the point

that "translanguaging is everywhere" (Rhyes, 2018); it is present everywhere in the sense of

languages and languagers as always being in translation (Pennycook, 2008).

In this chapter, first, I de-conflate translingualism with code-meshing (Young, 2009) and

suggest that it is more useful to use a transliterate framework for a more complex understanding

of translanguaging. Second, I propose to reread translingualism in terms of transliteracy, which I

define as coming together of meaning out of apparently divergent literacy and meaning-making

resources *and* practices. Transliteracy destabilizes and reveals the problem underlying the idea of

codes. By destabilizing codes and exposing the arbitrariness of codes, transliteracy disrupts the

equation of literacy with English Literacy and the ongoing centrality of English language

(Anglocentrism) over any other languages and semiotic resources. Transliteracy does not,

however, undermine the contribution of translingualism to bringing about the much-needed

intervention into English monolingualism.

Finally, and most importantly, I revisit the previous chapters and draw some participant-

driven recommendations for "re-englishing English, re-literarting literacy, and re-policing 'faulty

policies'"; that is, for pluralizing national, social, academic and institutional spaces, thereby urging them to be more responsive to differences that they co-*institute*. I will warn readers that there is a slight back peddling at work in my revisiting translingualism below. I do this, however, in light of this research and the excitement the approach has drawn.

Translingualism revisited[27]

I am interested, at this point, neither so much in defending a translingual position, nor even providing a synthesis of the accolades or criticisms it has garnered— much has been written in this direction. I am interested, instead, in what language difference and agency, plurality of meaning or semiodiversity means for our participants. One entry point could, for example, be just going back to the transcribed texts cited throughout the dissertation, and looking at patterns and, perhaps going further, developing some charts and diagrams in which to map different englishes that they have produced. But this I will not do, for I would leave it to readers to figure out what unique features they have noticed and draw implications from participants' languaging. I will add a caveat that conclusions, however tentative, made from a given moment of *spoken English* will not be enough to reflect the richness and complexity of people's language use in different contexts and rhetorical interfaces. This makes my task relatively easy; now that I can rely partially rely on the examples discussed to extrapolate the ways language and literacy differences could be diversified.

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[27] I reckon the "active" translingual moment to be the publication of Horner et al.'s "Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach" although this opinion piece is a fomentation and fermentation of long struggles for language rights such as Students' Rights to Their Own Language (SRTOL, 1994) and other activist milestones and contributors to bring the term to scholarly limelight including Gracia (2009); Pennycook (2008, 2010), several writings by the proponents of codemeshing including Young (2013, 2014) and Canagarajah (2011); scholars voicing their concern for the equal status of the labor of second language writing including Matsuda (1999, 2006) and their unique contributions to our understanding of addressing second language writing needs; scholarship in language plurality and language localization in different multilingual communities and contexts of other "englishes" or "other tongues" (Kachru, 1992; Canagarajah); and comparative, cross-cultural studies, among others.

Translingualism has had a definitional problem, as some sympathizers of this approach observe; for example, Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012), who advise that translingualism needs to define itself more precisely, given that there exist a host of similar conceptualizations including heteroglossia, polylanguaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011), code-meshing (Young, 2009, 2013; Young, Martinez, & National Council of Teachers of English, 2011; Young, Barrett, Young-Rivera, & Lovejoy, 2014; Canagarajah, 2011, 2013), translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), flexible bilingualism (Creese et al., 2011), and multilanguaging (Nguyen, 2012). Other educators (e.g., Otheguy et al., 2015) think that for a useful adoption of translanguaging, it needs to pose "a strong challenge to prevailing understandings of language and linguistic behavior in speakers generally, and especially in bilinguals" (p. 282).

Other criticisms include, and this goes back to Introduction, that translanguaging has not been radical, political and decolonial enough (Cushman, 2016; Gilyard, 2016); that it is complicit with neoliberal pluralism (Kubota, 2015); that translingual writing understood as code-meshed texts as an illustration of translingual writing is problematic in the context of a Creole continuum (Milson-Whyte, 2013); that it may essentialize difference and promote "linguistic tourism" (Matsuda, 2014); that it ignores and misrepresents a rich history of second language writing and its stance toward pluralism on the one hand (Matsuda, 2014; Williams & Condon, 2016) and past struggles of the people and scholars of color that led to the development of what may now appear to be less the radical Students' Right to Their Own Language (SRTOL, 1974) document (Gilyard, 2016). Some also think that translingualism and practices in language mixing may further ghettoize marginalized students by being a distraction from the learning of Standard English (e.g., Rucker, 2014).

Proponents of the translingual approach have responded to these charges by stating that a translingual view of language difference is different from neoliberal approaches to difference on ethical question (Canagarajah, 2016); that it encourages and promotes language diversity (Horner et al., 2011); that while it does not undermine other related inquiries and critical projects directed to plurality, it adopts a critical stance to approaches that operate within a monolingualist logic (Horner et al. 2011); that it actively supports, values and encourages all rhetorically viable meaning-making repertoires and semiotic resources (Canagarajah, 2017).

Pennycook's (2008) use of the term "translingual activism" forefronts "semiodiversity", the plurality of meaning over "glossodiversity", the plurality of form. Pennycook indicates that a translingual activism looks into the "traffic of meaning" and "translation" as its enunciation.

As Pennycook further explains,

> knowledge works as translation and translation works as knowledge, that is trans- rather than interdisciplinary, undermining disciplinary foundations of knowledge' (Mignolo, 2000: 208). As one element of what I have elsewhere called transgressive theory (Pennycook, 2007)…Therefore, translation, like transculturation…makes difference and the need for boundary transgression central.

Wei and Hua's (2013) three 'trans'– definition reflect Pennycook's points. Wei and Hua define translanguaging as *trans*cending the systems and structures of meaning, value, identity, relationship, and representation; *trans*forming speakers' "skills, knowledge, experience, attitudes and beliefs"; and *trans*disciplinary and integrated approach to the otherwise separate cognitive, social and structural realities (pp. 6–7). This view captures "both the dynamic nature of multilingual practices of various kinds and the capacity of the de-/re- territorialized speaker to mobilize their linguistic resources to create new social spaces for themselves" (p. 7).

Following these scholarly contributions, I define translingualism—thought of both as a disposition, orientation, philosophy and an act, practice and strategy—as meaning- and identity-

making practices, conditions, possibilities mediated by and implicated in power, politics and performance, constitutive of and realized in verbal and nonverbal, strategic and unintended, residual and emergent rhetorical acts and efforts, matters, materials, emotions, energies, ecology, chances, beliefs, and values. To complement such a view of translingualism requires going beyond language crossing and re-linking to a broader/"border thinking" and dwelling in the border" (Mignolo) of literacy.

De-languaging language from code-centrism, U.S.-centrism and narrative genre-centrism

If we were to follow the "trans"– definition of translanguaging, Kranti's writing has translinguality about it in that it mixes, blends, borrows, and bridges knowledge traditions, and literacy sources (the Vedic and the Western); it transcends cultural borders and disciplinary thinking. Kranti engages *transliterately* and meshes multiple codes in the sense that brought to bear in his composition are different meaning sources. His last example can be interpreted as a call to disperse and diversify the disciplinary location and vocation of translingualism and code-meshing in the U.S. composition. Kranti teaches me to be careful about the possibility of tokenizing and essentializing differences and reproducing existing hierarchical relations, especially given the reality that other language features (registers, stylistic features) are often basically used in order to make meaning primarily in English. Kranti's last example reverses the dominant practice of peripherializing other languages and putting them in the service of English. This here is a question of approach, a question of "in whose terms" is the mixing done. In this context, I find it relevant to invoke Donahue's suggestion that we should disrupt the current import-export model where the academic and literacy THEM/Rest are drawn to US (both as U.S.-centrism/West and the pronominal *us*-centrism). Kranti's rhetorical choice is dictated by his

writing for transliterate Nepali audience, but at the same time it provides a critical angle to

disrupt of linguistic and epistemic hegemony. Kranti's example is distinct in this sense, as he

shuttles between poets and philosophers based in the West and in Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic

philosophical and cultural traditions. English is not a vantage point, neither is Nepali. Yes,

Nepali occupies more space and English less, but no one dominates. No one is imported and no

one exported.

This is nothing new, however. Postcolonial and decolonial literatures and projects, not to

say about social activisms, collective campaigns and movements, are vital inspirations to draw

from in the discussion around diversity. Moreover, diasporic situations and affordances bring

about mixing, meshing, and mashing of linguistic and cultural codes, foiling, in effect, unifying

and homogenizing attempts, desires, "narcissism and paranoia" (e.g., Hall, 1990; Canagarajah

2017; Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 2002; Bhabha, 1984, p. 132). For instance, African diasporas

devised innovative techniques like "selective appropriation, incorporation, and rearticulation of

European ideologies, cultures, and institutions alongside an African heritage" through which to

form and sustain communities and group solidarity while at the same time challenge the

ostensibly unalloyed view of language and culture (West, 2005, p. 35). As Mercer (1988) writes,

> [A] 'syncretic' dynamic […] critically appropriates elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture and 'creolises' them, disarticulating given signs and re-articulating their symbolic meaning. The subversive force of this hybridising tendency is most apparent at the level of language itself where Creoles, patois and black English decentre, destabilise and carnivalise the linguistic domination of 'English' - the nation-language of master-discourse - through strategic inflections, re-accentuations and other performative moves in semantic, syntactic and lexical codes. (p. 57).

In other words, linguistic and cultural appropriation and code-meshing have fractured

totalizing efforts and menaced the scene of representation (Bhabha, 1994). As Ashcroft, Griffith,

and Tiffin (2002) remind us, through various "abrogation" and "appropriation" strategies (p. 38),

englishes users in (former) colonial contexts reject the privilege of 'English'. Through the strategies of outright rejection of the master's version of English and its creative manipulation and appropriation, such users perform "a refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words" (p. 37). Abrogation and appropriation disallow putative superiority, autonomy, and purity of English.

The connection between translation and appropriation is one of making difference. Both translation and appropriation also expose us to the unequal power relationship between the colonial and the colonized. But at the same time, several writers writing in English from the marginal position refuse to translate, gloss, and provide English alternatives to the native terms as a way to refuse the assimilation of the term into the scheme of the dominant. They are about constant re-meaning, re-membering, re-identifying, and re-contextualizing.

If postmodernism is a source that these projects were somehow inspired by, postmodern pastiche, arts and aesthetics that borrow eclectically from different cultural resources are perhaps the richest example of "trans–" works we have. T.S. Eliot's "Wasteland" is a multiply trans-project; Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* and *The Satanic Verses* are richly transtextual and transdielectal; one can add here an extensive list of writers and artists. The difference is only that postmodern arts are considered highbrow, elite indulgence even when depicted in a number of them, especially in literacy works, is people's everyday languaging. Cultural, aesthetic, canonical, disciplinary meshing, which is both celebrated and practiced in postmodern writing, is at times criticized for holding onto an unqualified and ludic view of plurality. I think a critical postmodernism is a vital inspiration to drawn on in this respect as we wish to push the agendum of language diversity alongside the argument for code-meshing and translanguaging.

In this sense, along with the translingual approach, Young's advocacy of code-meshing allows us to think of codes beyond the encoding of superficial, formal and syntactical features and provide a ground for multiple meshings— the formal, experimental, and stylistic— that are also deep, historical, ideological, intentional, unintentional, performative and rhetorical at the same time; dispelling thus the danger that Horner (2015) refers to in an interview with Lillis:

> the danger …in the tendency to argue for pedagogies that advocate 'mixing' of forms as a goal in and of itself, which redirects our energies, and those of our students, in less useful directions: formal experimentation for formal experimentation's sake, outside and ignoring issues of context, including power relations, and purpose. (p. 329)

As Young (2009) writes, arguing for code-meshing over code-switching,

> Code-meshing, on the other hand, while also acknowledging standard principles for communication, encourages speakers and writers to fuse that standard with native speech habits, to color their writing with what they bring from home. It has the potential to enlarge our national vocabulary, multiply the range of available rhetorical styles, expand our ability to understand linguistic difference and make us in the end multidialectical, as opposed to monodialectical. (p. 65)

In particular for Young, code-meshing disrupts "the residue of racism" underlying code switching in that the former "allows minoritized people to become more effective communicators by doing what we all do best, what comes naturally: blending, merging, meshing dialects" (p. 72). Young qualitatively redefines the achievements of SRTOL, which, while arguing for *allowing* students to use their own/home languages (otherwise vernacular English usages and features) in academic spaces— note that this was a milestone achievement in its own right at a time vernacular language was simply thought to be the enemy of the academic—did not advocate a position of *active*, *intentional*, *performative* and *rhetorical* "blending, merging and meshing dialects".

If we turn to our participants, during group discussions and interviews, only one participant language switched, when he asked me to take down his observation: परिवर्तन संरचनामा

हुनुपर्छ न कि स्वरूपमा, which translates as, "It is at the level of structure and essence, not at the level of form, that change must occur". No participant academic writings are code-meshed in the sense of the presence of two or more different languages used in writing, but the writings are not free from the traces of translation, transliteration, and transliteracy at the same time. In the writing that appeared outside the context of academic writing (Kranti's), we could see not only different English features in blend, but also different language, literacy, culture meshing in action.[28] An additional suggestion here is that unless writers have assignments that explicitly require or encourage mixing and blending, unless they are confident that a particular assignment does carry better persuasive appeals and ethos from doing so, unless they are assured that they have the ability to try different options without the fear of losing grades or being penalized for textual experimentation, or being evaluated as idiosyncratic and labelled as deficit and incapable of acquiring the normative English or academic writings, unless the writing is meant for a multilingual audience (Kranti's writing), active translanguaging may remain more a matter of scholarly discussion and publication, a matter restricted to narrative assignments, while it will thrive as usual as an everyday reality outside academia.[29] Yet, we may keep arguing, at the cost of sounding very confusing to my readers now, that all that languagers are always already are doing is translanguaging, which I agree, despite the platitude about it, because although Kranti, Ram, Kishor, Kumar and several other participants are using English, they are transliterating, with their local inflections, their ideolects, and features that are unique to them. The same is true,

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[28] Note that Kranti is both shuttling between different language and different dialects in this instance, the former in an obvious way and the latter in the way that the writer has English in Nepali flavor. I am differentiating here between language-switching and code-switching as well, the former is a direct mixing of two or more languages and the latter is switching between different englishes (home and academic, etc.). Note also that code-switching is known for some scholars to lead to a segregated and discrete view of languages, distinct from the more qualitative diversifier code-meshing. See Young (2009) and other co-collaborated works referenced in the end.

[29] For example, Pandey (2015), in his *South Asian in the Mid-South*, points out, "we still have few examples of sustained language mixing in educational and community contexts in actual use and analyses of their functions" (p. 21).

if in a varying degree, in my writing in this dissertation.

My argument is not against a translingual approach broadly conceived as a disposition of, and activism for, the openness to language plurality, or code-meshing, that have their allies in everyday language use (World Englishes, AAVE, Nenglish). I am aware that translingual scholars such as Canagarajah (2017) have clarified that translingualism considers all semiotic resources in meaning making: aural, visual, graphic, body and affect, objects, ecology (pp. 450–451). I understand that code-meshing as conceptualized by Young and others aims to do more than eventuate into minimal syntactical meshing, more than a matter of having to choose from among a host of pedagogies instead of exploring rich translingual resources of our students. Yet, the location of translanguaging and the terms in which we ask our students to translanguage strike me sometimes as needing more diversification.

The genealogy of translingual scholarship and activism has traces in the resistance to English monolingualism in the context of U.S., where teachers and educators in the field of language teaching, writing, and literacy of all stripes and academic interests have pushed composition and higher education to read differently the language labor of basic and ESL writers (Horner & Trimbur, 2002). Translingualism in this context is largely a response to multilingual students inhabiting the U.S. composition. What is missed out in this translingual scholarship is the translanguage labor outside what I call "English translingualism" whose locus of language mixing is English or the First World higher education rather than elsewhere. In this context, I anticipate *diversifying*, *everydaying*, and *racing* translingualism beyond the academic, the Western, and whiteliness. Diversifying would mean blending the academic and home languages, what is considered oral and written features, high and low styles; mixing mediums, modes, and genres; and continuing to reread "errors" in the light of changing dynamics of communication

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and new media and technological affordances. Translingual plurality everydayed would mean reaching out to communities and individuals and seeing how language works for them and how we could correct our ways of language and literacy policing. In this light, I recall Young's point, "What these black folks I hear, read, and admire are doing is code-meshing", and his continued faith in "continu[ing] to see in [code-meshing] as the strategic, self-conscious and un-self-conscious blending of one's accent, dialect, and linguistic as they are influenced by a host of folks, environments, and media, including momma, family, peer groups, reading material, academic study, whatever" (pp. 139–140). Moreover, we need to continually *race* not only language but also all other social relations that it participates in.[30] Racing translingualism would mean being aware of the struggles for, difficulties and the risks involved in our desire to have multilingual students to "seamlessly" blend languages, or constantly reflecting on whose purpose it serves, making constant evaluation as to whether it contributes to the goal of changing existing hierarchies.

While I find it more useful to recall Horner's point, in his interview with Lillis, that the question is not one of whether or not and which pedagogy to introduce but that of tapping into the translingual work our students are already doing, I think that there is a need to diversify translingualism from what it currently looks to me to be "English translingualism." Thus, whereas in theory suggestions for actively encouraging language difference are different from what is called the "tolerance approach" (Gilyard), in practice they fall within the rhetoric of allowing differences, as it is with the dominant English that other languages or features are mixed.

Additionally, as a pedagogical exercise, translanguaging is currently limited to narrative

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[30] I use "race" as a verb to refer to the need to be aware of and act on the ways hierarchical relationships racialize our lives.

genres. This is not to suggest that the narrative genre is less than academic writing, far from it.

Yet, traditionally, narrative genres are associated with fluidity and negotiability necessary for

creative, expressive and experimental needs, as opposed to legal documents, technical writing,

and reports that demand genre fidelity or genre integrity. In this context, Perryman-Clark (2013)

observes that genre affordance and their generative and constraining/normalizing capacities are

an important matter to consider in our discussion about language plurality.

As Perryman-Clark writes with an example from her own course,

> the autobiography as a genre was most personal and familiar … and students felt
> most comfortable experimenting with such patterns in more familial contexts.
> One might also assume that students more consciously used Ebonics more in their
> literacy autobiographies because the writing prompt required that they compare
> and contrast their language practices.

Narrative genres are more permissive to code-switching, code-meshing, and

experimentation. "Translingualism across genres" is yet to happen. Even in a most permissive

situation of Perryman-Clark's course, only one student effectively deconstructed genre from a

linguistic point of view. This student "blow[ed] up common misconceptions about AAVE";

"captur[ed] the very essence of AAVE" by merging "words, comics, graphics, among others" to

represent African Americans' past and present; "prov[ed] that AAVE *is not used intentionally*

but is molded in most African Americans' livelihoods" (my emphasis, p. 7). This example

anticipates *re-genring* genres and making them open to reinvention and experimentation, and if

this example teachers us anything it is that our students can re-inform genres and re-design and

re-convene conventions, adding local and geopolitical specificities if there is flexibility and

reward associated to doing so.

Young (2013) addresses a similar concern when he writes,

> Too many teachers still on the one hand praise African American students for
> their creative voice and renderings of black rhetoric when they write poetry but

then condemn those same students when they both *un-self-consciously* and *strategically* employ those same features when speaking to non-black people, particularly white people, or to professionals of any race, or when they produce critical, academic, or journalistic writing. (my emphasis, p. 140)

These examples attest to the reality that as teachers we need and can do more to regard students' efforts and attempts to change how we are normalized to think about and practice language and "use our individual and collective agency to alter the prevailing linguistic prejudice" (p. 145). Young's "mantra" and exhortation to "keep code-meshing, keep-meshing" hinges on his faith and belief that this act or performance has the possibility to pluralize our ways, to change "the *status quo*, not only regarding writing and literacy instruction but also the court of public opinion" (p. 145, p. 140).

In the Euro-American contexts, the argument for pluralizing English is often made to facilitate students' learning of the target language. For example, Canagarajah (2006) argues for pluralizing English citing research indicating that vernacular language "is an asset in the learning of mainstream languages" (cited in p. 592). Other benefits of "valuing varieties" cited include the points that "students can lessen the inhibitions against dominant codes, reduce the exclusive status of those codes, and enable students to accommodate them in their repertoire of Englishes" (Canagarajah, p. 592). After spending several pages arguing for the importance of and need to pluralize English, Canagarajah concludes with a reflection, a confessional note in which he admits, "The extent to which my radicalism extended previously was to argue for alternative tones, styles, organization, and genre conventions in formal academic writing. I have steered clear of validating nativized varieties at the intrasentential level" (p. 613). The reason? "In retrospect, it occurs to me that I was playing it safe in my argument" (p. 613). Having realized that it is the right time for extending his argument of "pluralizing English and academic writing into the 'deep structure' of grammar", Canagarajah adds to the confession,

> I am myself unsure how to practice what I preach… Throughout my I have been disciplined about censoring even the slightest traces of Sri Lankan English in my own academic writing that it is difficult to bring them into the text now. Therefore, this article is only a statement of intent…It only aims to make some space for pedagogical rethinking and textual experimentation on the place of WE in composition. As for practice, I am hereby humbly announcing that I'll be joining my esteemed students in the classroom for learning how to accommodate local Englishes in academic writing. (p. 613).

Canagarajah's difficulty of practicing what he preaches tells us of the extent to which scholars and educators have power to bring about changes they wish and desire, which he would rather leave to "his esteemed students in the classroom". For the thirteen years of this very politely concluded essay, we have seen all translingual scholarship and little radical changes in the direction of how the West receives the Rest. That does mean that all there is left is to despair. It calls for a renewed attention to "hope." Hope, the "necessary condition for justice struggles" (Condon, 2016, p. 4),[31] of what we can do toward the "intellectual labor of future perfect" (Condon, p. 47), we must not lose; to bring about changes to ensure that differences are not merely accommodated but actively *participated-in*. Hope, whether its very wellsprings lie in the need to work for the oppressed (Freire, 1970), or in the prophetic tradition, in the community of sufferers (West, 1997), or in anti-racist, anti-Imperialist activism, what it has in common is the common *shared* vision that the future *can be* better. As West says about hope, subtly distinguishing it from optimism,

> optimism in some sense is sustaining in terms of moving people forward, a belief that tomorrow *will be* a little better than today. But it does not, in my view, compare to what hope is. Hope sustains in the darkest of hours. Hope goes to the core of the human personality, and our common humanity, and the belief that things *can be* better than they are. Hope is something that empowers a people, a nation, all humanity. Optimism is what gets us through to the next day in a narrow, more material sense (emphasis added, West, 1997, pp. 78-79).

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[31] I must admit that an unqualified and somewhat decontextualized use of hope here may run the risk of simplifying the range of philosophical traditions and performative practices underlying hope, with its history in racial struggles, suffering, and the necessary hope for survival. For differently-dominated people hope carries its own historical nuances.

Hope *participates-in*. Unlike optimism, which, for West, is an evidence-based inference that tomorrow will be better than today, and "adopts the role of the spectator", hope

> enacts as the stance of the *participant* who actively struggles against the evidence in order to change the deadly tides of wealth inequality, group xenophobia, and personal despair. … To live is to wrestle with despair, yet never to allow despair to have the last word (emphasis added, West, pp. 12-13).

Hope we need when immigrants, women, and all kinds of minorities continue to be the target of attacks in the so-called civilized worlds, when we are unwilling to open up the artificial borders for dying and fleeing humanity, let alone respecting diversities in all their varieties and expressions. "Dark" and "despair" times demand that we keep hope alive. As Dibesh says— and I will come back to this in the end—"Even today, we HOPE that we came for the opportunity, but where are the opportunities?" This is a different expression of hope, not matching the heart-tearing images we see in news of helpless children crying for life. (This makes me choke and cry with emotion, feeling so helpless that I am a mere spectator. I keep this writing aside until I have finished crying). Yet what Denesh's hope has in common is a hope of a *could* and *should be* future where diversities are not problems to be banned, managed, not even happily accommodated, but be made a part of who and how we are. Together.

Some recommendations

> Your policies are faulty, you have to reconstruct or revise it or restructure the policies. Otherwise there are so many immigrants, they are knowledgeable, they are fruitful, and their knowledge will decay and they will feel agitation and if that happened…It will affect the system as well. (Dibesh, personal communication)

> The immigration policy of the Canadian government is responsible for this.…Nepalese people immigrating to Canada on the skilled worker category, *they have already passed the gate of IELTS while applying for permanent residency. Isn't it the measuring rod of their English proficiency? It it is not, why has the government been validating this test to come to Canada*? (emphasis added, Birat, from "the immigrant narrative" writing)

> How can faculty members, administrators, students, and staff members strengthen our institutions; reaffirm the value of open inquiry and dialogue; and secure academic access and freedom for all, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, and immigration status? We can begin by reexamining our own epistemologies, disciplines, technologies, and organizational and governing structures. (Taylor's question for the 2018 MLA conference theme "#States of Insecurity")

Throughout this research I have been driven by the question of addressing diversity. Chapter One facilitated an understanding of the Nepali "diaspora" in Canada through the lens of raciolinguistics, or the work of the race-language-migration interlock involved in marginalization, minoritization and othering. We listened to the stories of being subject[32] to a new series of tests and trials, systemically, even systematically, being de-credentialed and discredited of the past ("foreign" or the eulogized version "international") qualifications. The various strategies of containment and discouragement participants have recognized include the nonrecogniztion of immigrants' past resources, the mapping of their language and literacy abilities onto existing ideology of standard, and the creation of unnecessary—for some— and endless— for others—barriers for further studies and employment. More importantly, Chapter One allowed us to see the participants redefining the apparently 'negative' semantics underlying the categories of marginalized, vulnerable, and uncanny, as they invite us to appreciate that they embrace the ongoing struggle for survival and existence, see value in challenges, look for opportunities for growth and visibility despite barriers in the way, if also be continually critical of why and how they exist and the consequences undeserved suffering may have for them and for a nation in a long run.

Continuing in Chapter Two, using Foucault's concept of governmentality as a main point of departure, I was able to look at how language, literacy education, and migration policies as historical instrument for assimilation have been further streamlined by neoliberal economy and

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[32] "forced to" is the participant substitute for "subject to"

ideology. Participants' suggested that the demand for homogenous language use in academia and the devaluation of academic credentials and work experience in the Global North can be read as neoliberal governmentality and the dictates of whiteness values implicit in the language and foci of "upgrading skills," "lifelong learning", "Canadian experience", "language proficiency", "entrepreneurialism" and so on.

In Chapter Three, I looked at various additive and discrete approaches to linguistic and cultural difference and what these approaches mean to the theory and practice of difference-based agency. More importantly, this chapter demonstrated the different ways participants resisted and claimed agency despite various social and institutional pressures for conformity. In this chapter, I read participant comments on neoliberal multiculturalism as an additive model of plurality, which, in order for it to be "real" multiculturalism, must respect all meaning-making and semiodiverse acts and potentials, going beyond and above "tolerance"–"permission"– and "representation"–based approach to difference.

In the fourth chapter, finally, I pointed out how the two cases studied resonate with what we discussed in previous chapters. Additionally, I also showed the way these case studies push translingualism to be more diverse, making sure that an argument for mixing does not risk minimal and tokenized versions of mixing and does not reproduce existing language hierarchy and that translanguging can reshape and redesign genres. Suggestions included making translanguaging amenable to writing and communication across genres, thinking outside the language box and beyond the study of what our students do to make meaning in a specifically designed writing assignment— all these to diversify translingualism.

As I conclude, I would like to present participant-suggested recommendations for institutional, systemic and dispositional reconstruction and revision so that these spaces could

better reflect multilingual realities and challenges. One thing to keep in mind is that these recommendations were not premeditated, as they occur in a more or less spontaneous situation. Although I had sent discussion prompts prior to the discussions, no one reported going over them. My point is that, what came out of the discussion and interviews was spontaneous, based on participants' lived-experiences. I concede, therefore, that the recommendations I am summarizing below may not have the same range and specificity as it would have been possible in a more organized environment and with the more time span allowed to respond.

Re-approaching diversity.

One of the main points we discussed in this dissertation relates to how we define diversity and what we make it do for us. From this dissertation, we can draw a tentative conclusion that diversity is not a sum total of acquired repertoires of skills and resources added together discretely and quantitatively. It is a qualitative process that asks us to diversify, interanimate and mutually in-form and re-form our ways of doing, being, meaning and valuing. The question of doing and being-becoming different should not be one of tolerating or permitting, but embracing and celebrating, while also being continually aware of the difficulties *different* people face in navigating centripetal social and institutional desires and expectations. An approach to diversity questions the three extreme desires: the centripetal desire for canonicity and universalization, the centrifugal desire for, and a mistaken faith in, unchecked free-play of differences, and a particularist view of language and culture. It seeks radical diversity in meaning and interpretation, which understands the radical otherness of the other (e.g., Lévinas).

Addressing diversity.

An understanding of diversity as inevitably linked to our being together in the world necessitates that we overthrow the old regime that still insists on a desire and will to *mean*, and

mean for, others. Rather, it begs that we mean together. I tried to do that in this research, working with my participants closely, listening to what they said and making sure those are the things that they said. A view of diversity should be guided by other-centric ethical understanding which recognizes the radical otherness of the other and has no desire to submerge different languages, cultures, and knowledge making (epistemology) into a singular totality.

Participants tell us that that the first step toward addressing diversity lies in minimizing the role of one language to decide the future of people, checking on the power of language to police, discriminate, exclude, and racialize differences.

Let's take an example we discussed earlier. On his reflection, Birat appreciates the fact that he could contribute to class discussion. But he also confesses that he could not be as effective a contributor as he wished, first, due to the language barrier and, then, due to his feeling that he was being evaluated. More importantly, still, Birat points out, "Most of her examples were based on the west which were non-understandable for me with my eastern epistemology." That is, as teachers, it is important for us to create an ambiance for our multilingual students to feel valued. How could the instructor go about doing that? Birat mentions that he "wanted her to talk about the Maoist insurgency of Nepal, poverty and deprivation of many African countries and miserable condition of the Middle East women." An opportunity like this would then make Birat feel more connected to the conversation around oppression that mattered to him.

Birat's writing, which was not written for this dissertation, again, has a lot to teach us as an institution and a teacher. Recall his reflection in which he *educates* us on paying attention to "a historical perspective [as] an important step to understanding why a people like me are the way they are"; recall his point that "[racist] comments like this [even if unintentional] can provide support for ongoing discrimination and exclusion to immigrants"; recall "If we do not

pay attention to [our possibility of returning to the discriminatory ways of teaching], we might simply continue to be part of the oppression and marginalization that English has been for many people since its colonial history."

As Ranju mentioned in her interview, instructors should keep in mind that setting the same evaluative parameters on students who are new to the Western academic environment is unreasonable and this grossly misrepresents, on the one hand, their compositional and interlingual challenges, and on the other, their actual abilities that they will be able to show past a transitional stage, when they may have problems communicating with classmates and professors and participating effectively in the class. Ranju mentioned that writing takes more time for her than it would for her native counterpart, explaining that this processual slowness is a psychological disadvantage at times. As Ranju says, "I knew the answer but could not participate because of language problem" (personal communication, April 7, 2018). Ranju's additional recommendations include:

- Do not give English language so important a role because communication with people takes place "in other forms like gestures"; (shared by Kishor, Himal and Kranti)
- Find other ways to evaluate participation for different speakers, because not participating in class does not mean not knowing or not being willing to participate or not being motivated to learn
- Focus more on the area level expertise, skill and experiences useful in a field. Several other participants also make this point. Recall the immigrant student narrative we analyzed where Birat says, "[i]t is true that English language is important to study and to get job but regarding proficiency matter if anyone demand English language with typical Canadian style, that will be against the norm of inclusion and multiculturalism. *Main things is skills, knowledge and expertise, and these things are not limited within the periphery of English language.*"
- English grammar and proofreading skills have very little to offer to the process of learning. Likewise, avoid too much emphasis on accent and vocabulary level.

PLUARITY, PROMISES AND PRACTICE

- "Canada is multicultural therefore it needs to encourage other languages also."

As we can see, some of these points reaffirm the initiatives of Statement on Second Language Writing and Writers (Revised 2009), which recommends, among other things, not basing programmatic decisions on "race, native-language background, nationality, or immigration status"; adopting a more patient approach to second language writing and writers attempting to communicate; and building on student strengths and resources.

Undoing Eurocentrism.

Participant opinions on adding diversity to our literacy practices included theoretically loaded suggestions such as undoing the deeply entrenched "European bias" (Ram) and "colonial mentality" (Kumar); what is for most participants "white" and "west(ern)" ways; what is for Shohat and Stam Eurocentrism, a collective name for all colonial dominations; what is for Goldberg (2009) "whiteness" (p. 342); what is for Condon (2012) "whiteliness" and the need to fight these values and learn "to be conscious as well as critical of and resistant to racial states of thinking, organizing, being, and doing" (Condon, 2012, p. 17). "Undoing Eurocentrism" entails for our participants *correcting* and *re-evaluating* not "their" grammars and errors and punctuations, but "our" "preconceived notions about students [from the Third World countries] [and] …the erroneous notion of looking at the knowledge produced in the Third World as being inferior to the knowledge produced in the West" (Ram) and (d)evaluating their credentials, potentials and experiences. It entails the realization that "there is not a single universal English", that "students who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, they have resources and they have different ways of conceiving things, ways of looking at things" (Ram, personal communication, May 3, 2016). Undoing whiteness entails an understanding that "racial

determination still structures occupational possibility" (Goldberg, p. 356) and "employability",

as we saw specifically in Chapter One and Two.

The following is Ram's practical breakdown of the theoretical version for making higher

education in the West more welcoming to students and scholars from other worlds:

> There're two approaches that need to be done to address this: the bottom-up approach and the top-down approach. What I mean by bottom-up approach is (a) admit students, (b) accept credentials, (c) don't underestimate the credentials earned by people elsewhere in the developing world; at least give them an opportunity to come to school and study, produce knowledge. The second, top-down approach means hire faculty who are non-native English speakers to accept their knowledge, their views, and their values. (personal communication, May 3, 2016)

Ram insists that academic institutions should not act "as a gatekeeper [who] prevent

people coming to academia". He likes to believe that "[t]his bottom up approach takes long time

but it will happen".

This is a common voice among the participants. Kranti is "always haunted by…

credential assessment system in Canada." He calls it "a *nonsense practice in so-called First*

World" but he does not stop there. He offers his version of course *correction* for the "so-called

First world", in striking similarity with Ram's observation (note that these participants are from

different sites and were not in interaction):

> Students mainly in the bachelor and master degree programs they are [being] prevent[ed from] joining the bachelor degree and master degree program due to language problem or the structural requirement they have constructed. So that is preventing the people to enter into the opportunities. So they should restructure the requirements they have constructed in the first place. Number one.

> Number two, faculty members have to be appointed to judge those so-called Third World country or immigrant people in a different way because they are evaluating people from in a same rank. There should be some reservation…For example, if there are different students from different parts of the world, then the hiring process or the representation of the faculty should be on a [proportionate] ratio. …If there is a multicultural hiring, they should be from the different countries so

that different students from different cultural background would do participate well [and] could [feel] the comfortable. (group discussion)

Himal supports Kranti's second point. He says, "[i]f you go to the classroom, more than 50% students are the immigrants and if we are welcoming to the immigrants, if we are not welcoming their language or their version of language, how could we be the successful institute" (group discussion, February 16, 2016)? Himal's additional practical suggestions for instructors and "writing program designers and coordinators" include "Think about the classroom. Ok whom they are taking? They are Canadian? They are non-native speaker? What is their writing level? What is their reading level? What sort of teacher we are using?"

Real multiculturalism.

Going beyond these, participants triangulate their suggestions in light of Canada's multiculturalism. For example, Kranti's third suggestion is understanding and actualizing "the real essence of multiculturalism":

> Next, most of the professor also should know the real ESSENCE of multiculture. … Or let's say they know the *epistemology* of multiculturalism but they don't know *the ontology of multiculturalism*. They have to have the very good foundation of ontological dimension of multiculturalism. If that happens something might also happen.

What I liked more is his idea of "the ontology of multiculturalism" or a way of thinking of difference *in its own terms*. To reiterate Kranti's intervention into neoliberalist multiculturalism we discussed in Chapter Three, understanding and practicing multiculturalism *really*, not as a "slogan", requires us to know "the essence of multiculturalism", multiculturalism in its "ontological" dimension. At the ontological level (multiculturalism in essence), multiculturalism rises above the surface manifestations and media hype (Dibesh), and the advertisement of Canada as a tolerant and generous country.

Active listening.

Attending to difference includes for Kranti active listening across difference. Kranti adds that if communication is conceived as a work of a "commune" and an act of co-communication, it is not difficult to *understand* each other, "because after all communication is only between the speaker and listener. If there is a communication between them, if there is rapport between them, it's possible, it's not difficult, but people make it difficult" (group discussion). The "difficulty" arises only when people take their privileges as unassailable, destined, and God-gifted; when they think that it is only natural to hold onto a false view of superiority, when the reality is that such senses are actively constructed and naturalized.

Diversifying diversity also entails, if I may make this extension from Kranti's reference to "active listening" to difference to bolster my methodological process, diversifying listening mechanisms. For example, listening to people outside their 'academic' engagements. All cases that I showed from Kranti, to that end, are written outside 'academic writing'. So are the discussions, which, unlike routine formal surveys and end-of-the-term feedback, allows for dissident opinions, some of which we were able to attend to in this research.

De-nationalizing experience.

Dibesh expressed the commonly shared frustration: "How can I have Canadian experience without working, without opening the gate for the opportunity?" All these containing and discouraging measures and subjectification ensure that immigrant occupy "the periphery or rule and regulation constructed through language" (personal communication). Building on this experience, further diversification suggestion includes diversifying "Canadian experience", identified by participants as one of the "big[est] challenge[s] for the immigrants" (Dibesh, personal communication). Participant opinions and other immigrant experiences I cited in the

first three chapters push us to rethink Canadian experience requirement in a way that it can best

serve the country's need as well as newcomers, not the agenda which make the rich further rich,

the poor further poor, and immigrants and minorities subject to further removal from the

opportunity to participate in society as an equal member.

Value all Englishes.

> English is a international language. If we put English as a dialect, I speak some, one dialect of English in Canada. Although I speak my own native Nepali language in my home, to the classroom, colleagues, business, professor as a Canadian immigrant I speak a dialect English. *And every dialect is correct. If English is correct, every dialect should be correct otherwise it couldn't be the language.* Language has the dialect and one dialect, Canadian dialect is correct and another dialect, Nepali dialect, is incorrect; it is not possible. (my emphasis, Himal, group discussion, February 16, 2016)

Participant suggestions for social and dispositional level changes include the need to be

welcoming to difference by valuing negotiation, holding onto a two-way, dialogical relationship,

and being equally polite to immigrants. By "polite" participants are not possibly referring to the

extreme cases we get to hear frequently these days. For example, "If you don't speak English, go

home" and then presenting this racist quip in terms of "I'm not racist, but …'; "I'm not anti-

immigration, but they should learn English" (Driffill, 2016, September 9). In a way "being

polite" makes something of a punch line to the popular image of Canada as a most "sorry"–

apologetic country (Keeler, 2019, January 19). It, then, means being as polite to immigrants as

you are with your own people:

> To make them welcoming, they have to understand that if you want to shake your hand, there needs to be two hands. Only immigrants give hand and you give leg, it will not be the handshake. So in language, they are doing like that. … *Be polite to the immigrant just like you are doing with your own community.* Don't feel they from the different planet and they have the different things. We all human beings are same. We all have different culture. That's why Canada is multiculture. It is the wealth for the Canada. It will be better for the whole world, "Oh Canada is a multicultural country! … It is welcoming." (Himal, group discussion)

Suggestions for career centers and job agencies

"Go beyond the help with resume. We can take care of that part ourselves. We want

some kind of mentorship and linkage that helps" (Paduel, group discussion). Go beyond "the

basic level training" (Birat, writing sample). Participants' experience was that career centers, job

agencies, migration centers, the YMCA and so on give undue priority to preparing and polishing

the resume. They also point out that these are important roles and should be handled by more

knowledgeable individuals.

> As Kranti says,
>
> My colleges, though they are practicing a lot like co-op programs externship and internship and kind of things, but that has mostly been led by student associations rather than colleges itself being involved. …They help us to just make correction like the resume, putting the verb and then avoiding the noun and articles. That was not the actual requirement. (group discussion, February 16, 2016)

And as Birat writes in his immigrant student narrative,

> The training given by immigrant serving organizations such as YMCA is not sufficient. It gives only the basic level training which is insufficient for those people coming on the skilled worker category. In fact, they are already equipped with basic level English speaking and writing. … they need advanced level of training for dealing with their career development in the assigned professional field.

Be a REAL help; research the client.

Another related problem participants identified was that these that these places are not

offering any "real" help.

Once again, Kranti comments:

> They should be the REAL helpers. But they are not. They are not the real helpers. They give you some welcoming package or they distribute their brochures. After that they just register for you and they don't give you clear idea where should we go, what should you do or what did you need. I mean they don't research upon you or don't research the client. (group discussion)

As I mentioned in the beginning of the recommendation section, these participant recommendations are only selective ones. There are more I could further explore and draw further on in continuing conversations with the participants and by looking into their conversations, particularly the oral and written versions. Nonetheless, I was able to highlight some of the important points raised by my participants. As any project, this dissertation needs to be taken only as partial and incomplete, one that requires a constant revisit, as people grapple with 'new' realities of difference and 'new' ways of containing them.

Limitations and thank you note

Before I wrap up, I would like to acknowledge key limitations in this research. To start with, participant opinions were so rich in meaning— with each story deserving a separate study in its own right, at the least meriting more space than I have been able to devote here—that I could not do full justice to the many concerns they have raised. Their conversations cannot be contained in one dissertation and the dissertation of this scope and nature despite my deep desire to go beyond English and alphabetic regime. A multimodal, chronotopic and laminated project would entail a more complex process of representation than a resort to the older ways of doing things. Despite my effort to give participants stories full and undivided attention, to fully let them mean for themselves and co-mean, there was this "interpretive" inexorability which dragged me into relating what they said with what has been said to the extend, at times, that I will be little surprised to be pointed out that my 'authorial voice' was drowned in 'external' sources. While I will say, "so be it", I will humbly respect readers' impression of my work. Perhaps I'd beg to re-evaluate the 'drowning' metaphor we circulate in writing not to be construed as the non-presence of authorial voice but to be adopted as a stance and attempt to

avoid an over-emphasis on the role of self in meaning-making and an inclination to welcome others as co– or more–conversants in the process.

Participants' views on their individual and community identity and the way they see and relate themselves with others may change over time as/if they get better opportunities. Similarly, "language use and modes of identification among diasporic populations shift in different directions across the lifespan" (Bailey, 2007; Choi, 2012; Fader, 2009; Han, 2012). A longitudinal study would help identify these shifting attitudes and diasporic identity formations. Most importantly, however, the low representation of women was something I found troubling from the very beginning. I could not do much to help the situation due to the fact that a majority of Nepali women are taking courses in vocational and technical areas that I thought would deserve a separate study rather than a superficial representation in the form of what Harding (1995) calls the "just add women and stir" approach, in which women represent "dummy variable" (Figat, 1997) accountable only for the so-called research validity.

In conclusion, let's listen meditatively and feel what Dibesh has to say:

> Even today, we HOPE that we came for the opportunity, but where are the opportunities? We are scarifying ourselves hoping that our coming generation will gain the fruit of our sacrifice (very emotional here). So our life is destroyed? Canadian ministry of education is actually creating a kind of illusion. Or even we have ingrained that illusion: "I'm okay, my children will be benefited in the future." So I am killing myself for the sake of ("because of"?) so-called language. So can you judge people only by means of language, that's my big question? Are all the immigrants surviving here for the sake of conducting the job throughout their life? The government should not research the immigrants' potentiality? Is there any institution that has been conducing research regarding the immigrants' potentiality and challenges? I have been here for six years. I haven't seen any institutions conducting research regarding people potentiality, knowledge, attitudes and perceptions about Canada. Thank you for doing this.

I am not sure if the illusion Dibesh refers to—that our children will be benefited in the future—is the work of ideology and the way it shapes how we view our future and what we think

about what is possible and hope-able; I am not sure if the question "Are all the immigrants here for the sake of conducting the job throughout their life?" is related to neoliberal ideology of "lifelong learning" and being in the "transition industry"; I am not sure if to say "We are scarifying ourselves hoping that our coming generation will gain the fruit of our sacrifice" is HOPE for a better future; Debesh's uncertainty about whether or not the government has conduced serious research on immigrants is less important here—we are not fact checking his assertion or opinion; after all we know that the Global North is research rich— than his emotion and tone. What I am sure is of the truth of his emotion and the truth of his feeling and the reality underlying the "big question": "Can you judge people only by means of language." He and I are certain, however, that more needs to be done in research to listen to people's stories and to find more moments of mutual thankfulness like Dibesh has shown, and offered. If this research is worth a thank you at all, it was this—giving people a space to voice their concern. What matters 'at the end of the day' is *not*, in the manner Kumar posed this problem in group discussion, whether you are given a space to speak, but whether or not you are heard. That is the question. All I can do right now is to thank you in return for listening to stories of differences, of the different, marginalized, vulnerable, uncanny, untranslated and *valuable*.

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Appendix A: Interview and discussion prompts

1. Tell me about your academic experience in Canada.
2. What are your perceptions of what your had and what you lacked as you moved to Canada, and your plans and strategies of making use of what you had? Your plans and strategies of making up for what you lacked? (adapted from Wang, 2011, p. 357).
3. What are the benefits to you of being a multilingual speaker? What are the drawbacks?
4. Think back to the last time(s) you were specifically excited or challenged in writing or communicating. What was the experience like?
5. What, in your opinion, are the positive and negative consequences of your perceived and real differences on:
   a. what you speak and write;
   b. how you speak and write; and
   c. how you represent and identify yourself?
6. If you had a chance to give advice to the director of the program or school you are in, what advice would you give? What suggestions do you have for institutions of higher education in general or any other literacy and cultural mediators (such as multicultural center, working centers, immigration service agencies, job agencies)?

Appendix B: Case study interview prompts

1. What's the hardest thing about studying at this university? What problems are you having related to your studies? How are you trying to solve them?
2. Tell me about the writings and discussions you are doing in your classes. What is challenging about the writings and discussions? What is easy?
    a. Describe something [hard] you did unsuccessfully. Describe what may have made it unsuccessful
    b. Describe something [hard or easy] you did successfully. Describe what may have made it successful. (1-2 adapted from Leki and Carson, 1997, p. 68)
3. What kinds of feedbacks and comments do you generally receive in your writing? How do you feel about the feedbacks and comments you receive?
4. What kind of writing required you to do multiple revisions and rethinking? Why?

Appendix C: Themes representing Toronto discussion
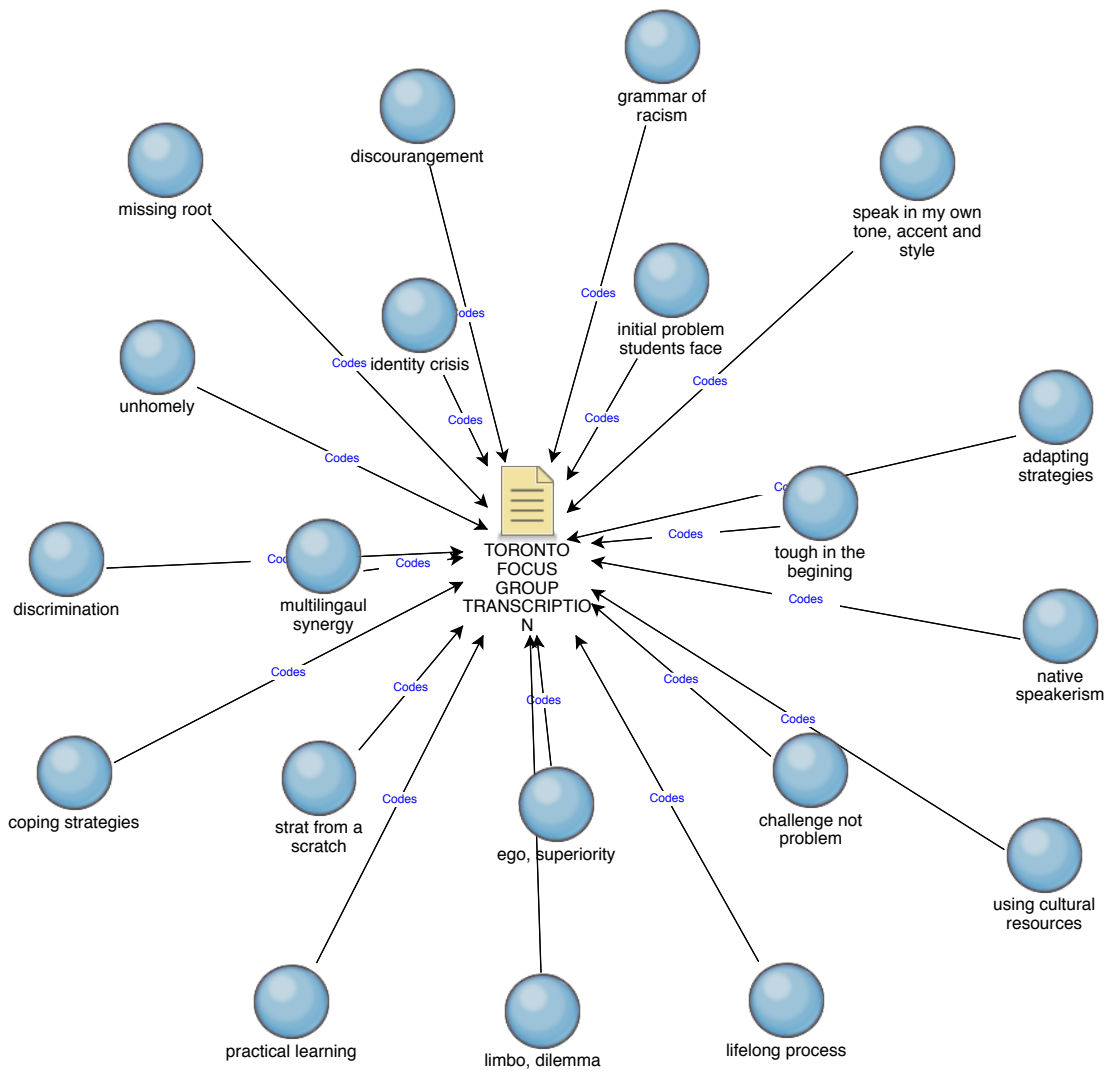
Appendix D: Themes representing Waterloo discussion
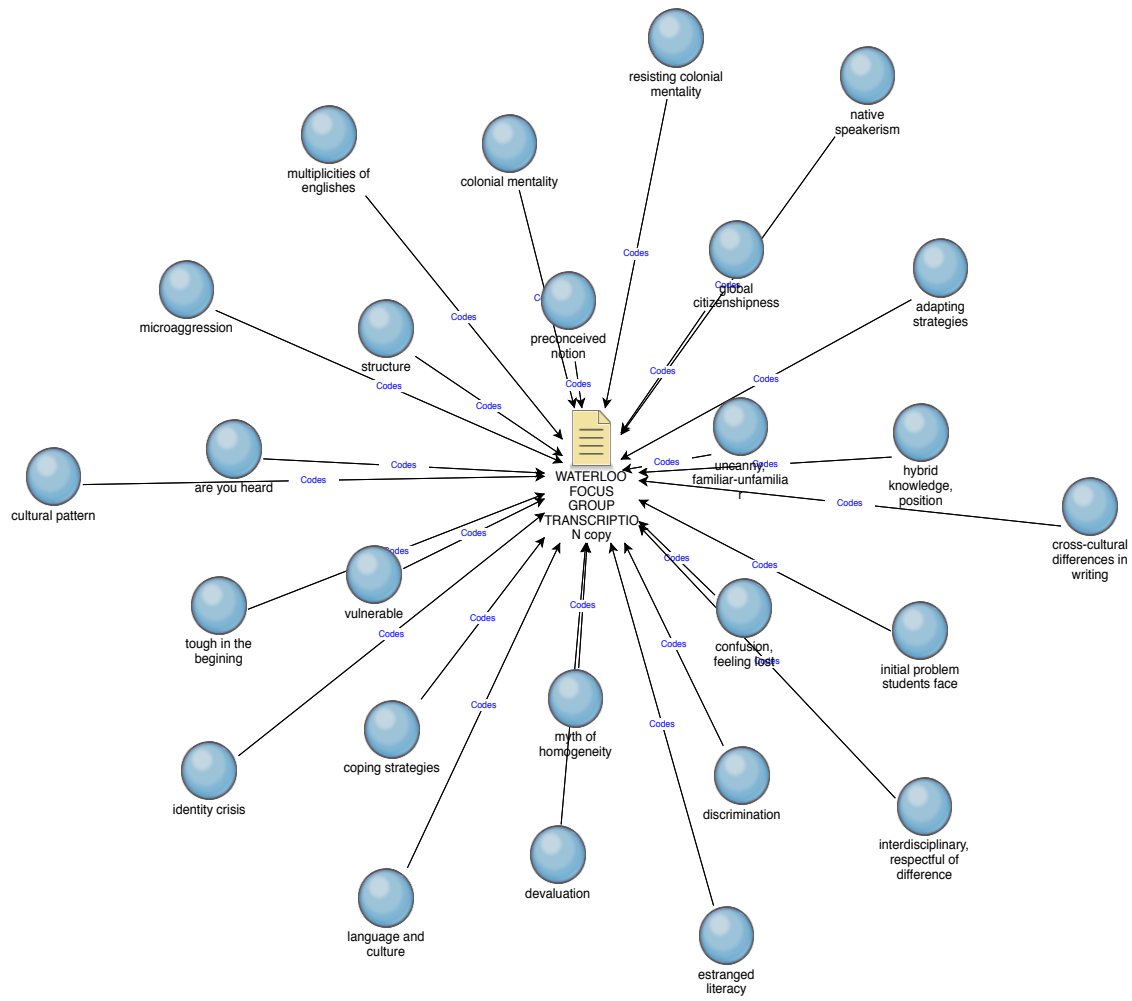
Appendix E: Horner and Lu (2007), "Resisting Monolingualism"

Approach	Status given difference	Explanation of difference	Pedagogy aims and means	Value assigned EAE
Eradicationist	• Error	• Ignorance • Indifference	• Eradicate error • Eradicate error maker	• Correct writing
Second-language	• Interlanguage	• Mediation of writing • Idiosyncratic rules • Proofreading habits	• Diagnose and treat idiosyncrasies • Teach editing	• Correct • 'Target' language
Accommodationist	• Discourse clash	• Ambivalence to dominant Discourse • Discourse interference	• Translation from unprivileged to privileged Discourse	• Dominant • 'Power' Discourse
Multilingual	• 'Code-meshing' • Discourse-blending	• Strategic design to create new discourses	• Development of language and languages	• False ideal • Contingent