

PUSHED TO THE PERIPHERY: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE SALIENT ISSUES FACING INTERNATIONALLY EDUCATED TEACHERS IN THE CANADIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT. This article offers a review of the research on the issues facing internationally educated teachers (IETs) within the Canadian education system, including recertification and qualifications recognition, linguisticism, and diversity, discrimination, and inclusion. Following an overview and analysis of these issues, the financial, academic, language, and acculturative support the IETs can access and the push to diversify the teaching force are explored as ways these educators endure the challenges. The final part of the article includes an overview of gaps in the literature including the lack of symmetry among provincial recertification processes throughout the country and a call for scholars to undertake studies to understand the IET experience and include these teachers in more significant numbers in the Canadian school system.

REPOUSSÉ E S À LA PÉRIPHÉRIE : REVUE DE LA LITTÉRATURE SUR LES ENJEUX SAILLANTS AUXQUELS FONT FACE LES ENSEIGNANT E S FORMÉ E S À L'ÉTRANGER DANS LE SYSTÈME ÉDUCATIF CANADIEN

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article propose une recension des recherches portant sur les enjeux auxquels font face les enseignant·e·s formé·e·s à l'étranger (EFE) dans le système éducatif canadien, notamment la requalification et la reconnaissance des diplômes, le linguisticisme ainsi que les questions de diversité, de discrimination et d'inclusion. À la suite d'une analyse de ces enjeux, l'article examine les formes de soutien financier, académique, linguistique et d'acculturation auxquelles les EFE peuvent avoir accès, de même que les initiatives visant à diversifier le personnel enseignant, comme moyens de faire face à ces défis. Certaines lacunes ressortent de la

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littérature, notamment l'absence d'harmonisation des processus de requalification entre les provinces, d'où un appel à la recherche pour mieux comprendre l'expérience des EFE.

This article draws on current and recent research to identify and critically analyze some of the salient issues facing internationally educated teachers (IETs) in the Canadian education system. The issues include recertification and qualifications recognition, linguisticism, and diversity, discrimination, and inclusion. These issues pose challenges for newcomer teachers and speak of the enormity of their predicaments – resettling in a new country, adjusting to a new language, upgrading teaching credentials, and searching for employment to support families. The article offers research-informed recommendations from the literature for various stakeholders in the education system, including IETs themselves, hiring personnel, and school administrators. The recommendations can alleviate the frustration many IETs experience with qualifications recognition and recertification and bring awareness to the linguistic discrimination and systemic racism evident in Canadian schools when IETs recertify. The article concludes with gaps in the literature on IET integration and the future research that can be conducted to better serve the needs of these teachers who serve as valuable role models in the school system.

INTERNATIONALLY EDUCATED TEACHERS IN CANADA

Internationally educated teachers face numerous challenges as they recertify and begin teaching careers in the Canadian education system. The group has been labeled as a marginalized body by Schmidt (2015) who notes IETs often receive minimal funding from the federal government and are given less priority within immigration policies and the labour market. IETs face systematic barriers and discriminatory hiring practices even though many have acquired certification and possess comparable and sometimes more advanced qualifications than their Canadian-born counterparts (Schmidt, 2010b). Canadian-born teachers typically come from White, middle-class, and English-speaking backgrounds (Schmidt, 2015); as a result, they are usually prioritized in the hiring process over IETs.

The IET experience is frustrating as their credentials and potential contributions often go unnoticed and are deemed unworthy (Marom, 2019; Schmidt, 2010b). Because international teaching methodologies are

usually diminished within western education systems, Marom (2019) notes IETs are expected to become well-versed and adept in western teaching practices. As a result, many often feel the experiences and skills they possess are unsuitable for a liberal style of education, and some newcomer teachers report feeling like outsiders who are tolerated until a sufficient amount of knowledge and skills is attained to return to their countries of origin (Schmidt, 2010b). The magnitude of these issues often leaves IETs unnerved and precluded from the education system.

CANADA'S TEACHER SHORTAGE

Given the teacher shortage in many provinces and territories, there should be a push to recertify and employ more IETs throughout the country. In Ontario and Quebec, the teacher shortage is paramount (Authier, 2023; Balintec, 2022). The retirement surge among teachers in Ontario has resulted in thousands of vacancies and has pressured some divisions like the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) to hire non-certified teachers and teachers who have credentials pending to fill vacancies (Balintec, 2022). Quebec is also struggling with a teacher shortage with estimates of 4,000 vacant positions. The province plans to make recertification less rigid and fast-track the qualifying process so graduates can enter the teaching ranks more quickly (Authier, 2023). These amendments to the recertification process in Quebec would likely result in an increased number of employable IETs and alleviate the province's teacher shortage.

Like Quebec and Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan also suffer from a teacher shortage, especially in the rural areas of both provinces. Some rural divisions in Manitoba have resorted to hiring non-qualified applicants as substitutes and have employed educational assistants to temporarily fill vacancies (Macintosh, 2023). The teacher shortage in Manitoba is especially evident in Indigenous communities in the north where educators typically assume teaching positions in times of shortage, not as an ongoing priority (Monkman, 2017). Saskatchewan is also experiencing a teacher shortage, especially in the province's northern areas. The Northern Lights School Division, for example, is typically 15 teachers short of a reported 300 total teachers. Since emerging from the Covid-19 pandemic, the division has struggled to staff enough teachers and has resorted to hiring educators from outside the division to conduct online classes (Peterson, 2023).

The Maritimes is experiencing a teacher shortage like the provinces in western and central Canada. In Nova Scotia, there is a lack of qualified

substitutes, and regular teachers are being tasked with covering absences (Laroche, 2022). In New Brunswick, a shortage of regular and substitute teachers has reached a crisis point with some schools reporting as many as 22 daily unfilled positions (MacKinnon, 2022). The territories have also not been immune to a shortage of educators. Nunavut nears the top of Canada's percentage of unfilled teaching positions with a reported 10 percent of positions remaining unfilled throughout the year (George, 2022). Yukon is also grappling with a lack of teachers with some schools resorting to hiring educational assistants to cover classroom assignments (Amminson, 2022). From the aforementioned data, it is evident an increase in certified teachers including IETs would be a welcome addition to mitigate the shortages that many provinces and territories within Canada are experiencing.

METHODOLOGY

Methods, Search Terms, and Research Questions

A scoping review was implemented to present an overview of issues facing IETs in the Canadian education system. This type of review is beneficial when conducting a review of a large and diverse body of literature as opposed to a systematic review which focuses on a smaller number of studies and a narrower focus. To conduct this review, I accessed a variety of peer-reviewed articles and chapters (see Table 1) and grey literature (see Table 2). The peer-reviewed articles and chapters were accessed using academic databases, including Academic Search Complete, Curio.ca, ERIC, Google Scholar, Pascal and Francis, and Scopus. Some of the journals that provided relevant literature on IETs included the *Canadian Journal of Education*, the *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, the *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, and *Teaching and Teacher Education*. Grey literature consisted of educational reports, dissertations, government documents, and university news pages. Teacher certification policies were obtained from government websites such as Manitoba Education, the Ontario College of Teachers, and the Government of British Columbia.

To search for peer-reviewed articles and scholarly publications, I used a variety of criteria and keywords. I began searching for articles published from 2005 to 2022 pertaining to IETs within the Canadian education system. I used keywords to search for these articles, including the terms: internationally educated teachers in Canada, newcomer teachers in Canada, immigrant teachers in Canada, IET integration, and the

challenges of immigrant teachers. Many of the materials I accessed were published from 2010 to 2022, but I also accessed some articles from 2000 to 2009, and also a few dated before 2000. My research questions pertained to the following: (1) What are the most pressing challenges faced by IETs working in the Canadian education system? (2) What research-informed recommendations can be implemented to mitigate the challenges faced by IETs? (3) What future research can be conducted to improve the experiences of IETs to include these teachers in more significant numbers in the education system? In total, I reviewed 34 pieces of literature on the issues facing IETs in the education system. Additional sources were accessed to provide contextual information pertaining to IETs working in Canada and on the country's teacher shortage. The following tables include the main sources used for the scoping review to pinpoint the challenges faced by IETs:

TABLE 1. *Peer-Reviewed Literature Pertaining to Internationally Educated Teachers and the Challenges Faced, and the Recommendations Provided*

Document	Document Type	Research Location	Major Themes
Bascia (1996)	Peer-reviewed article	Canada (general)	Advocacy; relationships with students/colleagues
Beynon et al., (2004)	Peer-reviewed article	British Columbia	Institutional gatekeeping; teacher credentialization
Block (2012)	Peer-reviewed article	Manitoba	IET advocacy; discrimination
Cho (2010)	Peer-reviewed article	Ontario	Linguicism; discrimination; cultural adaptation
Faez (2010)	Peer-reviewed article	Ontario	Cultural adaptation; linguistic adaptation
Janusch (2015)	Peer-reviewed article	Alberta	Recertification; acculturation
Janzen (2014)	Book chapter	Manitoba	Teacher becoming; teacher development
Marom (2017)	Peer-reviewed article	British Columbia	Recertification; discriminatory hiring policies; linguicism
Marom (2019)	Peer-reviewed article	British Columbia	Recertification; professional capital
Munro et al., (2006)	Peer-reviewed article	Canada (general)	Linguicism; stereotyping; IET advocacy

Niyubahwe et al., (2012)	Peer-reviewed article	Quebec	Integration challenges; discrimination; financial and academic supports
Othman (2022)	Peer-reviewed article	British Columbia	Recertification; linguistic adaptation, cultural adaptation
Phillion (2003)	Peer-reviewed article	Ontario	Recertification; female IETs; financial supports
Pollock (2010)	Peer-reviewed article	Ontario	Recertification; linguistic adaptation
Ryan et al., (2009)	Peer-reviewed article	Canada (general)	Teacher diversity; disparity between students/teachers of colour
Schmidt (2010a)	Peer-reviewed article	Canada (general)	Recertification; advocacy; teacher shortage
Schmidt (2010b)	Peer-reviewed article	Manitoba	Discrimination; advocacy
Schmidt (2010c)	Book chapter	Manitoba	Recertification; IET advocacy
Schmidt (2015)	Book chapter	Manitoba	Female IETs
Schmidt & Janusch (2016)	Book chapter	Alberta, Manitoba	IET contributions; IET advocacy
Schmidt et al., (2010)	Peer-reviewed article	Manitoba	Teacher shortage; certification challenges; financial supports
Schmidt & McDaid (2015)	Peer-reviewed article	Manitoba	Linguistic adaptation; recertification

TABLE 2. Grey Literature Pertaining to Internationally Educated Teachers and the Challenges Faced and the Recommendations Provided

Document	Document Type	Research Location	Major Themes
Amin (2000)	Ph.D. dissertation	Ontario	Nativism; linguicism, female IETs
Dunfield (2016)	University report	Manitoba	Teacher certification
Government of British Columbia (n.d.)	Government document	British Columbia	Teacher certification
Government of Manitoba (n.d.)	Government document	Manitoba	Teacher certification
Janzen (2016)	Newspaper editorial	Manitoba	Teacher certification
Kailasanathan (2013)	M.Ed. thesis	Manitoba	IET integration; discriminatory hiring policies
Marom (2016)	Ph.D. dissertation	British Columbia	Recertification; linguicism
Ontario College of Teachers (n.d.-a)	Government document	Ontario	Recertification
Ontario College of Teachers (n.d.-b)	Government document	Ontario	Recertification
Ontario College of Teachers (n.d.-c)	Government document	Ontario	Recertification
Stephenson (2020)	Union document	Manitoba	Teacher credentialization; teacher diversity
Tran (2014)	Government report	Canada (general)	Certification process; integration barriers

Data Analysis

After a review of the literature, I made note of the major themes and challenges brought up in each source and the recommendations provided to alleviate the concerns. To conjure a list of themes, I examined the various sections of each source to see if the data aligned with my research questions pertaining to the pressing issues faced by IETs in the Canadian context, the most common recommendations offered to alleviate the concerns, and the frequently cited strategies to mitigate the issues and include IETs in more substantial numbers in the education system. For each source, I examined the research questions and aims, the contextual and methodology sections, and the discussion and findings. The themes and challenges featured most prominently after this review were as follows: qualifications recognition and recertification (mentioned in 62% of the

sources), discrimination, diversity, and inclusion (mentioned in 35% of the sources), and linguisticism (mentioned in 26% of the sources). Some of the themes and challenges that were featured but not to the extent of the aforementioned issues were females working as IETs, IET advocacy, acculturation, and the challenges of being a new teacher. Once the sources were reviewed, I began to integrate the pertinent information into the following section of the article, which provides a sampling of the major challenges faced by IETs.

QUALIFICATIONS RECOGNITION AND RECERTIFICATION

Qualifications recognition and recertification ensure the process of becoming a teacher in Canada is unenviable. IETs often find it challenging to have their credentials recognized by regulatory bodies, which are sometimes reluctant in accepting copies of teaching certificates and transcripts (Marom, 2017). Marom (2017) explains that regulatory boards usually request the original certificates and transcripts from applicants because they are apprehensive of being presented with forged documentation. While these demands may be inconsequential for recent graduates and those arriving from developed nations, the demands have consequences for teachers who graduated several years prior and for those who graduated from universities in underdeveloped nations where acquiring original documentation is often unrealistic (Marom, 2017; Tran, 2014).

In Manitoba, there are several hurdles IETs must go through before they can begin searching for employment in the education sector. IETs must first have their credentials evaluated by the Professional Certification Student Record Unit of Manitoba. Stephenson (2020) notes the evaluation process is costly and many IETs learn they must update their credentials by enrolling in post-secondary courses, typically in subjects such as Canadian history, Indigenous education, and second language education. Manitoba Education mandates that applicants meet strict requirements for a permanent certificate, including having obtained necessary coursework, the requisite credit hours, and teachable majors and minors (Government of Manitoba, n.d.). Schmidt and McDaid (2015) determined that several IETs were also told by officials that proficiency in French would significantly increase their chances of gaining employment. While proficiency in French is a marketable asset, Schmidt and McDaid (2015) questioned the probability of IETs becoming proficient in French after devoting substantial time completing recertification courses and

developing proficiency in English. The French requirement is another strain placed on IETs during the recertification and hiring process.

In Ontario, a considerable amount of documentation is required to recertify as an educator. The Ontario College of Teachers, which oversees teacher licensing, requires proficiency tests in mathematics and in English or French if prospective IETs were educated in a language other than one of Canada's official languages (Ontario College of Teachers, n.d.-c). The College also ensures applicants have completed a practicum of at least 80 days in their countries of origin and demands official, non-photocopied documents, such as copies of professional standing, academic transcripts, and teaching certificates (Ontario College of Teachers, n.d.-a). These documents must be translated in English or French, and the translator must be approved by the College (Ontario College of Teachers, n.d.-b). While being presented with forged documentation is problematic and might undermine the credibility of the College should a forged document be accepted, this requirement places a burden on IETs who graduated from countries in which obtaining original documentation is unrealistic.

Recertification is a time-consuming process that has been criticized by scholars in second language education, including Marom (2017, 2019) and Schmidt (2010b). Marom (2019) explains IETs are typically regarded as novice teachers during the recertification process even though many possess several years of experience. This results in IETs having minimal capital in contrast to their Canadian counterparts (Marom, 2019). Nolan and Molla (2017) explain IETs are often seen as possessing less knowledge and skills, less of an ability to partake in collaborative networks, and less of an ability to exercise professional agency than native-English speaking teachers. This is an erroneous assumption detrimental to the employability of IETs.

The fact IETs are deemed novice educators in the recertification process and expected to enroll in additional coursework is problematic. The recertification process tends to push internationally attained capital aside in favour of western attained capital. This means IETs are given less priority than recent graduates from teacher training programs that award licenses upon graduation despite only practicum-related experience. The fact recent graduates are given more preference than IETs with substantial experience justifies the criticism many have leveled against the recertification process. Schmidt (2010b) notes part of the problem lies with the federal government which positively promotes immigration yet does little to curtail the onerous credential recognition processes that exist

in provinces such as Manitoba and Ontario. This disconnect between federal immigration policy and the provincial recertification process ensures that re-qualifying as a teacher is cumbersome for IETs.

Marom (2016) notes regulatory boards take on the role of gatekeepers to ensure the dominant class continue to fill the roles of teachers. The gatekeeping technique employed by regulatory boards explains why the country's teaching force is primarily made up of White, middle-class members, which contradicts Canada's perceived status as a multicultural nation (Beynon et al., 2004). Beynon et al. (2004) feel these actions restrict opportunities for IETs with a wealth of cultural and social capital and adversely impact the diverse students in the school system that would benefit from the teaching of newcomer educators. Immigrant learners in the school system would benefit from the cultural and social capital IETs possess, such as their formal knowledge, teaching credentials, and social networks. Jaegar and Mollegarrd (2017) stress immigrant learners would also reap the benefits of newcomer teachers being able to interpret their cultural signals, preferences, and attitudes. As indicated, there are many benefits to employing a diverse teaching force.

Recertification is a costly expenditure that further prevents IETs from obtaining employment in the education sector. In British Columbia, for example, the recertification cost is \$395.00 for candidates who acquired their credentials from outside of Canada. Prospective teachers in British Columbia are also asked to pay an \$80 annual practice fee – a fee that ensures one's teaching certification remains valid throughout the year (Government of British Columbia, n.d.). Stephenson (2020) notes many IETs are also required to enroll in additional coursework before obtaining a temporary or permanent license. IETs usually require financial support while completing coursework as tuition fees are costly (Tran, 2014). At the University of Calgary, students are required to pay \$659.76 for a three-credit hour course. Marom's (2017) research indicates some prospective IETs are required to register in upward of 30 credit hours, so at the University of Calgary, this equates to upwards of \$6,658 in tuition fees – a total that does not include auxiliary fees from \$500-\$1,000 per semester (University of Calgary, 2022). The fees IETs are required to pay place an undue burden on a fixed budget. The literature suggests the monetary capital one possesses outweighs the social and professional capital when determining who is eligible to recertify as a teacher.

Securing education-related experience is strenuous for IETs. Schmidt (2015) explains that despite possessing graduate degrees and higher

qualifications than some Canadian-born educators, many IETs are forced to take positions in service industries, daycares, and as educational assistants before completing the recertification process and securing employment in the teaching field. Many IETs are given little choice and accept these positions to support families living in Canada and abroad. Stephenson (2020) divulges that many IETs also seek volunteer work before they can obtain teaching positions. As a result of working in survival-type positions and unpaid volunteer work, some IETs struggle to pay the high costs associated with recertification (Niyubahwe et al., 2012; Stephenson, 2020). Once certified, many IETs struggle to access permanent jobs. Working as substitutes and in term positions for several years is often a reality for IETs before they can access full-time and permanent teaching positions.

LINGUIICISM

Linguicism – discrimination based on language or dialect – hinders the employment opportunities available for immigrants (Nelson et al., 2016) and features prominently in this review of the literature. For those newcomer educators who speak English as an Additional Language (EAL), language discrimination permeates the school system (Schmidt et al., 2010). Lippi-Green (1997) explains that discrimination based on ethnicity, race, and homeland is no longer socially acceptable, so accent discrimination has become a new form of gatekeeping that prevents immigrant professionals from accessing employment. Newcomer teachers are often judged by the accuracy of their punctuation and critiqued on the proficiency of their pronunciation and accents (Block, 2012). Block (2012) notes administrators often equate a thick accent to insufficient literacy competence. This assumption is demeaning and marginalizes IETs who may appear to be incompetent and unworthy of employment. This assumption also suggests some administrators lack awareness of the meaning of literacy and what the term entails. Johansson et al. (2000) define a literacy learner as one who has received minimal formal schooling or has attended school sporadically because of adverse life events, such as civil unrest, war, or a refugee crisis. IETs have typically received significant formal education in their countries and continued upgrading in Canada. Equating a heavy accent to a lack of literacy competence is an erroneous and economically harmful assumption.

Newcomer educators from non-western countries are often discriminated against because of their accents and non-native pronunciation. Lindemann (2002) and Lippi-Green (1994) determined that listeners tend

to pay less attention to speakers with accented speech. Matsuda (1991) explains the lack of attention listeners tend to give to accented speech results from the notion that people in positions of power speak normal, unaccented English – a notion discrediting those who speak with a non-western accent. Those that speak English with minority accents are often dismissed and perceived as unsophisticated (Munro et al., 2006). This revelation is damaging to IETs pursuing positions as their non-native accents hamper their ability to secure employment. Matsuda's (1991) notion also means IETs who have secured employment in schools may be paid less attention to in staff meetings, parent-teacher conferences, and by their learners, colleagues, and administrators. This type of discrimination is harmful to a teacher's career and reputation.

There is a common misconception among school administrators that one needs to exhibit exemplary English to be considered a competent teacher (Marom, 2017). IETs with accented speech likely fall out of favour with administrators who adhere to this exemplary English/competent teacher outlook. Falling out of favour with one's administrator(s) could have repercussions for an IET, including the non-renewal of a contract or unsatisfactory evaluations. Despite research indicating a lack of correlation between accented speech and language ability and professional competence (Buckingham, 2014; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010), newcomer teachers are rarely chosen to participate in educational projects, such as the creation of audiotapes and resources. Amin's (2000) study revealed the accents of newcomer teachers often preclude them from being chosen as models of English for these materials and resources. IETs are likely excluded from these projects because as Matsuda (1991) notes, they do not speak a normal, unaccented variant of English and are not in a position of influence. The issue with precluding teachers with an accented speech from the creation of audiotapes is that learners will only hear the speech of certain nationalities – likely to be American, Canadian, or British. As Amin (2000) notes, other language groups such as English speakers with an Indian or Trinidadian accent are often excluded. Language learners then tend to associate western accented English with the preferred norm and may disregard non-western produced teaching materials and resources. This further elevates the prestige of western-accented English, devalues the non-western variant, and disempowers newcomer educators.

The literature review indicated that school administrators sometimes overreact and equate conversational misunderstandings to a lack of language ability and insufficient professional and literacy competence (Block, 2012; Schmidt, 2010b). In one instance, as reported by Schmidt

(2010b), a newcomer teacher was reprimanded by an administrator for mispronouncing a word during a discussion in the school's staff room. The administrator scolded the teacher and told them speaking coherently was imperative if they were hoping to secure employment as a teacher (Schmidt, 2010b). In another case, as reported by Munro et al. (2006), a substitute teacher with a Polish accent who had been subbing for many years in a British Columbia school division was evaluated by an administrator who deemed the substitute could not speak English. As a result of the negative evaluation, the division no longer contacted the teacher for substitute work. The case made its way to a human rights tribunal that determined the division had discriminated against the teacher. The teacher was awarded restitution as a result of the unlawful termination (Munro et al., 2006). The substitute teacher in the B.C. case likely made some pronunciation errors during the observation and perhaps their accent was heavy, but to equate an accent to a lack of professional competence and language ability was an ill-conceived judgment on behalf of the administrator. This type of discriminatory behaviour explains why some IETs are reluctant to return to the teaching profession in Canada.

DIVERSITY, DISCRIMINATION, AND INCLUSION

Enduring systemic racism and the discriminatory attitudes among administrators, fellow teachers, and students are significant challenges IETs are subjected to in the education system. The prevalence of these issues within the scoping review was evident (see Bascia, 1996; Block, 2012; Cho, 2010; Kailasanathan, 2013; Schmidt, 2010b). Newcomer educators have been the victims of racial intolerance and discriminatory injustices and are often discriminated against in terms of how they converse, their food choices, and the sounding of their names (Block, 2012). Newcomer teachers also face racial discrimination based on their accent, dress, foreignness, and immigration status (Schmidt, 2010b). Dismantling systemic racism is an exorbitant task but a necessary one to ensure the just treatment and inclusion of newcomer teachers.

Schmidt (2010b) recounts instances when her research participants were subjected to discriminatory behaviour in the Manitoba school system. In one case, a newcomer teacher of Indian ethnicity reported for a meeting in the principal's office. Upon arrival, the teacher was reprimanded for wearing traditional clothing, which the principal stated violated the school's dress code (Schmidt, 2010b). The teacher was certified and had been employed in various teaching capacities in Manitoba for over 10

years, so it is startling a teacher of such stature was chastised by an administrator for their choice of apparel. The reprimand is also in contrast to the inclusive policies that divisions in the province promote (Schmidt, 2010b). If administrators have a difficult time adhering to policies of inclusivity, then systemic racism will continue to fester against newcomer educators.

The administrator who chastised the newcomer teacher in the aforementioned narrative likely used the dress code violation as an excuse to discriminate against the teacher. Aversive racists, such as the principal in Schmidt's (2010b) study, are motivated to uphold their egalitarian self-image in contexts where there are clear guidelines for an appropriate, non-prejudiced response. Aversive racists normally understand it would be unwise to discriminate in a situation where their prejudicial feelings may be exposed (Son Hing et al., 2005). Taking this into account, the principal likely understood that informing the teacher they should not wear traditional clothing but rather dress in western attire would likely be perceived as discriminatory and might have exposed the prejudicial attitude of the principal. Instead, the principal used the school's dress code to hide their prejudicial feelings about traditional attire even though the school had no policy prohibiting the donning of non-western clothing. While the racism, in this case, was subtle and less overt, implicit racism is no less harmful than the explicit form (Castro, 2008).

There are several examples in the literature of implicit and subtle racism being perpetuated against IETs. A participant in Bascia's (1996) study spoke of being the only Chinese-Canadian teacher in an elementary school in Toronto. The participant reported the school's principal felt uncomfortable around them because the school did not have any other racialized educators. The participant recalled for the first few months of the semester that the principal only discussed popular Chinese restaurants with them and avoided discussions about teaching altogether (Bascia, 1996). In another study conducted by Cho (2010), a Chinese-Canadian teacher candidate reported the educator assigned to be their collaborating teacher during an elementary practicum questioned how the candidate could function as an early years' educator based on their accent and lack of cultural awareness. The collaborating teacher also mocked how the candidate pronounced certain words and felt uneasiness when the two communicated together (Cho, 2010).

These narratives illustrate the implicit and subtle racism that exists in the education system. Implicit racism is defined as an "automatic negative

reaction to someone of a different race or ethnicity than one's own" (Castro, 2008, p. 156). This type of racism involves unconscious thoughts that lie "beyond the awareness of the person displaying the attitudes or actions" (Castro, 2008, p. 156). Son Hing et al. (2005) believe some racists have unavoidable negative thoughts about racialized members. The collaborating teacher in Cho's (2010) study, who assumed the teacher candidate would have difficulty obtaining employment because of their accent and lack of cultural awareness, fits the description of an implicit racist. The collaborating teacher questioned the teacher's insufficient knowledge of Canadian culture, chastised their accent, and equated these as deficiencies that would hinder the candidate's employability. In reality, language ability has little correlation with teaching competence (Buckingham, 2014; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010), so the collaborating teacher's remarks are unsubstantiated.

Aversive racists typically feel discomfort around members of different racial backgrounds, and while they consciously believe everyone should be treated equally, they unconsciously discriminate because these feelings are unavoidable (Son Hing et al., 2005). This speaks to the feelings the administrator in Bascia's (1996) study felt when conversing with the school's only racialized educator. The administrator felt uncomfortable around the Chinese-Canadian teacher, and while they did not question their language ability or competence, the administrator could not bring themselves to discuss educational matters with the teacher because they felt discomfort around them. Instead, the administrator could only force themselves to discuss immaterial matters, such as Chinese restaurants (Bascia, 1996). An administrator who cannot bring themselves to discuss educational matters with all staff regardless of race jeopardizes the policies of inclusivity that school divisions establish.

Several studies have focused on the challenges newcomer teachers have with student misbehaviour in Canadian classrooms (see Janusch, 2015; Kailasanathan, 2013). Janusch (2015) presents the case of an IET from Hong Kong who was overwhelmed with managing misbehaviour in an Alberta school. The students disregarded the IET's presence, ignored them when they were teaching, and complained about their lessons. The misbehaviour was so unbearable that the IET resigned only two months into the semester (Janusch, 2015). Successful teaching often comes with several missteps and difficult moments (Janzen, 2014), so the IET possibly experienced what many teachers tend to experience in terms of student misbehaviour. Janzen (2014) notes those difficult moments are common in teaching and are necessary for the becoming of a successful teacher.

Perhaps racism was not a factor in this case and the IET's experiences with misbehaviour are attributable to the typical challenges of a teacher.

However, the fact the IET in Janusch's (2015) study was racialized and spoke with an accent may have elevated the degree of misbehaviour. Newcomer educators do not typically receive the same level of respect from students in the initial stages of their careers which can be attributed to Matsuda's (1991) notion that speakers with accented speech tend to receive less attention because of their perceived lack of power and influence. Elbaz (2004) notes students tend to take advantage of this lack of power and influence and misbehave as a result. Teachers in non-western countries tend to be given the utmost authority and respect by their students. This contrasts with western education systems where teachers have little hierarchical status (Gordon, 1996). In the case of the IET from Janusch's (2015) study, the students likely disregarded the IET more so because of their non-western ethnicity and accent, which pushed the misbehaviour to the extreme. This racism is subtle and implicit and places an undue burden on newcomer teachers in terms of managing student misbehaviour.

While increasing the racial diversity of the teaching force in Canada is a noble aspiration, there are clear benefits to employing more IETs beyond symbolic representation. IETs can be role models for youth from racialized backgrounds, encourage them in their academic and life goals, and facilitate understanding that individuals from marginalized groups can achieve professional success (Othman, 2022). IETs can also encourage racially diverse students to take a stance against racism and oppressive acts (Janzen, 2016; Ryan et al., 2009). For example, IETs of Asian ethnicity can encourage Asian students to take a stance against Asian hate and the linguistic discrimination perpetuated against Asian speakers of English. Schmidt and Janusch (2016) reported in their research with Alberta and Manitoba IETs that these teachers were instrumental in advocating for fellow IETs to work as substitutes to diversify their respective schools. This advocacy and leadership are necessary for building relationships with diverse and non-diverse staff and supporting fellow IETs as they gain a foothold in the school system (Schmidt & Janusch, 2016). Schmidt (2010c) explains that encouraging IETs to partake in advocacy work is a means to confront systemic discrimination. The literature reveals there are numerous benefits to dismantling the systemic racism that exists in the education system and hiring more IETs of racialized backgrounds.

RESEARCH INFORMED RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

The following section focuses on the most common recommendations derived from the literature to alleviate the issues hindering the employability and inclusion of newcomer teachers. The recommendations are suitable for various stakeholders in the education system, including IETs, school administrators, school divisions, teacher education programs, and immigration authorities. The three suggestions put forth include: providing financial and academic support, ensuring the availability of language and acculturative support, and taking action against systemic racism by diversifying the teaching force. These recommendations can alleviate some of the salient issues facing newcomer educators.

Provide Financial and Academic Support

The federal and provincial governments should shoulder the responsibility of financially and academically supporting IETs in the recertification process as some teachers arrive through federal immigration programs and some through provincial nominee programs. Phillion (2003) determined many IETs in Ontario, for example, had difficulty affording the costs of recertification and qualifications recognition. This was compounded by the fact many of the participants were unable to secure work beyond minimum wage employment (Phillion, 2003). This likely means the recertification fees are beyond the financial constraints of many IETs, so governments should consider providing loans with zero or minimal interest for those unable to afford the costs of recertification. The provinces can also partner with post-secondary institutions to offer bursaries and scholarships for those with relevant credentials and experiences. Schmidt (2010a) stresses that newcomer educators have much to offer the education system and play a decisive role in addressing the diverse needs of racialized learners. Withholding their participation for monetary reasons, therefore, is inequitably misguided.

A training program developed at the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Education — the Academic and Professional Bridging Program — exemplifies the facilitative programming that provides the financial and academic support IETs require for successful integration into the education system. This program was featured in research conducted by Niyubahwe et al. (2012) and Schmidt et al. (2010). The bridging program was supported by Manitoba's Ministry of Labour and Immigration, which helped pay the tuition fees of the participants. Additional funding was

provided to cover the participants' childcare fees (Niyubahwe et al., 2012). Niyubahwe et al. (2012) detail a similar training program that has been developed at Queen's University to help in the successful integration of newcomer teachers into Ontario schools. Both training programs offered at Queen's University and the University of Manitoba are suitable examples of the programming needed to train and financially support IETs during the recertification process. The research supports the implementation of these types of facilitative programs to financially and academically support IETs.

Ensure the Availability of Language and Acculturative Support

Providing IETs with language and acculturative support are other initiatives expressed in the literature review. Othman (2022) notes that maintaining suitable English proficiency is one of the challenges IETs face in the recertification and hiring process. She is critical of the testing IETs must go through to access post-secondary education and recertify. While university entrance tests (i.e., APUCE) and standardized tests (i.e., IELTS) are not academically rigorous, they do not prepare IETs for using English in meaningful contexts, such as teaching (Othman, 2022). Faez (2010) determines IETs typically require an advanced level of English proficiency to excel in post-secondary course work and discussions. As such, remaining resilient and persistent are qualities IETs must possess as they master the use of English (Faez, 2010). In this regard, language providers play a critical role in ensuring prospective IETs are equipped with the linguistic capital necessary to recertify. In Manitoba, for example, language providers such as Red River College Polytech offer important services to newcomers in terms of academic language preparation and language for employment. These are necessary supports in preparing immigrant teachers for integration in the school system.

Adjusting to a new system of education is an important acculturative outcome for immigrant teachers. The literature indicates IETs are presented with numerous challenges as they adapt to a new system of education, including managing a classroom (Janusch, 2015) and fitting in linguistically with their teaching colleagues and students (Cho, 2010). Faez (2010) notes IETs often must grapple with cultural and societal differences. Some IETs may come from cultures where certain skills such as critical thinking and working collaboratively with others are not highly valued. The Canadian school system highly values these skills, so IETs might find it challenging to acculturate if they do not possess these abilities (Faez, 2010). Schmidt (2010c) shares that practicum experiences play a

pivotal role in acquainting newcomer teachers with an unfamiliar education system. Practicums for IETs can be customized to suit their needs and should facilitate the challenging of assumptions and worldviews. Pollock (2010) adds that volunteer work can also acquaint IETs with the school system and is an efficient means to develop learning networks and partnerships. The aforementioned suggestions are worthwhile initiatives to facilitate the linguistic and acculturative adaptation of IETs.

Take Action against Systemic Racism by Diversifying the Teaching Force

Although it is a vast undertaking, the literature supports taking action against systemic racism to alleviate the challenges IETs face (see Dunfield, 2016; Janzen, 2016; Ryan et al., 2009; Schmidt, 2010b). Schmidt's (2010b) research indicates one way to alleviate systemic racism is to work toward creating a diverse teaching force, which should be the intention of immigration authorities and teacher education programs. The issue Schmidt (2010b) raises is a lack of collaboration between immigration officials and school divisions in the promotion of a diverse teaching force. The emerging diversity of the student body population in Canada strongly correlates to the need for a diverse teaching force to replicate the increasing number of racialized learners (Schmidt, 2010b).

If immigration authorities and school division personnel cannot collaborate on the formation of a diverse teaching force, then teacher-training programs should take action to ensure graduates reflect the diversity of the student body population. One such teacher-training program – the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba – initiated an admissions overhaul of its Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) program to ensure the teaching force in Manitoba imitates the growing number of diverse students (Dunfield, 2016). The program admitted an increased number of applicants from diverse criteria in 2017, which included an increase in the number of Indigenous peoples, racialized persons, persons with gender identity or sexual orientation differences, persons with disabilities, and disadvantaged peoples. The new admissions policy at the University of Manitoba aligns with the province's human rights code and is one of the more progressive admissions policies across the country among leading post-secondary institutions (Dunfield, 2016).

There are numerous advantages of including more diverse future educators in the B.Ed. program at the University of Manitoba. An increase in teacher diversity creates a more welcoming school system that more

equitably serves learners and their families (Janzen, 2016). Janzen (2016) notes diverse educators can inspire disadvantaged youth and incorporate diverse cultural and linguistic perspectives into the curriculum. These educators can stand up against historical and social acts of oppression and educate learners on how best to oppose racial inequality (Janzen, 2016; Ryan et al., 2009). While teacher education programs have an important role in preparing a diverse group of teacher candidates, school divisions and administrators need to ensure the current teaching force is diverse. This can be achieved by examining hiring practices and adapting them if necessary to ensure they serve the needs of student body demographics (Schmidt, 2010b). The University of Manitoba has taken the lead in ensuring its B.Ed. admissions procedures meet diverse criteria. Schmidt (2010b) asserts teacher education programs across the country should examine their admission policies to ensure future teaching forces meet the need of the increasing number of linguistically and culturally diverse students. The literature indicates such policies are an important step to alleviate systemic racism and promote inclusivity.

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It appears the topic of IET integration is a popular one among academics (see Block, 2012; Cho, 2010; Janusch, 2015; Niyubahwe et al., 2012; Schmidt et al., 2010) and graduate students alike (see Amin, 2000; Kailasanathan, 2013; Marom, 2016). More specific case studies are needed going forward in the research on IETs so the field does not become saturated. Given the flexibility offered to permanent residents, many immigrants relocate to other provinces after a duration spent in the first province in which they landed. For example, there have been numerous immigrants who have relocated to Alberta from Manitoba to explore employment in the oil industry. More specific research can be conducted on IETs who are certified in one province (i.e., Manitoba) but decide to recertify in another province (i.e., Alberta). This is an issue that is underreported and deserving of attention.

A further recommendation is a call to conduct more regionally specific and pan-Canadian studies on the challenges of recertification as each province and territory in Canada has its own recertification policy. A study exploring these policies, potential changes in frameworks, and the barriers to credentialization in each province and territory would be a worthwhile addition to the literature given the lack of symmetry among provincial and territorial recertification processes. Given the teacher shortage in many

provinces and territories, future research on how to fast-track the applications of qualified IETs and lessen the barriers to employment is also needed.

Another issue that deserves attention is the phenomenon of IETs choosing to reside and teach in Indigenous communities throughout the country. Currently, in Northern Manitoba, there is a small contingent of Filipino IETs residing and teaching in some of the Indigenous communities within the Frontier School Division and the Manitoba First Nation School System. Teacher shortage is an ongoing issue in many Indigenous communities; as a resort, some schools have filled vacancies with non-qualified teachers and educational assistants (Monkman, 2017). If IETs, such as the Filipino educators in Northern Manitoba, feel welcomed and supported in these Indigenous communities, the likelihood is higher that more IETs consider taking up teaching roles. This is an underexplored phenomenon deserving of attention as increasing the number of IETs would alleviate the teacher shortage in Indigenous communities and create meaningful and long-lasting relationships between newcomer teachers and Indigenous peoples.

CONCLUSION

The challenges IETs are presented within their transition to becoming educators in Canada are numerous. This article touched on a few of the most salient issues – qualifications recognition and recertification, linguisticism, and diversity, discrimination, and inclusion. Qualifications recognition and recertification are time-consuming and strenuous processes IETs must undergo to be accepted as teachers. Canada is often deemed an immigrant-friendly nation, yet gatekeeping processes ensure recertifying to become a teacher is complicated (Beynon et al., 2004). IETs who successfully navigate the qualifications recognition and recertification challenges also face linguistic discrimination. Teachers possessing non-western accents have been deemed unworthy of respect and attention (Janusch, 2015; Kailasanathan, 2013). They have also been prevented from participating in creating educational resources (Amin, 2000) and dissuaded from entering the teaching profession (Cho, 2010). Like other institutions within the country, Canada's education system is not immune to systemic racism. Racism tends to be unconscious, implicit, and subtle, such as studies indicating an elevation of student misbehaviour in classes taught by racialized teachers with non-western accents (Janusch, 2015; Kailasanathan, 2013) and studies reporting the questioning of an IET's competence based on their accent and perceived lack of cultural awareness

(Cho, 2010). The fact racism within the school system is often subtle and indirect makes it challenging to eradicate.

IETs who recertify outside of Canada face similar challenges as their peers in Canadian contexts. In countries such as Sweden and the United States, IETs face a rash of obstacles precluding them from integrating into their respective school systems (Abramova, 2013; Boyd, 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). Boyd (2003) determined IETs in Sweden were erroneously deemed as having less literary competence given their non-western accents. This assumption precludes qualified IETs from successfully integrating into the Swedish school system and is a discriminatory and unfounded supposition. Canadian studies by Block (2012), Munro et al. (2006), and Schmidt (2010b) reached similar conclusions. Studies by Abramova (2013) and Gluszek and Dovidio (2010) revealed that IETs in the United States face similar obstacles to their Canadian and Swedish counterparts, including unfounded prejudice and linguistic discrimination. Abramova (2013) suggests that because of this explicit practice, IETs in the United States are often forced to accept employment below their qualifications and lack confidence in their communicative abilities. The literature review indicates these challenges are also experienced by IETs in Canadian contexts.

The issues IETs in Canada face will take time to eradicate, especially systemic racism which is deeply entrenched in the education system. Scholars in second language education have presented worthwhile ideas to alleviate such challenges, such as Schmidt's (2010b) proposal to increase the diversity of the teaching force. A diverse teaching force can create more accepting and welcoming schools and prepare students to contest the racism that exists (Janzen, 2016; Ryan et al., 2009). A few post-secondary institutions, such as Queen's University and the University of Manitoba, have taken the lead in diversifying the future teaching force by implementing programming to financially and academically support newcomer teachers (Niyubahwe et al., 2012; Schmidt et al., 2010). If a concerted and collaborative effort is given by all stakeholders, then the education system in Canada can take meaningful steps forward to alleviate the salient issues facing newcomer teachers.

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