DISCOURSE PERTAINING TO IMMIGRANTS & REFUGEES BY THE
TRUDEA LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

To explore discourses pertaining to immigrants and refugees introduced by the Trudeau Liberal Government elected in 2015. This study employs qualitative methodology in the form of discourse analysis of 9 speeches made by the Liberal Party's speakers. This study has two main objectives to first conduct a directive discourse analysis to analyze the presence of neoliberal discourses found within the Harper Conservative Government: *economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles, security threat* within the discourse of the Liberal Party's speakers. The second objective is to discover new ways of thinking about immigrant and refugees by conductive an exploitative discourse analysis.

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Introduction:

Political discourse, as well as any discourse is not value free; words projected onto an audience by political leaders who constitute an expert opinion within their own realm have the ability to establish an emotional regime within a state (Fetzer and Weizmann 2006; Westergren and Jansson 2013). Political leaders play on emotions of the electoral, as well as themselves, engage in performance of feelings and sentiments through the use of language. Emotional regime can be sociologically defined as conscious or subconscious knowledge about how to react to certain situations emotionally and when it is appropriate to do so (Westergren and Jansson 2013). With respect to the politics, emotional regime pertaining to certain issues or social groups is socially constructed through the usage of language, images and other means, which the electoral is socialized into, in a similar way that every individual is socialized from an early age to generate appropriate emotions in different social contexts.

As endorsed by sociology of emotions, sentiments construct the cognitive reality, meaning emotion or emotional regime is a catalyst for social relations and how one interpreted and come stop understand and think of a particular group or social context (Watergren and Jansson 2013). Politicians heavily rely on exporting emotional out-charge via their messages and words in order to frame electoral attitudes around particular topics and issues. Politicians construct their own emotions regime to spur further political action. In that sense, words positioned in a particular order have an intention to impact the cognitive processes of the electoral. According to Barbalet (1998), attitudes is a politically correct term for emotions, where the term attitude implies more of a cognitive rather than purely emotional stance on an issue (Watergren and Jansson 2013). Why it is important to think about political discourse as

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emotionally charged or in other words conveying attitudes is because these attitudes through the virtue of power and status instilled in the political figures can become encompassing and turn into ideologies of the entire nations.

The importance of studying political discourse can be consequently justified by the power instilled in it. Kemper suggests that in the context of power of the political discourse, the power shall be conceptualized as "power over people" (Watergren and Jansson 2013, p. 427). This power imbalance in the hands of the politicians produced through unequal access to resources and social status does not only suggest that the political discourse should not be taken lightly, but also that a discursive language translates into written policies and state legislations, that have very real consequences electorally. To provide an example, the shift in discourse towards individual responsibility, individual rights and emancipation during the era of Thatcher and Reagan acted as a precursor to neoliberal state, and ultimately of get tough on crime and immigration policies (Davison and Shire 2015). The classification and labelling of certain groups of people or issues by the state is realized through the process of creating knowledge and realities through utilizing particular language, as well as images which in consequence creates new ways or frames of thinking. This closely resonates with the Foucault's power-knowledge nexus, where power is established and reaffirmed through the production of knowledge, which becomes the truth for the general public (Ibrahim 2005). Having access to the production of knowledge and resources provides the support for action and is an extension of power which is greatly relied upon by many political parties.

Historically, since the very start of the Canadian immigration, there has been a great variation in the construction of desirable and undesirable classes of immigrants, as a

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consequence of the dominant discourses, consisting of politicians and other authoritative voices and more recently, the mass media. In addition, the variability of these discourses suggests that the labelling of immigrants is not true in itself, and must be understood as a social construct in order to affirm a certain political agenda. For instance, during the initial settlement of the Canadian West, dating as far back as 1870s, immigration fell under the responsibility of the federal minister of Agriculture, whose sole responsibility was to facilitate immigration of white farmers into the Canadian prairies (Kelley and Trebilcock 2010). The discourse back then pertaining to immigrants centred arounds capable and incapable agriculturalist. Shifting focus towards early 1900s, the discourses around desirable or undesirable immigrants laid out the basis for recruitment of only white immigrants. The Immigration Act of 1910, explicitly denied immigration to racialized groups from non-traditional source countries on the basis that immigration would be prohibited to "immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada or immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character who came to Canada other than by the continuous journey (Kelly and Trebilcock 2010, p. 139). Once again, in late 1940's, immigration policy of Canada shifted focus to screening out any immigrants from the East Bloc due to the Communism scare prevalent in Canada and the U.S. at that time (Kelly and Trebilcock 2010). These examples, to name a few, of various immigration policies throughout the Canadian history demonstrate the variation in political discourse around immigrants, ranging from white agriculturalist from traditional source countries in order to construct a white homogenous nation and further having immigration guided by the "Red Scare". In the context of American politics, immigration has also been heavily influenced by political discourse and the deployment of anti-immigrant attitudes has been used to justify the

retrenchment of the welfare state in the 1970s through the 1990s (Chang 2000). Immigrants, in particularly immigrant women of colour were referenced in the politics as "baby machines" and "welfare queens" (Chang 2000). These frames were used to elevate the publics' emotional resentment towards immigrants, especially those of colour. These examples act to demonstrate that what needs to be problematized is that a lot of "immigrant problems" throughout the history have been and presently continue to be socially constructed and emotionally charged through the deployment of persistent political discourse. Thus, the study of the use of words by the political leaders allows one to see immigration through the lens of the state, and consequently through the lens of the elite and the status quo.

Having discussed the importance of political discourse, and the need to study it, as discourse has the power to create and influence social landscape of entire nations, it is imperative to shift focus to the current research problem pertaining to immigration within the more current political environment. The literature review will be used to demonstrate some of the discourses implemented by the Canadian state under the neoliberal governance. While it will contend that most of these discourses were brought into public focus by the Harper Conservative government, neoliberal approaches to immigration policy pre-date this time. The research problem seeks to cover if there are changes in discourse introduced by the new Liberal Government in relation to immigration policy that shifts away from neoliberal framework.

Currently, what is evident from the existing research is that the Harper Conservative Government has shifted the emotional regime of the country towards what can be conceptualized as the "bounded community", where "similarity, familiarity and tradition" and hostility to strangers and newcomers is prioritized (Wattergren and Jansson 2013, p. 425). Cosmopolitanism

which stands on the other side of the spectrum, embraces modern globalization, easy flow of people, ideas, goods and services and cultural diversity (Wattergren and Jansson). Clearly, cosmopolitanism is still a big part of Canadian values as it is instilled in the notion of Multiculturalism. However, as argued by some academics, cosmopolitanism exists in Canada primarily as a function of economic diversity, not social inclusion. As argued by Nandita Sharma, embracing cosmopolitanism has allowed Canada to built trade relations with foreign investors and overall functions to increase the global wealth and status of Canada (2011).

The Conservative party began a re-branding process in 2003 by firstly dropping the Progressive element from its title in order to resonate with more conservative, traditional values (Marland and Flanagan 2013). While "progressive" and forward thinking principles would be maintained, the word Conservative was meant to make a stronger statement about party position. Conservative Party made strong emphasize on arousing patriotism and nationalism of Canadians by drawing on values of "military, monarchy, the Arctic, sport." (Marland and Flanagan 2013, p. 963). What is problematic about these concepts is that it more closely resonates with white protestant Anglo-saxon culture. This presents a rather narrow definition of Canadian nationalism and pushes multiculturalism to the background of the Canadian value system, while placing emphasize on the idea of the "bounded community". On the other hand, the Liberal Party has come out with a strong platform in the recent elections that aims at remembering that "Canada has a strong history of helping those in need, from Hungarian refugees in the 1950s to Ismaili Muslim refugees in the 1970s to those fleeing South East Asia by boat in the 1970s and 1980s." ("Syrian Refugees" Liberal Party of Canada 2016). Thus, researching the discourses utilized by   Liberal political leaders, MPs and other partisan representatives on the matter of

immigration does not only present a new line of research given the very recent Liberal win in the federal election, but also allows to explore whether or not a new emotional regime or more of genuine cosmopolitanism is being promoted in relation to Canadian values and promises.

Research Problem:

In general, this research will explore the discourses pertaining to immigrants disseminated by the recently elected Federal Liberal Government. For the most part this study will take on an explorative nature, given the short time period the Liberals have been in the office and any changes proposed to the immigration policy are in their early stages. Another area of insight is whether or not discourse around economic burdening, securitization and refugees will take on a less of a neoliberal tone or will this line of thinking prevail with the new government. even with the election of a new party. The latter research objective will help address the question of whether or not neoliberalism is more closely tied with the Conservative Party or whether it is pervasive in the logic of the Liberal Party as well.

Conceptual Framework:

The conceptual frameworks as well as more specific concepts introduced in this section will provide a deeper theoretical backdrop to the research problem looking at discourses pertaining to immigration. Before emerging into more macro social theories such as neoliberalism, it is imperative to talk about what is a discourse and the power of discourse. Discourse can be understood as lexical form of communication. Political discourse as defined by Fetter and Weizman constitutes communicative behaviour through text or talk (2006). However

this definition can be applied to mostly any discourse. What distinguishes political discourses from discourses found in mundane life is that political aspect of it closely intertwines discourse with power and status. As earlier mentioned, discourse is a form of power given political actor's expert status to have a real influence on the audience (Wettergren and Jansson 2013). In addition, Dupuis-Deri in his analysis of pro-democratic discourses identifies that politicians are in the "struggle for monopoly", in the sense that they aim to establish an ownership of particular words that will resonate with them and allow them to appropriate certain political issues (2004). Thus, in looking at the discourses coming from the Trudeau's government, the attention will be placed both on text and talk; as well a distinction will be made between positive and negative language pertaining to immigration.

This research will heavily rely on neoliberal ideology in order to rationalize some of the changes introduced by the Harper Conservative Government in the recent years in relation to the Canadian Immigration policy. However, what must be made clear is that the shift towards neoliberal mode of governance is not solely a Conservative Party phenomenon. As provided by Abu-Laban and Gabriel, Liberal governments' record of social inclusion and spending on social welfare has been in a decline since the 1990s and many cuts have been made to minority-group organizations and other inclusion-based initiatives by the Liberal party (2002). This suggests that, although neoliberalism more closely resonates with the political platform of the right wing parties, rather than centralist parties; neoliberalism must be regarded as an encompassing ideology extending its logic to policy design regardless of partisan platforms.

Neoliberalism can be identified as both an economic and a political ideology. Neoliberal ideology introducing self-regulating and self-functioning economy gave rise to a stronger

corporate body and a shrinking welfare state in the 1970s (Castles 2013). Drawing on the works of economists like Adam Smith, it was presumed that in the environment of globalization, self-regulating and liberated economy will be best able to achieve capital expansion. As Flynn and Bauder identify that these macro level changes in the mode of governance and global economy have changed the traditional role of the state from being actively involved in public redressed through civil engagement and welfare provisioning towards shifting this responsibilities to private entities and other self-governing bodies (2015). Thus, neoliberalism promotes greater self-governance in the hand of the civic society, assuming that their autonomy to self-regulate will translate into greater efficiency, innovation and overall increase the quality of life in the capitalistic state - all while reducing state expenditure.

What came with neoliberal logic is a new way of talking and thinking about social issues and different populations (Lehman, Anisette and Aguemang 2016). The application of market mentalities of efficiency onto social spheres of life assumes individuals as self- responsible and self-emancipated actors in charge of their own wellbeing (Lehman et al. 2016). While the literature review will go in much greater depth about neoliberalism and its impact on immigration, it is important to introduce the rationale behind what will be introduced as neoliberal terminology: concepts such as *economic burden, reinforced gender roles and security threat.*

Economic burden, under the neoliberal governance is widely used in reference to the vulnerable populations such as women, minorities, immigrants and disabled. Neoliberalism assumes that almost everyone through hard work-ethic and enough aspiration can elevate their human effort and capital in order to succeed in the society. Human capital refers to professional

skills, education and other types of knowledge that can yield as economic return (Ogbuagu 2012). Neoliberalism can also be understood in terms of a meritocracy, where one's success is not predetermined from birth, but is obtained through their skills and knowledge gained through the endless opportunities provided for all in the free capitalistic society (Sharma 2011). Thus, economic burden resonates with those individuals who have failed to grasp onto these opportunities and that failure is conceptualized as their own personal failure rather than the inability of the society to provide equitable redress to those who are systemically excluded from certain life opportunities as a result of class, race, gender or disability (Davison and Shire 2015). Arguably, the idea that the success is determined through personal merit is true to some extent, however the extent that it is used today creates a problem of shifting the discourse away from identifying and eradicating structural inequalities (Davison and Shire 2015).

In addition, while neoliberalism at one level favours labour market participation of both men and women, at the same time it shifts issues of socialization and rearing children further towards being thought of as the sole responsibility of the nuclear family. In light of the retrenching welfare state since the 1990s and cost-cutting initiatives in the field of social reproduction spheres (education, heath care and child care), women are further perpetuated into gendered roles and gendered division of labour (Chang 2000). Reinforcement of traditional gender roles means that women are assumed to be the natural bearers of social reproduction and domestic work. Thus, while neoliberalism promotes equal emancipation of men and women, through the virtue of cost-cutting to many spheres of social assistance, women and especially immigrant women or women of colour are unable to compete on the same playing field as men, which consequently challenges the idealism of the meritocratic society. Women, just like other

vulnerable populations continue to be assessed on the basis of the same merits as men or women of the dominant class where the difference in their abilities to gain access to these merits is not recognized in neoliberal society.

Lastly, the term of security threat in the context of neoliberal environment has taken on a very prominent political platform. While more will be said about the securitization framework, especially in the context of the Harper Conservative Government in the litterer review. It must be mentioned that for the purpose of this research paper, securitization refers to the security of the Canadian borders and the security threat is conceptualized as a threat against the dangerous "Other". Fear of the Other has prevailed in the context of the 9/11 aftermath, where cultural difference and more specifically Islam is seen as detrimental to the Western way of life (Ibrahim 2005). Moreover, terrorism has been much too narrowly defined in the West to disproportionately target Muslim youth. The amplified association between terrorism and Islam, integrates racial and cultural element within the Western understanding of terrorism. This conceptualization has been far removed from its international definition "*as politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience*" , where anyone can be capable of committing these acts (Burns 2011 p 4). Thus, in the context of Canadian immigration, securitization discourses are usually used in reference to individuals who are racially or culturally different from the West and these discourses are used to justify a more stringent border control.

These neoliberal, market-oriented mentalities have been adopted by the Harper Conservative Government in the recent years, which will be demonstrated in the literature review in more detail. Coming back to the cosmopolitanism versus bounded community emotional

regimes, which were previously defined, it can be argued that the discourses of economic burden, reinforcement of gendered division of labour and securitization of the borders fall within the bounded community framework which proliferates the *Us vs. Them* mentality. The othering of vulnerable populations, especially immigrants on the basis of economic, social, cultural and physical difference contradicts the cosmopolitanism which is formally embraced in Canadian symbols of Multiculturalism.

Literature Review:

Neoliberalism as an ideology is encompassing, it "colonizes many spheres of human life" (Lehman, Anisette and Agyemang 2016, p. 44). Neoliberal ideology stems from a belief that prioritizes a retrenchment of the welfare state in place of self-regulating market economy (Shields, Drolet and Valenzuela 2016). The liberalism underlying the neoliberal logic extends not only to the spheres of market economy but promotes such values as individual freedom, liberation from the oppressive state and places emphasize on rights and self-emancipation. In Canada, the breadth of neoliberalism has touched upon every sphere of social life, including immigration policy. What has been the Canadian immigration model founded on social inclusion, two-way integration approach, multiculturalism and humanitarian aid is disappearing under the preview of neoliberal logic (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012). The current discourses on Canadian immigration policy place that "economic values be held over humanitarian values when it comes to selecting immigrants…" (Howard Duncan as cited in Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012, p. 50). This "frame of thinking" and the juxtaposition of economic values versus humanitarian can be

analyzed through a variety of policy changes, some incremental and some more apparent in nature. The purpose of this literature is to demonstrate the way neoliberal logic operates through the language within the Canadian immigration policies on a macro level. As well, a more concrete policies will be discussed such as changes to family reunification, human smuggling laws and others to demonstrate a more definite shift away from the traditional Canadian values towards "rebranding of Canada into a conservative country" (Chapnick 2011, p. 20).

Prior to analyzing the shift towards more neoliberal mode of governance, it is imperative to provide evidence of the period in the Canadian history of a more comprehensive approach to immigrant inclusion into the social fabric of the country (Biles et al. 2011). In the post WWII period, the federal government took on a role of the welfare state and provided various forms of social inclusion and assistance, not only to newcomers, but to all groups needing equitable recognition. In addition, the state recognized the advocacy role of the civil rights organizations and many social inclusion programs were fully funded by the federal government (OCASI 2016, Biles at al. 2011). At this time, "state-sponsored anti-racism and multi-cultural programmes (could) also be identified as contributing explanations for Canada's uniqueness" (Black and Hicks 2008, p. 243). To list a few, the federal and the provincial governments passed the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (1982), Fair Accommodation Practices (1954), Multicultural Service Program Grants (1985), and English-as-a-Second-Language supports (Biles et al. 2011). In addition, in the post-war period, "a pro-immigration stance served electoral purposes, for the Liberal Party, which was able to use its policies while in government to establish partisan loyalty among the immigrant and minority communities" (Black and Hicks 2008, p. 245). An increase in immigrant-based electoral and the public's positive inclinations

towards immigrants compelled the government away from utilizing immigration as a wedge issue and towards a more inclusive immigration policy.

However, following the period of economic restructuring in the late 1980s and early 1990s has resulted in privatization and downloading of many of the civic responsibilities previously held under the scope of governmental authority into the hands of third-sector providers (Flynn and Bauder 2015; Shields 2013). An emergence of a right-wing Reform Party (part of the modern day Conservative Party of Canada) in the 1980s and early 1990s brought forth a new discourse around immigration policy (Black and Hicks 2008).

"This party explicitly advocated that Canada cut back sharply on the number of immigrants being admitted and focus more on immigrants who could contribute economically, thus challenging the existing "balanced" approach that also included relatively sizeable admissions for sponsored family members and refugees." (Black and Hicks 2008, p. 246).

This approach underpinned by the neoliberal logic, brought forth a new discourse focusing on the economic contribution of immigrants. The decline of the Keynesian welfare state and a more neoliberal approach to the role of the state in the 1990s established a new political regime with a heavy emphasis on the market-based mentalities and liberalized economy. The reduction in state expenditure of social provisioning established economic capabilities of immigrants as the pivotal aspect of their successful integration. In light of the reduced role of the state, "Canada's recent immigration approach has transferred a substantial amount of the immigrant selection and recruitment process to third parties, aiming to strengthen Canada's economy and global competitiveness" (Canada's Economic Action Plan 2013; Bauder 2006 as cited in Flynn and Bauder 2015, p. 539). This shift away from federal systemic redress and funding of immigrant and other groups' social inclusion under the neoliberal logic of cost saving, privatization and

innovation can be conceptualized as the beginning of a renegotiating of the relationship between the state and the civil society in Canada.

One of the main critiques of the neoliberal approach to immigration as is conceptualized by Lehman and colleagues is that the application of neoliberal logic and market mentalities obstructs immigration away from a human and social phenomenon into something quantifiable (2016). Neoliberalism has been "pushing metrics into more and more areas" (Lehman, Anisette and Agyemang 2016, p. 44). Thus, immigration has become something that can be measured, audited and made accountable. All these mechanism make immigration policy more economically manageable with the goal to ensure that the federal expenditure on immigration is kept minimal.

Lippert and Pyykkonen (2012) argue that the neoliberal logic of cost-saving and "hollowed welfare state" places a disproportionate emphasize on human capital discourses in the Canadian politics (Shields et al. 2016). Human capital in reference to immigration implies to the level of skill, education, professionalism and language efficiency processed by an individual. Human capital is measured tangibly based on the Points-Based-System (PBS) and in that regard subjects immigrations within the realm of metrics and marketization. The "economization" of immigration and the prioritization of economic and skilled classes of immigrants over refugees and family class creates an immigration policy more attuned to the demands of the flexible market economy in place of the humanitarian mandate to grant state protection to the victims of the global crisis (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012). For instance, the announcement made by the Conservative government in February of 2011 to reduce the intake of family class and refugees in place of economic class was justified on the basis that "parents will remain subject to the

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'excessive costs on health or social services" (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012, p. 49). This public statement is consistent with the overall mandate of attracting the best and the brightest immigrants, those who can make an immediate contribution to the Canadian economy through labour market participation (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012). While, "excessive costs" or "economic burden" is commonly used in reference to those immigrants that constitute undesirable class and fall outside the economic and skilled class of immigrants. Emphasize on such discourse demonstrates a clear political platform where "economic values be held over humanitarian values when it comes to selecting immigrants and that Western 'easy-to-integrate' immigrants and nuclear families be given preference over extended families" (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012, p. 50).

The facilitation of skilled immigrants by the Conservative government and the heavy emphasize placed on transferable skills and knowledge supports the "economization" of immigration argument posed by many academics, as it allows for the immigrant's human capital to be measured, assessed and in consequence holds an immigrant accountable for their own success in the Canadian economy. This need for more flexible and self-sufficient immigrants who can fare well in the knowledge based economy is reflected in the Points-Based-System (PBS) where immigrants' suitability is evaluated based on their human capital, which conceptualizes immigrants in terms of their exchange value rather than the social value they bring to Canada.

The PBS and the changes introduced to it in 2001 with the passage of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act aim to recruit the most skilled immigrants based on objective, merit based approach in order to meet the demand of the growing knowledge based economy. The CIC

website explicitly states that those applicants will be selected and granted permanent residency who "based on their education, work experience, knowledge of English and/or French, and other criteria that have been shown to help them become economically established in Canada" (CIC 2012 as cited in Anwar 2014, p. 173). While the Points Based Assessment has though to eradicate racial biases present in previous Canadian policies where immigrations was explicitly closed to non-whites in order to preserve the founding Anglo-saxon and European ethnical make up of Canada. However, the current focus on "economic establishment" and the great number of points allocated to education (25 points), work experience (15 points), language (28 points) and other forms of tangible capital (capital that can yield a tangible (monetary) gain in the labour market) closely resonates with the neoliberal ideology of self-responsible immigrant and "hallowed welfare state" (Anwar 2014, Shields et al. 2016). The application of PBS is meant to create a standardized and reliable system of immigrant selection, once again confirming the idea that neoliberalism has been "pushing metrics into more and more areas" (Lehman, Anisette and Agyemang 2016, p. 44). The PBS also awards different points on the basis of age, with the most points awarded to age bracket between 21 -49 (Anwar 2014). This is rationalized on the basis of human productivity in the labour market, where younger individuals will be able to contribute economically longer and are expected to cause less drainage on social and health resources (Anwar 2014). Such justification, although neutral if assessed on the basis of market mentalities conflates ideas about undesirability with economic drainage, age, health and ultimately normalizes this type of exclusionary thinking.

However, PBS founded on objectivity and merit-based approach does not necessary translate in successful integration and incorporation of immigrants into the Canadian labour

market and society and even those selected under the economic and skilled category face challenges and exclusion (Lehman et al. 2016). Points scored do not translate into equal incorporation of professional immigrants of colour into the Canadian labour market (Ogbuagy 2012). Ogbuagy argues that it is not the lack of skill or professionalism that excludes professional immigrants from the labour market but it is race, gender and other minority characteristics such as accents and dialect that excludes them from equal incorporation. This suggest that, even though Points Based Assessment strives for neutrality through merit-based evaluation of immigrant, it conceals more latent forms of discrimination present in the PBS itself and post-migration lives of many immigrants. In Canada, only quarter of principle applicants are women, while women remain over represented (59%) within the family class of immigrant (Raghuram and Kofman 2004, p. 96; Arat-Koc 1999, p. 37). This discrepancy reveals the concealed bias present within the PBS or the human capital approach applied immigration selection. PBS is presented as gender and race neutral, (the human capital theory itself adopts a colour-blind approach to immigration, where every applicant is assessed on the same merit) not accounting for their differential access to the same life opportunities within their countries of origin, reveals structural biases. Even through, discussions on gender, race and sexual orientation is excluded from immigrant selection process, these factors can have adverse consequences in hindering individuals' opportunities to immigrate from certain parts of the world. In that sense many academics claim that the neoliberal state through mechanisms like PBS constructs an ideal immigrant along gendered and racial stereotype lines, where someones gender, skin colour, sexual orientation and other non-merit characteristics act as a precursor to their acceptance into the Canadian society (Gabriel 2006; Arat-Koc 1993; Raghuram and Kofman 2004).

There is also a suggestion that the reason for immigrants' hardships lies within the adaptation of neoliberal mode of governance and privatization of the labour market (2012). The main area of exclusion appears when "credentials, skills, training and employment experience must be evaluated by licensing professional bodies, which always, as if by default, deem the international credentials and work experience of immigrant professionals inadequate, unacceptable, or inferior to those of the Canadian counterparts" (Goldberg 2000 as cited in Ogbuagy 2012, p. 2). This account suggests that the privatization of the labour market through increase in registration requirements, licensing bodies and other mechanism of professionalization create underemployment even amongst the economic class of immigrants for reasons of discrimination based on race, gender and other characteristics. While on one hand, privatization of the labour market is supposed to promote competition, efficiency and innovation, on the other hand it results in deregulation of private labour markets and removes it from the oversight of the state and other regulatory bodies such as the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (Ogbuagy 2012). This presents an account of the gap within the state discourse that favours neoliberal mode of governance, in the sense that, while neoliberalism encourages the acceptance of skilled class of immigrants, at the same time it fails to provide the necessary social-net programs to support their integration process. The onus placed on self-sufficiency and resposibilization, accompanied by dismantling of Employment Equity Act (Ontario), the Anti-Racism Secretariat and the reduction in funding allocated to Access to Trades and Professions by the Harper Conservative Government significantly reduces the chances of inclusion even for those deemed economically suitable to succeed in Canada (Biles et al. 2011).

Furthermore it is imperative to discuss covert forms of exclusion present in the neoliberal discourse of self-responsibilization, economic capability and self-reliance. Davison and Shire argue that the neoliberal political discourse since the times of Tatcher and Reagan has shifted away from addressing structural inequality towards placing emphasize on equal rights and self-emancipation of marginalized groups (2015). The elimination of racialized discourse from state policies and marginal issues from state expenditure does not all of a sudden eliminate these issues, but instead runs the danger of proclaiming the state to be colour-blind. "New minority professional migrants to Canada endure significant transition penalty for reasons that are far from their educational qualifications, knowledge, skills and language" (Ogbuagu 2012, p. 5). Critical race theorists challenge colour-blindness on the basis that it solely creates an illusion of equality through adaptation of non racist political language and merit-based approaches that only act to conceal latent forms of racism and other forms of discrimination (Emerson 2013). In Canada, the adaptation of such discourses as economically capable, productive, non-burdensome and many more as the basis for immigrants' success in the host society abstracts other factors grounded in race, gender, class and sexual orientation that act as a grounds for exclusion.

The colour-blindness of neoliberal political discourse shifts the focus away from the perpetrator of the inequality such as the corporate elites and the shrinking, greedy state, towards the victim, which is the minority (Davison and Shire 2015). Neoliberal meritocracy, which similarly to colour-blindness suggests that anyone through hard work ethic can achieve success regardless of their race, gender and other characteristics, is detrimental to addressing the inequalities that minorities continue to face in the modern society (Davison and Shire 2015). In addition, Arat-Koc puts forth a similar argument, stating that the neoliberal discourse erases

certain issues such as gender inequality from the political discourse on the premise that we live in a post-feminist society (2012). Arat-Koc's research interest lies in looking at the techniques utilized by the neoliberal state in framing minority issues (2012). For instance the neoliberal state abstains from discussing gender inequality present in Canada, the start of which, she argues can be observed through the dismantling of the Canadian Women's Movement in the 1980s, while creating what she calls hyper-visibility in the media around Muslim women (Arat-Koc 2012).

The recent discourses around gender and race under the neoliberal logic transfers the responsibility for social inclusion away from the state and onto marginalized communities themselves, which is inconstant with Canadian social values of Multiculturalism and social inclusion. In addition, this approach removes Canada further away from multicultural incorporation towards assimilation of ethnic groups where once again the onus is placed on them to adapt to Canadian culture and way of life. One of the main rationales for the abandonment of these initiatives pertains to neoliberal mode of governance and Canada's initiatives to maximize the accumulation of global capital and human capital in order to enhance global competitiveness

The following section will take a closer look at more specific neoliberal discourses discussed above that frame some of more recent immigrations laws. Section 38(c) of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act places people with disabilities under the inadmissibly clause. The denial of entry to individuals with disability is justified under the "excessive demands clause" (Saltes 2013). The discourse around excessive demands clause is highly characteristic of the neoliberal state that aims to minimize welfare spending and maximizes the contribution of immigrants to the labour market and ultimately the global wealth of Canada. The "excessive demands clause" successfully demonstrate the trajectory of the neoliberal state away

from regarding human life as social and towards quantifying the risks and costs associated with it and denying certain immigrants incorporation based on that statistical calculation (Lehman, Anisette and Agyemang 2016). Risk assessment is a large part of neoliberal ideology and extends far beyond the sphere of immigration, to spheres of crime prevention, economy, as well as environment.

Moreover, in Canada there has been a change in perception of family class immigrants since the 1990s with the removal of the "Assisted Relative" class. The rationale for reducing immigration of extended family members stems from the assumption that these individuals could not have immigrated under the independent class and thus are more likely to be an economic burden on the state (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012). In addition to utilizing economic drainage as a justification of exclusion, the Canadian government proclaimed that "We view the situations for parents and grandparents very differently. There is rarely the sort of primary emotional dependency between independent adults living in Canada and their parents living abroad that one finds between a husband and wife, or a parent and a young child" (Lippert and Pyykkonen 2012, p. 49). The problematization of family class immigration is once again consistent with the neoliberal shift towards conceptualizing nuclear family as an "ideal" type of family and is insensitive to non-Western family structures that are more prevalent in source countries. In addition, this shift further entrenches the traditional gender roles and gendered division of labour into the family structures of the newcomer Canadians. Lack of publicly funded childcare services in Canada since the 1990s make it impossible for some immigrant women to afford these services, which, in consequence impedes upon their ability to deal with multiple gender roles and participate in the labour market (Raghuram and Kofman 2004). There is evidence within the

literature suggesting that the extended family members provide necessary child care and social support services unavailable to many new Canadian and thus facilitate a faster and smoother integration of many immigrants, especially women into the Canadian labour market.

Another wide-spread example of state discourse utilized in the imposition of more stringent immigration laws pertains to concerns over security. While, this is a rather complex phenomenon that extends to many changes within the Canadian Immigration, for the purpose of this literature review the discussion will focus on anti-smuggling legislation, Bill C-31, introduced by the Harper Conservative Government in October 2010 (Liempt and Sersli 2012). This legislation presents a stark example of some of the language used to proliferate anti-immigrant sentiments towards those that fall outside of the skilled immigrant class. Bill C-31 not only criminalizes the individuals who facilitate smuggling of asylum seekers but also criminalizes those who use these services. Those who reach the Canadian borders by being smuggled are identified as "irregular arrivals" and are subjugated to a variety of penalties, the worst of which is mandatory detention, even for children (Liempt and Sersli 2012). To justify the punitive treatment of asylum seekers, the state emphasizes the security threat of irregular arrivals, stating that absence of their documentation makes it impossible to determine whether these individuals are genuine refugees or terrorist (Liempt and Sersli).

The utilization of security threat discourses plays upon the publics' elevated fear of the "Other", especially in the context of post 9/11. The connection made between refugee or asylum seekers and terrorism is by far unnatural and is socially constructed by drawing on the otherness of these groups. The media, which is a type of dominant group's dissemination instrument, has also successfully created links between Islam and terrorism, where as, in reality the international

definition of terrorism does not make any reference to any particular religion. According to the Department of Patterns of Global Terrorism, terrorism is defined "as politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (Burns 2011, p 4). Moreover, it is important to mention that Bill C-31 violates the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of the Geneva Convention that states that "the state shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from territory where their life of freedom was threatened…" (Liempt and Sersli 2012, p. 1038). Ibrahim further argues that the neoliberal state converges the frames of securitization with the frames of economic strain in the media in order to present refugees as criminal, contagious, and a strain on the Canadian tax payers (2005). These frames are legitimized through the media and become accepted as part of the general knowledge through the utilization of publicly recognized state actors, such as politicians, lawyers and experts (Ibrahim 2005).

It can be argued that the variety of policy changes introduced in the literature along with the reconceptualization of immigrants along economic and security lines has been successfully achieved by the change in discourses pertaining to immigration and immigrants. It is important to mention that there are many more policies that have been introduced in the recent years such as Anti-Terrorism Act, Bill C-24 as well as The 2013 Faster Removal of Foreign Criminals Act and few others by the Conservative government that have incrementally attempted to dismantle the Canadian value systems of peace-keeping, acceptance and multiculturalism.

The recent Executive Director's Message from Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) suggests that the new Liberal Government is expected to introduce many

positive changes to immigration and refugee determination, including announcing changes to family reunification policy and Citizenship Act (2016). Some of the success stories include the acceptance of over twenty-five thousand Syrian refugees. Given some of the promises advocated by the new government in power, an interesting area of research would be to study the changes in discourses pertains to immigrants introduced by the newly elected state officials.

Research Question:

The purpose of the literature review has been to present a general account of the impact of neoliberal logic on immigration in Canada and to demonstrate how the use of certain political discourses found in the media and policy documentations have been used to redirect immigration away from the balanced approach of serving both a humanitarian and an economic purposes to primarily meeting short term goals of the market economy. The current research will look at the the discourses introduced by the newly elected, Trudeau Liberal Government by looking at key speeches made by the Liberal officials including the new Prime Minister in relation to immigrants. This research study will aim to meet two objectives. Firstly, the Liberal discourses will be compared against the conservative discourses, by looking at how it relates to existing understanding of immigrants as economic burdens, security threats, as well as reinforcement of the traditional gender roles. The expectation or the hypothesis is that the new Liberal government will introduce more positive ways of thinking about immigrants and in particular family class immigrants and refugees by making less emphasize in their speeches on immigrants as a burden to our economy and a threat to our safety. Secondly, the discourses will be analyzed to explore whether or not any new discourses and ultimately new ways of thinking can be found in the

Liberal Party's discourse. It is not yet clear what new discourses will be introduced, and thus the latter objective of the study question is explorative in nature. One must not reject the possibility that a neoliberal way of thinking about immigrants in terms of exchange value in the market economy will prevail.

Methodology:

This research study will take both an inductive direction of theorizing, as well as a deductive. Inductive reasoning begins with first gathering observations about the social world or a particular phenomenon of interest and then moves towards operationalization of gathered information (Neuman and Robson 2012). In reverse, the deductive reasoning begins with preexisting codes or themes, which are then used to analyze the data. Grounded theory or inductive reasoning is often used in explorative studies where the researcher is taking a look at a new phenomenon that has not yet been explored. For instance, given the recent coming to power of the Liberal Party, not much research to this day will be published on the discourse pertaining to immigrants, thus making it an interesting line of research where an inductive or explorative analysis can be applied.

Discourse analysis looks at how knowledge is produced through a particular use of language. For the most part, this study will take the form of an indicative methodology, where codes and themes will be generated from the gathered data. In the analysis of Liberal Party's discourse inductive methodology must be used because as mentioned prior, it presents itself as a new line of research. However, it is important to differentiate this study from conventional discourse analysis where the researcher develops themes and knowledge as he or she develops

patterns of codes or theoretical frameworks within the studied content. The methodology used in this study will therefore overlap into an area of directed content analysis. Meaning that the discourse analysis will first begin with predetermined codes and themes previously identified within the literature review, thereby, making the first objective of this study to deductively analyze the discourse. The usage of both inductive and deductive approaches to discourse analysis allows to yield new language, which ultimately translates into new themes and knowledge around immigration, as it simultaneously allows for the comparison with and affirmation of some of the codes and themes identified as being a major part of the conservation discourse pertaining to immigrants.

Another rationale for using primarily an inductive methodology is that it is qualitative in nature. The researcher is conserned with latent interpretation of language and words and how it translates into larger themes and forms of knowledge. In addition, given the short time period of this research project, the duration of which is 2.5 to 3 months, conducting a quantitative content analysis will be impossible in order to produce reliability. Reliability within sociological research refers to dependability and consistency, meaning that the study must employ a reliable scale and appropriate sample size in order to produce stable and consistent results (Neuman and Robson 2012). In the case of qualitative discourse analysis, reliability is achieved through dependability of the sources, consistency and transparency with which the researcher presents his or hers findings. In this particular study, reliability will be achieved through the usage of dependable sources, and by providing explicit rationale for interpretation of latent meanings found within the discourse. Nonetheless, it is important to note that any qualitative data analysis is subjected to personal bias of the researcher, as well as their personal interpretation.

Objectives:

The first objective of the study is to determine whether or not the predetermined codes, as well as themes (ways of thinking about immigrants established in the literature review) appear in the data. Given the small search parameters, what will be observed is not the frequency of these codes but the interpretive meaning of the message and the tone used. An obvious limitation to point out is that both of these things are subjected to personal bias and interpretation of the researcher. Another limitation is the small sample size which does not allow for further generalization. Largely, this objective offers an opportunity to identify whether or not Conservative Party's discourse pertaining to immigrants appears within the Liberal Party's discourse. This will also allow to test one of the research hypotheses of whether or not neoliberal discourse is an exclusive function of the conservative regime, or it is more encompassing in nature and will appear within the speeches of the Liberal speakers.

The second objective of the study is to explore some of the new ways of thinking and talking about immigrants. The goal here is to use conventional discourse analysis and to develop news themes and forms of knowledge pertaining to immigration. This objective is highly explorative in nature and the data generated will be operationalized into concrete themes and codes, which, in this instance will not be used against the preexisting codes.

Parameters of the Study:

Qualitative methodology uses a nonrandom sample, where the sample frame is selected using non-mathematical process. At times, in exploratory studies, the sample size is not

predetermined. The researcher continues to research until he or she reaches theoretical saturation, which means no new codes and concepts can be obtained from additional data (Neuman and Robson 2012).

In this particular research a population comprises of all speeches made by the Liberal party's members from the announcement of the federal election (11 weeks prior to October 19th) until the date of the research completion (Middle of July). However, as one can imagine this would yield an unmanageable number of political speeches that could not be possibly studied in qualitative manner within the short time frame of 3 months. Therefore, for the purpose of qualitative discourse analysis a more appropriate sample size of 9 speeches was be selected using a Google search engine.

The following 9 speeches and governmental mandate letters were used to perform discourse analysis:

1) September 25th, 2015 (3 weeks before the elections) - *Trudeau's Plan to Speed up Family Reunification Speech*

2) October 19th, 2015 (the day of the election) - *Trudeau's Victory Speech*

3) November 4th, 2015 (approximately 2 weeks after the Liberal win) - *Prime Minister Justine Trudeau's Open Letter to Canadians*

4) December 4th, 2015 (close to 7.5 weeks after the Liberal win) - *Speech from the Throne*

5) December 7th, 2015 (8 weeks after the Liberal win) - *Trudeau's First House of Commons Question Period as a Prime Minister*

6) December 10th, 2015 (close to 9 weeks after the Liberal Win) - *Forum on Welcoming Syrian Refugees to Canada—Minister McCallum by Citizenship and Immigration Canada*

7) April 14th, 2016 (close to 26 weeks after the Liberal win) - *John McCallum, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship discusses Canada's renewed commitment to the hosting, integration and success of immigrants in a speech to the Economic Club of Canada in Ottawa*

8) May 18th, 2016 (31 weeks after the Liberal win) - *In Committee from the Senate of Canada - Human Rights (Speech made by John McCallum*

9) No date - *Minister if Immigration, Refugees ad Citizenship Mandate Letter*

These speeches were obtained using the following sources: Google search engine, CPAC, YouTube, Immigration and Citizenship Canada YouTube Channel and Liberal Party of Canada official website. The rationale behind speech selection had to meet three criteria: the speech had to be made by the member of the Liberal Party, had to be one of the major speeches and had to relate to the topic of immigration. Arguably, more major speeches could have been included into this sample, however given the time limitation and the long time that is required for coding and latent meaning interpretation, some speeches were randomly prioritized over the others. However, during the selection process, some effort was made to avoid selecting speeches made within the same month or a narrow time frame. This was done to avoid repetition as naturally all speakers would focus on a particular issue, ranked high on the political agenda of that month or week. Thus, there was an attempt to have speeches that were made within an appropriate time interval of each other. Speeches range from pre-election date from being made 3 weeks before

the election date to the middle of May. Lastly, Mandate Letter to the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, as well as the Speech from the Throne do not meet all the three criteria, because for once Mandate letter is not technically a speech and secondly speech from the throne is not actually performed by a member of the Liberal Party, but a Governor General. Nonetheless, both pieces of data are major contributors to the sample both in terms of its importance and relation to the topic of immigration, thereby satisfying the two major requirements for data selection.

Data Collection Tools and Procedures:

After data selection, all speeches were listened and manually recorded word for word. In order to meet the first objective of the study, which intends to compare predetermined codes operationalized from the literature review, the data was examined deductively. This approach is also known as the directed content analysis, where the researcher is directed by particular codes and themes. However, the data was searched and analyzed with a special attention to the latent meanings and interpretation of the discourses. As will be demonstrated below, the analysis of the Liberal discourse from all 9 speeches began with predetermined codes. To meet the first objective of the study, these codes did not necessary had to be found in its entire form, word for word. The directed discourse analysis rather looks for similar meaning, tone and theoretical direction.

In order to complete an inductive or explorative discourse analysis, raw data will be organized in conceptual categories based on themes, which later will be operationalized into new discourses in the forms of new codes. Data analysis goes through three stages of coding: open,

axial and selective. Where, at the open coding stage initial ideas will be assigned a code, then during the axial coding stage, links will be made between ideas and themes and during the final selective coding stage, major macro codes will be established under which smaller ideas and concepts can fit under (Neuman and Robson 2012). Selective coding also demonstrates the best possible operationalization of concepts.

Objective I - Operationalization:

The following chart organizes the Conservative discourses from larger concepts into a set of operational definitions. The theoretical rationalization provides the theoretical backdrop for these concepts, more specifically indicating how these concepts are rationalized under the neoliberal logic. This chart visually presents the neoliberal concepts discussed in the conceptual framework section of this paper.

Chart I:

Concepts found within the Conservative discourse	Operational Definition	Link to Immigration	Theoretical rationalization
Economic Burden	Vulnerable populations such as women, immigrants, minorities or disabled.	Immigrants that do not fall under the economic class, such as family class immigrants and refugees are seen as an economic strain. They are assumed to be low skill and unable to immigrate on their own under the Points Based System, thus making them undesirable and economically senseless.	Under the neoliberal theory, everyone is given an equal opportunity to succeed. Failure to succeed is seen as personal failure and not as systemic exclusion, discrimination or racism.
Reinforcement of traditional gender roles	Women are assumed to be innately better at social reproduction and domestic labour. Men are assumed to be innately better at labour market participation.	Under the Points Based System, women are assessed on the basis of the same merits as men. This approach latently disadvantages women as their differential access to skill and knowledge is unrecognized. Women are disproportionately more likely to immigrate under the family class. In addition, women immigrants and especially women of colour face limited access to labour opportunities due to lack of child-minding social assistance.	Under the neoliberal theory, while men and women are assumed to be equal, the state actively continues to reproduce traditional gender roles by retrenching various forms of family social support, thereby segregating women within reproductive and domestic spheres of labour.

Concepts found within the Conservative discourse	Operational Definition	Link to Immigration	Theoretical rationalization
Security Threat	Securitization of Canadian borders and values against the threat of the dangerous "Other".	The securitization of Canadian borders is against an external threat - a framework which proliferated in the aftermath of 9/11. Muslim immigrants, especially young males and refugees are perceived as detrimental to the Western way of life and to the security of the West.	Under neoliberal framework there has been a shift towards securitization of borders. While under the neoliberal globalization, free trade and exchange of goods and services across the borders is promoted, cross border movement of people is limited and controlled to maintain limited access to capital.

As previously mentioned, the directed discourse analysis, being the first objective of the study will look for similar themes, tone and theoretical direction within the 9 speeches. The predetermined codes are as following: *economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles* and *security threat.* It is important to mention, however, that the study does not aim to quantitively observe the appearance of these codes within the 9 speeches. This is a qualitative discourse analysis, where the research's objectives are met by looking at the latent meaning of words and phrases in relation to major theoretic framework of neoliberalism. The presence of the above mentioned codes will be determined using three variables: similar theme, tone and theoretical direction.

The theme of economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles and security threat can appear in the form of new language. Therefore, it is important to not get overly focused on particular words resonating with a particular theme, as that can limit researcher's

ability to look for latent themes and meanings. Thereby, the discourse within the 9 speeches will be critically examined with the intention to look for similar themes resonating with economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles and security threat.

Secondly, the tone of the discourse will be analyzed as either being pro-immigration or anti-immigration. Arguably, economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles and security threat, all resonate with negative attitude in relation to immigrants. Therefore, discourse analysis will take the direction of also identifying the tones present within the 9 speeches. Each speech can contain multiple tones, and once again the researcher is more concerned with looking at how these tones come through rather than quantitively observing the appearance of these tones, which is less relevant given the small sample size.

Lastly, theoretical direction will be analyzed by establishing the latent meanings behind particular discourses. As demonstrated in multiple parts of this study, the theoretical rationalization for the codes of *economic burden*, *reinforcement of traditional gender roles* and *security threat* is deeply rooted within neoliberalism. Therefore, the Liberal Party's discourse in the form of 9 speeches will be analyzed to determine the theoretical backdrop of the speeches and whether or not the speakers employ theoretical rationalization demonstrated in the chart as the rationale for their discourse.

Findings of the Objective I:

September 25th, 2015 - *Trudeau's Plan to Speed up Family Reunification Speech*

Similar Theme:

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Economic Burden - No similar theme is found. The word economy is used twice in the speeches and both times immigrants are referenced to as positive contributors towards the Canadian economy.

"...making it easier for families to be here together in Canada makes more than just economic sense"

"...family involvement in childcare, it helps to drive productivity and economic growth"

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles - *"When Canadians have added supports, family involvement in childcare, it helps to drive productivity and economic growth and it brings in skilled workers we need so badly"*

Here, we can witness reinforcement of traditional gender roles in relation to grandmothers and grandfathers, as well as other family members being seen as child-rearing support. Grandparental care for grandchildren not only reinforces gendered division of labour, with grandmothers being more likely to engage in grandchild's rearing than grandfathers (Marhanova and Stipkova, 2015). Grandparental care also reinforces traditional family arrangements of kinship support being seen as natural and expected. Familial involvement in childcare does not resonate with all cultures and moreover reinforces the undervaluing of domestic work, being seen as a natural obligation of the extended kin.

Security Threat - not found

<div align="center">

Tone:

</div>

Anti-Immigrant - not found

Pro-Immigrant - *"A Liberal government will make family reunification at the core of its immigration policy, making it easier for families to be here together in Canada.."*

"The Liberal government will immediately double the number of applications, allowing parents and grandparents to 10 thousand every year"

"double the budget for processing of family class applications, wait times will come down"

"greater access for applicants who have Canadian siblings"

"allow more Canadians to bring their children to Canada"

"spouses immigrating to Canada will receive immediate permanent residency"

<div align="center">

Theoretical Direction:

</div>

"When Canadians have added supports, family involvement in childcare, it helps to drive productivity and economic growth and it brings in skilled workers we need so badly".

Family involvement in childcare is being perceived by the Liberal speaker as necessary for economic growth of the country. The relationship between family provided childcare and economic growth stems from neoliberal logic. The retrenched welfare state and the hallowing of the child-minded social assistance programs in the 1990s allowed the government to retrieve from the responsibility to participate in the social reproduction of its society, thereby transferring that responsibility onto mothers, grandmothers and other extended family members. This particular discourse does not only reinforce traditional gender roles, but also stems from neoliberal logic where the responsibility for childrearing is primarily seen as the sole responsibility of the families and not the state.

October 19th, 2015 - *Trudeau's Victory Speech*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden - The word *economy* is mentioned in the speech in the context of "growing the economy". However, "growing the economy" does not resonate with the theme of economic burden.

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles - *"Last week I met a young mom in St. Catherine's Ontario. She practices Muslim faith and was wearing a Hijab. She made her way through the crowd and handed me her infant daughter…"* This discourse pertaining to a young Muslim woman with a child acts to both reinforce, as well as diminish traditional gender roles. The fact that the Prime Minister, Justine Trudeau decides to place emphasis on a woman carrying an infant through the crowd projects the image of a woman performing her traditional gender role of mothering. At the same time, the woman's decision to approach the PM through the crowd demonstrates her use of agency and political involvement which falls outside the traditional gender role of a woman.

Security Threat - Content not found

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant - *not found*

Pro-Immigrant - *"unique diversity is a blessing bestowed upon us", "enjoyable, inclusive society", "country is strong not in spite of our differences, but because of them", "a government that believes deeply in the diversity of our country", "Canada was built by people from all corners of the world who worship every faith, who belong to every culture, who speak every language"*

Theoretical Direction:

The speaker does not employ theoretical rationalization demonstrated in the chart as the rationale for the discourse.

November 4th, 2015 - *Prime Minister Justine Trudeau's Open Letter to Canadians*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden – There is no mention of economic burden in relation to immigrants. The word economy is still prioritized significantly and strong emphasis is placed on economic growth.
"commitment to invest on growing our economy, strengthening our middle class"

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles -There is no content within the discourse that reinforces traditional gender roles.
On the opposite hand, there is more emphasize being placed on gender equality - *"there will be an equal number of women and men around the Cabinet table"*

Security Threat -Content or theme similar to security threat is not found

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant **-**not found

Pro-Immigrant **-**not found

Theoretical Direction:

The speaker does not employ theoretical rationalization demonstrated in the chart as the rationale for their discourse.

December 4th, 2015 - *Speech from the Throne*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden -No mention of economic burden in relation to immigration.

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles -No mention of themes that resonate with reinforcement of traditional gender roles

Security Threat - Security is widely explored in the speech from the throne.
"...will continue to work with allies against terrorism" - terrorism is being identified as a clear threat in the discourse, however it does not identify one particular group as a threat and neither does the discourse attempt to converge refugees, immigrants or any other group for that matter, with concerns over security.
On the opposite hand the discourse coveys a very strong humanitarian agenda. Canadians are proclaimed as open and generous and *"helping those in need strengthens our communities and makes them safer".*
"The government will focus its development assistance on helping the world's poorest and most vulnerable", "The government will renew Canada's commitment to United Nations peacekeeping operations", "Canada is fundamentally a safe and peaceful country"

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant - not found

Pro-Immigrant - the discourse conveys a very strong pro-immigrant and pro-diversity attitude

"Canada's strength is its diversity", "Canada is strong because of ur difference, not in spite of them", "diversity that inspires both Canada and the world", "the government will make it easier for the Canadians to build successful lives in Canada, reunite their families, and contribute to the economic success of all Canadians", "The government will welcome 25, 000 new Canadians from Syria, to arrive in Canada by the ned of February 2016".

Theoretical Direction:

The discourse presented in this speech does not resonate with neoliberal theoretical rationalization presented in Chart I. When speaking about economic prosperity, the speaker does not transfer focus on individuals' responsibility to work hard and by that does not attribute economic failure to their lack of hard work ethic or individual shortcomings.
On the opposite hand, there is a change in theoretical direction away from neoliberal logic and towards embracing and recognizing the need for a stronger welfare state.

"The Government has also committed to provide more direct help to those who need it by giving less to those who do not. The New Canada Child Benefit will do just that", "Public investment is needed to create and support economic growth", "The Government will make significant new investments", "Government will work with the provinces and territories to enhance the Canada Pension Plan", "Government will work with the provinces and territories to make post-secondary education more affordable", "Government will begin work with the provinces and territories to develop a new Health Accord"

Here the government can be seen as assuming a greater provider role, taking on responsibility and acknowledging its role as welfare provider.

December 7th, 2015 - *Trudeau's First House of Commons Question Period as a Prime Minister - not the entire question period, just questions and answers relevant to the research topic*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden -no content

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles -no content

Security Threat - The Prime Minister identifies ISIL *"as a group of terrible terrorists that should be stopped"*. However he does not draw a link between Canadian security and a particular immigrant group. There is also no mention of border control or securitization.

On the opposite hand, there is a change in direction with regards to security discourse, away from securitization through militia and targeting of particular groups as scapegoats and toward embracing humanitarian approaches.

"Canada has spoken clearly in the past election that they want Canadians and our military to engage in the fight against ISIl, and we are committed to continuing to do that, help in humanitarian efforts, in refugee efforts..."
"We have committed to end those air strikes and to transform our engagement in a different way..."
"Canada continues to be a strong supporter on coalition against ISIL and continues to be engages on humanitarian level, on a refugee level and indeed on a military level"
"...we will continue to remain committed and involved militarily, but we will withdraw our fighter jets ...continue to take strong action against ISIl in a way that is appropriate for Canada"

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant -no content

Pro-Immigrant -no content

Theoretical Direction:

With regards to theoretical direction, based on the discourse analysis it can be established with confidence that neoliberal framework is absent from the rationalization put forth by the speaker. The Prime Minister when asked about Canada's security does not shift the discourse towards securitization, but quite oppositely diverts the rationalization for his actions and decision to withdraw fighter jets as being guided by humanitarian and peace keeping agenda. Discourses on border security, often used by the Conservative politicians to justify more robust military engagement and a stronger border control and consequently control on immigration, is not mentioned in the discourse offered by the Liberal Party leader. Discussions on security efforts are converged with humanitarian efforts and refugee efforts, something that was arguably absent from a political discourse under the previous conservative regime

December 10th, 2015 - *Forum on Welcoming Syrian Refugees to Canada—Minister McCallum by Citizenship and Immigration Canada*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden -Minister McCallum acknowledges that refugees are a cost, *" yes it is a short term cost, it is the huge humanitarian venture but it is a long term, investment that will bring long term gains to Canada".* One can see here how refugees are no longer conceptualized as drainage on the system. Their contribution is welcomed and seen as an investment.
"...because all of the refugees, like the ones that came before will go out and get work and become productive members of our community and that is important."

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles -no content

Security Threat -no content

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant -no content

Pro-Immigrant - *"I can tell you that I believe more strongly than ever that it is the right thing for Canada to bring 25 0000 people hit by the horrors of war and terrorism over here into our wonderful, welcoming country of Canada."*
"Property developers are offering subsidies housing. In Toronto, a family decided to downsize their wedding plans and use the money they saved to sponsor a Syrian family. A family in PEI cancelled their vacation plans to help to bring Syrian refugees to the smallest province out of harms way."
"the federal government has already put on the table 700 million dollars"

The message behind these discourses projects very strong pro-refugee attitudes expressed by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship.

Theoretical Direction:

The speaker does employ some of the theoretical rationalization demonstrated in Chart I. The Minster highlights the importance of private sector insolvent in the national project of refugees resettlement to Canada on multiple occasions.

" I use this forum today to approach the private sector and to the ordinary individual Canadians to come forth and help out in terms of providing lodging in one form or another to all the refugees coming into our country"

While this message appears value free it resonates with the neoliberal ideology of self-responsibilization of individual members of the society, as well as outsourcing of public function, such as housing to the private sector providers in the name of greater efficiency and cost saving. The idea that the government needs the assistance of private individuals can be interpreted as its inability to provide the necessary level of support and assistance to refugees on its own.

April 14th, 2016 (close to 26 weeks after the Liberal win) - *John McCallum, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship discusses Canada's renewed commitment to the hosting, integration and success of immigrants in a speech to the Economic Club of Canada in Ottawa*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden –there is no content in the discourse that draws a parallel between various classes of immigrants and economic expenditure of the state and the public funds. There remains a strong acknowledgement that what matters the most is their economic productivity, while the division between economic immigrant, family class and refugees is no longer emphasized.

"I don't' like the term economic immigrant", "If you are talking about economic immigrant that implies that they are youthful ones and productive ones, the ones that have contributed something and the others might do because we are nice, but they are kind of a waste and that is totally untrue", "There is no an economic who is productive and everybody isn't, we are going to change that word to something else"

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This discourse demonstrates a strong shift from the concept of economic burden that used to strongly resonate with classes of immigrants that fell outside of an economic class. The government itself recognizes the deeper meaning associated with the word *economic* and to avoid continuing to divide immigrants based on economic desirability, promises to change that word to something more suitable, more appropriate for Canada.

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles – no content was found that reinforces traditional gender roles.

Instead, we see discourse that acknowledges vulnerability of women who enter Canada as a spouse.

"We are going to make it so that you can come into Canada as a spouse as a permanent resident, where you are immediately a permanent resident, rather than a 2 year intermediate period, because we were told that interim status for a female gave rise to domestic abuse because if the husband left her, she would have no status."

This discourse is meant to empower women by recognizing flaws in the system created by the previous government. The state takes on a more hands-on approach as oppose to retrieving away from the social and public sphere and assumes a more of a protector role for the vulnerable groups.

"Grandparents that don't work enable the fathers and the mothers to work by looking after the children" In here the state assumes the traditional roles of the grandparents and extended kin as most appropriate for the provisioning of child-rearing support. As mentioned prior, grandparental childcare should not be assumed as natural and is subjected to social constructivism.

Security Threat - there is content that mentions security threat in relation to terrorism, however the discourse does not draw a parallel between security threat and refugees or any other class of immigrants.

"Canadians went from being super concerned with security as this started at the times of the Paris attacks and somehow evolved into a great national project where Canadian from all walks of life have cone to support this initiative."

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant –no content found

Pro-Immigrant –

"Refugees is more a matter of the heart than the brain", " My problem is that I cannot satisfy the enormous demand of generous Canadians who want to take them into their homes", "Good problem to have", "We have built this multicultural tradition over the year and decades", "The government will no longer revoke citizenship of Canadians" "In 4 years, more than 90% of our Syrian refugees will become citizens", "We want our immigrants to be permanent not temporary, some temporary workers are fine but immigration system over the decades has been built on permanent immigrants"

Theoretical Direction:

The neoliberal logic can be identified as being the theoretical rationalization when the speaker speaks about extended kinships as an important basis for a family's economic support. *"Grandparents that don't work enable the father and the mother to work by looking after the children"* This discourse points to the idea of a hallowed welfare state – a state that is no longer capable to equip the family with the social assistance and child rearing services to ensure their success in the labour market. The situation still remains that without appropriate childcare provided by extended family members, women and men cannot dedicate themselves to full participation in the labour market. The state transfers the obligation for social reproduction onto individuals, which in consequenc**e** disproportionately burdens women and grandmothers, thereby leading to reinforcement of traditional gender roles.

May 18th, 2016 (31 weeks after the Liberal win) - *In Committee from the Senate of Canada - Human Rights (Speech made by John McCallum*

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden – there is no content within the discourse that resonates refugees or any class if immigrants with an economic strain on the system

In fact, the government of Canada specifically wants to assist vulnerable refugees which demonstrate their shift away from regarding refugees as an unnecessary strain towards being motivated by humanitarian and compassionate reasons.

"We asked the UN for vulnerable people and we got them and wanted them so in that case that is good"

"I have spoken to many employees across the country and there are many sectors keen to hire refugees" This discourse dismantles the idea put forth by the previous government that refugees are unable to participate in the labour market and are more likely to become a burden on the

state. While, it does take longer to prepare refugees for labour market in terms of language skills and other skills, the government is taking an initiative to aid them in their successful integration.

" I believe this wave of refugees will be a success for our country. It is not just a humanitarian act, which is certainly is in the short run, but I think particularly with our ageing population it is also an investment in the future." "In terms of money we committed short of a billion dollar for this project"

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles - On one hand the speech suggests that there is a special recognition of women's needs in terms of providing safety net programs and aiming to provide more child-minding.

"Programming for women as well, one of our best examples in the Rexdale Women's Centre in Toronto, where females immigrants and refugees are provided with culturally appropriate coupling and support groups. They are helped in safety nets, how to navigate the legal system, violence programming. Similar type programmings are in Vancouver and Ottawa"

On the other hand, however the government does not run statistics on family composition of refugees and how that may effect power dynamics within the family in terms of income support allocation. There are concerns that income support allocation to male figures undermines women's agencies and status. *"Payment of the income support, they do not know we do not run statistics on the family composition and how that relates to income support allocation".*

"Generally speaking we took primarily families, one parent or two parents; we did not take all that many single males"

This can be motivated by the fear that men are more violent and pose a greater risk which reinforces gender serotypes of males as being innately more violent and aggressive.

Security Threat -

"Generally speaking we took primarily families, one parent or two parents; we did not take all that many single males"

The rationalize behind this could be linked to the security threat of young males being more prompt to exhibiting violence and not being regarded as desirable.

"There may be a cultural element, remember that refugees are coming from an entirely different world, our world is very different from their world"

This discourse "Others" the refugees and alienates them from the Western way of life. The "Other" is perceived as culturally different and such reference may elevate feelings of fear and

uncertainty about refugees – something that was widely used by the conservative government to limit the number of refugees as well as cut back on the provisioning of social assistance to refugees.

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant –emphasizing the cultural difference element may be interpreted as a negative attitude towards refugees

Pro-Immigrant –*"We have not been able to deliver fast enough to satisfy all those that want to sponsor them, in a way that's a good problem - it reflects the generosity of Canadians."*

"I wish we could do more quickly to satisfy the Canadians who are so anxious to receive the refugees"

"I believe this wave of refugees will be a success for our country."
"It is not just a humanitarian act, which it certainly is in the short run, but I think particularly with our ageing population it is also an investment in the future."

"We have taken 25 000 up until the end of February, which is privately sponsored and government assisted but we have committed to a total of 25 000 government assisted refugees by the end of the year. That is not 25 000 plus 25 000. We have brought in close to 18 000 already of government assisted, so we have 7 000 more on then government assisted."

Theoretical Direction

The theoretical rationalization behind a lot of the discourse closely resonates with the neoliberal idea of the hallowed welfare state and prioritization of the private services providers in the name of greater efficiency and cost saving.
"One of the ways in which we have been helped on that is a support from the private sector"
"The private sector has been very helpful, they raised over 30 million dollars..." *"Partly through these effort and effort of the settlement agencies we have been ale to house almost all refugees"*
At large there is greater emphasize on the numbers housed and resettled rather than on the quality of refugee experience and service provision. Emphasizing numbers and presenting quantifiable measures is a highly neoliberal function of success measure. It however obscures the qualitative measure from the lived experience of the refugees. The experience behind the numbers matters a lot and there is a lack of discourse about that, however it can also be attributed to the recency of this project and the inability on behalf of the government to conduct a qualitative analysis on resettlement and integration.

Minister if Immigration, Refugees ad Citizenship Mandate Letter

Similar Theme:

Economic Burden – There is no content that resonates with immigrants being seen or referred to as economic burden or strain on the system. Economy however remains amongst the top priorities on the governmental agenda. Investing and growing the economy is placed as the top commitment. *"We made a commitment to invest in growing our economy, strengthening the middle class, and helping those working hard to join it"* Therefore, fiscal concerns remain the top priority of the newly elected government.

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles – there is no content within the discourse that reinforces traditional gender roles

Security Threat - *"lead efforts to facilitate the temporary entry of low risk travelers"*. Although the content proposes a positive development, which is to facilitate entry, the identification of travelers as low risk suggests that there is a possibility for them being high risk. Furthermore the discourse does not provide a definition of what low risk or high risk means. Taking from the past discourses adopted by the conservative government, high risk traveler can be interpreted as being a young male of an Arab ethnicity. Therefore, a low risk traveler is a term loaded with stereotypical prejudice and by omitting the definition of what low or high risk traveler constitute, the discourse reinforces the existing preconceptions of high risk being identified most likely as a young male of an Islamic faith.

Tone:

Anti-Immigrant –no content was found

Pro-Immigrant – *"... goal will be to reopen Canada's doors to welcome those who want to contribute to our country's success. Canadian are open, accepting, and generous – qualities that should be reflected in Canada's immigration policies and in our approach to welcoming those seeking refugee from conflict and war"*

"Our communities are strengthened when we come together to welcome newcomers who want to build a better Canada and to help those in need"

"Lead government-wide efforts to resettle 25 000 refugees from Syria in the coming months"

"Bring forward a proposal to double the number of entry applications for parents and grandparents of immigrants to 10, 000 a year"

"Bring forward a proposal regarding permanent residency for new spouses entering Canada"

"Fully restore the interim Federal Health Program that provides limited and temporary health benefits to refugees and refugee claimants"

Theoretical Direction

The discourse does not present any evidence of directly drawing on neoliberal theory as a justification for particular discourse. In fact, the discourse focuses on public investment and public and governmental engagement in social assistance as the best way to achieve economic growth. *"We committed to public investment as the best way to spur economic growth, job creation, and broad-based prosperity". "...provide more direct help to those who need it by giving less to those who do not"* There is a discussion on renewing public engagement and funding which creates an idea of a stronger, more hands-on and more fiscally involved government.

Summary of the Findings I:

The 9 speeches studied qualitatively demonstrate that there is very little content or similar themes within the discourse that can be linked to the concept of economic burden. In 9 out of 9 speeches there is no discourse that portrays immigrants that fall outside of an economic class as a strain on the economy. There is a very strong emphasize being placed on growing the Canadian economy. However, arguably, there is no link that can be made between discourse pertaining to economic growth and immigrants as an economic burden. The only time that immigrants and economic cost is used in the same sentence is in the speech given by Minister McCallum during the Forum on welcoming Syrian Refugees to Canada.

Minister McCallum acknowledges that refugees are a cost, *" yes it is a short term cost, it is the huge humanitarian venture but it is a long term, investment that will bring long term gains to Canada"*

However, one can see how right after associating refugees with a cost, the discourse that follows this statement, immediately shifts gears and creates new associations between refugees and economy such as *huge humanitarian venture and an investment.*

In terms of the discourse that reinforces traditional gender roles, it can be argued that the 9 speeches include similar themes to the concept of the reinforcement of the traditional gender roles. It is more notably observed in the Liberal speakers's reference to the family reunification plans. While, family reunification is a highly positive development as the proposal to double the number of entry application for family members is expected to reach 10 000 a year. The issue is that the justification for family reunification draws on rationales that act to reinforce not only traditional gender roles, but also traditional family composition. As can be observed in the findings, family reunification is being presented as positive, because it helps to drive productivity and economic growth. Family members such as parents and grandparents are recognized more frequently for their value as child care providers.

"Grandparents that don't work enable the fathers and the mothers to work by looking after the children"

The connection made between grandparental child care and economic growth acts to reinforce the traditional role of grandparents as emotional workers and stay-at-home caregivers. It reinforces the traditional gender role of grandmothers as domestic labourers more so than grandfathers, as grandmothers are more likely to be actively involved in child rearing. Familial involvement is being portrayed by the Liberal speakers as an innate function of the extended kin, which also acts to reinforce traditional family structures.

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With regards to finding any themes or content within the 9 speeches relating to immigrants or refugees being portrayed as security threat, in summary it can be said that such themes were found upon two instances. In first, Minster of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship openly declares that in taking refugees from Syria, families were prioritized over single young males. This discourse strongly reinforces the idea that young males from the Middle East are inherently more dangerous than any other persons seeking refuge. While, the Minster does not justify the reason for choosing families over young males, it can be argued that security concerns are at the forefront of this discussion, given the strong securitization framework established by the previous government. This securitization framework as earlier demonstrated in Chart I, justifies more robust border controls and exclusionary immigration policies by portraying refugee, especially young Muslim males as the "Other" and detrimental to the Western way of life and security.

Secondly, the discourse makes note of high and low risk traveler without providing a definition of what each term constitutes in the context of the new government. High risk traveler as a term carries a very suggestive meaning that in the context of post 9/11 environment can be interpreted as a young male of an Arab decent. While, once again the discourse itself does not directly make this connection, the lack of definition or explanation provided for the usage of this term only reinforces the preexisting concepts pertaining to immigrant and refugees established in the previous political regime.

There is no direct discourse within the 9 speeches that contribute to establishing an anti-immigrant attitudes. The only instance where a slight hint of an anti-immigrant tone can be

established is when Minister McCallum references refugees as being culturally different by saying that *"There may be a cultural element, remember that refugees are coming from an entirely different world, our world is very different from their world"*. As demonstrated in the findings, this discourse deothers refugees as different, and perhaps culturally deviant - a discourse that can be interpreted as a negative attitude towards refugees.

With regards to the theoretical direction behind the discourse it can be summarized that the speakers do employ theoretical rationalization as presented in Chart I as the rationale for their discourse. Neoliberal logic on multiple occasions can be identified as the guiding principle for the discourse. Amongst it, the most prominent is the shrinking welfare state which leads to responsbilization of the private service providers, as well as family members. Family support and involvement in the childcare is linked to economic productivity and growth. This relationship is characteristic of the neoliberal logic, where the state guided by cost saving initiatives outsources many of its previously assumed responsibility into the hands of the private individuals. Cuts to education, healthcare and other forms of social assistance have a more of a detrimental impact on women: mothers and grandmothers alike (Arat-Koc 1999). While, the discourse within the speeches does not directly advocates for traditional family structures or family values. The emphasized placed on grandparents as most suitable and necessary actors in the provisioning of childcare not only reinforces traditional gender roles of women by segregating grandmothers within the domestic labour sphere, but also reinforces the construction of a self-reliant, ideal immigrant families (Root, Gates Gasse, Shields and Bauder 2014). In addition, the neoliberal emphasize placed on self sufficiency of families with regards to provisioning of childcare is

presented as gender neutral in the discourse of the 9 speeches. Grandparents are addressed as being equally helpful and responsible for childcare within the family, a development compliant with the neoliberal framework of free-market liberalism, unlimited choice and most importantly gender equality. However, social reproduction and domestic labour has been disproportionately placed on mothers in order to avoid "wasteful" spending of the state (Root et al, 2014). Grandmothers alike are more likely to engage in childcare support and emotional labour within the family than grandfathers (Marhánková and Stípková 2015). Therefore, it can be argued that the rationale behind the discourse that places emphasize on family support as a natural function of the extended kin is rooted into neoliberalism.

Findings of the Objective II:

The second objective of this research study is to complete an inductive and explorative discourse analysis in order to uncover what new language and ultimately forms of thinking have been introduced by the Liberal speakers. It is important to mention that these findings are only representative of the discourse found within the 9 speeches and findings cannot be generalized to characterize the Liberal Party's discourse in its entirety.

Knowledge is socially constructed through the language and the meaning that it carries. Language carries meaning which is composed into words and these words in tern construct knowledge or new ways of thinking (Renzl 2007). The three core elements of discourse analysis are function, variation and construction of the language (Potter & Wetherell (1987), Potter (Potter, 1997), or Edwards & Potter (1992) as cited in Renzl 2007). Primarily, people use

language for its functionality, to communicate a message or to order someone to do something through the use of words. Secondly, variation indicates that language is communicated differently depending on who is the speaker and who is the audience. This can be also understood as tailoring of the words depending on the audience. The last element of discourse analysis is construction, which looks at the latent meaning and interpretation behind the language. Looking at the construction of the language requires one to critically analyze the choice of words of the speaker as well as their omission for the purpose of producing a particular meaning and knowledge.

The data will be presented in a way that will capture the three elements of the discourse, its functionality, variation and construction. The discourses from all 9 speeches are organized together based on similar interpretation or construction. For instance, all discourses pertaining to family reunification from all 9 speeches will be placed under the same function, where their construction or the latent meaning will be interpreted collectively into a new form of knowledge or thinking about the immigrants.

Function:

"*A Liberal Government will make family reunification at the core of its immigration policy…*"

"*The Liberal Government will immediately double the number of applications, allowing parents and grandparents to 10 thousand every year*"

"*Restore the maximum age for dependents to 22 from 19 to allow more Canadians to bring their children to Canada*"

"We will change the rules so that spouses immigrating to Canada will receive immediate permanent residency, no 2 year waiting period"

- P.M. Justine Trudeau

"We want to reduce barriers because we want people to become Canadians"

"You can come into Canada as a spouse as a permanent resident, where you are immediately a permanent resident, rather than a 2 year intermediate period"

"Parents and Grandparents matter too"

"We facilitate family reunification within Canada for refugees…"

"Interim status for a female gave rise to domestic abuse because if the husband left her, she would have no status…we think it is unacceptable to put women in that position"

"So called economic migrants that come as principle applicants end up not working and some that come under the family class do work and even grandparents that don't work enable the father and the mothers to work by looking after the children"

"So everybody is an economic migrant, there is no an economic who is productive and everybody isn't..

- Minister, McCallum

Variation:

The speakers, PM Justine Trudeau and Minister McCallum both employ an assertive tone to demonstrate the authority of their government . It is being said that the government will, not will want to, not aims to, not plans to, or likes to, but will double the number of applications as well as will implement other changes. The choice of words acts not only to demonstrate the authority of the speaker, but also coveys that the speaker wants to appeal to the audience by

addressing this issue with great urgency. This is meant to establish trust and likability between the speaker and the audience.

Construction:

Family Reunification:

Family reunification has not been at the core of the immigration policy under the previous conservative regime. Taking out the economic immigrant and replacing it with family reunification as the core of the immigration policy replaces the economic concerns of the state with concerns over family values and immigrants emotional and psychological wellbeing.

Equal Recognition:

Another prominent theme that comes through the language of the speakers is equal recognition of all immigrant groups. What begins as the discourse about family reunification as being at the core of the immigration policy translates into the dismantling of the stratified entry system established by the previous regime, in which economic class was conceptualized as more productive and desirable than the others. Emphasize is being placed on equal status for all, whether it be spouses of the Canadian citizens, family class immigrants or refugees. All are portrayed as deserving of equal recognition, status and state protection, as well as state attention.

It can be argued that discourse emphasizing family reunification translates into family minding, meaning immigrants are no longer conceptualizes as singular units whose worth is measured in economic productivity, but they are thought of as components of a family, as mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters and grandparents. This approach makes immigrants more

relatable to Canadians, as they are portrayed as more humane. Moreover, the emphasize placed on equal recognition of all classes of immigrants erases immigrant stratification based on economic desirability.

Function:

"Your enthusiasm and fresh ideas will serve your country"

"I call on a parliamentarians to work together, with a renewed spirit of innovation …"

"We can be even better"

"By being smart, and caring - on a scale as never before"

"Let us not forget, however, that Canadians have been clear and unambiguous in their desire for real change"

- Governor General

"The Government can make real change happen"

"Time for a change, a real change"...all Canadians should have a real and fair chance to succeed"

"The government will renew Canada's commitment to United Nations peacekeeping operations"

"The Government will make real change happen"

"It will prove that better is not only possible - it is inevitable result when Canadians work together"

"For the first time in our country's history - there will be an equal number of women and men around the Cabinet table"

"We promised you a government that will bring real change - in both the things we do and they way we do them."

"We also made a commitment to bring new leaderships and a new tone to Ottawa"

"We will pursue our goals and objectives with a renewed sense of collaboration"

- Trudeau

Variation:

Once again the tone of the speakers is assertive. However in this instance, these discourses are communicated with more hopefulness, positively and enthusiasm. There is also an air of celebration and triumph in these discourses which means to address the new relationship that the newly elected government plans to establish with the electoral.

Construction:

Change - the real change:

The language makes a huge emphasis on change, renewal and ultimately rejuvenation of the political environment from the old regime to the new. Change in this context is meant to resonate with positivity, helpfulness and enthusiasm of the new political leaders. While, the speakers do not directly compare themselves with the previous political leaders, as there is very little mentioning of what proceeds the change, the pairing of the word change with the word real, which is done on numerous occasions, can be interrupted as a new way of thinking about politics. Real change means that this change will matter, it will change things in actuality and in practice. Real change also means real politics, with more transparency and openness. It can be argued that this discourse, although, is not directly tied to immigration attempts to create an

environment where the electoral is more susceptible to change and thereby will be more accepting of the more progressive form of governance to come.

Function:

"Central to that success is a strong and growing middle class. The Government will as immediate priority, deliver tax cuts for the middle class"

"The Government has also committed to provide more direct help to those who need it by giving less to those who do not. The new Canada Child Benefit will do just that"

"And recognizing that public investment is needed to create and support economic growth, job creation and economic prosperity"

"To create more opportunities for young Canadians, especially those from low and middle class income families, the Government will work with the provinces and territories to make post-secondary education more affordable"

"The Government will make it easier for for immigrants to build successful lives in Canada, reunite their families and contribute to the economic success of all Canadians"

"In graduated for the service of Canada's veterans, the government will do more to support them and their families"

"And to expand economic opportunities for all Canadians, the Government will negotiate beneficial trade agreements, and pursue other opportunities with emerging markets."

"We made a commitment to invest in growing our economy, strengthening our middle class, and helping those working hard to join us."

"We made a commitment to provide more direct help to those who need it by giving less to those who do not."

"We committed to public investment as the best way to spur growth, job crate, and economic prosperity"

- P. M. Justine Trudeau

"We have restored refugee heath care"

"In terms of money we committed short of a billion dollars for this project (refugee resettlement). I think that is a lot of money and that have gone particularly to the settlement agencies to support language training and a huge chunk of it has gone to provide income to government landed refugee which is consistent with the parentage that is provided to Canadians on social assistance"

"Health and education are principally provincial areas, the provision of heath and education, but we do have some programmes to assist refugee in schools"

"There is funding for the 500 organizations whether it is language or helping support the connection o jobs and such"

"I have spoke to many employees across the country and there are many sectors keen to hire refugees"

- Minister, McCallum

Variation:

The tone of the speakers is once agains assertive, strong emphasize is being placed on guaranteeing economic prosperity of the middle class families as well as immigrants and refugees. This is reflective of the Liberal's electoral base.

Construction:

The Welfare State:

The above presented discourse functions to present the newly elected government as giving, generous and fair. The discourse conveys an emergency of a stronger welfare state, a government that believes in public investment and public funding. This kind of discourse deems to elevate some of the stress and pressures placed by the previous government on the private service providers and individual families. The welfarism as a theme comes through in the

discourses that draw a parallel between economic growth and hand-on and a more involved government. This approach and way of thinking also more closely resonates with Keynesian economic regime where a strong public sector is seen as more responsible and efficient than a private sector. It can be argued that by doing that the Liberal government attempts to create a more positive way of thinking about governmental spending on social assistance, where it is no longer conceptualized as wasteful spending, but an investment in the future of Canadian economy and overall well-being.

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Function:

"Canadians are open, accepting, and generous people. We know that helping those in need strengthens our communities and makes them safer, more prosperous place to live"

"Internationally, the Government will focus its development assistance on helping the world's poorest and most vulnerable"

"Recognizing that Canada is fundamentally and a safe and peaceful country, the Government will continue to work to keep all Canadians safe, while at the same time protecting our cherished right and freedoms"

- *Governor General*

"Canada has spoken clearly in the past election that they want Canadians and our military to engage in the fight against ISIL and we are committed to continuing to do that, help in humanitarian efforts, in refugee efforts we are continuing to do."

"Canada continues to be a strong supporter on coalition against ISIL and continues to be engaged on humanitarian level, on a refugee level and indeed on a military level. Right no we are in discussions with our allies on how Canada can continue to participate and to help, since we are withdrawing out fighter jets."

- *P.M. Justine Trudeau*

"Canadians went from being super concerned with security as this started at the times of the Paris attacks and somehow evolved into a great national project where Canadian from all walks of life have come to support this initiative (refugees)"

"We did meet our target 25 000, we did have 87% that are in permanent housing, challenges on the way to resolution."

"We asked the UN for vulnerable people and we got them and we wanted them so in that since thats good."

"It is not just a humanitarian act, which it certainly is in the short run, but I think particularly with our ageing population it is also an investment in the future."

"Syrians are just a drop in the bucket out of millions people that are displaced so we are nevertheless doing our bid to help"

"We are contributing money to international agencies to help support the refugee population in countries like Jordan and Lebanon."

"We have 4 times more refugees than we did in the previous years so we certainly stepped up our action."

"Canada works closely with UNHCR to resettle 24 000 Iraqi"

- Minister, McCallum

Variation:

The tone of the speakers once again aims to assert the Canadian public, however this time around the expressions used do not tell about what the government will do, but what the government is doing and has done up to this date. There is a lot more pride and sense of accomplishment that is being conveyed to the public along with the discourse.

Construction:

Humanitarianism:

The above mentioned discourses convey about the Liberal Party's great humanitarian endeavour. In the context of Canadian past , the Liberal's discourse can also be seen as romanticizing Canada's humanitarian past. Humanitarianism has always been a huge part of the Canadian values and heritage, however in the past decade humanitarian involvement and self-pride that comes with it has disappeared from Canadian political and social consciousness under the shadow of securitization. These discourses both resonate with reconnecting with the Canadian past, as well as open up opportunities for a bight and hopeful future.

Function:

"Have faith in your fellow citizens, they are kind and generous, they are open-minded and optimistic."

- P.M. Justine Trudeau

"Heart warming response. My problem is that I cannot satisfy the enormous demand of generous Canadians who want to take them into their homes. Now think of that. "

"We have not been able to deliver fast enough to satisfy all those that want to sponsor them, in a way thats a good problem - it reflects the generosity of Canadians."

"I wish we could do more quickly to satisfy the Canadians who are so anxious to receive the refugees."

"A family in PEI cancelled their vacation plans to help to bring Syrian refugees to the smallest province out of harms way.
I think this is only an iceberg, only the beginning in terms of support we will get across this country."

-Minister, McCallum

Variation:

The tone of the speakers is appreciative, yet assertive. The messages conveyed in a manner that aims to inspire Canadians to continue to provide supports and show generosity to fellow citizens, immigrants and refugees alike, but also in a way that demonstrates speakers gratitude and pride. The discourse can be identified as also inspirational, calling on all Canadians to take pride in its generosity and to follow the good examples of the fellow citizens.

Construction:

<div align="center">

Generosity:

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Generosity is a theme that is very prominent in the Liberal speakers' discourse. It comes up on multiple occasions and most frequently in relation to Canadians' heart-worming response to Syrian refugees. Generous Canadians, accepting and kind Canadians in relations to immigrants and refugees, as a discourse challenges the previously held emphasize on economization of immigration, whereby fiscal consciousness and security concerns were put at the forefront of immigration. Arguably, discourse on immigrants draws on emotional language rather than neoliberal quantifying terminology such as productive, self-sufficient and

economically smart immigrants with the purpose to redirect the questions over immigration into a moral sphere rather than purely economic.

Function:

"Unique diversity is a blessing bestowed upon us by previous generations of Canadians."

"A Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian."

"Canada was built by people from all corners of the worlds who worship every faith, who belong to every culture, who speak every language."

- P.M. Justine Trudeau

"Canada succeeds in large part because here, diverse perspectives and different opinions are celebrated, not silenced."

"Canada is strong because of our differences, not in spite of them."

"As a country, we are strengthened in many ways: by our shared experiences, by the diversity that inspires both Canada and the world, and by the way that we treat each other."

- Governor General

"Refugees is more a matter or the heart than the brain. It speak to who we are as a nation."

"We have acted on our very strong belief that there is one class of Canadians not two classes that a Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian and the government will no longer revoke citizenship of Canadians."

This is a Canadian project and all parties in the past or the present have brought in thousands of refugees, it is our way, it is not in a slightest way partisan

- Minister, McCallum

Variation:

Similarly to the discourses proclaiming Canadians as generous, the above listed discourses convey deep pride of the Canadian people and appreciation for its candid qualities. The speakers display gratitude for the Canadian people and the tone is meant to be establish a positive relationship between the speakers and the audience.

Construction:

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Canadianness & Diversity

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The major theme that binds all of the above mentioned discourses can be conceptualized as contributing to a new understanding of what it means to be a Canadian. *Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian* is a discourse introduced by the Liberal party. It caries a very powerful message that "Canadianness" is more than just a title that comes from the acquisition of citizenship. "Canadianness" is way of being, the essence of which cannot be taken away by any party. Through this, the Liberal Party recognizes the Canadian nation and its goodness as existing above the partisan politics. Meaning, the government must govern in a manner that respects the way of the Canadian people, rather than seeking to divide them. This discourse produces a new way of thinking about not just Canadians, but about politics as well, as there to serve the Canadian people and being mindful of all the nation's virtues and not being divisive, punitive or dictatorial.

Secondly, there is a very strong emphasize being placed on celebrating the Canadian diversity. Diversity is frequently used in the mentioning of refugees and immigrants. Diversity is a word that closely resonates with the Canadian public. Adding diversity back into the political lexicon at such frequency and in relation to immigration and the almost utter disappearance of discourse on securitization produces a more positive, open-minded and humanitarian way of thinking about newcomers.

Summary of the Findings II:

The second objective of the study applied discourse analysis to the 9 speeches for the purpose of discovering new language used in relation to immigrants by the Trudeau Liberal Government. Language has the ability to construct new forms of knowledge and thinking about immigrants. The following table presents a summary of all the constructs that were derived from the 9 speeches. These constructs, arguably present a new and a fresh perspective on immigration in Canada.

Construct:	Qualitative interpretation:
Family Reunification	Family reunification is at the core of the Liberal Party's immigration policy. Family is seen as essential to immigrants' integration into the Canadian society. Recognition of the extended family of immigrants constructs immigrants as not just an economic contributor who exists solely for the purpose of capitalistic expansion, but as a unit of a family. This makes immigrants more relatable to the general public and arguably promotes more pro-immigrant attitudes and way of thinking.
Equal Recognition	Equal recognition pertains to the fact that all immigrants are portrayed as being equally valued for whatever they can contribute to the Canadian society. Economic immigrants are no more desirable than family class or refugees.
Change - The Real Change	The emphasize placed on change resonates with a new era, new way of thinking not just about immigrants in Canada, but about the government as well.
The Welfare State	Liberals place huge emphasize on public investment and social spending. The money raised to resettle government assisted Syrian Refugees, as well as increase in funding to the settlement sectors is an indication of a more giving and welfare conscious state.
Humanitarianism	Refugee Resettlement is seen as a humanitarian mission. There is an utter disappearance of discourse on security of the Canadian borders. Instead, the Liberal Government emphasizes the traditionally humanitarian role of the Canadian nation in the global conflicts.
Generosity	Canadians are characterized as generous, giving and accepting of immigrants and refugees alike. This creates a very positive pro-immigrant attitude and helps to conceptualize immigrants and refugees ad desirable, safe and wanted.
"Canadianness"	The Liberal Party makes great attempt to reconceptualize what it means to be Canadian. There is great emphasize being placed on "Canadianness" as being more than just a possession of a citizenship. Canadian is a Canadian is a Canadian, meaning no one can take "Canadianness" away from any Canadian and it is not a matter of the politics.

Construct:	Qualitative interpretation:
Diversity	Openness to diversity is seen as a great virtue of the Canadian people. Highlighting diversity as amongst the key strengths of the Canadian people creates not only a pro-immigrant environment, but also hinders immigrants stratification based on economic desirability. All immigrants, refugees, family members and spouses are welcomed and each is seen as desirable and productive in their own unique way.

Discussion:

The directed discourse analysis of the 9 speeches suggest that themes similar to the codes, such as, *economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles* and *security threat* were indeed found within the Liberal's discourse. These themes, however were not prominent and were not directly found, word for word, within the speeches. This could suggest that the Liberal Party's speakers made a conscious effort to avoid using such language or language similar to *economic burden, reinforcement of traditional gender roles* and *security threat* in order to avoid procreating some of the negative attitudes displayed by the previous, Harper Conservative Government in relation to immigrants and refugees.

What could be observed instead is the continuation of the neoliberal logic or theorizing in the discourses made by the Liberal speakers. Neoliberal logic was especially prominent within the discourses on family reunification put forth by the Liberal Party's speakers. Neoliberalism as an ideology is founded on laissez faire economics, where state intervention is kept to a minimum in order to avoid wasteful spending and things are expected to take their own course, subjugated

to the principles of the free market economy (Arat-Koc 1999). In this regard, privatization and outsourcing of many state responsibilities such as social reproduction and social assistance is seen as economically advantageous as the responsibility is transferred away from the state onto individual actors. Within the 9 speeches, family reunification is portrayed as beneficial because it brings over grandparents and other extended kin that act as supporters and childcare providers. The justification used is very reminiscent of neoliberalism, in the sense that child-minding, which is a form of social reproductive labour, as well as domestic labour is being discussed by the political actors as the responsibility of the extended kin and not the state. This line of thinking also reinforces traditional gender roles as well as family structures, where childcare and domestic labour supports is seen as a natural obligation of the grandmothers and the grandfathers (Marhánková, and Stípková 2015).

Neoliberalism is encompassing in nature, however, while the findings do yield support for the pervasiveness of the neoliberal logic within the Liberal Party's discourses, due to the small sample size of only 9 speeches, the findings can not be generalized to convey about all Liberal Party's discourses. Therefore, the study cannot answer whether or not, neoliberalism is an exclusive function of the Harper Conservative Government and whether or not it will prevail within the discourses and ultimately policies of the Trudeau Liberal Government. With regards to the 9 speeches in question, neoliberal logic did prevail to some extent and was used as justification for action, such as family reunification policies on behalf of the new government. An interesting area of further research could possibly look at specific policies enacted by the Liberal Government and analyze whether those have been the result of neoliberal rationalization.

Ultimately, most political discourse leads to policies, therefore the language of concrete laws and policies could be looked at in order to further understand whether or not the Liberal Government will draw on laissez-faire economic liberalism as the basis for action. And, if they do, in which policy areas? At the current stage of the research, most of the political discourse conveys information about future policy initiatives, therefore studying actual policies and laws in the years to come will yield more concrete and generalizable data.

The new language pertaining to immigrants and refugees found within the 9 speeches suggests of new ways of thinking and demonstrate new forms of knowledge about immigrants and refugees. The language was found to convey pro-immigrant attitudes and most importantly attempts were made by the Liberal speakers to erase the stratification of immigrants based on desirability. The stratification of immigrants based on economic productively in the past, has disregarded Canada's commitment to Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, as a policy in Canada was incorporated in the 1970s and was meant to redress racial and cultural discrimination of the past immigration policies by adopting a merit based approach to immigrant selection through the Points-Based System (Sharma 2011). However, under the decade of the Harper Conservative rule many have began to question the subsistence of Multiculturalism in Canada. Multiculturalism has been criticized for only constituting a myth of an inclusive and diverse society, while being used as a marketing tool to attract more cosmopolitan and economic diversity (Sharma 2011). Consequently, Conservative Government has placed strong emphasis on recruitment of economic class of immigrants and temporary workers, while reducing the yearly intakes of refugees and family class immigrants.

The new frames of thinking about immigrants and refugees presented by the Liberal speakers within the 9 speeches are much more consistent with the true vision of a cosmopolitan regime (Wattergren and Jansson 2013). Cosmopolitansim is an emotional regime created and supported by the government that embraces modern day globalization, free flow of ideas, people and capital, as well as cultural diversity. While, cosmopolitanism has been a big part of the Canadian culture and economy under the Harper Conservative governance, like Multiculturalism it was only celebrated on a superficial level, focusing policy initiatives on a free flow of capital, exploitative labour and services and not the people. Immigration in tern was heavily controlled , while access was limited to those deemed economically dependent or "unsafe".

Discourse focusing on family reunification, recognition of all immigrants classes as equally valuable, positive change, greater public spending on social assistance, humanitarianism, Canadian generosity and diversity is creating a way of thinking about immigrants and refugees that is free of previously held believes and stereotypes of immigrants, and especially refugees as dependent, burdensome, culturally deviant and unsafe. These discourses can be the start of an establishment of a new emotional regime within Canada, one that embraces true cosmopolitanism and Multiculturalism in all its form. It cannot be yet said whether or not the discovered frames are reflective of all Liberal Party's discourses. Due to the small sample size, as well as the fairly short presence of the Liberal Party in the office, the findings can not be generalized beyond the 9 speeches studies.

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