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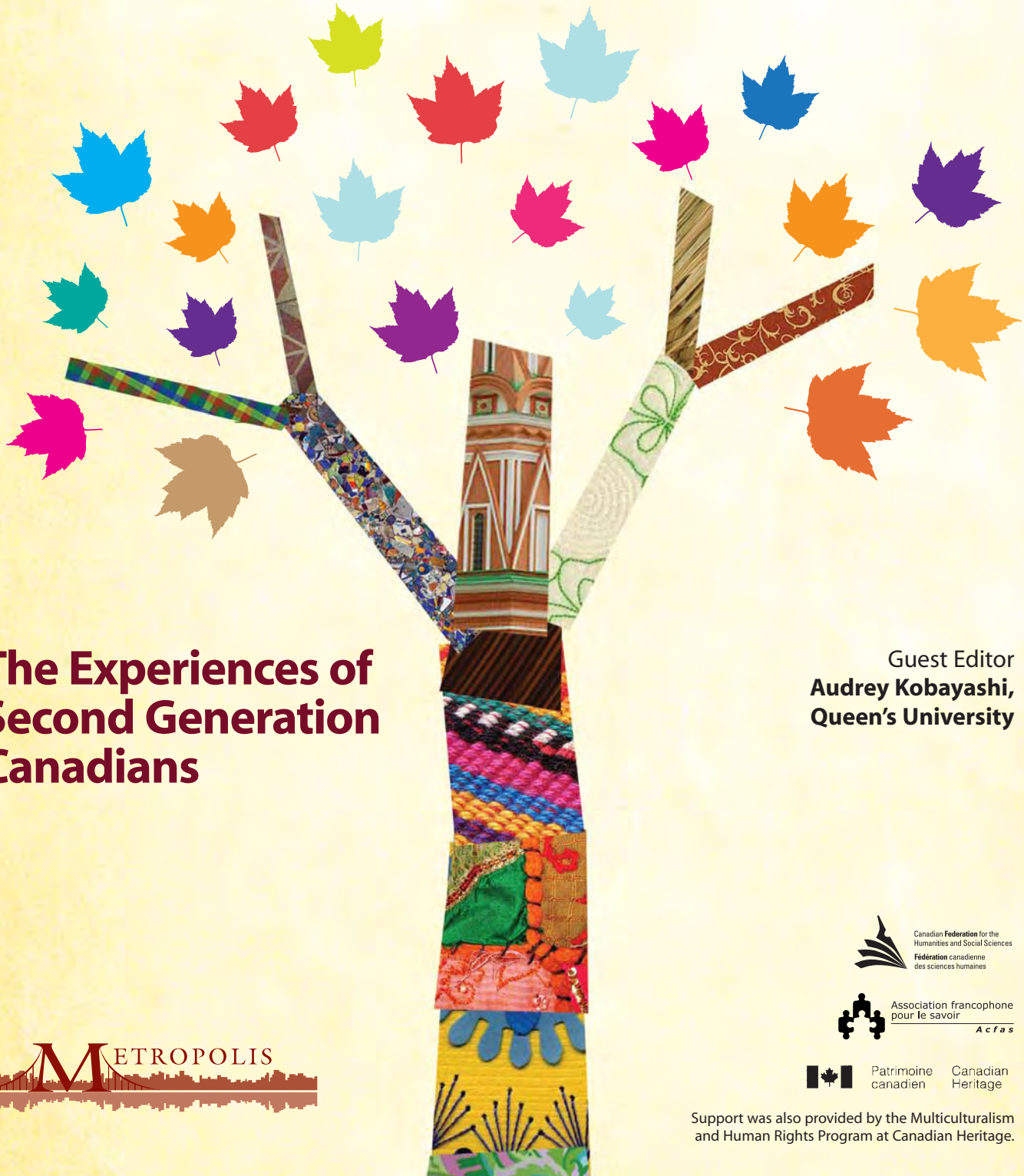

The Experiences of Second Generation Canadians

Guest Editor
Audrey Kobayashi, Queen's University

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A RESEARCH AND POLICY AGENDA FOR SECOND GENERATION CANADIANS: INTRODUCTION

AUDREY KOBAYASHI

Audrey Kobayashi received her doctorate in 1983 from the University of California at Los Angeles. She taught Geography and East Asian Studies at McGill University from 1983 to 1994, after which she moved to Queen's University, initially as Director of the Institute of Women's Studies (1994 to 1999) and thereafter as Professor of Geography. In 1994, she was a Fulbright Fellow at the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, DC. Her research interests revolve around the question of how processes of human differentiation – race, class, gender, ability, national identity – emerge in a range of landscapes that includes homes, streets and workplaces. She places strong emphasis on public policy, and on the legal and legislative frameworks that enable social change.

Stories of the second generation are deeply woven into the romantic narratives of every immigrant society: ambitious and starry-eyed Horatio Alger types who rise from "rags to riches," espousing their immigrant parents' Old World values of family, education, and hard work to become model citizens and community leaders. As those who examine social and economic influences in society, social scientists, policy analysts and, of course, community workers are able to understand that such mythology surrounding the second generation is deeply gendered and racialized; it also mythologizes a society in which everyone can make good based on simple hard work and adherence to an equally mythical set of dominant values. The other problem with any national mythology is that it is often "true" to the extent that it represents a realistic course for those for whom the "second-generation-made-good" story is attainable. National narratives socially construct the possibilities and the normative pathways to social inclusion and attainment.

This volume reflects the work of social scientists and policy-research analysts coming to terms with the myths of the second generation. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines – education, geography, health sciences, psychology, sociology, social work – were asked by the national Metropolis Secretariat to report briefly on their ongoing research into the experiences of the second generation, as were policy-research partners from within government departments that examine diversity, immigration and integration. The second generation is a demographic group that includes both children born in Canada to immigrant parents and those (often referred to as the 1.5 generation) who immigrated to Canada as children. The result is an eclectic compilation of accounts of second generation lives. The methodologies vary in scale from the analysis of large national data sets to a qualitative focus on individuals. The findings also vary, showing that the second generation is heterogeneous both within and between ethnocultural groupings, that their circumstances vary geographically by province, city, and even neighbourhood, and that the researchers themselves occupy a wide spectrum of opinion on questions of integration, assimilation, and the normative assumptions that define "Canadian" culture. As Sethi suggests, all of these issues need to be considered in the formation of effective public policy.

These articles show a number of recurring themes. Members of the second generation see themselves and are seen by others as a cultural bridge between their parents' ways of living and a new way of living that is thought of as Canadian. They are agents of sociocultural change, therefore, and a prime locus for understanding the complexities of multicultural society. They are also overwhelmingly from racialized, or "visible," minority backgrounds and unlike many second generations in earlier history, their everyday experiences include racism. It follows that issues of the second generation fundamentally pertain to the dominant society and to its relative failure – or success? – in achieving the aims of multiculturalism policy. Third, it is at the point of transition from youth to adulthood – completion of education, entry into the labour force, formation of new households – that we find the most telling examples of the things that make the second generation distinctive. Analyses of the issues raised in these articles therefore need to take account of the ways in which human experiences are structured through the life course.

Internationally, research on the second generation is relatively recent but growing rapidly. In the United States, as Zhou and Lee illustrate, the trend has been to move away from assumptions of upward mobility and assimilation to recognition of the diverse pathways to inclusion or exclusion and a refashioning of the "American dream." In Europe, where deeply essentialized notions of national/cultural origins still prevail in most countries, Crul argues that the presence of large numbers of second generation youth, particularly of Middle Eastern and North African backgrounds, has led to a turning point in debates over national belonging that are still far from being resolved. Indeed, many of those debates are being played out – in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and Switzerland to name a few striking examples – in the re-jigging of national constitutions that both reinforce the concept of alien otherness of immigrants and their offspring, and force cultural assimilation, creating in dramatic terms

the paradox of assimilation: that normative visions of culture make it both mandatory and impossible to belong to the ethnocentric nation.

In Canada, it is widely believed that a policy of multiculturalism undercuts both aspirations of cultural conformity and assumptions of ethnonational dominance. But, as recent discussion of multiculturalism, its failures, and its potential demise show, such belief is open to question. Even the language of researchers shows the ambiguity that exists over how to characterize a society undergoing transition through immigration. We still see reference, for example, to "second generation immigrants," an oxymoron when applied to those born in Canada. We still see frequent reference to Canada and other immigrant-receiving societies as "host" countries, as though members of the second generation remain guests in their countries of birth. Just as problematically, the term "Canadian" is sprinkled throughout these pages to indicate that both researchers and the second generation "Canadians" whom they have studied commonly have a normative and monolithic understanding of a dominant Canadian culture regulated by something understood as "Western" values.

The persistence of this idea that there is a dominant Canadian culture that transcends the differences embodied by recent immigrants reflects (at least) one of two assumptions: 1) that those who do not feel, or are not recognized as, part of the dominant culture view this dominant culture as being monolithic and normative and therefore do not recognize the diversity of the society around them; or 2) that Canadian society really is highly normative, assimilationist, and regulated by a set of Eurocentric standards. Either assumption presents problems for the goals of multiculturalism, and challenges Prime Minister Trudeau's statement in 1971 (which he made while announcing the Multiculturalism Policy in Parliament) that Canada has "two official languages, but no official culture."

The collective contribution of these papers would indicate that each assumption, like most national mythologies, is accurate in its way: 1) those who are marginalized, especially racialized minorities, tend to think of a dominant "Canadian" society to which they do not quite belong; and 2) those who belong to the dominant society, although they may support the concept of multiculturalism in principle, have still not gotten over their adherence to Eurocentric norms. These intersecting views show a society that is not quite as multicultural as we might like it to be. The consequences for the second generation are immense. Are they a group in generational limbo, neither fully Canadian nor fully other, living transitional lives on the way to becoming full-fledged citizens? Or do their experiences actually represent a Canada in which *all identities are in flux*, on the way to becoming a multicultural society in which there are no hosts and guests, no Others against which to measure ethnonational authenticity?

As Monica Boyd is careful to point out, we need to be very cautious about making generalizations about the second generation. Not only is this demographic cohort heterogeneous in terms of its ancestral origins (see Jantzen), but it is also varied in terms of gender, residential location, education, and in relation to the contextual issue of social capital. Indeed, the relationship between personal attributes and experiences and social capital is one of the main themes that jumps from these pages as needing much more research.

Ever since sociologist Raymond Breton's path-breaking work on "institutional completeness," Canadian scholars have been interested in the ways in which distinctive ethnocultural groups build social capital as a means both of preserving cultural heritage and of advancing the well-being of its members. An argument in support of multiculturalism would claim that a healthy society is based upon diverse healthy ethnocultural groups providing security and support to its citizens. The opposing argument would follow political scientist Robert Putnam's belief that too much diversity – or too much multiculturalism – diminishes trust, and thus social capital, leading to dissolution of social bonds. While Canadian policy-makers and the general public have until recently strongly favoured Breton's ideal, recent attacks on multiculturalism, including the events that led to the appointment of a commission on "cultural accommodation" (the Bouchard-Taylor Commission) in Quebec, suggest that increasing numbers are following Putnam's theory based on notions of what Jedwab here calls "unmeltable Canadians."

> Members of the second generation see themselves and are seen by others as a cultural bridge between their parents' ways of living and a new way of living that is thought of as Canadian. They are agents of sociocultural change, therefore, and a prime locus for understanding the complexities of multicultural society.

The key to understanding the tension between these two notions of multiculturalism is often found in the Canadian discourse over "social cohesion." Those who do not melt usually also do not cohere (see McDonald and Quell). But the concept of social cohesion is subject to a range of interpretations. One is the liberal notion that Canada should be one big family of social inclusion to which all newcomers are welcomed as equals. Another is that social cohesion can only occur if the limits to multiculturalism are recognized and immigration policy, tailored to ensure that unassimilable others – including, most recently, those of Muslim background – do not multiply. Of course the actual situation lies somewhere between the ideals of multiculturalism and the extremes of discrimination, and the second generation occupies that uneven territory in a wide variety of ways.

How is that variety expressed in the research gathered here? Are there any common themes among those whom Boyd calls "immigrant offspring?" All of the studies, but especially those of Byers et al. and Gallant, show that members of the second generation are keenly aware of their ethnocultural identities, and of both the potential and the limitations for those identities to change. For many, family relations remain of paramount importance and result in a strong tendency to live at home prior to marriage (Boyd and Park), to rely on traditional forms of partner selection (Lalonde and Giguère, Byers and Tastsoglou), to adopt conservative norms of sexuality (Lalonde and Giguère), or in some cases to carry on family traditions through entrepreneurship (Arcand). A growing proportion of immigrant families also struggle with poverty (Tyyskä), which profoundly influences relations within many immigrant families.

But there is also strong evidence that members of the second generation are refashioning traditional notions in innovative ways. Ramji shows that second generation Muslims reinterpret their faith in a multicultural key. Brooks and Wilkinson describe individuals with a strong, inclusive national vision; Ali describes the remarkable self-confidence of Toronto youth in the face of racism; and Potvin describes the social resources of Haitian youth seeking their own place in Quebec society, showing that it is possible to maintain a sense of ethnocultural identity in new and generationally distinctive ways. All of these expressions of cautious optimism point to the importance of developing social capital around issues of identity.

There is overwhelming evidence in this collection that racism is nonetheless a serious issue for second generation Canadians from racialized minorities, albeit the experience of racism, as well as individual responses to racism, may be diverging from what we have until recently come to understand as racist behaviour (see especially Ali, Arthur et al., Brooks, Potvin). Based both on large survey databases such as Statistics Canada's (2003) *Ethnic Diversity Survey* (EDS), they show that a significant number of young people experience racism and identify racist incidents as having a significant impact on their lives. Some researchers, especially Reitz and Somerville (2004) and Reitz and Banerji (2007), have suggested that the second generation may experience more racism than their parents because their linguistic fluency, educational attainment, and high expectations of the rights that come with citizenship place them in positions where they are more likely to be viewed as a challenge to the dominant group, as well as more likely to identify their experiences as racialized. Taken together, this body of work shows that Canada is far from becoming the post-racist society that many recent pundits have proclaimed, and we need to pay attention to the very specific ways in which people experience racism from different ethnocultural and generational positions. As Potvin suggests, however, we also need to shift the focus from the *experience of racism* on the part of racialized minorities to the recognition that the problem is that of the larger society, including a dominant culture of whiteness and an essentializing exclusion of racialized minorities that leaves members of the second generation feeling rootless and disenfranchised in their place of birth.

Members of the second generation…are capable of interpreting and even re-framing the dominant narrative in a variety of ways to assert their own sense of identity and Canadianness; but they do so in a social context in which the aims of multiculturalism are incomplete, and social exclusion and labour market discrimination are justified by an overarching narrative of whiteness.

Researchers in this volume (especially Boyd, Nunes, Rootham, and Yan et al.) also contribute to the growing body of literature that shows that entry to the job market is a key area in which members of the second generation face difficulties. The time of transition from education to work is also the period during which young people are perhaps most acutely aware of their place in society, their relationship with their families, and their aspirations in life. The consistency of reports showing the precarious position of youth of colour in the Canadian labour market, as well as increasing evidence that their situation varies significantly from group to group, contribute to the urgency for public policy – and even more research – to address labour market discrimination and its causes.

A further dimension of the experiences of the second generation is psychosocial adjustment, taken up in various ways by Ali, Arthur et al., Berry, Hébert and Adams, and Khanlou. Taken together, this work shows that members of the second generation vary considerably in their levels of societal integration, whether measured in terms of labour market participation, subjective sense of belonging, or self-ascribed identity. There is a strong relationship between integration and well-being, whether integration is measured according to measurable socioeconomic variables, or some sense of perceived discrimination. Perhaps this generalization is not surprising. It brings us back, however, to the point that I made at the beginning of this Introduction, that there is a recursive relationship between feeling part of a society (which varies by individual) and the normative structures according to which dominant narratives of a society are reproduced. Members of the second generation have shown that they are capable of interpreting and even re-framing the dominant narrative in a variety of ways to assert their own sense of

identity and Canadianness; but they do so in a social context in which the aims of multiculturalism are incomplete, and social exclusion and labour market discrimination are justified by an overarching narrative of whiteness. Understanding the psychosocial dimensions of this dialectic can tell us a great deal about the extent to which both individuals and broadly defined racialized groups can achieve well-being.

These articles represent a wake-up call to academics, policy-makers, and the general public. Their pages give voice to hundreds of young Canadians who participated in this varied research. We should pay attention to their optimism, their creativity, their ambitions, and their vision of Canada. But we should also pay attention to the fact that for a troubling number, racism is a constant part of everyday life, especially as they complete their education and enter the labour force. And we should use these insights to push a research and public policy agenda for a more complete multicultural nation.

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WHO IS THE SECOND GENERATION?

A Description of their Ethnic Origins and Visible Minority Composition by Age

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to develop a compositional analysis of the characteristics of second generation Canadians as they relate to diversity, so as to provide some context for researchers who might examine their integration. Specifically, this article will first review the concept of generations on the Census and examine the results of the Ethnic Origin and Population Group (visible minority) questions on the 2006 Census with regards to the second generation by age.

LORNA JANTZEN

Lorna Jantzen is a Senior Research Officer at the Department of Canadian Heritage in the Citizenship and Heritage sector. Her work focuses on ethnocultural and linguistic minorities in Canada.

The opinions expressed in the article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

The demographic composition of Canada has changed dramatically over the last three decades, reflecting the de-racialization of immigration policy; the policy changed from one favouring people with European backgrounds to one that accepted individuals regardless of their national origins or race. Prior to the 1960s, Canada was already a diverse country with its Aboriginal peoples, Francophone minorities and immigrants coming from Britain (Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England) and many other European sources (e.g., Germany, Ukraine and Hungary). However, changes to immigration policy in the 1960s and 1970s led to new sources of immigration (e.g., China and India) and an increase in the number of ethnicities, cultures and languages in the Canadian population.[1] The 2006 Census data highlights this fact: the number of languages reported on the Census has increased from 38 in 1971 to 147 in 2006, the number of ethnic origins has increase from 121 in 1991 to 247 in 2006 and the percentage of the population that reported they were a visible minority increased from 4.7% in 1981 to 16.2% in 2006.[2]

Several decades have passed since Canada's immigration laws were liberalized, but it is only in the last decade or so that Canada has received a significant number of people from these new source countries. The important policy questions that have emerged are whether the children of immigrants coming from these new source countries have overcome the integration hurdles encountered by their parents and whether they have thrived in a country that is still largely British and European in stock and based on Christian values. Some researchers have suggested that the barriers faced by immigrants from these new source countries are similar to those faced by immigrants from older source countries and that the integration of their children (i.e. the second generation) will be the same as the integration of the children of past generations of immigrants. Others have suggested that immigrants coming from these new source countries are substantially different from those coming from past sources (e.g., religion and physical characteristics) and, thus, these immigrants and their children will face different barriers that will adversely affect their integration.

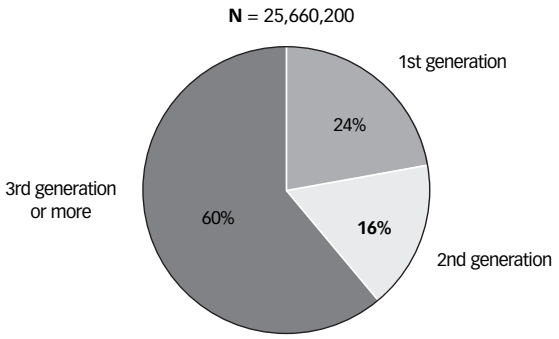
The purpose of this article is to develop a compositional analysis of the characteristics of second generation Canadians as they relate to diversity, so as to provide some context for researchers who might examine their integration. Specifically, this article will first review the concept of generations on the Census and some of the methodological shortcomings inherent in the standard concepts on the Census. This is followed by an analysis of the 2006 Census second generation results from the Ethnic Origin and Population Group (visible minority) questions by age.[3]

Defining generations

Information on generations in Canada from the Census is available for the population aged 15 years and older. Analysis that applies three generational categories has only been possible since the 2001 Census with the addition of the Place of Birth of Parents question on the 20% Sample. I will be employing some standard Statistics Canada generational definitions: first generation is anyone not born in Canada (6,124,600 people, or 24%), second generation is anyone born in Canada with at least one parent not born in Canada (4,006,400 people, or 16%), third-plus

generations is anyone with both parents born in Canada (15,533,200 people, or 60%).

Figure 1
Generational status in Canada for the population aged 15 and older (2006 Census, 20% sample)



Although I will be using these standard generational categories, it is important to note that there are some the methodological issues surrounding their use. For example, in defining the first generation as those people not born in Canada, the standard generational categories include Canadian citizens born outside Canada in the first generation.[4] Depending on the purpose of the research endeavour, it is possible to adjust the generational data to deal with these children (e.g., exclude them).

It is also possible to divide the second generation into two categories: those whose parents were both not born in Canada (second generation) and those with one parent born in Canada and one parent born outside Canada (2.5 generation). This division helps to adjust for the fact that having both parents as immigrants may lead to a different integration experience for their children than for the children having one parent who has been socialized in Canada.

In addition, the standard generational variable does not take into consideration the fact that children can also be immigrants and can, in some cases, have been fully educated in Canada. This raises the question: What is the difference between children of immigrants and children born in Canada to immigrant parents in terms of their integration experience? It is possible to modify the generational constructs to take into account this potentially important distinction. For example, it is possible to move children that immigrated to Canada into the second generation, or to divide the first generation into those that arrived as children and those that arrived as adults.[5] The question then becomes: What is the appropriate age for making the necessary split within the category?[6] Depending on the nature of the research question, it could be important to refine the operationalization of the generational variable to take this issue into account.[7]

Another piece of information that is missing from the standard generational categories is the age of the parents at immigration. Since the age that the parents immigrated to Canada is not a Census question, we cannot adjust accordingly.[8] The concept of generations in Canada is based on the fact that being socialized in another country has an impact on an individual and how they parent. If a parent immigrated to Canada as a child and has been educated entirely in Canada, then the degree to which they were socialized elsewhere is not near as great as that of someone who immigrated as an adult.[9]

These methodological issues discussed above point to problems with the use of the standard generational variable for research questions having to do with integration. Some of the issues can be handled by using non-standard categories; however, the issue of the age of the parent at immigration remains outstanding. Although the generational divisions are not clear-cut, it is more useful to be able to differentiate between the children of immigrants than to have to include them in with third-plus generations and rely on an "immigrant" versus "non-immigrant" dichotomy. For the purposes of this article, the standard definition provides adequate information for producing a portrait of the second generation; however, I would suggest that researchers analyzing specific generations or sub-populations of generations consider modifying the standardized definitions to suit their research needs.[10]

The second generation according to the 2006 Census

The rest of this article focuses on an examination of results from the ethnic origin and population group (visible minority) questions on the long form of the 2006 Census, as they relate to the second generation.

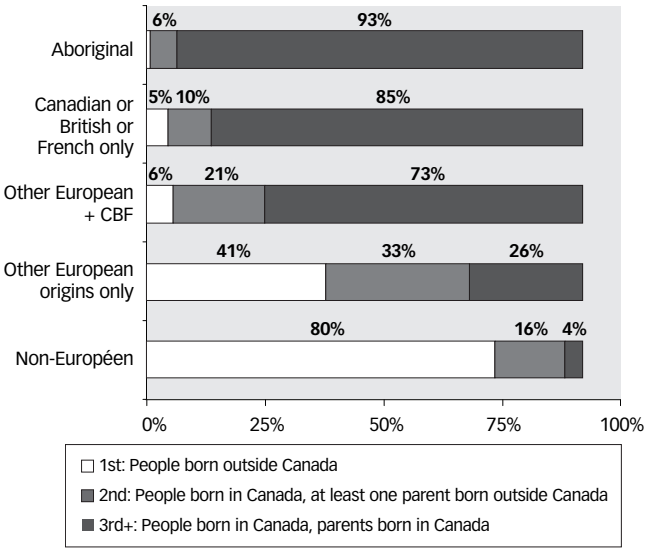
Broad ethnic origin categories

The ethnic origin question on the 2006 Census is open-ended (people can write in their responses) and asks people about the origins of their ancestors.[11] As the preamble to the question states, it is intended to "capture the composition of Canada's diverse population." It does not focus on which culture people might identify with or feel they belong to but rather where their ancestors come from. Statistics Canada released information on 247 different ethnic origin categories.[12] This question allows for single of multiple responses. Multiple responses permit researchers to understand where there is mixing between people from different ethnic origin categories.[13]

Reported ethnic origins can be assigned to broader categories. In this article, I have assigned people to four main categories: Canadian and/or British and/or French (CBF),[14] other European origins, non-European origins and Aboriginal origins. When these broad categories are considered in terms of their generational composition, we are able to see how Aboriginal and CBF-only origins categories are dominated by the third-plus generations, how the other European origins category is split between the three generational categories and how the majority of non-European origin respondents are in the first generation. An understanding of the composition of these broad categories is important for the analysis of the second generation since it indicates the size of the second generation in each category.

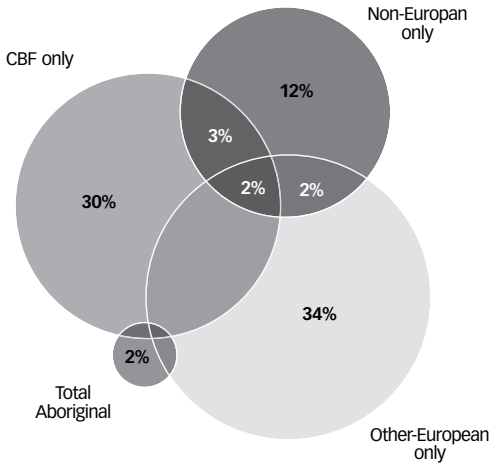
By taking these broad ethnic origin categories and applying them to a Venn diagram of the second generation, response patterns can be illustrated.[15] The second generation Venn diagram shows not only that the

Figure 2
Broad ethnic origin categories by generational status



other European origins category (54%) has the largest circle, followed by CBF origins (52%), non-European origins (19%) and Aboriginal origins (2%) but also that the CBF and other European categories have the highest level of overlap or mixing.[16]

Figure 3
Broad ethnic origin categories for the second generation aged 15 years and older in Canada (2006 Census, 20% sample)*



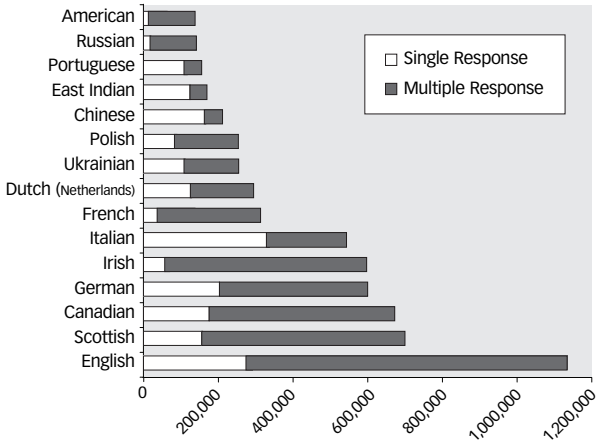
*Only overlaps that are over 2% are shown.

Most frequently reported ethnic origins in the second generation

To further understand the second generation, it is possible to take ethnic origin data to a lower level and examine the most frequently reported origins for that generation. As shown in Figure 4, the most frequently reported origins for that generation are from the CBF origins category: English is the most frequently reported origin, followed by Scottish and Canadian. Irish and French are in the top 15 origins ranking 5th and 7th, respectively. It should also be noted that in the case of all five CBF origins, a greater proportion of respondents reported a multiple response to the ethnic origin question, compared with a single response, reinforcing the fact that people of mixed backgrounds report these origins.

Of the most frequently reported origins, seven are from the "Other European" category: German, Italian, Dutch, Ukrainian, Polish, Portuguese and Russian. Several of the European origins have been in Canada for generations (e.g., Germans, Ukrainians). Not all people of European origins have the same immigration history; for example, a greater percentage of people with Italian or Portuguese origin are in the first and second generations. Within the "Other European" category, there is a great deal of variation between groups, as reflected by the percentage of people reporting single and multiple responses to the ethnic origins question.

Figure 4
Most frequently reported ethnic origins in the second generation (2006 Census, 20% sample)

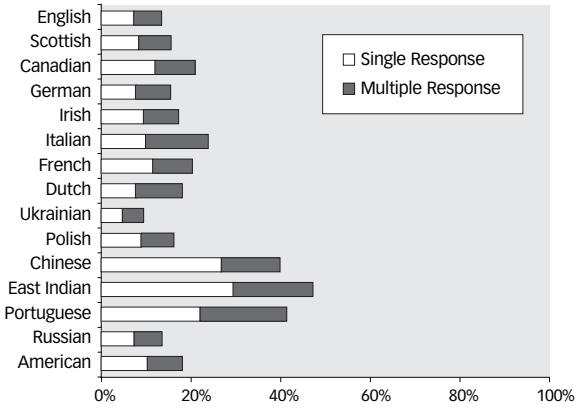


Of the top 15 origins in the second generation, three are "Non-European": Chinese, East Indian and American.[17] People in the second generation that reported East Indian and Chinese have a higher propensity to report a single rather than a multiple response. American origins is similar to Canadian origins in that it is a "New World" origin and is more often reported as a multiple response than as a single response.

If researchers want to compare the integration of people in one second generation ethnic origin category with another, it is also important these researchers understand the age structure of the people in the category. Here I will consider the percentage of individual origin population that is between the ages of 15 and 34, since people in this age cohort are usually in transition and trying to find their economic niche in life. If we consider the percentage of people between the ages of 15 and 34, we will gain an understanding of how economically and socially mature people in the ethnic origin categories are in relationship to each other. For most CBF and other European origin respondents, 20% to 40% of the people in individual ethnic origins are between the ages of 15 and 34. People in the two non-European origins categories stand out since they are much younger: 76% and 91% of

Chinese and East Indian people, respectively, are between 15 and 34 years of age.[18] In summary, for the most frequently reported originspeople reporting CBF origins and other European origins tend to be older than those reporting the non-European origins, which may result in misleading conclusions due to very different age structures.

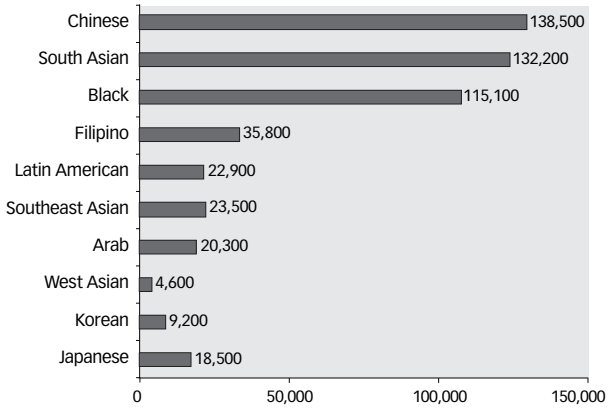
Figure 5
Percentage of people in the second generation aged between 15 and 34, by selected ethnic origin (2006 Census, 20% sample)



Visible minority status[19]

Many who examine the second generation will want to know how people that reported visible minority status are faring and whether they are integrating into Canadian society. Of the second generation aged 15 years and older, 14% (or 552,000 people) reported visible minority status; Chinese is the largest category, followed by South Asian and Black. All of the other visible minority categories were reported by less than 40,000 people.[20]

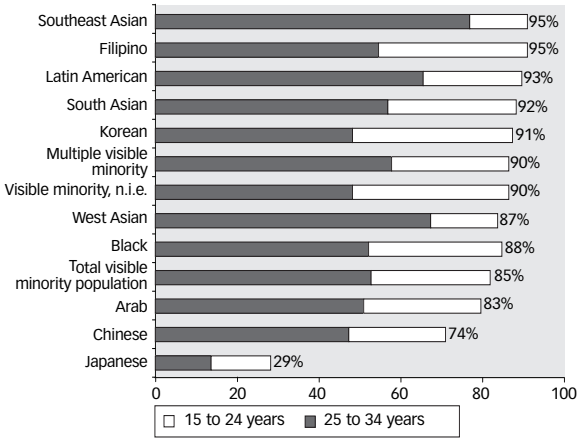
Figure 6
Visible minority categories for second generation Canadians (2006 Census, 20% sample)



Second generation visible minority categories by age

It is not enough, however, to just consider the size of the individual categories. As stated above, if people are interested in understanding the integration of people in the visible minority categories, it is important to know their age distribution. If a population is too young, then they may still be in university and not yet established in their careers. In keeping with the results for the most frequently reported ethnic origins, many of the second generation visible minority categories have large percentages of their populations between the ages of 15 to 34; more than 90% of Southeast Asians, Filipino, Latin Americans, South Asians and Koreans are below the age of 35. The only exception is Japanese: 29% of people that reported Japanese origins are in the 15 to 34 age bracket.[21] Even though there is a high percentage of young people in the visible minority categories, it should also be noted that for the top three categories, there is still a large proportion of the populations that are 35 years and older: Chinese (98,600), South Asians (96,400) and Black (88,300). In summary, analysis is possible in the area of integration, but researchers must take age into consideration.

Figure 7
Percentage of people in the second generation aged between 15 and 34, by visible minority category (2006 Census, 20% sample)

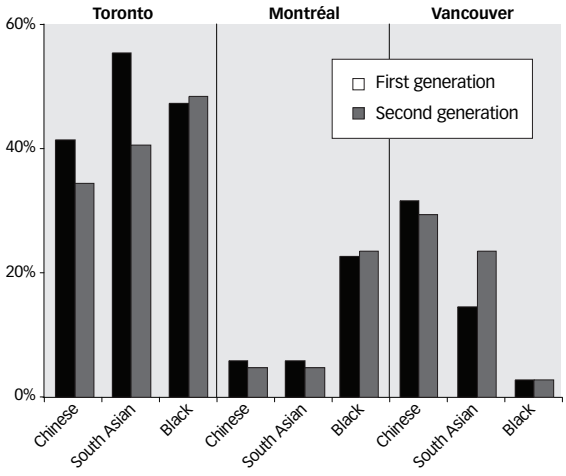


Visible minority categories – second generation in the Canada's largest CMAs

We know that immigrants, or first generation Canadians, have tended to cluster in Canada's largest cities, particular the three biggest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) – Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.

For the second generation, there continues to be a concentration in these CMAs, more so for Blacks and to a lesser extent for Chinese and South Asians. For Chinese, 80% of the first generation live in the three CMAs, while it is 70% for the second generation. Of the first generation Chinese, 42% live in Toronto compared with 35% of second generation Chinese;[22] 32% of first generation Chinese live in Vancouver compared with 30% of the second generation. For South Asians, 77% of the first generation live in these three CMAs compared with 70% of the second generation. For South Asians, 56% of the first generation live in Toronto compared with 41% of the second generation. In Vancouver, the story is different: 15% of first generation South Asians live in Vancouver compared with 24% of the second generation. For Blacks, 74% of first generation Blacks live in these CMAs compared with 76% of the second generation. The percentages for Blacks are similar across the three CMAs.[23]

Figure 8
Percentage of selected visible minority categories living in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, for the first and second generation (2006 Census, 20% sample



In summary, it seems that for Chinese and South Asians, the second generation is less concentrated in the big three CMAs than the first generation.[24] For Blacks, the percentage has not changed much between generations, but it should also be noted that there is movement to other CMAs (particularly Ottawa-Gatineau, and that being true for both the first and second generations). It seems that the second generation is moving into areas outside of their "home communities;" however, this requires further examination since they may be moving to neighbouring suburbs.

Conclusion

After seeing several decades of immigration from non-European sources, we are now seeing the children of these immigrants, who are in many cases visible minorities, make their way into the labour force. Although the second generation continues to be dominated by the CBF and "Other European" origins, the population aged 15 years and older is now 16% non-European. As this article has shown, this particular population is still relatively young, making labour force analysis a little premature (unless controls for age are used). In the case of the two largest visible minority categories, Chinese and South Asians, they are also less concentrated in the big three CMAs – Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver – than their immigrant parents.

Notes

[1] This is not to say that immigration from European sources was discontinued. During this time period, immigrants also came from numerous European sources such as Portugal, Italy and Greece.

[2] The population group question (from which visible minority status is derived) was first asked on the 1996 Census. Prior to 1996, this information was derived from the results of the ethnic origin question on the Census.

[3] There are many other Census questions that could have been examined here but have not been examined due to a lack of space. Plans are underway to do a follow-up article that will include more Census variables (e.g., mother tongue, home language, first official language spoken).

[4] These citizens are mainly the children of people working as diplomats or for non-governmental organizations. Since we do not know how much of their childhood is spent outside Canada, it is difficult to know to which generation they should be assigned.

[5] According to the 2006 Census, 1.3 million immigrants aged 15 years and older (5% of the total population, or 22% of the immigrant population) came to Canada before the age of 15.

[6] I have seen several different positions on where to make this split: some consider children that have completed all of their education in Canada (immigrated before age 5), some take into account those children that arrive before the age of 12 (the age for finishing elementary school), and others use the age of 15 as a break (received some schooling in Canada).

[7] Surveys such as the *National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth* provide data for this type of analysis.

[8] It is possible to use household data to ascertain this for children living at home, but this would be very limiting since the generational variable is limited to the population 15 years and older.

[9] The 2002 *Ethnic Diversity Survey* attempted to probe this area; however, when this survey was being tested it was found that many respondents were not sure how old their parents were when they immigrated to Canada and the question was sidelined.

[10] This article is being written a couple of weeks after the ethnic origins and visible minority data were released, leaving little time to produce non-standard generational categories for this publication. Future research products will use non-standard definitions.

[11] The Ethnic Origin Question on the 2006 Census has a preamble that states "The Census has collected information on ancestral origins of the population for over 100 years to capture the composition of Canada's diverse population." The question then asks: "What were the ethnic or cultural origins of this person's ancestors?" A definition is provided: An ancestor is usually someone more distant than a grandparent. Then a list of examples is provided to respondents. These examples are based on the most frequently reported single responses to the ethnic origin question on the previous Census. For the 2006 Census, they were as follows: Canadian, English, French, German, Scottish, East Indian, Irish, Cree, Mi'kmaq (Micmac), Filipino, Polish, Portuguese, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Salvadoran, Somali, etc. Across from the question, four lines are provided (each line has 11 boxes for individual letters) for respondents to write their responses.

[12] The 247 categories include roll-ups. For example, British Isles is provided as a roll-up for people that reported Cornish, English, Irish, Manx, Scottish, Welsh and British n.i.e. (n.i.e. is the abbreviation for *not included elsewhere*).

[13] With each Census we have seen an increase in the percentage of the population reporting a multiple response to the ethnic origin question: 30% in 1991, 36% in 1996, 38% in 2001 and 41% in 2006.

[14] Canadian and/or British and/or French refers to people that reported Canadian origins (origins that are specific to Canada – i.e., Canadian, Albertan, Acadian, Québécois) or British Isles origins (i.e., English, Irish, Cornish, Scottish, Welsh) or French. The difference between "Canadian, British and French" and "Canadian, British and French only" is that the former includes anyone who reported one of these responses (i.e., Italian Canadian), while the latter includes people that reported responses that are only found in this category (i.e., English Canadian).

[15] This same Venn diagram for the first generation would illustrate that there is even less mixing between all the categories. Aboriginal counts would be too small of a category to show.

[16] This could be attributed to the fact that European immigrants have been in Canada for more generations than Non-Europeans and some would argue that it is a matter of time for this phenomenon to occur within the Non-European category.

[17] Some would argue that "American" should be in another category since it has a similar immigration history to that of Canada.

[18] The proportion of people reporting Portuguese origins that is between the ages of 15 and 34 years is also relatively high at 79%.

[19] In this paper, "Visible Minority" and "Non-European" are fairly interchangeable since we are mainly talking about the same people (except Americans, Australians, New Zealanders – all "New World" origins – however, their numbers are small enough to not make a difference and, in the future, they will be either excluded or moved to another category).

[20] The other visible minority categories are: Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, Visible Minority not included elsewhere (n.i.e.) and Multiple Visible Minority.

[21] Japanese Canadians have been in Canada for generations and there is not a lot of immigration from Japan to Canada.

[22] It should also be noted that Calgary and Edmonton have a higher percentage of the second generation Chinese population than Montréal.

[23] However, it should also be noted that for the first generation and second generations, Ottawa-Gatineau and Calgary have higher proportions of Blacks than Vancouver.

[24] For South Asians, even with the proportion of the second generation living in Vancouver, there is still, overall (total of the three CMAs), a lower percentage of second generation South Asians living in these three CMAs than first generation South Asians.

DIVERGENT PATHWAYS TO MOBILITY AND ASSIMILATION IN THE NEW SECOND GENERATION*

ABSTRACT

As the new second generation comes of age in the 21st century, they are making an indelible imprint in cities across the United States, compelling immigration scholars to turn their attention to this growing population. In this paper, we first critically evaluate existing assumptions about definitions and pathways to "success" and "assimilation" and question the validity and reliability of key measures of social mobility. We then advance a subject-centred approach to identify the underlying mechanisms that help explain the diverse trajectories and unequal mobility outcomes among the second generation. In doing so, we attempt to dispel some myths about group-based cultures, stereotypes and processes of assimilation.

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There has been a dramatic change in the face of America since the population reached 200 million in 1967. Today's U.S. population, surpassing the 300-million mark since October 17, 2006, has become increasingly diverse: more than 14% is Hispanic (up from less than 5% in 1970), more than 4% is Asian (up from less than 1% in 1970) and about 12% is Black (up slightly from 11% in 1970); by contrast, only 67% is White (dropping from 84% in 1970). Much of the exponential growth in the Hispanic and Asian populations is due to international migration. Consequently, the new second generation – the children of post-1960 immigrants – has come of age in the 21st century. In 2005, their numbers reached more than 30 million (including 9 million foreign-born children arriving at or under 13 years of age) with a median age of 18.

Demographic changes have stirred up and heated public debate on immigration. At the core of the debate is how America's newest immigrants and their children are incorporating into their host society. Some worry about the "unassimilability" of today's newcomers – one-fifth of whom are of Mexican origin –, pointing to their non-European cultural origins, low education and job skills and their unwillingness to assimilate into the American way of life. There is also growing apprehension about a potential population explosion and its subsequent drain on natural, economic and social resources. Others, by stark contrast, laud that the majority of America's newcomers and their children are not only successfully incorporating into their host society but also achieving rates of social and economic mobility that are comparable to – if not better than – the earlier waves of European immigrants.

As with so many ideological controversies, the issue of immigrant incorporation may be beside the point as it hinges on the foreign-born, who are a transitional generation caught between their countries of origin and their new host society. In our view, a more fruitful barometer of immigrant incorporation is to study the mobility patterns among the later generations, that is, the 1.5 and second generations (i.e., those raised or born in the United States of immigrant parentage). Are the adult children of immigrants moving beyond the socioeconomic status (SES) of their parents, and just as importantly, are they advancing to the point where they are on par with native-born Americans? In this essay, we critically evaluate existing assumptions about the definitions of and pathways to "assimilation." We illuminate our critical comments with some preliminary findings from our ongoing qualitative study of 1.5 and second generation Mexicans, Chinese and Vietnamese in Los Angeles.[1]

Problematizing "assimilation" and "success"

The classic "assimilation" model has been subject to much controversy and criticism, as have the very concepts of "assimilation" and "mainstream." The classic "straight-line" model of assimilation, with its many variants, predicts that newcomers will both affect and be affected by the fabric of American life so that, in the long run, immigrants and the native-born become ever more indistinguishable from one another (Alba 1990, Gans 1992, Gordon 1964, Park 1950). Implicit in the straight-line model is the notion that there is one uniform path to assimilation. Challenging this notion, Portes and Zhou (1993)

developed the theory of "segmented assimilation" and presented the idea that there is not one singular route to assimilation but rather multiple pathways, a concept further developed by other scholars (Neckerman et al. 1999, Zhou and Bankston 1998). Portes and Zhou (1993) also challenged the uniform characterization of the American mainstream, which they view as segmented by both race and class rather than formed around an undifferentiated White, middle class core. By introducing race into their theoretical model, Portes and Zhou (1993) underscore that the U.S. system of racial stratification interacts with class, modes of incorporation and the larger social structure to produce divergent mobility outcomes.

Adding nuance to this line of thought, Alba and Nee (2003) re-conceptualized the American mainstream as one that may contain not just the middle class or affluent White suburbanites, but also the working class and poor urban racial minorities. By expanding their concept of the mainstream beyond the confines of the White middle class, Alba and Nee allow for the possibility that newcomers can assimilate into different parts of American society. Moreover, they argue that immigrants' experiences with intergenerational mobility are not unlike those of the native born; they astutely point out that "an expectation of universal upward mobility for any large group is unrealistic," and suggest that all immigrants and their descendants will eventually assimilate, although not necessarily in a single, uniform direction as predicted by the classic model (Alba and Nee 2003: 163). While Alba and Nee (2003) have broadened the conception of the American mainstream, they remain unchanged in their notion that successful assimilation necessarily connotes incorporation into the middle class where immigrants converge to the mean. Hence, although the pathways and outcomes to assimilation may be variegated, it appears that the only outcome that remains socially acceptable is one that leads to convergence to the middle class.

> The issue of immigrant incorporation may be beside the point as it hinges on the foreign born, who are a transitional generation caught between their countries of origin and their new host society….[A] more fruitful barometer of immigrant incorporation is to study the mobility patterns among the later generations….

Both the public and the research community often take it as a given that assimilation has normative connotations, suggesting that immigrants *should* become more like native-born, non-Hispanic White Americans. In fact, we have often defined and conceptualized a group's success by the degree to which immigrants and their offspring become more like non-Hispanic Whites, who comprise the majority of the American middle class and who also serve as the principal reference group against whom newcomers are measured. In doing so, we have accepted the assumption that all immigrants and their children define and measure "success" through a normative lens. Yet, if we take a step back and first inquire exactly how members of the second generation define success and against whom they measure their progress, we may reach different conclusions about the level of success they have achieved. We may also gain a better understanding of why certain groups pursue particular pathways over others.

Defining "mobility" and "success" from the perspective of immigrant children

Previous research has failed to raise the empirical question of whether second generation outcomes are perceived and defined differently among the scholars who study immigrant incorporation and the very people they study. In other words, is the way that we, as scholars, define "success" and "mobility" analogous to the way members of the second generation define these concepts? Moreover, if we were to re-conceptualize our definition of success and re-frame our analyses according to the definition of those we study, would we reach the different conclusions about mobility? Perhaps by lifting the frame that we have imposed on our research subjects, we can achieve a better understanding of the mechanisms that lead to divergent pathways to social mobility.

Based on field observations in Los Angeles, we have witnessed cases that defy normative pathways to mobility. For example, some 1.5 and second generation Mexicans drop out of high school yet successfully operate gardening and roofing businesses – occupational niches shunned by most native-born Americans. Their entrepreneurial success has allowed them to accumulate wealth, purchase homes in middle class suburbs and establish stable family households. Moreover, from their perspective, they have attained an extraordinary level of success far beyond their parents and have achieved a sense of personal fulfillment. However, if we were to measure their success through conventional SES indicators, such as educational and occupational scales, they would fall into the "unsuccessful" category. The following stories are illustrative.

The story of Noe

Noe is a 1.5 generation Mexican whose parents migrated to the United States when he was only six months old. His parents separated when he was very young, and he and his four siblings were raised by their mother in Lake Los Angeles, a predominantly White working class community in the high desert. During elementary school, Noe recalls that he did well and even surpassed many of his classmates, in part, because his mother spent time with her children and taught them to

read, write and solve math problems beyond what they were learning in school. Noe had the benefit of having a mother with a trade school education, even though his father had only completed the first grade in Mexico.

While Noe did well in elementary and junior high school, he fared less well in high school. Living in a very small community with a population of only 1,500 people, Noe had to take a bus the nearest high school, which was 55 miles away. It was during this time that he became acutely aware of the socioeconomic class differences that separated him from his classmates. Noe's mother received welfare to help support her children, and, given the family's limited resources, he was unable to get involved in after-school activities such as football because he was unable to pay for the uniform. Moreover, staying for practice after school also meant that he would have to forfeit the bus ride home, and, given that this was his only means of transportation to and from school, he could not afford to miss it. Noe soon became embarrassed that he had to take a bus to and from school, which became a clear and visible marker of his lower socioeconomic status.

Having always had an interest in electronics, Noe decided to attend a community college following high school and was excited about the prospect of working in a field that would allow him to develop his technical skills. However, as soon as he learned that he needed to put a down payment on his fall tuition, he realized that he would not be able to enrol because of financial constraints. Disillusioned and unsure what he should do after graduating high school, Noe turned to the streets and supported himself by taking odd jobs fixing cars, televisions and other small electronics. Worried that her son lacked direction and may get into serious trouble with the law, Noe's mother decided to send him to Mexico, where he spent time with his father.

Is the way that we, as scholars, define "success" and "mobility" analogous to the way members of the second generation define these concepts?

After a six-month stint in Mexico, Noe returned to the United States. Upon his return, Noe took out a government loan for $2,500 and enrolled in a technical institute where he earned a certificate. Unfortunately for Noe, he later found that the school was not accredited and his certificate was worthless in helping him land a job. However, Noe was able to find an unpaid apprenticeship at a recording studio, and, after three months, he was paid $6.50 per hour and worked at that wage for a year. Frustrated by the lack of opportunities to move up in the company, Noe found another job at a different recording studio in which he was able to learn how to fix equipment and make cables from the technicians who worked there. Soon, his employer relied heavily on Noe, who clocked in over 100 hours a week at this job, where he earned a hefty salary of $75,000 a year. Having learned the skills of the trade, Noe decided to open his own business with a co-worker, and, after two years, his business is finally turning a profit. Noe is currently married and has two children who are in grade school. He also owns a five-bedroom, three-bathroom home in Lancaster that he bought for $130,000 and has now appreciated to $365,000.

While Noe's pathway to mobility has taken many detours, his achievements are remarkable considering that he was raised by a single mother who received welfare, spoke little English and had only a trade school education. It is even more extraordinary considering that his father was not actively involved in his upbringing and holds only a first-grade education from Mexico. There are several important points about Noe's path to mobility that are worth noting. First, given Noe's parents' low levels of education, graduating from high school represents an enormous jump in intergenerational mobility. Second, not only has Noe achieved a great deal of intergenerational mobility with respect to education, but he has also achieved a great deal of intergenerational mobility with respect to occupational status. As the son of a mother who received AFDC to support her family, Noe's business ownership marks a significant jump in occupational attainment. Measuring where he is now from where he started, Noe recognizes that he has achieved a great deal in a very short period of time. However, according to some traditional indicators of success and compared to the U.S. native-born mean, Noe may fall into the "unsuccessful" category because he has only completed high school.

The Story of Shirley

Shirley came to the United States at the age of six. Her parents were highly educated and held professional jobs in China; her father was a math professor and her mother was a doctor. Like many highly skilled immigrants, Shirley's parents were unable to transfer their pre-immigrant skills and occupations into commensurate jobs in the United States and worked in jobs well below their skill levels. Her father worked a series of menial jobs before settling into a low-skilled job at an aircraft company, and her mother opened a small business in Orange County, working as an acupuncturist who serves Asian and Latino immigrants. Shirley's family first settled in Little Saigon but soon moved to a predominantly White suburb where they were able to leave behind the problems of gangs and violence.

Shirley did well in high school; she took mostly Advanced Placement courses, earned a 3.5 grade point average (GPA) and was a member of the high school debate team. However, when she compares herself to her Asian friends in high school, she feels that she was not as smart as they, all of whom earned 4.0 GPAs. In her senior year of high school, Shirley applied to and was accepted into a University of California (UC) school and a private university in Southern California. She chose the UC for two reasons. First, she said that she just knew "that if you are Chinese, you go to a UC." Second, because her family's limited financial resources, she saw no point of going to a private university unless it was an Ivy League university, as she remarks, "If you're not going to an Ivy, then why go to

a private school?" Shirley explained that from her parents' perspective, getting into and graduating from college was just "expected."

After graduating from the UC, Shirley worked for a software company, then for a bank and then decided to acquire a contractor's license. Soon after acquiring her license, Shirley decided to open her own business because she saw first-hand that the way to "get rich" in this country is to own a business. For example, while her parents work full time in their regular jobs, they also invested in real estate, which has enabled them to accumulate wealth and purchase a house. Shirley has taken the lessons she learned from her parents, and she currently owns a contracting/design company, which she started seven years ago. While her salary varies according to the ebbs and flows of her work, typically, she earns about $160,000 a year, enough to have afforded her a home in an affluent Los Angeles suburb.

While Shirley may be successful according to the traditional markers of socioeconomic attainment (i.e., a college degree from a top public university, owning a profitable business and home ownership), she does not feel that she is successful, at least not yet. She explains, "I'm not financially successful right now, but it is accessible." Furthermore, compared to her co-ethnic peers and her older sister, who is a lawyer, she feels that she pales in comparison because, "I don't have a graduate degree. I don't have kids." She also adds with a touch of embarrassment, "All of my friends in high school went to grad school except me." Her belief that she is not as successful as she could be is only reinforced by her parents who continue to ask her whether she plans to return to school for an advanced degree. With all of Shirley's markers of success, her parents do not view her as successful because she has not earned an advanced degree. At the very least, they had hoped that she would have a Master's degree, as she explains, "they are traditionally Chinese and really stress education."

There are two points to underscore here. First, while Shirley has achieved success according to the traditional socioeconomic indicators such as college completion, occupation, income and home ownership, neither she nor her parents feel that she is successful. Shirley does not feel fully successful both because her parents are more highly educated than she and because Shirley measures her success based on a reference group that includes even higher-achieving co-ethnics (including her sister). Second, while Shirley has done very well for herself, she has not achieved intergenerational mobility. Both of her parents are highly educated and worked as high-status professionals in China, and, given her parents' extraordinarily high levels of educational attainment, Shirley's educational attainment (while impressive by native-born American standards) actually represents downward intergenerational mobility.

Conclusion

The illustrative examples from our in-depth interviews underscore three critical points. First, we need to problematize the conventional definition of success and consider how members of the second generation conceptualize these concepts. Second, we should pay attention not only to the normative pathways that lead to expected outcomes but also to the less conventional pathways that lead to divergent outcomes. Third, by problematizing commonly held assumptions and definitions about success and the pathways leading to success, we can gain a better understanding of the reasons that underlie the educational and occupational choices made by members of the second generation.

As children of the post-1965 wave come of age in the 21st century, they are making indelible imprints in cities across the country. Based on our preliminary findings of the new second generation in Los Angeles, the adult children of immigrants are choosing divergent pathways to achieve mobility and success, and, as researchers, we should be cautious to refrain from assuming that adopting an unorthodox path to mobility or an alternate definition of success necessarily connotes failure to successfully incorporate into the U.S. social and economic structure. Indeed, we have already discerned that there are various definitions of success, complicated routes to mobility and various ways of measuring these outcomes.

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Notes

* This essay is based on Zhou and Lee's published paper "Becoming Ethnic or Becoming American? Tracing the Mobility Trajectories of the New Second Generation in the United States." *Du Bois Review* 4 (2007), p. 1-17.

[1] The preliminary findings we present emerge from our ongoing project entitled "Becoming 'Ethnic,' Becoming 'Angeleno,' and/or Becoming 'American': The Multi-Faceted Experiences of Immigrant Children and the Children of Immigrants in Los Angeles." The qualitative study is based on in-depth interviews of 1.5 and second generation Mexicans, Chinese and Vietnamese in Los Angeles, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation (#88-06-04). We examine how members of today's 1.5 and second generation define "success," how their prospects and outcomes of "success" are affected by national origin, class, immigration status and gender, and how they choose to identify themselves.

THE SECOND GENERATION IN EUROPE

ABSTRACT

The second generation in Europe is coming of age. The first group is making the transition to the labour market. This gives us, for the first time, the opportunity to compare the position of the second generation across Europe. If we look at one group – children of Turkish immigrants – in five European countries, we see very different outcomes. This puts the spotlight on the importance of the integration context.

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The public debate about the second generation in Europe has taken a dramatic shift in the last five years. The United Kingdom was profoundly shocked that British-born second generation youth of Pakistani descent were involved in terror acts in the United Kingdom. The riots in the banlieues in France, involving Algerian and Moroccan second generation youth, pitched the cherished Republican model into deep crisis. In the Netherlands, arguments about the failure of the country's multicultural society have cited the relatively high number of children of immigrants who drop out of school and the high crime-rate within the Moroccan second generation. In Germany, similar concerns about the Turkish second generation have triggered a debate about the existence of a parallel *Gesellschaft*, composed of almost 2 million Turks living in a separate world detached from the wider German society.

This general image in the media obscures the fact that the majority of the second generation children have successfully completed education and holds a steady position in the labour market. Compared with their parents who did not have the opportunity to study, they make a spectacular step up the social mobility ladder. This general image also obscures the huge differences in the position of the second generation in Europe. The different integration contexts in European countries shape very different outcomes for the second generation.

The second generation in school

The children of immigrants are now a prominent presence in many European school districts. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam, they constitute the majority of school children; in Berlin's Kreuzberg neighbourhood, the European capital of the Turkish community, some primary schools almost only have pupils of Turkish descent. In London, English is a second language for a third of all schoolchildren. The performance of these children generally lags behind that of children of non-immigrants in all school-success indicators: they drop out at higher rates, repeat grades more frequently, and are concentrated in the least-challenging educational tracks.

The educational gap between the second generation and children of native-born parents is of great concern to policy-makers and politicians in local and national governments. There is an ongoing debate about whether the "new second generation" – mostly children born to migrant guest workers who arrived in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s – is able to move up the educational ladder or instead form a new underclass in Europe's largest cities. While such concerns are often exaggerated for political purposes, there can be no doubt that the education gap is undermining social cohesion and damaging the economic well-being of both individuals and nations.

The performance of the second generation hinges above all on two factors. First, it depends on the background characteristics of the immigrant population. Generally, children of immigrants who bring low levels of human capital into the country are the most disadvantaged. On the continent, this means mainly migrants from North Africa and Turkey. In Britain, it is the children of families from former British colonies in South Asia and the Caribbean. The performance of children of refugees further demonstrates the importance of socioeconomic background. Children from better-off, educated families from Iran or Iraq tend to do well or very well, while children from rural Somalia and Ethiopia experience great difficulties in school.

Second, the performance of the second generation depends on the country of destination. The differences among countries often overlay differences among immigrant groups. The largely American theoretical debate about the integration of the second generation seems to have had a persistent blind spot for the importance of the national context in which the second generation is

trying to move forward. In the American debate on the second generation, the emphasis has been on comparing different ethnic groups in the same national context. North American researchers, as Jeffrey Reitz argues, have only recently started to pay more attention to the importance of the national context in which immigrants and their children live and work

In 2005 a large international project, The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES), was launched; since then, ten thousand respondents have been interviewed in eight countries. The same groups (second generation Turks, Moroccans and ex-Yugoslavians) with the same starting position (all born in Europe) are compared as they integrate in eight different countries. This gives us a unique opportunity to look at the importance of the national integration context. Different practices in different countries provide a view of what works. The European Union Member States can be seen as a natural laboratory for identifying effective practices.

The following analysis offers a closer look at one of these groups, the children of Turkish immigrants, and examines their experiences in five countries where the TIES data set has already been completed: Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

The case of the Turkish second generation

Turkish migrants and their children are the largest immigrant group in Europe, numbering up to 4 million, and they reside in a great number of European countries. Turkish migration followed comparable patterns everywhere. Beginning with Germany in 1961 and ending with Sweden in 1967, European countries signed official agreements on labour migration with Turkey. The peak of that migration was reached between 1971 and 1973, when more than 500,000 Turkish workers came to work in Western Europe. German industry recruited 90% of them.

European industry was in need of low-skilled labour at the time, and indeed the majority of these first generation Turkish "guest workers" was recruited from the lowest socioeconomic strata in their home countries and had very little education. In the rural areas where most of them grew up, educational opportunities were limited to the primary school level. Generally speaking, first generation men had finished primary school only and most women had just a few years of schooling. The first generation made few advances in the European labour market – in fact, the contrary occurred.

Most second generation Turkish children – those born in the country of immigration or (more broadly) those who arrived before primary school – grew up in unfavourable circumstances. Family income was often very low by European standards, and most families lived in substandard and cramped accommodations. In many neighbourhood schools, children from a mix of migrant backgrounds were in the majority.

The educational positions of the Turkish second generation in the five countries in the TIES project show startling differences. Whereas in France half of the second generation Turks enter into tertiary education, in the neighbouring countries – Germany, Austria and Switzerland – around 10% or less manage to enter university. The Netherlands is positioned somewhere in the middle, with 27% of the Turkish second generation in higher education.

The results show that national contexts vary widely in the types of opportunities available to the Turkish second generation. The differences in outcomes can be related to the differences in school systems in the five countries. The success of the French system can largely be explained by the open educational system in France. School starts very early at age two or three. The second generation Turkish children start to learn French as a second language in an educational setting from a very early age. Children go through a comprehensive school system where they are only selected at the age of fifteen. That gives children thirteen years of schooling to make up their initial disadvantaged starting position. In contrast, second generation Turkish children in Austria and Germany only start attending school at age six. By that time they are fluent in Turkish but lag behind in German considerably. On top of that they only go to school half days. When they are selected for the different school streams at age ten (at the end of primary school), it should come as no surprise that most of them go to lower vocational education. In Austria, Germany and Switzerland, about three-quarters of the second generation Turkish children end up in the vocational column. The Netherlands, with a starting age of four and selection age at twelve, is an in-between case. But another feature of the Dutch educational system also explains the better performance than in the three countries east of the Netherlands. In the Netherlands almost half of the second generation Turkish students in higher education have taken what is called *the long route* to higher education. They have started out in lower vocational education, moved on to middle vocational education and after that entered higher education. This route takes an additional three years but in the end gets you into higher education. This route is almost non-existent in the neighbouring countries.

> The educational gap between the second generation and children of native-born parents is of great concern to policy-makers and politicians….There is an ongoing debate about whether the "new second generation"…is able to move up the educational ladder or instead form a new underclass in Europe's largest cities.

Although one might now be tempted to conclude that France and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands provide the best institutional contexts for children of immigrants, that is not the whole story. Access to higher education is only one indicator. Another important indicator is early school leaving. Early school leaving in Europe is defined as leaving school with no secondary diploma or only a lower secondary vocational education diploma. Early school leaving is, with a quarter of the Turkish second generation in this category, especially high in the Netherlands. Switzerland, Austria and Germany show the best results. France's results are somewhere in between. The more comprehensive schools in France and the Netherlands aim high, but as a result more second generation Turkish students drop out. Thus they leave school at age 16 without any valuable qualifications for the labour market. In Austria, Germany and Switzerland second generation Turks in the vocational track already start to work at age fourteen and go to school part time. This usually prevents them from dropping out before they finish their training as skilled workers. It also helps to facilitate the transition to the labour market. We can see this in the better labour market outcomes in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The transition to the labour market is most problematic in France, where almost half become unemployed upon completing their schooling. The three neighbouring countries east of France all score considerably higher. In the long run, they also perform (especially Switzerland with only 7% in unemployment or disabled schemes) better than France (13%) and the Netherlands (14%) in integrating the second generation Turkish youth in the labour market.

The decision to employ someone in Germany, Switzerland and Austria is based to a large extent on individual employment records, through their apprentices' experiences. By contrast, in France and the Netherlands, judgment is based on (the lack of) school qualifications. Research in France and the Netherlands shows that if employers can choose between immigrant youth and native youth with the same qualifications, immigrant youngsters are not given an equal chance.

Comparing the five countries shows the importance of institutional educational and labour market settings, such as the age at which formal schooling begins and the number of instructional hours, and of early or late selection in secondary education. Also significant is the method of transition to the labour market. It is tempting to compile an ideal educational experience for children of immigrants from the country examples explored here. Doing so would not do justice to the different social, economic and historical contexts that have shaped the educational systems of each of these countries.

However, there are a few general lessons to be learned. One would be to lower the compulsory schooling age as a way to promote language acquisition at an early age and extend the learning period before selection. A second would be to create long routes or "second chances" to help students overcome initial disadvantages. Finally, apprentice-type programs, or programs that give students the chance to work with companies for a long period of time, could help smooth the transition into the labour market.

The comparison shows that we need to focus more on why educational systems produce unfavourable outcomes. The cost of adjusting school systems – that block upward mobility – should be put against the societal costs of children of immigrants who do not finish their schooling, become long-term unemployed or worse.

The educational positions of the Turkish second generation in the five countries of the TIES project show startling differences. Whereas in France half of the second generation Turks enter into tertiary education, in the neighbouring countries – Germany, Austria and Switzerland – around 10% or less manage to enter university.

Future scenarios

Different educational and labour market outcomes will have an important impact on how the Turkish communities will be shaped in the future in these five countries. In France and the Netherlands, an upcoming elite of second generation Turkish youth with higher education degrees are moving into the middle or upper classes. They often marry highly educated second generation partners and together become part of the affluent city dwellers in well-to-do residential districts. Conversely, in France and the Netherlands, early school leavers and their families often join the ranks of the long-term unemployed and live close to, or below, the poverty line. The scenario in Germany, Austria and Switzerland is much less polarized. The second generation Turks slowly but steadily move up to the position of skilled workers. An elite is almost absent. Which of the two scenarios in the end will prove to be more successful is still an open question.

VARIATIONS IN SOCIOECONOMIC OUTCOMES OF SECOND GENERATION YOUNG ADULTS*

ABSTRACT

Educational and labour market profiles are constructed from the 2001 Census of Canada for the second generation youth aged 20 to 29. In general, second generation youth overachieve compared with the non-visible minority third-plus generation. However, variations exist within the visible minority population, with some groups doing very well and others less well.

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Canada is a popular country of destination for immigrants, and the foreign born now represent 18% of Canada's 2001 population (Boyd and Vickers 2000). Many of these immigrants arrived as adults and have children born in Canada. This latter group is also large. Among people aged 15 and older in 2001, those born in Canada to one or more foreign-born parents (most have two foreign-born parents) make up nearly 17% of the Canadian population. This sizable presence of immigrant offspring redirects the question "How well are immigrants doing in the host society?" into "How well are the children of immigrants faring?"

Both questions focus on the experiences of immigrant origin groups, but they differ in their time horizons. The first question focuses on what happens to immigrants over a given period of time. To date, we know that newly arrived immigrants generally do less well, with respect to economic indicators such as home ownership, employment and earnings, compared with the Canadian born or groups with longer duration in Canada. In contrast, difficulties associated with newcomer status are not expected to occur for their Canadian-born offspring since the latter are educated in Canada, are fluent in English and/or French and are likely to have greater familiarity with workplace practices and customs. Looking at how well children of immigrants do with respect to socioeconomic indicators, then, is useful for two reasons. First, it provides a longer time horizon for assessing how well immigrant origin groups do simply because the emphasis is on outcomes that exist for a subsequent generation, one armed with a greater knowledge about the host society. Second, it usually indicates if the negative experiences of specific immigrant groups persist or disappear for the next generation. The persistence of disadvantages may indicate the existence of barriers based on origins or race that permeate a society and stratify groups; the disappearance of disadvantages across generations suggests the opposite.

Previous research and models of change

How well do immigrant offspring in Canada fare? Until recently in Canada only a limited number of studies on immigrant offspring existed and they focused primarily on educational and occupational achievements. Scarcity of data was the primary reason for the paucity of research. Information on parental birthplace and respondent birthplace is necessary to distinguish among generation groups, minimally consisting of the first generation (the foreign born), the second generation (Canadian born with at least one foreign-born parent) and the third or higher generations, often called "third-plus" (Canadian born with Canadian-born parents).

The 1971 Canadian Census, which was the last one until 2001 to ask birthplace of parents, resulted in a monograph on immigrants and their descendants (Richmond and Kalbach 1980). Surveys conducted by academics in the 1970s also produced information on the achievements of second generation Canadians (for a summary see Boyd and Grieco 1998). From the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s, national surveys did not collect data on Canada's second generation, with the exception of Statistics Canada's 1986 and 1994 General Social Surveys (GSS) and the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics,

starting in 1996. Analysis of the two GSS surveys provided evidence of second generation success, especially for adults with two foreign-born parents. These individuals have higher educational attainments and occupational status, on average, than do the other generation groups, and the magnitude of intergenerational mobility is higher than for the first and third generation Canadians (Boyd and Grieco 1998, Boyd and Norris 1994).

These findings conform to a model of change across generations of immigrant origin groups that is called the "success orientation model" (Boyd and Grieco 1998) or the "immigrant optimism hypothesis" (Kao and Tienda 1995). This model depicts the second generation as overachieving relative to the first and third-plus generations. Such overachievements are frequently attributed to the success orientation of the foreign-born family of origin, where adults communicate high expectations to their offspring and instill high educational and labour market aspirations. An implicit assumption also is that the high success orientation is not sustained by the third and later generations.

During the past 15 years, critics have cautioned that the second generation success story may no longer hold for all immigrant offspring groups in North America. Their cautions rest on late 20th century changes in the origins of immigrants. As a result of immigration policy changes during the 1960s and 1970s, fewer immigrants to Canada come from Europe and most come from Asia. These changes in origins mean "visible minorities" now predominate in post-1970s immigration flows. The term "visible minority" was developed by the Canadian federal government to meet data needs of federal employment equity legislation in the 1980s. Designated groups include Black, South Asian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, South East Asian, Filipino, other Pacific Islanders, West Asian, Arab and Latin American. The increasing numbers of visible minorities among Canada's immigrants generates concern that immigrants face ethnic and racial discrimination, particularly in the labour market; it also raises the possibility that the visible-minority second generation also will face greater challenges in the labour market compared with the non-visible minority second generation or the third-plus generation. If being a visible minority negatively influences social and labour market outcomes beyond the first generation, then visible-minority second generation groups may have lower levels of educational and occupational attainments. They also may earn less than non-visible minority groups, in which the White population predominates.

The relatively recent arrival of non-European immigrants, and thus of immigrant visible minorities, creates three striking demographic differences between generational groups and between visible and non-visible minority immigrant offspring: the visible minority population in Canada is largely foreign born, far more likely than non-visible minority groups to live in large CMAs and very young.

Visible minority immigrant offspring and their socioeconomic achievements

The 2001 Census of Canada contributes to our knowledge of the socioeconomic outcomes of immigrant offspring in two respects. First, after a 30-year gap, the 2001 Canadian Census of population asked respondents aged 15 and older to provide information on the birthplaces of their parents. Along with questions on respondents' birthplaces and year of arrival for permanent residents, the new questions on parental birthplace allow the creation of generation groups, necessary for investigating the socioeconomic positions of immigrant offspring in Canada. Second, because immigration flows from non-European countries grew during the 1980s and 1990s, the 2001 Census was able to collect a good deal of information about immigrant offspring who are members of visible minorities, something that earlier surveys and the 1971 Census could not do.

At the same time, the relatively recent arrival of non-European immigrants, and thus of immigrant visible minorities, creates three striking demographic differences between generational groups and between visible and non-visible minority immigrant offspring. First, the visible minority population in Canada is largely foreign born, whereas the non-visible minority population is primarily third-plus generation. Of those aged 15 and older and who are not visible minorities, 13% are foreign born, 17% are second generation and 70% are third-plus generation according to the 2001 Census. Conversely, among the visible minority population aged 15 and older, 84% are foreign born, 13% are second generation and 3% are third-plus generation. Second, visible minority groups are far more likely than the non-visible minority groups to live in large Census metropolitan areas such as Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Of those aged 15 in 2001, 68% of the non-visible minority second generation live in a Census metropolitan area compared with 93% of the visible-minority second generation. Third, the visible-minority second generation is very young. Of those aged 15 and older in 2001, 78% of the visible-minority second generation are aged 15 to 29 compared with 26% of the non-visible second generation population.

What are the socioeconomic attainments of these second generation visible minority youth in comparison with non-visible minority youth? Specifically, is there continued evidence of the second generation doing better than the third-plus generation and how are visible minority youth faring? To answer these questions, a socioeconomic profile is presented for young adults aged 20 to 29 who are living in Census

metropolitan areas (CMAs), using 2001 Census data on the largest visible minority groups. Many in this age group are still in the transition process from school to work, but their experiences will provide early indications as to whether the economic disadvantages documented by earlier studies for visible minority immigrants continue to hold or dissipate for younger second generation groups born in Canada.

Educational attainments

Higher education is considered desirable for many reasons: it provides knowledge about the world in general, it is associated with better health and it is an important resource for doing well in the labour market since those who are better educated usually earn more than those who are less well educated. Two frequently used indicators of educational attainments are graduating from high school or trade school, and obtaining university or degrees, such as a Master's, a Ph.D. or professional degrees. Whether or not youth are still attending school also shows what percentages of youth are still in the process of acquiring higher education.

For those living in CMAs, the 2001 Census data show that second generation young adults are more likely than third-plus generation youth to graduate from high school. With the exception of the Black and Latin American visible minority youth, they are also more likely to have Bachelor's degrees or other post university degrees (Figures 1 and 2 where the straight line represents the percentages observed for the non-visible minority third-plus generation).

Figure 1
Percentage graduating from high school, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001

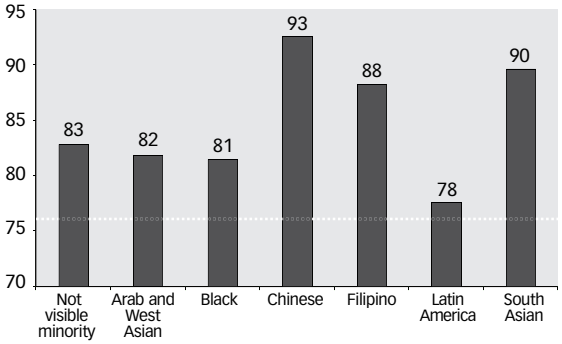
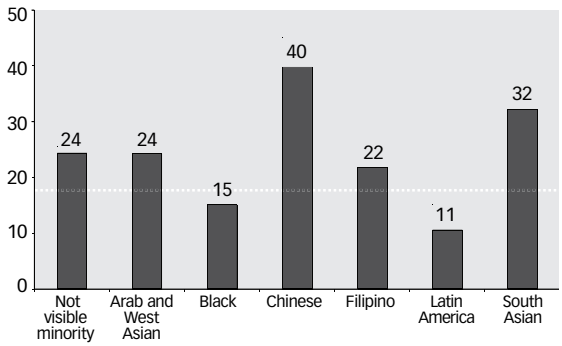
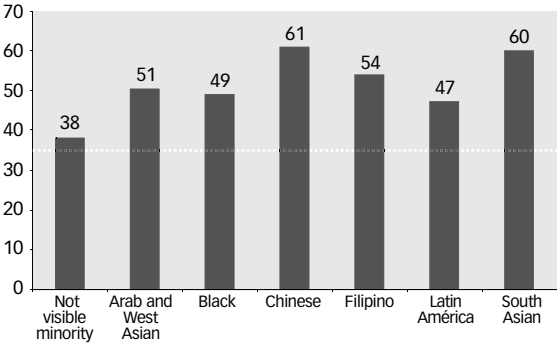


Figure 2
Percentages with Bachelor's degree or higher, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001



As well, the percentages of visible minority youth are either similar to or exceed the percentages of second generation non-visible minority young adults who have high school and Bachelor's degrees. The two exceptions, particularly concerning university degrees, are those youth who are members of the Black and Latin American visible minority groups. Figure 3 shows that second generation youth also are more likely than the third-plus generation to be still attending school, and this is especially true for second generation visible minorities.

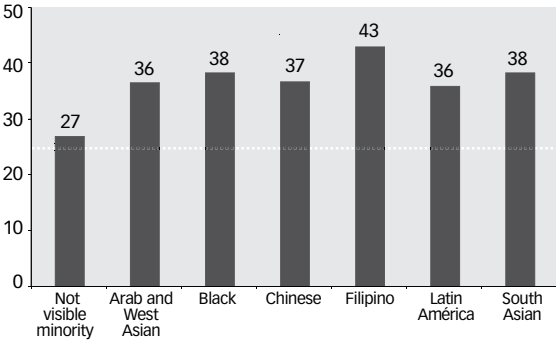
Figure 3
Percentages attending school between September 2000 and May 2001, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001



In transition to the labour force

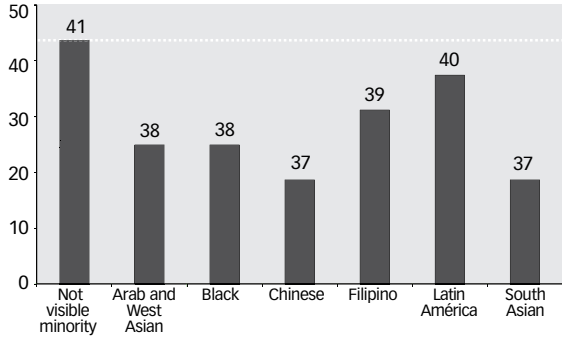
School attendance by many second generation groups suggests that close to half or more are still in transition from school to work. This is supported by economic indicators. Figures 4 and 5 show that compared with the third-plus generation, the second generation – particularly visible minority youth – are more likely to work part time if they are in the labour force, and they worked fewer hours per week on average.

Figure 4
Percent working part time in 2000, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001



This pattern is consistent with being in school. At the same time, other labour market indicators are consistent with the various levels of educational attainment achieved by the second generation. With the exception of second generation Black and Latin American groups, higher percentages of second

Figure 5
Average weeks worked in 2000, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001



generation young adults work in occupations that are defined as high skill, meaning that a university degree is necessary for the job (Figure 6). Further, even though many are working part time, average weekly wages for second generation young men exceed those earned by third-plus generation young men who live in Canada's cities (Figure 7).

Figure 6
Percentages with high skill occupations, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001

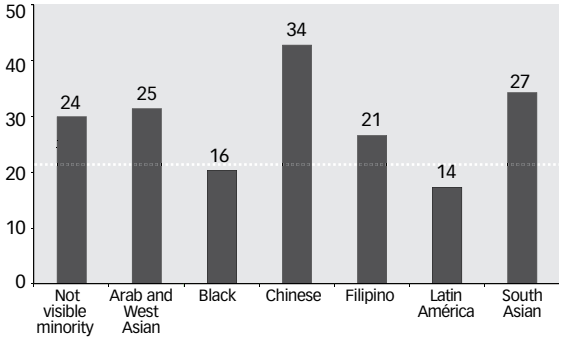
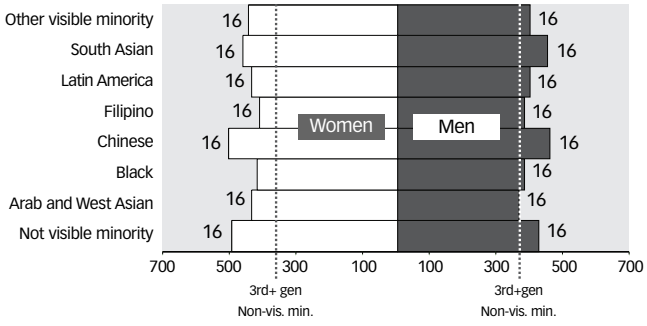


FIgure 7
Average weekly wage earnings for women and men, second generation by visible minority status, age 20-29, living in CMAs, 2001



Consistent with general studies on the Canadian gender gap in earnings, second generation young women earn less than their male counterparts, and, with the exception of South Asian and Chinese second generations, their weekly earnings are similar to the earnings of the third-plus non-visible minority generation of women.

The second generation mosaic

In general, comparisons of the educational and labour market characteristics of second generation young adults with those of the third-plus generation still support the "success" model in which the second generation is overachieving relative to the third-plus generation. However, two cautions exist. First, the focus here is on young adults in their twenties, many of whom are still in the school-to-work transition phase or in the early stages of their carriers. Future research is needed to determine if the relative advantages for the second generation persist or decline with age. Second, within the second generation, wide variations exist with respect to socioeconomic achievements. Second generation young adults who are Chinese and South Asian are the most likely of all groups to be attending school, to have university degrees or higher, to be working the fewest weeks, to be employed in high skill occupations and to earn the highest weekly wages. In terms of educational indicators, second generation young adults who are Black or Latin American do less well than many other groups and are less likely to be employed in high skill occupations. These variations in outcomes clearly demonstrate that the second generation visible minority experience is not a homogenous one – some groups do well, other do less well. The variations also generate at least two questions for the future. First, what produces these differences between visible minority youth? Sociologists and economists know that the socioeconomic outcomes of offspring often reflect parental characteristics and resources; but recent research suggests that educational differences within the second generation population still remain after parental resources are taken into account (Boyd 2006, Park and Boyd 2008). Second, given that visible minority groups themselves are heterogeneous in origins, what are the socioeconomic outcomes for specific groups subsumed under homogenizing labels such as "South Asian" or "Black"? Research on the socioeconomic outcomes of second generation youth is still in its infancy. There still remains much to learn.

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Notes

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Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

Special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*

This issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* (Vol. 15, No. 2, 2006) was guest edited by Tom Carter and Marc Vachon of the University of Winnipeg; John Biles and Erin Tolley of the Metropolis Project Team; and Jim Zamprelli of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It contains selected articles on politics, religion, housing, youth gang activity, sports and recreational services. These articles explore the challenges posed by the increasing concentration of religious, linguistic, ethnic and racial groups in Canadian cities, and suggest ways of facilitating the integration process.

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THE RISE OF THE UNMELTABLE CANADIANS? ETHNIC AND NATIONAL BELONGING IN CANADA'S SECOND GENERATION

JACK JEDWAB
Association for Canadian Studies

The assumption around theories of assimilation is that the adoption of a new culture by immigrants means the loss of another. Isajiw has described this notion as unilinearity or zero-sumness, which conversely assumes that the retention of one's ethnic origins means assimilation is not taking place. Early sociologists of ethnicity, such as Park (1922) and Wirth (1928), popularized this theory idea though it is Milton Gordon (1964) who is widely viewed as the authority on the idea that there is a linear character to the process of assimilation across the generations. That cultures of origin would inevitably erode also became a central tenet of the notion of the American melting pot. Early sociologists of ethnicity nonetheless acknowledged that the assimilation process was uneven and often varied, based on the cultural background of the different groups. By consequence, one could observe persons of the second generation still possessing something of their ancestral identity (Park and Miller 1921). Independent of the pace of cultural loss, they still insisted that ethnic attachment inevitably diminished.

In the early 1960s, historian Marcus Lee Hansen (1962) questioned Gordon's thesis, arguing that there is a reversal of the assimilative process as one moves from the second to the third generation. His idea ultimately came to be known as the "Hansen third generation return hypothesis." This hypothesis triggered considerable research that did not generally find in favour of Hansen's view but tended to acknowledge that the third generation did frequently retain some degree of the ancestral ethnic identity and culture (Isajiw 1990: 37-49, Alba and Nee 1997).

The idea that ethnic identities persisted in spite of the melting pot was articulated in a popular book published in 1971 entitled *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*. Its author, Michael Novak, insisted upon the importance of ethnic identification amongst the descendants of European migrants to America – the White ethnics. He challenged the assumption that the ethnic persona and characteristics of the children of immigrants rapidly dissolved in the American assimilative compound.

Ironically, in that same year, a different narrative emerged north of the border with policy-makers conceding that there was no official culture in Canada and, thus, in 1971 they introduced a policy of multiculturalism within the framework of two official languages. The Government of Canada conveyed a strong message to the effect that there were no contradictions between maintaining one's ethnic identity and being Canadian. Then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau observed that the "question of cultural and ethnic pluralism in this country and the status of our various cultures and languages [is] an area of study given all too little attention in the past by scholars" (Trudeau 1971).

He shared the belief that: "adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group and by the group's "collective will to exist" (*Ibid.*). As such, the Government of Canada announced that it would support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all.

In introducing a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, the Government proposed the following four methods of support: 1) Resources permitting, assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and made an effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and have shown a clear need for assistance; this applies no less to the small and weak groups than the strong and highly organized ones; 2) Assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society; 3) Promote creative encounters and exchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the

interest of national unity; 4) Assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society (Trudeau 1971).

In effect, that year the government officially rejected the idea of the melting pot and assumed that the process of cultural loss on the part of ethnic groups was not linear. It further assumed that the process of ethnic community adaptation could be modified by government intervention. However, the actual impact of the government's policies on ethnic community preservation is often more an object of speculation than fact. This is due in part because it is difficult to establish causal links between government action on diversity and the vitality (or lack therefore) of specific ethnic communities – a phenomenon that is undoubtedly multidimensional. This has not deterred either supporters or critics of the Government of Canada's approach from making assumptions about the impact. Indeed, critics often neglect to mention that in the late 1980s the Government of Canada ceased providing resources to ethnic groups in support of their institutions – a major component of the policy.

There is ongoing debate in Canada about the place of ethnicity in society and the merits or demerits of its purported continuity. Generally, underlying debates about the Government's approach to diversity centre on the opinion about the value of ethnicity as an expression of identity. Critics of multicultural policy argue that it is inherently divisive and surely prevents the construction of a strong national identity. That which follows will examine the degree to which there has indeed been ethnic continuity across the generations in Canada and the form it has taken. Then we turn to whether there is evidence in support of the idea that the persistence of ethnicity undercuts the sense of belonging to Canada.

Underlying debates about the Government's approach to diversity centre on the opinion about the value of ethnicity as an expression of identity. Critics of multicultural policy argue that it is inherently divisive and surely prevents the construction of a strong national identity.

Ethnic continuity

In Canada and the United States, important critics challenged the respective narratives of Canada as a multicultural country and America as a melting pot. In each case, analysts demonstrated that the loss of the culture of origin proceeded along a relatively similar pace and rhythm regardless of either the message directed at the ethnic communities on the preservation of their cultures or, in the case of Canada, the policies in place. American analysts have constantly challenged the idea that assimilation is a linear process and that the melting pot is the model to be favoured. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) argued that it has long "outlived its usefulness, and also its credibility." The melting pot, they added "is that it did not happen." Today it is more commonly held that while some ethnic characteristics erode across generations, aspects of ethnic identity are retained (Gans 1979, Reitz 1980, Yinger 1981, Alba and Chamlin 1983, Breton et al. 1990).

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that minority ethnic belonging has persisted in the second generation despite divergence in the countries' respective philosophies of diversity. The current debate about ethnic persistence centres around the form that it takes. Drawing conclusions on the continuity or persistence of ethnic identity across the generations often depends upon how one defines ethnic identity. Some observers distinguish "substantive" from the "symbolic" dimensions of ethnicity, with the former being described by respected American sociologist Herbert Gans (1979) as "a nostalgic allegiance…a love for and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour." In effect, he contends that specific ethnic practices may persist, but if they do, they will be taken out of their original cultural context. In his view, "most people look for easy and intermittent ways of expressing their [ethnic] identity."

Gans describes the descent into symbolic ethnicity as part of what he calls the "bumpy line theory" of acculturation and assimilation. He intends this as a corrective to the "straight line theory." The "bumpy line theory" holds than rather than there being a continuous straight line of assimilation, adjustments are made to changing circumstance by individuals with the line having no predictable end. But the bumpy road, according to Gans, is presumably paved with symbolic expressions. It may be an error to underestimate the importance of symbolic attachments, which, down to the line, can be an object for mobilization based on group identification.

The Census of Canada may offer certain insights into whether ethnicity proceeds along a straight line or a bumpy road. First, the Census affirms that from one generation to the next there is an important increase in the degree of hyphenation usually associated with some degree of mixing. This is reflected in the ratio of single to multiple declarations of ethnic origin seen in Table 1 for several groups reporting on their background in the 2006 Census. The loss of the singularity of ethnic identity supports the idea of its intergenerational diminishing or, at the very least, a change in the product that is being generated. The conclusion still needs to be tempered by the fact that many of the second and third-plus generation respondents add "Canadian" to their response on ethnicity. Thus, it should not be assumed that the

multiple declarations are entirely attributable to ethnic intermarriage. The ratio of multiple to single declarations is less pronounced amongst certain visible minorities (i.e., East Indian and Chinese) in the second generation (this is also true for persons of Italian origin), and in the third-plus generation, the level of multiple declarations increases significantly but remains lower on average than for European groups. There is, however, one important exception and that is persons describing themselves as ethnically Canadian. In effect the phenomenon is reversed between the first and third generation as immigrants identifying as "Canadian" are adding to their response contrary to those identifying as third-plus generation who have generally traded in previous Census declarations of British and/or French origin for Canadian (we elaborate on the meaning of this below).

and third generation; the degree to which this erosion occurs is less significant.

In 2002, questions around ethnic identification and belonging were put to some 41,000 Canadians as part of Statistic Canada's *Ethnic Diversity Survey* (EDS). The survey provided a unique body of data that permits unparalleled insight into how the population understands its ethnicity and the ways in which it is expressed. The data sets provide valuable information about the symbolic and substantive dimensions of ethnicity. When it comes to the cognitive aspects of ethnic identification – the feeling of belonging to the cultural group –, intergenerational erosion seems less pronounced than might be presumed amongst various ethnic groups, visible minorities and religious minorities. Table 3 suggests that the importance attributed to ethnic belonging is somewhat greater

Table 1
Declarations of single and multiple ethnic origins for selected groups by generational status in Canada, 2006

	Single and multiple ethnic origin responses	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
Canadian	Single	30,670	141,440	4 482,245
	Multiple	80,370	472,005	2 754,125
Caribbeen	Single	210,260	56,840	6,645
	Multiple	74,945	60,035	15,275
Latin, Central and South American	Single	142,960	14,455	1,915
	Multiple	66,770	27,190	6,860
Indian	Single	523,980	89,995	4,620
	Multiple	88,480	32,455	6,405
Chinese	Single	829,450	119,550	9,835
	Multiple	87,395	37,445	15,440
European	Single	1,530,430	1,099,745	742,695
	Multiple	571,480	1,058,130	2,955,505
Polish	Single	149,295	63,185	32,750
	Multiple	64,420	140,535	332,230
Ukrainian	Single	43,125	98,515	142,605
	Multiple	41,625	114,340	500,350
Italian	Single	304,445	301,395	60,380
	Multiple	61,760	137,880	250,830
Jewish	Single	45,430	35,905	29,950
	Multiple	50,660	42,035	49,615
Arab	Single	206,010	27,190	5,745
	Multiple	50,480	27,645	22,050

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2006.

Yet another observation related to ethnic continuity involves the relationship between the heritage/non-official language that is associated with a particular expression of ethnicity. We caution that the data in Table 2 is not a correlation but is rather limited to the number of single declarations of ethnic origin and persons that speak the associated heritage language in their home (the numbers that report speaking the language will no doubt be larger). Although more detailed analysis is essential in drawing conclusions around heritage language retention, it is safe to assume that there is considerable erosion in language persistence between the first and second generation and it is further eroded between the second

amongst visible minorities than the White population. Yet the loss of what might be described as some emotional connection between generations is not especially important in either category, and, in some instances, we see rises between the first and second generation, thus breaking off from the straight line.

Whether it is substantive or symbolic ethnicity that is being investigated, the age of respondents is an important factor in determining the salience of identity. Too frequently analysts overlook the age of a group of respondents when studying the manifestation of identity. Contrasting the categories of persons belonging to the same generation often presumes that they start on similar

Table 2
Declarations of single ethnic origin and language used most often at home for selected groups by generational status in Canada, 2006

		Total Generations status	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
Italian	Single ethnic origin	666,220	304,445	301,395	60,380
	Home language	166,290	148,970	14,925	2,395
Polish	Single ethnic origin	245,230	149,295	63,185	32,750
	Home language	90,965	84,385	4,680	1,900
Ukrainian	Single ethnic origin	284,245	43,125	98,515	142,605
	Home language	24,820	18,960	4,175	1,685
Arab	Single ethnic origin	238,945	206,010	27,190	5,745
	Home language	111,920	105,515	4,555	1,850

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada,* 2006.

Table 3
Belong to ethnic or cultural group for visible minority status and selected religious, ethnic and racial minorities, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale measuring the strength of belonging, 2002

	Total	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
Non-visible minority	42.7	46.4	43.0	41.3
Visible minority	58.6	60.4	58.8	36.9
Jewish	61.8	60.6	64.2	59.4
Muslim	62.2	59.2	70.6	-
Canadian	39.1	43.7	41.8	34.7
African	64.7	67.8	65.5	53.7
Chinese	52.1	55.3	49.4	33.7
Latin and South American	54.9	55.3	58.3	-
Polish	40.4	51.3	37.9	29.3
Ukrainian	35.4	52.7	38.3	31.1
Italian	58.7	53.2	67.4	56.5
Caribbean	72.5	70.7	75.8	-

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

Table 4
Belong to ethnic or cultural group for selected groups aged 35 to 44, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale measuring the strength of belonging by generational status, 2002

	Total	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
Non-visible minority	40.8	46.6	40.3	39.5
Visible minority	56.0	60.2	41.0	35.7
African	59.9	64.0	40.0	-
Chinese	50.5	57.2	33.3	-
Latin and South American	50.8	55.6	37.5	-
Italian	75.0	74.4	74.4	-

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

ground. However, when one considers that the average age of visible minorities in Canada is in the late twenties and the average age of non-visible minorities is in the early forties, it is clear that various social and political behaviours cannot be properly contrasted without controls for age. Indeed, when it comes to measuring the salience of identity, age is frequently a more important consideration than generation. For example, comparisons of voter participation on the basis of generational status and visible minority identification risk producing misleading results when one considers that younger persons vote less frequently in elections than older persons.

When controlling for age and focusing on the 35 to 44 age group, changes emerge in five of the groups in Table 3. In general, the gap between second generation non-visible and visible minority is eliminated, which implies that ethnic belonging diminishes with age amongst visible minorities. This tendency is strongly reflected amongst the second generation respondents of African, Chinese, and Latin and South American respondents to the *Ethnic Diversity Survey*. In the case of persons of Italian descent, the strength of their sense of ethnic belonging appears to grow as they age.

Table 5
Importance of carrying on customs and traditions for visible minority status and selected religious, ethnic and racial minorities by generational status, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale, 2002

	Total	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
Non-visible minority	23.1	35.7	24.0	17.4
Visible minority	46.0	49.8	43.4	24.4
Jewish	33.7	36.1	34.6	29.7
Muslim	50.1	50.5	49.4	-
Canadian	12.7	17.6	17.5	10.3
African	44.1	49.8	36.1	41.8
Chinese	39.7	42.8	36.7	25.0
Latin and South American	44.9	47.1	44.7	12.5
Polish	29.6	51.3	18.8	14.1
Ukrainian	26.0	46.5	26.9	22.2
Italian	61.3	61.0	69.4	31.9
Caribbean	53.2	54.5	52.8	16.7

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

When it comes to carrying on customs and traditions related to one's ethnic identity, it is amongst the non-visible/White European origin groups that the gap between the first and second generation appears most pronounced (with the exception of the Italian origin respondents, for whom the erosion occurs in the third generation). Amongst the visible minorities (with the exception of the African descendants), there is relatively little erosion between the first and second generation with the decline occurring mainly between the second and third generation (with the exception of the African group).

With respect to the extent to which people maintain social contacts with persons with the same background, another dimension of ethnic continuity, the EDS reveals that the extent to which most of their friends possess the same first ancestry is considerably diminished. There are three exceptions to this pattern: the ethnic Canadian respondents who, in the first generation, were already less likely to report that most of their friends were of the same background; the Caribbean origin group and the Jewish group, both of whom showed little change between the first and second generation in this regard.

Table 6
Persons reporting that most of their friends had the same first ancestry for visible minority status and selected religious, ethnic and racial minorities by generational status, 2002

	First generation	Second generation
Non-visible minority	27.8	16.4
Visible minority	48.7	24.3
Jewish	27.5	29.5
Muslim	35.5	20.8
Canadian	15.1	13,3
African	40.8	18,9
Chinese	65.2	30.0
Latin and South American	26.4	7.5
Polish	30.6	7.6
Ukrainian	29.0	12.7
Italian	51.1	32.6
Caribbean	43.3	34.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

Ethnic identity and Canadian belonging

Prior to the 1991 Census, a campaign was organized by a group of citizens assisted by the *Toronto Sun* newspaper that called upon the population to write "Canadian" in the Census question on ethnic origins. The idea was guided by the belief that ethnic differences were at the root of problems of Canadian unity and the authors of the campaign believed that if everyone simply indicated they were Canadian, intergroup conflict would be eliminated. By asking questions about ethnic background, the State was encouraging people to think of themselves in such terms and, as a result, the Census question on ethnicity became the object of a political campaign to affirm one's "Canadianess." The campaign's architects believed that ethnic attachments ran counter to the primacy of being Canadian, that is to say they undercut one's national identity. In 1991, the campaign's success appeared limited with over 700,000 Canadians – mainly in Ontario – heeding the call, or 3% of the population reporting only "Canadian" and 1% reporting "Canadian" in combination with one or more other origin. Nonetheless, the results did not initially appear to bear fruit as the combined number of responses made it the sixth most popular answer in the country and was placed in that spot amongst the list of examples of responses to the 1996 question on ethnic origins. In 1996, four blank spaces were provided for respondents who could choose from a list of 24 examples of ethnic origin, where "Canadian" was in the sixth spot. ("Canadian" was included as an example on the English Census questionnaire and "Canadien" on the French Census questionnaire).

In the 1996 Census, some 5.3 million persons (almost all of them in Quebec) reported their only ethnic origin as "Canadian" and another 3.5 million persons – some 31% of the population – reported both "Canadian" and another origin. Headlines in major newspapers praised an outcome some described as reflecting a

strengthening of Canadian identity. Professor Rhoda Howard-Hassman of McMaster University contended that the 1996 Census results reinforced the sense of Canadian identity by strengthening our sense of "Canadianess." However, arguing that there is strengthened national identity or citizenship based on the "Canadian" Census responses does not take into consideration which "Canadians" gave this response.

Virtually all persons who reported "Canadian" in 1996 had English or French as a mother tongue and were born in Canada with both parents born inside Canada. This suggests that many of these respondents were people whose families have been in this country for several generations. In effect, the "new Canadians" were persons that previously reported either British or French origins. Moreover, in 1996, some 55% of people with both parents born in Canada reported "Canadian" (alone or in combination with other origins). By contrast, only 4% of people with both parents born outside Canada reported "Canadian." Thus, the "Canadian" response did not appeal widely to either immigrants or their children. Most important, however, was the fact that neatly half of those persons reporting Canadian origin in 1996 were in Quebec; this represented a majority of the French mother tongue population. It is, at best, doubtful that some six months after a divisive referendum on Quebec sovereignty, a majority of Francophone Quebeckers would want to affirm their sense of belonging to Canada by reporting that their ethnicity was "Canadien." In the 2001 Census, nearly 11.7 million people, or 39% of the total population, reported Canadian as their ethnic origin, either alone or in combination with another origin. As shown in Table 7, in 2006, this number dropped back down to approximately 10 million persons, or 32% of the total population.

When analyzing the Canadian responses on the basis of generational status, one observes that the number of immigrants reporting such ethnicity declined by nearly 40% between 2001 and 2006; in the children of immigrants – the second generation – the decline was nearly 30%, while it was 10% in the third-plus generation. As a consequence, the third-plus generation, which in 2001 constituted 88% of all such respondents, saw its share rise to 91%. Less than 2% of all immigrants included "Canadian" as part of their response to the question on ethnicity, compared with 15% of the second generation and 47% of the third-plus generation.

Contrary to what some insist, being rooted in Canada as opposed to possessing roots elsewhere does not necessarily mean either a greater Canadian identification or a greater sense of belonging to Canada. One need only look at the multigenerational French-Canadian and Aboriginal populations of the country to realize that it is not the length of time one has spent in Canada that necessarily fosters attachment to the country. The EDS revealed that 43% of Francophones who identify as ethnically Canadian reported a very strong sense of belonging to Canada, some 25 points less than Anglophones who reported "Canadian" ethnicity and 20 points less than allophones who reported similar origin in the EDS. Indeed, allophones reported significantly higher rates of belonging to Canada despite considerably lower numbers reporting their ethnicity as "Canadian."

As Statistics Canada properly cautioned, "…the concept of ethnicity is fluid and is probably one of the more complex concepts measured in the Census. Respondents' understanding or views about their ethnicity, awareness of their family background, number of generations in Canada, the length of time since immigration, and the social context at the time of the Census can all affect the reporting of ethnicity from one Census to another. Increasing intermarriage or unions among various groups has led to an increase in the reporting of multiple ancestries, which has added to the complexity of the ethnic data."

Yet some analysts have chosen not to heed such warnings and opted instead to draw conclusions on the strength of Canadian identity based on ethnic self-identification . Still, some policy-makers in Canada seem intrigued by the social integration focus on the relationship between attachment and belonging to Canada and the degree to which one chooses to self-define as ethnically Canadian. In January 2007, two University of Toronto sociologists contended that Canada was experiencing a serious problem in "social integration" arising from a purported "racial" gap in the strength of

Table 7
Numbers of "Canadian" responses to question on ethnic origin by total, single and multiple responses, 1996-2006

	Total – Single and multiple ethnic origin responses	Single ethnic origin responses	Multiples ethnic origin
1996	8,806,275	5,326,995	3,479,285
2001	11,682,680	6,748,135	4,934,550
2006	10,066,290	5,748,720	4,317,570

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2006.

Table 8
Canadian ethnic response for single and multiple ethnic origin 15 years of age and over by generational status, 2001 and 2006

	Total – Generation status	First generation	Second generation	Third generation or more
2006	7,960,850	111,040	613,440	7,236,370
2001	9,071,320	181,165	839,020	8,051,135

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canad*a, 2006.

Table 9
Do you identify as Canadian?

	Immigrant recent*	Immigrant earlier**	Second generation
White	21.9%	53.8%	78,2%
Total visible minorities	21.4%	34.4%	56.6%
Chinese	30.6%	42.0%	59.5%
South Asian	19.1%	32.7%	53.6%
Black	13.9%	27.2%	49.6%
Other visible minorities	17.4%	32.8%	60.6%

Source : The *Globe and Mail*, January 12 2007. * Arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001 ** Arrived in Canada before 1991

Canadian identification amongst second generation visible minorities. The findings were based on a study using data from Statistic Canada's 2002 *Ethnic Diversity Survey*. A national headline in *The Globe and Mail* titled "How Canadian are you?" (*The Globe and Mail*, January 12, 2007) maintained that visible minority immigrants are slower to integrate into Canadian society than their White, European counterparts, and feel less Canadian. On the basis of this, the article concluded that multiculturalism does not work well for non-Whites. To illustrate the point, the following table, Table 9, was presented in *The Globe and Mail*.

Presumably, responses to this question represented incontrovertible evidence that Canadian identification is substantially lower for visible minority immigrants and their Canadian-born offspring. The conclusions appealed to an important segment of Canadians who instinctively believe that the strength of attachment to Canada amongst immigrants is inadequate and that the preservation of minority ethnic ties is in part responsible for this presumed condition.

The findings have been widely quoted by national media and held up in some countries as evidence that Canada's approach to diversity is not an example to follow. In other words, the data presented by Reitz and Banerjee (2007) appear to significantly call into question the idea that people can maintain attachments to their ancestry and/or ethnic origins *and* possess a strong sense of belonging to Canada. The results above imply that the lower numbers of ethnic Canadian self-identification presume the persistence of ethnicity or, at the very least, imply that the declaration of other ethnic identities is an obstacle to "social integration." Indeed, when comparing recent and longer-term arrivals, Reitz and Banerjee contend that the "extent of Canadian identification is higher for both Whites and racial minorities, presumably reflecting their higher sense of commitment to Canada, but the difference is greater for Whites than for racial minorities." The assumption that a response indicating that one is Canadian on the basis of ethnic or cultural identity somehow reflects a higher sense of commitment to Canada risks fuelling the tendentious claims of certain critics of multiculturalism. The authors provide no definition for what they mean when they speak of a commitment.

In effect, the results generated by Reitz and Banerjee are based on the number of persons responding "Canadian" to an open question that asks individuals to self-identify their ethnicity. Paradoxically, although immigrants are considerably less inclined to self-identify ethnically as Canadian than their offspring, they report higher rates of belonging to Canada. This presents a potentially serious problem for the Reitz-Banerjee hypothesis with respect to the importance of ethnic Canadian self-identification as a marker of social integration: it would appear Canadian immigrants are more "integrated" than non-immigrants!

However, this apparent contradiction may be explained by a different interpretation of what it means to be "ethnically Canadian" as declared on the EDS self-identification question and the sense of belonging to Canada asked about elsewhere in the EDS. For reasons not offered, the authors seem to feel that results from the former question are a better indicator of social integration into Canadian society. To be fair, the authors do include the results from the question on belonging in their analysis but attribute less importance to it. Indeed, on the basis of the two sociologists' approach, which was to focus on the respondents who gave a score of 5 on the five-point scale for strength of belonging to Canada, the EDS paradoxically validates the idea that those who possess strong ethnic belonging also have a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. Hence, amongst those providing a score of 5 for ethnic belonging, some 79% of respondents gave a similar score on their strength of belonging to Canada, compared with 60% for strength of belonging to Canada amongst those who gave the lowest score for ethnic belonging.

Much of the so-called gap described by the two sociologists is connected to the issue of the age of the respondent and not the generation. In other words, the generational effects of belonging diminish considerably when age is taken into consideration. It is age rather than generation that should be the focus when it comes to examining gaps in identity and belonging to Canada. Indeed, as mentioned previously, the average age of second generation visible minority respondents in the EDS is 25 compared with the average age of 45 for second generation Whites. The importance of age in understanding how the sense of belonging to Canada relates to the generational effects and visible minority status is illustrated in the tables below. As observed in Table 10, respondents between the ages of 15 and 24 have a weaker sense of belonging to Canada than those who are between the ages of 25 and 44, who, in turn, have a weaker sense of belonging than those over the age of 45.

Table 10
Strength of belonging to Canada by age cohort, 2002

Age	1 (not strong at all)	2	3	4	5 (very strong)
15-17	4.7%	7.1%	17.0%	27.8%	40.6%
18-24	4.6%	5.1%	16.6%	27.2%	43.9%
25-29	3.5%	4.4%	13.1%	24.7%	51.6%
30-34	3.1%	3.7%	12.8%	23.5%	54.2%
35-44	2.7%	2.7%	11.2%	20.5%	59.9%
45-54	2.7%	2.6%	9.2%	18.2%	64.8%
55-64 ans	2.2%	2.3%	7.0%	14.2%	70.5%
65+	1.9%	1.3%	4.8%	9.8%	74.5%
Total	**3.0%**	**3.3%**	**10.9%**	**19.9%**	**59.4%**

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

As revealed in Table 11, age is an important factor in determining the sense of belonging to Canada. The importance of one's age in understanding how sense of belonging to Canada is related to generational effects for ethnic and racial groups is illustrated in Table 11 in the 30 to 34 age cohort; with the exception of the group of Caribbean origin, the variations no longer appear significant.

It will no doubt be argued that it is generational differences and not age effects that are at the root of the social integration gap reported by Reitz and Banerjee. For the second generation groups in the same age cohorts of 18 to 14, 25 to 29 and 30 to 44, a modest gap exists amongst visible minority Black respondents. There is no meaningful gap between visible minorities nor amongst the other groups, and, indeed, the second generation South Asian respondents score highest on the issue of belonging to Canada in all three age cohorts; this throws into question whether a racial gap is at work here.

Table 11
Belong to Canada for selected groups aged 30 to 34, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale measuring the strength of belonging for second generation, 2002

Second generation	Sense of belonging to Canada – 4 and 5
	30-34*
Not a visible minority	82.1
Visible minority	79.5
South Asian	86.5
Polish	84.3
Arab	81.8
Jewish	81.3
African	81.0
Canadian	80.8
Ukrainian	80.0
Japanese	77.7
Black	76.8
Chinese	76.7
Italian	70.8
Caribbean	61.6

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

* The choice of the 30 to 34 age group was justified by the number of counts for each group possessing some statistical relevance

Table 12
Belong to Canada for selected groups and age cohorts, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale measuring the strength of belonging for second generation, 2002

	Sense of belonging to Canada by age group		
	18-24	25-29	30-44
Not a visible minority	76.7	80.3	83.4
Chinese	69.1	76.1	78.1
South Asian	77.6	86.3	85.6
Black	60.6	66.7	77.1

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

As noted earlier, it would be difficult to support the argument that the gap is somehow attributable to Canadian multiculturalism public policy and the Government's presumed encouragement that ethnic attachment be fostered. When correlating data related to sense of belonging to an ethnic group with data related to sense of belonging to Canada, we see that the pattern is similar across various groups: respondents with a stronger sense of ethnic belonging are also those with a stronger sense of belonging to Canada. These results are based the same EDS data sets employed by the two University of Toronto sociologists.

Correlation of other questions in the EDS with sense of belonging to Canada also offer little support for the idea that maintaining ethnic ties undercuts attachment to Canada. For example, amongst visible minorities, the more importance attributed to carrying on customs and traditions, the greater the sense of belonging to Canada. A study of ethnic, racial and religious minorities with the same ancestry does not result in a meaningful difference in the sense of belonging to Canada.

Conclusion

In Canada and the United States, there has always been vocal opposition to the philosophical and political approaches to diversity underlying the view that the process of cultural loss on the part of immigrants and their descendants is not as linear as the earlier theorists insisted (or perhaps not as linear as they desired). Paradoxically, several critics of the melting pot and the Canadian multicultural model share the view that maintaining minority ethnic attachments undercuts

Table 13
Belong to ethnic or cultural group for selected groups and belonging to Canada, combining the rating of 4 and 5 on a five-point scale measuring the strength of belonging, 2002

	Belong to ethnic or cultural group			
Belong to Canada (4 and 5)	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Non-visible minority	79.6	78.6	83.1	90.4
Visible minority	72.2	70.8	79.5	88.0
Jewish	80.4	74.8	86.4	88.1
Muslim	86.5	82.7	86.7	91.0
Canadian	84.8	85.1	89.1	94.6
African	75.6	77.6	78.4	85.4
Chinese	71.2	66.1	79.7	85.9
Latin and South American	77.1	76.2	75.7	81.0
Polish	82.8	83.0	86.1	93.6
Ukrainian	89.3	82.8	91.6	93.7
Italian	75.0	67.7	86.3	91.5
Caribbean	53.3	65.4	63.7	84.2

Source: Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 2002.

national identification. In other words the ethnic heritage inevitably competes with either American or Canadian identities. Of the critics who feel that America is not achieving the desired level of assimilation of ethnic groups, a most alarmist view is articulated by Samuel Huntingdon (2004) in his book, *Who Are We?* In Canada similar arguments are made by Gregg (2006) and Cohen (2007).

Yet others hold a contrary view and argue that the assimilation effort has gone too far in suppressing the ethnic identities of immigrants and their children. With regards to visible minorities or racial groups in the United States, some have argued that the melting pot never sufficiently considered how members of these groups fit into the mould and how and whether they get subsumed within. Portes and Zhou (1993) have argue that "the children of today's immigrants will assimilate in several ways – as opposed to the single, straight-line path supposedly followed by earlier immigrant waves." For the second generation, the pathway will be conditioned by the economic condition of the parents and opportunities for higher education. On the other hand, the children of low-skilled immigrants, visibly identifiable and entering a mainly White society, will for the most part follow a more difficult path. Our focus is limited to an assessment of whether ethnic persistence is at all responsible for a diminished sense of belonging to Canada on the part of the second generation.

Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam, author of the widely acclaimed book *Bowling Alone*, recently published a study concluding that ethnic diversity triggers "anomie or social isolation." In the June 2007 issue of Scandinavian Political Studies, Putnam writes: "In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down' – that is, to pull in like a turtle." In his essay titled "*E Pluribus Unum*: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century," Putnam proposed that the United States redefine the "we" and renew shared identity and social solidarity. Detractors of multiculturalism in Canada and elsewhere were quick to seize upon Putnam's findings to support their point of view.

In Putnam's view, "…a society will more easily reap the benefits of immigration and overcome the challenges if immigration focuses on the reconstruction of ethnic identities, reducing their social salience without eliminating their personal importance." In this regard, Putnam believes it is "important to encourage permeable, syncretic 'hyphenated' identities…that enable previously separate ethnic groups to see themselves, in part, as members of a shared group with a shared identity" (2007). But Putnam does not purport to have established a causal link between the strength of ethnic identities and the weakness of national identities, something he does not assess.

Critics of Canadian multiculturalism insist that the preservation of minority ethnic identities undermine the sense of belonging to Canada and seem to believe they do not require evidence – empirical or otherwise – in support of this assertion. The *Ethnic Diversity Survey* – as employed by Reitz and Banerjee – simply does not provide the critics with such evidence nor do the two sociologists who have analyzed the EDS in this regard offer any proof that ethnic persistence is the cause of a weaker sense of belonging to Canada amongst any particular second generation group exhibiting such a pattern.

After the mercurial rise of the Canadian response to the question on ethnic origin and ancestry between 1991 and 2001, the 2006 Census of Canada witnessed a decrease in the number of persons reporting that their ethnicity was "Canadian," that is to say, the "Canadian Canadians."

Some rethinking is required around the degree to which people's level of attachment to Canada can be linked to Canadian ethnic self-definition, something that the results of the 2006 Census on ethnic origins further calls into question.

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BRIDGING THE COMMON DIVIDE: THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH "COHESION" AND "INCLUSION"

ABSTRACT

This article suggests that in a pluralistic society a focus on identity is as important as socioeconomic inclusion, particularly as it relates to second and other generation Canadians. It argues that civic cohesion, especially in a post-9/11 world, does not simply arise out of pluralism and inclusion.

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As a country, Canada is marked by its diversity, its concern for the well-being of its citizens and its openness towards the evolution of its identity. These three features, to which we will refer as *pluralism*, *social inclusion* and *civic cohesion*, are key elements that have made Canada a successfully plural and inclusive society. Aboriginal Canadians, linguistic duality and a quarter of a million new immigrants coming from a range of countries to Canada each year make this country one of the most pluralistic in the world. Support from all levels of government for the social and economic well-being of Canadians underscores the country's commitment to social inclusion, which includes policies and programs aimed at issues such as poverty reduction, anti-discrimination, healthcare, and meeting the needs of an ageing population. But when it comes to the third feature, that of civic cohesion, this paper suggests that this question has received somewhat less attention than have pluralism and social inclusion.

While the recognition of our pluralistic make-up and the focus on inclusion are essential to Canada, we ask whether there also needs to exist a dialogue on building a common and distinctive Canadian identity. After all, the pluralism of a society can only act as a source of enrichment as long as all of the members of that society, including immigrants and second and other generation Canadians, participate in and identify with that society. Such participation and identification arguably requires more than the unencumbered pursuit of socioeconomic well-being. It is a point also raised by Banting, Courchene and Seidle in *Belonging? – Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, a volume published by the Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP) (2007):

> Based on certain measures of civic participation, recent arrivals and their children are engaging reasonably well with Canadian society. However, on other measures, such as a sense of belonging to Canada and trust in others, there is a gap between immigrants and the rest of the population, and this gap seems to remain for the second generation despite their progress over time on other measures (such as income).

This article suggests that in a pluralistic society a focus on identity is as important as socio-economic inclusion, particularly as it relates to second and other generation Canadians. It argues that civic cohesion, especially in a post-9/11 world, does not simply arise out of pluralism and inclusion. And it raises the question of what is required to ensure that citizens in a society that is as diverse as Canada's are able to devise a narrative that is reflective of their self-understanding and capable of furthering their aspirations as a community of citizens.

Finding their place

To understand "cohesion" and "inclusion" as they relate to immigrants and their descendents (i.e., second and other generation Canadians), it is helpful to consider the process of immigrant adaptation to society. This process is part of a much broader society-wide dynamic. J. W. Berry, in his work on intercultural relations, discusses this process of adaptation (1999). He refers to "acculturation" as:

> The process of cultural change that results when two (or more) cultural groups come into contact as well as the psychological changes that individuals experience as a result of being members of cultural groups that are undergoing acculturation at the group or collective level.

Berry's research has given rise to "two-dimensional" models of acculturation, which "recognize that the two dominant aspects of acculturation, namely, preservation of one's heritage culture and adaptation to the host society, are conceptually distinct and can vary independently." (Phinney et al. 2001)

In turn, two questions can be constructed that reflect the "strategies used by immigrants in dealing with acculturation," "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's cultural heritage?" and "Is it considered to be of value to develop relationships with the larger society?" (*Ibid.*). These questions extend to second and other generation Canadians as evidenced by other research (Eid 2003, Gaudet, Clément and Deuzeman 2005, Plaza 2006).

Two questions in a larger context

The process of answering the acculturation questions (i.e., how they are negotiated in reality) is a dynamic one, as part of a larger "give-and-take" between individuals and groups in society, including immigrants as well as second and other generation Canadians. The optimal balance, arguably, is what Berry (1999) refers to as "integration." But he cautions:

> Integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity….Thus a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both dominant and non-dominant groups of the fight of all groups to live as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g., education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society.

From this, we suggest that at least two phenomena are at work in this dynamic. The first is "inclusion," which is mainly about the removal of barriers to full participation for certain groups and individuals within a society. Primarily focused on social and economic issues, inclusion often includes measures such as immigrant settlement services, employment equity programs to end discriminatory hiring practices, anti-racism activities and anti-poverty initiatives.

"Cohesion," by contrast, can be understood as the quality of relationships between the various individuals and groups constituting a given society, where the overlap and convergence of values, experiences, and interests is what one may refer to as a distinct identity that is "national," "shared" or "common" in character. It includes the openness of a host society to welcoming and accommodating a diversity of cultures (constituted by characteristics such as ethnicity, race or religion). For immigrants, and their descendants, cohesion is about the *capacity* for reciprocal attachment to and identification with the host society.

The importance of these concepts for Canada arises from the plural nature of the country. We are a nation of many cultures and peoples; this involves numerous, complex relationships. The challenge for Canada is to derive benefit from its pluralism by working towards inclusion, while not neglecting civic cohesion.

We are a nation of many cultures and peoples; this involves numerous, complex relationships. The challenge for Canada is to derive benefit from its pluralism by working towards inclusion, while not neglecting civic cohesion.

Inclusion vs. cohesion

Inclusion, however, does not automatically foster cohesion and can develop independently. A recent study on the acculturation of Canadian immigrants argues that "employment status, occupation and prior earnings do not have an impact on whether immigrants assume the identity of their host society" (Phythian, Walters and Anisef 2007). Inclusion, economic in this case, did not affect the relationship of immigrants with the host society.

Furthermore, a generally welcoming attitude towards immigrants in Canadian society may not necessarily be indicative of the extent to which specific groups are made to feel that they are a part of the whole society. One case study of Iranian immigrants found that their acceptance into Canada was hampered by their religious affiliation and popular associations with their country of origin, as Sadeghi (2007) points out:

> Iranian immigrants often have had to face multiple layers of systematic discrimination, exclusion and social isolation because of their religious affiliation as Muslims, and also as the result of their association to a country whose name is commonly linked to negative images of fundamentalism and terrorism.

In a recent poll, when asked questions about the positive aspects of immigration, Canadians said that they "identified [immigration] as giving a boost to the workforce by bringing in more labourers and highly skilled people" (Aubry 2007). Interestingly, although "increasing cultural diversity" was also deemed positive,

the same group of respondents reported concerns with immigrants "imposing their culture[s]" and their desire "to have Canada accommodate them" (Aubry 2007) – attitudes that are not welcoming of diversity and not likely to further a sense of civic cohesion.

In order to delve deeper into the distinction between inclusion and cohesion, one could also consider the "Toronto Bomb Plot," which saw 18 suspects arrested in 2006 for allegedly planning to blow up targets in Southern Ontario. The alleged plot was "home-grown," in that all of the suspects were either born in Canada or long-time residents (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2008). At the same time, all the suspects were from ethnocultural minority groups. One line of argument has been that they were "included" in but did not identify with society to such an extent that they were considering terrorist activities. As mentioned earlier, inclusion and cohesion can develop quite independently, and an increase in one does not necessarily mean an increase in the other.

Over time, Canada has moved away from seeing itself as solely based on its "foundational" cultures (i.e., Aboriginal, French, and English). It has evolved into a pluralistic society wherein identity does not ignore Canada's cultural and linguistic roots and realities but builds on them to open up a narrative that includes other markers of identity. The challenge is to give expression to this new narrative, between our foundations and our evolving diversity, in a way that encourages civic cohesion.

Without a sense of civic cohesion and common purpose, groups and individuals, even if they are not socio-economically disadvantaged, may see themselves as "outsiders".

The risks of neglecting cohesion

Inclusion without cohesion, to borrow a term from Berry's work, could lead to a situation where communities live parallel lives within a society without developing a sense of connectedness to the larger whole. The extent to which second generation Canadians see themselves as an integral part of the overall narrative of their society is something of a litmus test for the civic groundedness of pluralism in Canada. Without a sense of civic cohesion and common purpose, groups and individuals, even if they are not socioeconomically disadvantaged, may see themselves as "outsiders":

> The consequences of not belonging creates a deep sense of alienation, resulting in projections and introjections of the self through imagined and fantasized notions of culture, religion and identity [which can give] rise to culturalism essentialism, religious fundamentalism and the institution of terror through violence, such as the subway and bus "terrorist" attacks in London on 7 July and 21 July 2005. (Moodley 2007)

The post-9/11 reaction in the U.S., and the narrative defining individuals and groups as either "with us or against us" could be viewed as an example of a lack of civic cohesion created in a situation where Arab- and Muslim-Americans, including second and other generation Americans, were seen primarily as "Muslims" or "Arabs" and not as "Americans." Interestingly, this occurred despite having formal legal guarantees of equality, as in the U.S. Constitution *Bill of Rights*. The American government, in responding to potential threats, did not rely "on individualized suspicion or intelligence-driven criteria [but instead used] national origin as a proxy for evidence of dangerousness" (Chishti et al. 2003). The effect of these actions has been argued to have "diminished the openness of U.S. society and eroded national unity." (*Ibid.*)

This reaction was not just confined to official activities but extended to the broader American society. Workplace discrimination jumped significantly immediately after 9/11, to the effect that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) had to create "a new category to track acts of discrimination against Middle Eastern, Muslim and South Asian workers" (*Ibid.*). Additionally, hate crimes against Muslims have soared after September 11, which rose more than 1,500% (though violent crimes have since tapered off). Despite being a liberal-democratic society with constitutional guarantees of legal equality, we would suggest that these developments indicated not merely a lack of social inclusion but of civic cohesion in the U.S. One might argue that many of these situations could have been avoided had a better relationship between the larger society and ethnocultural minority groups existed.

The Canadian context

Some would argue that the post-9/11 U.S. experience has limited bearing on the Canadian context – but the distinction may be less pronounced than one might think. There are signs of weakening cohesion in Canada, too. For example, a 2006 poll found that 48% of Canadian respondents supported sending government agents to infiltrate the Muslim community, whereas 62% supported giving the U.S. any information they requested about Canadian citizens whom they suspect of being terrorists (Strategic Counsel 2006). More broadly, a 2008 poll indicated that 30% of respondents believed accommodating the ethnic and religious diversity of immigrants weakened our sense of national identity (Strategic Counsel 2008). The same poll also noted that 45% thought immigrants hold on to their customs and traditions too long when they come to Canada, and 61% agreed that Canada makes too many accommodations to visible minorities. Yet, at the same time, about 88% of respondents believed that Canada was welcoming of visible minorities.

Looking forward

Measures to address issues of inclusion continue to be extremely important and valued by Canadians.

Removing barriers so that all individuals and groups can fully participate both socially and economically in Canadian society is important. It is also quintessentially Canadian.

In addition, we have put forward the idea that in order to support a pluralistic Canadian society in a post-9/11 world, we also need to pay heed to questions of civic cohesion. A sense of belonging or attachment is essential for all groups in society, and this is especially true for second and other generation Canadians. If the ever-evolving narrative of Canada does not speak to all Canadians, including some of Canada's newest citizens, we risk creating groups which see themselves as marginal to society, even though they are fully participating in it economically. If we ignore questions of identity and civic cohesion we may become unable to articulate the ties that bind us as citizens, and the narrative that is common to the Canadian experience.

In the above-mentioned IRPP publication, Banting, Courchene and Seidle (2007) conclude:

> In a bilingual, multinational federal state, there are definite limits to our capacity to engage in nation-building enterprises. Hence our stress on the three equalities [1. human rights and the justice system; 2. socioeconomic equality; 3. political and civic participation] as the bedrock of our shared citizenship. We build respect by respecting difference; we build tolerance by resisting discrimination; we build trust by being trustworthy; we build belonging by drawing people into the mainstream of civic and political life; we build solidarity by supporting all Canadians in need.

A goal of this paper has been to stimulate discussion on the third equality, which we have called "civic cohesion" here – especially as it relates to second and other generation Canadians. The value of diversity in Canada is undeniable – culturally, socially, linguistically and economically. It adds to the richness of our pluralistic nation. Canada is a welcoming and caring country, so much so that one of its most acclaimed writers, Yann Martel, once called it the "greatest hotel on Earth" (Bethune 2006). A hotel can house and feed you exceptionally well, but for it to become a true community, those inside must discover a common bond and see themselves as more than guests but as neighbours and citizens.

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Notes

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[2] The specificity and high degree of pluralism in the Canadian context arises from the fact that Canada combines Aboriginal peoples, two major linguistic communities and ethnocultural communities within the same polity. This particular constellation of pluralist elements in Canada is highly unusual when compared with other countries.

[3] We use the expression "second and other generation Canadian," as opposed to "second generation immigrant," as it more accurately describes this group of Canadians (i.e., given that they are Canadian born, or former immigrants who are now Canadian citizens).

[4] Capacity has a twofold understanding here. First, it is the desire of immigrants to form a relationship with the host society, by, for example, adopting its identity and values. Second, it is the existence, or lack thereof, of barriers (e.g., discrimination) affecting the formation of a relationship with the host society.

DEFINING THE "BEST" ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN CANADA

ABSTRACT

With immigrants expected to be the only source of population growth in Canada by 2020,[1] there is an increasing recognition of the need to facilitate newcomers' full contribution to the socioeconomic spheres. However, progress in crucial areas of research in this field – policy and program delivery for the immigrant population – is still in its developmental stage. Much as there is no single best model in this regard, the purpose of this article is to highlight the current trends in recognizing and responding to the diversity in this area while outlining the best practices that could serve as guiding principles. Although the article underlines perspectives that are common to different cultures and generations of immigrants, distinctions will be made in issues specific to second generation families, and especially youth.

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The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the opinions of the Government of Canada.

With immigrants expected to be the only source of population growth in Canada by 2020, there is an increasing acknowledgment of the need to facilitate their full contribution in the socioeconomic spheres. The ageing Canadian population coupled with declining fertility rates and retiring baby boomers more than necessitates the appreciation of the skills and contribution of immigrants. However, the progress in the crucial areas of research, policy and program delivery for the immigrant population is rather in its developmental stage.

There is no denying the fact that there are challenges in responding to the diversity among immigrants, especially in light of the varying generations of families with different cultures that have made Canada their home country. Whereas there is no single best model that could serve as a ready-made solution to ensure the full participation of immigrants in the social and economic fields, there are guiding principles that could help research move forward in this direction.

Although the article outlines specific trends and guidelines under the realm of policy and research, these are not necessarily limited to the respective areas and may overlap.

Research

The biggest limitation in the research on immigrant families is the tendency to examine issues in light of the "Western" model, which is usually considered to be the benchmark. For instance, it is not uncommon to find immigrant experiences such as parenting, marriage, academic skills and professional achievements being evaluated against the predetermined Western model. An analytical framework that draws upon Western concepts may not reflect the values and beliefs of the immigrant population. This is especially true for second generation youth, who are perceived as "integrated" with the "Canadian" culture and hence usually analyzed through a Western lens. Not surprisingly, there are biases and stereotypes in literature that prevent a realistic understanding of and response to immigrants' experiences. To avoid this pitfall, it is essential to challenge one's assumptions and media-created stereotypes about the immigrant population being researched.

For instance, the definition and meaning attached to various concepts in the mainstream Canadian culture might not necessarily be the same when viewed from the perspective of the population being researched. To quote an example,[2] a Canadian-based NGO, while working with a small village in a developing country, determined that it was "oppressive" for women to walk several miles to fetch water, as there was no water supply in or near the village. The NGO therefore built a water facility in the village. However, the women were unhappy with this development as they saw this time to walk together in groups to fetch water as an opportunity to socialize with other women. They now felt that the only relaxing and enjoyable time they had to themselves, away from their family pressures and responsibilities, had been taken away.

The bias in literature is self-propagating and heightened by the significant gaps in research on immigrant population in Canada. Despite the wide-ranging and often complex issues facing

immigrants today, research continues to be concentrated in specific areas, such as labour market participation of immigrants, racism, etc. Significant as these issues are, there are others – such as the role of immigrant seniors, implications of delays or denials in family reunification and causes and consequences of immigrants returning to their origin countries – that also require attention, both to enable and to sustain the optimal socioeconomic participation of immigrants. Even more limited is the focus on second or third generation families, especially youth. It is important to recognize that the experiences of second generation youth could both resemble while being quite different from those of the first generation. There is a need to expand the scope and areas of research in order to ensure a holistic examination of immigrant experiences and subsequently, ensure effective development of policies and programs to facilitate newcomers' contributions to society.

Another essential principle to follow while researching immigrants is to be aware and responsive to the diversity in the immigration population in Canada, whether it be in in terms of culture, country of origin or generation, to name a few. Combining different cultures, each with their unique skill sets and experiences, under one big "immigrant" umbrella, is often misleading and unhelpful in developing a comprehensive understanding of these issues. Similarly, there should be recognition of the diversity in the issues of first and second generation youth of the same culture.

Despite the wide-ranging and often complex issues facing immigrants today, research continues to be concentrated in specific areas, such as labour market participation of immigrants, racism, etc. Significant as these issues are, there are others…that also require attention.

Policy

The most important – yet least practiced and/or honoured – principle in the policy framework is the acknowledgment and appreciation of the voices of those most affected by the policy outcome. This is especially true for the diverse immigrant population whose experiences and skills, more often than not, remain unrecognized and hence underutilized. There is no dearth of existing policies to support this argument – be it the struggling doctors-cum-cab drivers or the systemic discrimination faced by the first and second generation youth in the labour market, especially while competing for senior management positions.

The comparative models used in policy analysis focus largely on G8 or OECD countries. Although such an approach is undeniably a practical one, keeping in view the similarities among these nations, it should not preclude the examination of best practice models in the developing countries that could be adapted to the Canadian system. The need to look beyond the developed countries is most pronounced when analyzing immigrant-related issues. Is it perhaps too much or too radical to ask for such an approach, considering the general assumption that immigrants come to "the land of opportunities" and hence should be the ones making adjustments? Such a viewpoint is unhelpful not only to the immigrants themselves but also to the host country, Canada, as it prevents the full "utilization" of immigrants' potential, not to mention the possibility of losing them to their home countries or to other countries. Such a loss could prove to be an incalculable setback to Canada's ability to compete internationally in this globalized era.

Other trends, often evident in the policy frameworks, include the disconnect between different policy areas, and the ever-existing disconnect between policy and practice. Policies and programs designed specifically for immigrants usually function in isolation. It is crucial to ensure that linkages are made with other policies and that the "diversity" lens is adopted for every policy, as opposed to just being limited to the ones specifically dealing with immigrants. This is particularly relevant for second generation youth who do not benefit from sufficient policies that are specifically designed for them and who are not always included in the mainstream policy. For instance, a policy framework designed to analyze the caring needs of seniors in general should leave room for the experiences of immigrant seniors, both first and second generation. In other words, the fact that many immigrant seniors are predominantly cared for in their families as opposed to finding themselves in nursing homes should determine how the "general" policy on caring for seniors gets designed and subsequently what kind of programs are delivered. Using this approach becomes all the more significant when looking at population projections, which identify immigration as the only source of population growth. Hence, the policy frameworks need to adopt a long-term vision in order to adequately reflect the outlook of the ever-increasing number of immigrants and to avoid the danger of being redundant in the face of changing demographics.

Furthermore, the existing policy-practice disconnect reflected in the policy decisions needs to be bridged. Input from communities, women's groups and grassroots agencies in the policy-making processes can help ensure informed decision making. Although both the grassroots agencies and policy-makers are experts in their respective areas, the communication gap between them is rather unproductive. A limited, if not negligible, understanding of the "other side" often creates and widens the gap between what is required and what ends up being delivered, thus leading to quick-fix solutions as opposed to addressing fundamental problems. There is a wealth of knowledge and community experience at the grassroots level, which should be validated and fed into social policy.

Conclusion

Underlying effective analytical framework is an understanding of immigrants' perspectives. Even as simple a term as "family" may refer to more than just the spouse or children; for many immigrants, it includes parents, grand-parents and even close relatives. Research, policies and programs that use a different definition of families pose systemic barriers. It is nuances like these that need to be paid attention to in order for any analysis to prove useful. Moreover, there is a dire need to focus more attention on second generation families, especially since there is limited data and information available on their experiences in Canada.

While there are policies and research that are mindful of the guidelines discussed here, these are perhaps not enough to adequately reflect the changing face of Canadian demographics. "Diversity" must be incorporated into research, policy and program delivery in Canada to create a win-win situation, both for the immigrants and for the nation.

Lastly, and most importantly, it is essential to remember that although families immigrating to Canada may require support in order to adjust, the contribution that they make to the socioeconomic development of the country is invaluable. Hence, the discourses on immigrants should focus more on their abilities and potential to contribute than merely focusing on their "needs." A needs-based analytical framework that fails to recognize the skills and strengths of immigrants is incomplete and disempowering, to say the least.

Notes

[1] Statistics Canada. 2005. *Population Projections for Canada, Provinces and Territories*. Ottawa.

[2] This example is based on a presentation given by one of the representatives of the NGO in question, and which the author attended.

WHO LIVES AT HOME?

Ethnic Variations among Second Generation Young Adults

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Throughout Canada's history, well-known indicators of becoming an adult have included completion of schooling, finding a full-time job, leaving the parental home, marriage and starting a family of one's own. Some people believed that the ideal sequence was serial and irreversible; young people first completed school, then found work, moved away from home and married and then had children. And these events occurred when the youth were either older teenagers or in their early twenties. Today, the transition to adulthood is different from the past in two important ways. First, the various indicators of the transition often are not sequential, and the events may even occur simultaneously. Young people may find employment and attend school at the same time; they may move out of the parental home, marry and move back in with parents. Second, the full transition to adulthood is taking longer to complete; young adults are attending school longer; they are marrying later and postponing the age of childbearing (Clark 2007).

As part of these changing patterns in the transition to adulthood, young adults today are also more likely than in previous decades to be still living in the parental home. According to the most recent Canadian Census of population, in 2006, more than two out of every five (43.5%) of the 4 million young adults aged 20 to 29 lived in the parental home compared with slightly more than one in four (27%) 25 years earlier, in 1981. This increase is partly caused by the greater tendency of young people to leave and then return to the parental home (Beaupré et al. 2006a and 2006b). It also reflects the increasing school attendance of young adults and the delayed transition to stable employment; monetary considerations may exert strong pressures to reducing costs by co-residing with parents (Boyd and Pryor 1989, Boyd and Norris 1999).

Of course, not all young people live with their parents. Having a job, earning a high salary and living in a large city where apartments are plentiful increase opportunities for alternative living arrangements. Family structure also matters. Youth are more likely to be in the parental home when both parents are present than when only one parent is present. Additionally, family bonds are important in two ways. First, emotional closeness to parents while growing up and receiving parental financial support are conducive to remaining in the home (Mitchell, Wister and Gee 2002 and 2004). Second, at any given time within contemporary society, some groups continue to emphasize family and familial orientations and to view intergenerational co-residency as desirable. In a country such as Canada, with high immigration, the greater emphasis on family and positive attitudes towards young adult co-residency may derive from the beliefs and preferences regarding family life that exist in different countries around the world, and which immigrants bring with them.

This last observation implies that youth who are born in Canada but have a least one foreign-born parent may be more likely to co-reside with parents than youth who are more removed from the migration experience. Further, since immigrants now come from many countries, it also is likely that these young second generation offspring will vary among themselves in the propensity to reside with parents.

The impact of origins

It does appear that some groups are more familistic than others and that such orientations influence the propensities of their young to co-reside with parents. One Canadian study of 1,900 young adults aged 19 to 35 in 1999-2000 found that Indo-Asian, Chinese and Southern European youth tend to remain at home longer than youth of British origin. The authors of that study noted that Indo-Asian parents socialize their unmarried children to remain at home as long as possible, while filial piety and the pursuit of higher education may underlie Chinese parent-young adult co-residency (Mitchell, Wister and Gee 2004). Additionally, the "Southern Mediterranean" family system with its emphasis on the centrality of the family also implies high levels of parent-young adult co-residency, both in North America as well in Southern Europe. In keeping with the theme that ethnic groups vary in the emphasis given to family life, and thus in the likelihood of co-residency, an earlier Canadian study finds that in 1991 single adults aged 20 to 34 who declared Greek, Italian, Balkan, Portuguese, South Asian, Chinese, Arab, West Asian, Jewish and other South-Southeastern Asian ethnicities had very high percentages living with parents (Boyd 2000).

Neither of these two Canadian studies focused explicitly on the second generation, defined as those born in Canada to one or more foreign-born parents. Yet, the second generation is uniquely situated. As the offspring of parents whose own countries and cultures have beliefs and preferences regarding the living arrangements of their children, some second generation groups may be more likely to co-reside with parents than other groups of second generation youth. A study of exclusively second generation youth in the United States suggests that this is the case for those of Southern European origins, particularly those of Portuguese, Greek and Italian origin (Giuliano 2007).

Information on the second generation in Canada

As noted elsewhere in this volume (Boyd 2008), the 2001 Canadian Census of population provides rich information on second generation youth. In addition to the master database housed at Statistics Canada, the agency that fielded the Census, a public use microdata file of individuals (PUMF_I) is available. Information from PUMF_I on variations in the co-residency patterns of the second generation indeed confirms that second generation youth are more likely than the third-plus (Canadian born to two Canadian-born parents) to be living with one or both parents considered to be the family head (labelled "person 1" in the Census). However, percentages vary according to the ethnic/ancestral origins of these youth. Some of these origins also include visible minority groups.

With respect to the living arrangements of second generation youth, age was restricted to those who were between 20 and 29 in 2001, since this is the age range when most moves out of (and back into) the parent homes occur. Most adolescents, including those who are older, in fact still live with parents. Because of the pronounced tendency of Canadians who are married or living common-law to live apart from their parents, living arrangements are examined only for those who are single and who have never been married. Ethnic/ancestral origins are based on the Canadian Census question on ethnic origins. Respondents were asked, "to which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?" On the public use microdata file, the extensive classification system for ethnic origins is highly aggregated, with most detail preserved for single responses and available only for those living outside the Atlantic Provinces and territories.

> In a country such as Canada, with high immigration, the greater emphasis on family and positive attitudes towards young adult co-residency may derive from the beliefs and preferences regarding family life that exist in different countries around the world, and which immigrants bring with them.

Starting in the 1960s with regulatory changes and enshrined in the *Immigration Act, 1976*, which came into effect April 10, 1978, Canada's immigration policy discarded the previous admission criterion that rested on national origins and which heavily favoured migrants from Europe and severely restricted those from other regions. Instead, would-be migrants who sought to reside permanently in Canada were admitted on the basis of family ties, economic contribution or humanitarian consideration. As a result, the volume of migration from non-Europe areas rose substantially, with most immigrants coming from Asian countries. Arriving in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, many of these migrants were in their twenties and thirties, and they became the parents of the "new" second generation. In order to highlight the co-residency patterns for these "new immigrant" groups who are not of European origins, information is used from the more detailed classification of ethnic origins, focusing in particular on parent-young adult co-residency patterns for those of African, Arab and West Asian, South Asian, East and Southeast, Latin, Central and South American, and Caribbean origins. As a result, the discussion below excludes those who reside in the Atlantic Provinces and territories. In examining ethnic/racial differences in the percentages of second generation youth that live with parents, comparisons are also made with the third-plus generation. This group is dominant in Canadian life, numerically and culturally. Most of the third-plus generation consists of groups who have resided in Canada for many generations, and more than three-quarters of the ethnic origins of the single third-plus generation aged 20 to 29 include Canadian, British and French.

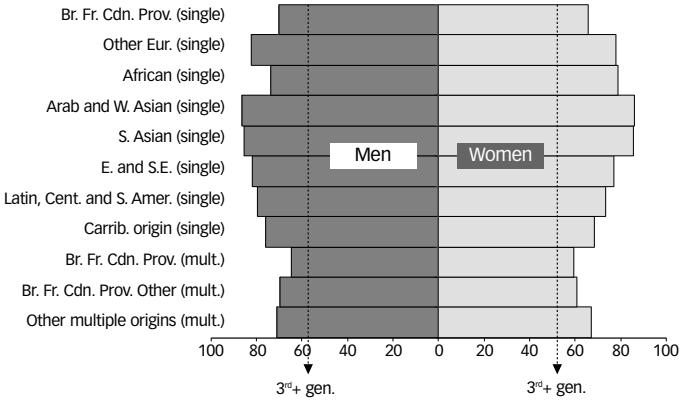
Ethnic variations in living with parents

Second generation youth in their twenties are more likely than the third-plus generation to be living with one or both of their parents. Compared with five out of ten (53%) third-plus generation young women who are single and who are in their twenties, seven out of ten (70%) of second generation young women co-reside with parents. For young men, nearly six out of ten of the third-plus generation (59%) live with parents compared to three quarters (75%) of second generation young men. Study after study in Canada find that young women are less likely than young men to live at home, and this holds for both second and third-plus youth. Why this is so remains a matter of speculation. One reason may be that women marry at a slightly younger age and are perhaps more likely to leave the family home for marriage. Other reasons include the possibilities that young women benefit less than young men from residing with parents. They may be

monitored more closely by parents and they may be asked to perform more household chores (Boyd and Pryor 1989, Clark 2007, Mitchell, Wister and Gee 2002).

Within the second generation, ethnic/ancestral differences also exist with respect to parent-young adult co-residency (Figure 1). Those who have multiple origins have the lowest percentages among the second generation residing in the parental home. This is especially true for those young adults who indicate British, French and/or Canadian ethnic origins; it also describes young adults who give a single ethnic origin that is British, French or Canadian. In contrast, those whose origins are Arab and West Asian, South Asian, East and Southeast Asian and "Other European" have the highest percentages living with parents. More than two-thirds (67%) of the other European origin group have Southern European ethnic origins. It appears that the "Southern Mediterranean" emphasis on the family may indeed increase the likelihood that these young adults reside in the parental home. Of the second generation who declare their origins as Portuguese, Italian or Greek, 82%, 87% and 84% of young women and 85%, 90% and 93% of young men are living with parents.

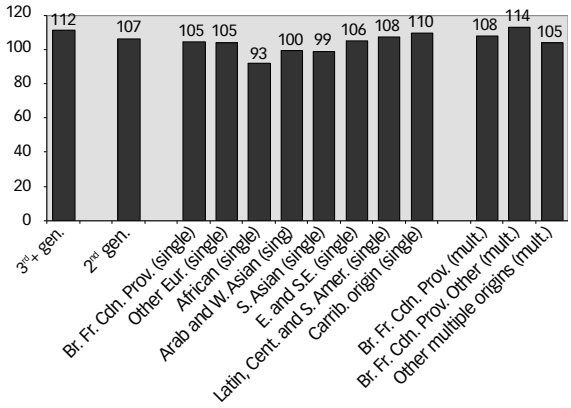
Figure 1
Percentages of young adults living with parent(s) by sex, age 20-29, for select ethnic groups, Canada, 2001



Ethnic variations also existed with respect to the "gender gap" in living at home. Sex ratios, defined as the number of men per 100 women, are one way of expressing this "gap" in which, generally, lower percentages of young women live with parents, compared with young men. A sex ratio of 100 implies an equal tendency among young women and men to live with parents; a ratio of greater than 100 implies that young men are more likely than young women to co-reside with parents and a ratio of less than 100 implies that men are less likely than young women to be living in the parental home. For the third-plus generation, 112 men for each 100 young women are co-residing with parents; for the second generation, the ratio is 107, indicating that although young men are still more likely than young women to co-reside with parents, the gender gap is not as great.

Within the second generation, the size of the gender gap and whether it exists at all vary with ethnic origins (Figure 2). Second generation young men, like third-plus generation young men, are more likely to live with parents. But three exceptions exist. Second generation young women of African origins are more likely than their male counterparts to live with parents (sex ratio = 93, indicating that for every 100 women living with parents, only 93 males co-reside), and second generation young women of Arab and West Asian and of South Asian origins are about as likely as their male counterparts to live with parents. Regrettably, Census data alone do not shed much light on why these groups had a pattern in which second generation young women are either more likely or about as likely to live with parents as second generation men. The fact that young women are more likely than young men to have a university degree and to attend school full time may partly explain the findings for second generation African, Arab and West Asian, and South Asian youth to the extent that living with parents is a strategy for saving money. However, if these origin groups also hold strong preferences for and expect young unmarried daughters to remain in the home, these values may also help explain the pattern. The definitive explanation awaits more research.

Figure 2
Sex ratios (men/women) for young adults living with parent(s), age 20-29, Canada 2001



Family type of those in the parental home

In research on young adults living with parents, it is often assumed that most young adults live with both parents in a one-family setting. In general that is true. However, parents also may be single parents or they may be co-residing with other families who may or may not be related to them. This variation means that young adults at home may differ somewhat in the type of family setting.

On the whole, Census data show that few differences exist between the second and third-plus generation with respect to family type. Of those who are living with one or more parents, more than three-quarters of both the second and third-plus generations (77%) are living with two parents in a single family setting. However, on the whole, the second generation is slightly more likely than the third-plus generation to be living in a household where multiple families reside (5% versus 4%) and slightly less likely to be living in a single parent single family setting (18% versus 20%).

However, ethnic/ancestral variations exist, as do modest differences by gender (Figures 3 and 4). Among second generation young women who live with parents, those whose origins are Arab and West Asian, South Asian or European (other than British or French) have the highest percentages residing in a single family with both parents. In contrast, second generation young women whose ethnic origins are African or Caribbean and who are living with one or both parents have the lowest percentages residing in such families. Instead they have the highest percentages residing in a single parent family. They also have higher percentages living in households where multiple families are present, as do second generation young women with South Asian origin.

Figure3
Family structure for women living with parents, age 20-29, Canada 2001

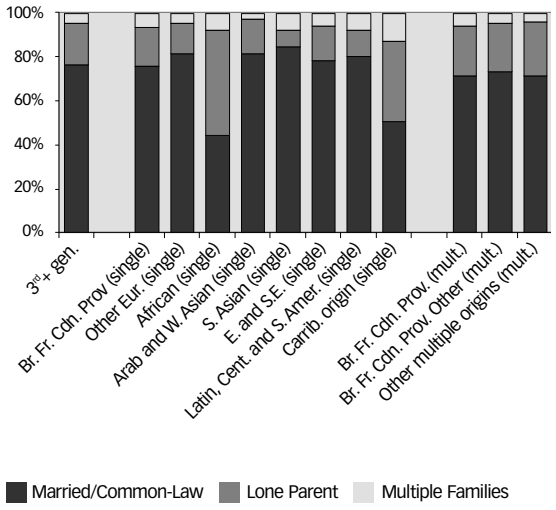
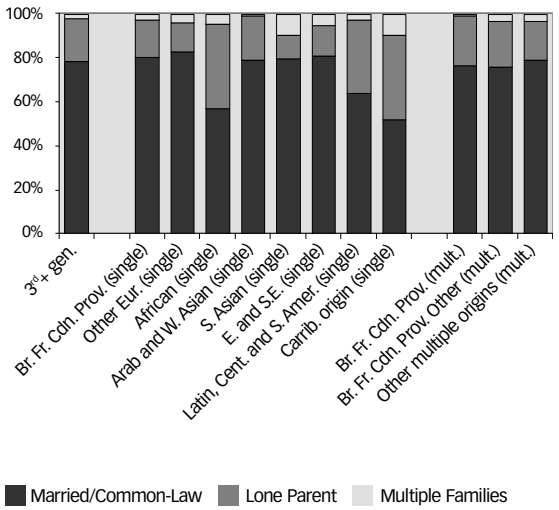


Figure 4
Family structure for men living with parents, age 20-29, Canada 2001



The patterns observed for second generation young women of African and Caribbean ethnic origins are replicated for second generation young men who are living with parents. However, high percentages of second generation young men of Latin American ethnicities reside with a parent in a single parent household and, along with young men of South Asian origins, they are more likely to live in households that contain multiple families.

Conclusion

Interest in the propensity of second generation youth to live in the parental home derives from the argument that family life as well as expectations for parental-offspring relationships vary between countries, with some societies emphasizing the centrality of the family more than others. Thus, depending on where their parents originated from, offspring who have foreign-born parents may continue living with parents while in school and during the transition to adulthood.

Canada Census data confirm that second generation youth are more likely to live with parents than are third-plus generation youth. However, percentages living with one or both parents vary substantially by ethnic origin. Among the single (never married) second generation groups, those who are most mostly likely to live with parents include those identified by previous research as belonging to ethnic origin groups that emphasize the importance of family and/or filial duty. As well, gender differences exist. Although, in general, second generation young women have lower percentages living with parents than their male counterparts, this is not true for those of African, Arab and West Asian, and South Asian origin. Finally, the family context for those who live with parents differs by ethnicity for second generation youth. Although most live with two parents, youth with African, Caribbean and Latin American origins (males only) are more likely to reside with single parents.

A full explanation of what causes these patterns awaits additional research. However, to the extent that living in – and leaving – the family home is considered an indicator of the transition to adulthood, it is clear that second generation youth are diverse in their experiences.

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IDENTITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AMONG YOUNG SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

ABSTRACT

Not all second generation immigrants identify with the ethnocultural group of their parents' country of origin. Those who do may have either an ethnic (essentialist) or cultural (more open, acquirable) conception of belonging to these groups. Some second generation immigrants identify as strongly with Quebec or Canada as they do with their parents' ethnocultural group of origin. Many other second generation immigrants also have a sense of belonging to the host society, although it may be less strong. Almost all vote in federal and provincial elections.

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Young second generation immigrants are people born in Canada to immigrant parents. Therefore, they have generally grown up and been educated in a Canadian environment. However, some parents have kept alive aspects of the culture of their country of origin, such as language, values, cuisine and music, and may therefore have transmitted them to their children. Consequently, these children of immigrants may have developed an allegiance to the culture of another country or part of the world, sometimes without ever having set foot there.

This article explores choice of identity and civic participation by young second generation immigrants in Quebec.[1] I will look at how these youth define themselves and how they define their identity groups. I will also consider their sense of belonging to the majority society, while the exercise of their right to vote is here viewed as an indicator of civic participation.

Identity choices

Not all young people who technically belong to the "second generation immigrant" demographic group consider their ethnicity an important dimension of their identity – far from it, in fact. When asked to spontaneously name the membership group or groups that define their identity (that is, the groups that are the most significant and characteristic of who they are), slightly fewer than half of the respondents (12 out of 28) mentioned a group connected with their parents' country of origin.

These findings may appear surprising and, to a degree, contradict the literature on the subject. Part of the explanation may lie in the way subjects are recruited for most studies of second generation immigrants, which often are systematically biased in favour of young people who continue to attach importance to their parents' ethnic origins. My selection method was based primarily on a source independent of self-definition, cultural behaviour or community participation.[2] This suggests that young people who are *de facto* members of the "second generation immigrant" demographic group do not necessarily regard themselves in those terms.

Some respondents even adopted a discourse that rejects all forms of group membership, either to signal that they are like everyone else or, on the contrary, to indicate that they are unique, different. Nevertheless, many of these respondents named membership groups (even ethnocultural groups) that they consider identity-defining. In fact, only two second generation immigrant respondents named no identity group, confining themselves to a discourse that rejects allegiances. A number of respondents, however, named more than one identity group: about one-third named one group, another third named two, and yet another third named three or more. Indeed, one respondent named five membership groups he considered significant and characteristic of who he is.

Regardless of whether their discourse rejected allegiances, whether they named one identity group or several, the young second generation immigrants named fairly diverse identity groups.

Aside from ethnic and geopolitical groups, which I cover at greater length below, the identity groups mentioned relate to the following: *place* ("Montrealer," mentioned by two respondents); *sex* ("man," "male"); *occupation* ("parent," mentioned by two respondents, "mother," "student,"

mentioned by three respondents, "musician," mentioned by three respondents, or "in the arts"); *personality traits* ("likes sports," mentioned by two respondents, "into hardcore punk," "interested in fashion, beautician"); *ideology* ("separatist," "socially aware,"), *social class* ("educated," "upper middle-class"); *age group* ("young," "my age group," "older"); a *circle of friends with a name*, or a *majority ethnocultural, religious or language group* ("Christian," "Catholic," "Francophone").

This diversity is similar to what was found in the control group.

Observation 1: *Ethnicity is not necessarily an important dimension of the identity of young second generation immigrants. They name various types of groups when asked to spontaneously choose their most significant group memberships.*

Forms of minority ethnocultural group membership

Twelve respondents chose a minority ethnocultural or religious group related to their parents' origins, either as their sole identity group or, more often, in combination with other groups.

Aside from one ethnoreligious group ("Jews"), the ethnocultural groups chosen by the young second generation immigrants fall into three categories: first, the parents' *country* of origin (whether they are, for example, "Portuguese," "Senegalese" or "Egyptian"); second, on a smaller scale, the region or *subcategory* within that country (notably religious groups, such as "Indian Hindu" or "Egyptian Christian"); third, on a larger scale, a broader or *pan-ethnic* geographic or ethnic grouping, such as "Latinos" or "Africans." Regardless of level, almost all of these groups are defined simply by cultural practices and values, sometimes with an added, not necessarily explicit, reference to heredity or to physical characteristics perceived as typical.

Young people who are *de facto* members of the "second generation immigrant" demographic group do not necessarily regard themselves in those terms.

Some respondents declared a hybrid identity, combining ethnocultural majority and minority allegiances ("mixed Afro-American/New Quebecker," "Montrealer of Egyptian origin" or "Filipino-Canadian"). Their conception of identity generally differs from that of respondents who choose a more unified minority ethnocultural identity.[3] In some cases, it is more a label symbolizing a relatively vague ethnicity, from which the respondent derives only certain values. In other cases, respondents feel that they have additional culture and enriched knowledge generated by the overlap between two distinct cultural universes. Finally, when hybridity contains a racial component, the sense of shared group membership is based on a similar experience of exclusion from the majority community.

All of these definitions of identity-defining membership in ethnocultural minorities may be essentialist to different degrees. Individuals who embrace an *essentialist* definition of their ethnocultural identity group believe that it is impossible to change one's identity. For them, membership in these groups stems from unchanging characteristics that they were born with and that cannot be acquired: blood, physical features (hair colour, eye colour, skin colour) or genealogy. Of the 12 youths in my sample who chose to include a minority ethnocultural group in their identity groups, five had an essentialist definition of this group ("Portuguese," named by two respondents, "Jewish," "mixed Afro-American/New Quebecker," "Egyptian"). They therefore regard these groups as more ethnic than cultural.

But membership in a minority ethnocultural group is not necessarily essentialist in the eyes of all who feel it. For five other respondents, membership in their group is something that can be acquired, a construct ("Montrealer of Egyptian origin," "Indian Hindu," "African," "Senegalese," "Canadian-Filipino"). These allegiances are constructed through a way of life, values, cultural practices (such as cuisine or music) or through participation in the group's community activities. Therefore, they may understand these groups as cultural as opposed to ethnic constructs.

Between these two conceptions, there are young second generation immigrants who display a relative essentialism in defining their minority ethnocultural identity group, often in terms that are broad ("Latino") or imprecise ("my ethnic group"). They see ethnocultural membership not as a matter of blood, but rather as a product of childhood socialization: "being in the environment," "living in this environment," "if they were adopted, yes – there's a family factor. It depends on your family, the way you were raised."

In short, it might be said that the respondents were evenly divided between essentialist and non-essentialist positions. This is not specific to minority ethnocultural groups; the three degrees of essentialism apply to the other types of identity groups cited by the second generation immigrants and also appear among the other respondents in the study.

The sample is too small for us to clearly identify the factors that lead young second generation immigrants to consider their parents' ethnocultural origins to be a core component of their own identity. Nevertheless, it is interesting that second generation immigrants who have never visited the country of origin of one or both immigrant parents are less likely than the others to identify with it. Going back may therefore strengthen or nourish their sense of identity; conversely, it may be a consequence of their attachment to the country, which induced them to visit.

Whether one or both parents were born outside the country seems to have some impact. Respondents with two immigrant parents from the same region were evenly divided between those for whom ethnicity is identity-defining are those for whom it is not. Respondents with only one immigrant parent were significantly less likely to consider their minority ethnic background as one of their identity groups (only three of the 12 respondents with a single immigrant parent).

In short, the second generation immigrant respondents who identify with their immigrant parent's or parents' ethnocultural group of origin may do so at three levels (country, a subcategory within the country or at a pan-ethnic level) and with three degrees of essentialism.

Observation 2: *When membership in a minority ethnocultural group is a component of young second generation immigrants' sense of identity, it may take different forms.*

Sense of belonging to Quebec and Canada

Minority ethnocultural allegiances do not prevent young second generation immigrants from identifying with the society that welcomed their parents and in which they themselves grew up. Some respondents included Quebec (three respondents), Canada (two respondents) or both (one respondent) among their identity groups. As in the larger sample, Quebec was defined by some as an ethno - cultural group (mother tongue, culture, even heredity or physical features) and by others as a civic membership group, like Canada (territory, knowledge of the common language or of a common language, citizenship).

The second generation immigrant respondents who identify with their immigrant parent's or parents' ethnocultural group of origin may do so at three levels (country, a subcategory within the country, or at a pan-ethnic level) and with three degrees of essentialism.

While few second generation immigrants in my sample chose to include Canada or Quebec among their identity groups, this does not mean that they do not have a strong sense of belonging to Canada or Quebec. Of the 28 second generation immigrants in the sample, 19 reported an allegiance to their Canadian citizenship and 11 to their Canadian nationality – a proportion comparable to that found among the 41 Aboriginal people who made up the remainder of the sample. Smaller numbers of second generation immigrants declared an allegiance to what they consider their Quebec "citizenship" (three respondents) or their Quebec nationality (up to seven respondents) – higher proportions than among the Aboriginal respondents in the study but lower than in the small control group.

In addition to their declared sense of belonging to Quebec and Canada, almost all of the second generation immigrants participate in these two civic communities. In all, 24 of the respondents vote both provincially and federally, and a 25th respondent votes at the federal level only. Only three of 28 second generation immigrants we interviewed do not vote at all.

Observation 3: *Though few of the respondents consider it vital, belonging to and participation in Canada and Quebec are very much present.*

Conclusion

The brief comments above clearly indicate the possible diversity of feelings of belonging and identity among young second generation immigrants in Quebec. While many identify with their parents' culture of origin – at least in part – not all do. In addition, those who do identify define this allegiance in different ways, which may be essentialist or not and which may operate at different levels. Some combine it with allegiance to Canada or Quebec to form a hybrid identity, but none of the young people we interviewed seemed to consider this problematic.

Even a strong identification with their parents' ethnocultural origins does not prevent second generation immigrants from identifying with the society that welcomed their parents and in which they grew up (whether they regard it as Canada or, more specifically, Quebec). While very few respondents chose it as an identity group, many of them have a sense of belonging to Canada or Quebec and almost all participate in civic life.

We must therefore beware of over-generalizing about the identities of second generation immigrants, for as the research findings summarized herein demonstrate, these are varied and complex.

Notes

[1] A total of 28 youths aged 18 to 25 were interviewed in Québec and (primarily) in Montréal in 1999. The interviews lasted from 1.5 to 2 hours. Half the respondents were women and half were men; four were Anglophone and the other 24 were Francophone. Their parents came from different parts of the world. The full study also included 57 other youths: 41 Aboriginal people from different First Nations in Quebec, five immigrants and a small control group of 11 other youth.

[2] Most studies of members of ethnic minorities recruit subjects through ethnic associations or invitations that target people who self-identify as second generation immigrants. My respondents were selected from a list of names of individuals with at least one parent born outside Canada, taken from the Quebec birth registry. For more information on the methodology and for detailed results and discussion, see Nicole Gallant, 2002, Appartenances, identités et préférences à propos des droits différenciés dans le discours de jeunes membres de minorités ethnoculturelles au Québec, doctoral dissertation, department of political science, Université Laval, January 2002, 656 pages.

[3] However, a single term may conceal a hybrid second generation immigrant interpretation or, at least, an identification with the minority community within the host country.

ACCULTURATION AND ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT YOUTH

ABSTRACT

Acculturation is a process of learning to live in new social and cultural contexts after one has become socialised into an earlier one. There are important variations in the ways that groups and individuals engage this process, and in their adaptations to these changes. Evidence of systematic relationships between *how* individuals acculturate and *how well* they adapt suggest that double cultural involvement (in both one's heritage cultures and the society of settlement) is the most positive strategy.

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Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological change that involves learning to live in new social and cultural contexts after one has become socialized into an earlier one. This process takes place for many kinds of people, including immigrants following their migration. It also takes place among the dominant groups with whom they are in daily contact in the larger society. That is, acculturation is a mutual and continuous process that involves everyone who lives in culturally diverse societies. The examination of acculturation has become a core issue in understanding intercultural relations in culturally plural societies (Berry 2005, Sam and Berry 2006). Although acculturation is a continuing process, there are usually some long-term outcomes; individuals and groups settle into some ways of adapting to life in their evolving societies. Such adaptations are often thought of in terms of two distinct qualities: personal well-being (psychological adaptation) and social competence (sociocultural adaptation).

Much of the early research was carried out with acculturating adults; however, the recent focus has been on youth who are themselves immigrants (first generation) and who are children of immigrants (second generation). This newer focus has come to the fore for two reasons. First, it is obvious that in many cases it is families with children (not only individual adults) who immigrate and, second, immigrant youth experience a more complex acculturation process, requiring features of their heritage family and community cultures to be sorted out of on the one hand, and those of their peers and institutions of the larger society on the other hand.

Recent international research with immigrant youth (Berry et al. 2006) has examined two fundamental questions: *How* do immigrant youth acculturate and *how well* do they adapt? If there are variations in how they seek to live in their new societies, and variations in how well they manage to adapt, a third question can be posed: Is there a "best way" to acculturate in order to achieve success in their new lives?

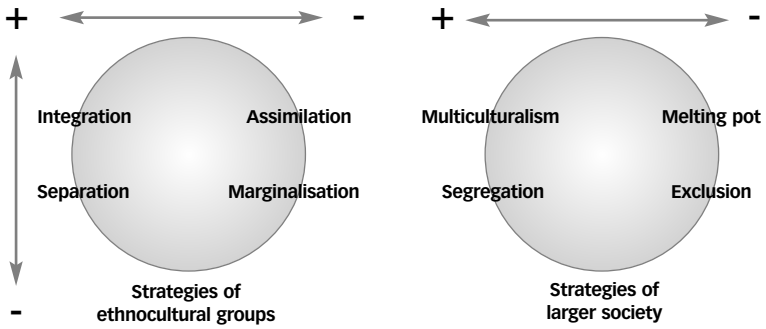
How do immigrant youth acculturate?

With respect to the first question, it is now well established that not everyone seeks to acculturate in the same way; both individuals and groups adopt strategies that guide their acculturation. Four acculturation strategies have been derived from two basic issues facing all acculturating peoples. These issues are based on the distinction between orientations towards one's own group and orientations towards other groups (Berry 2005). This distinction is rendered as 1) a relative preference for *maintaining* one's heritage culture and identity and 2) a relative preference for having *contact* with and *participating* in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. It has now been well demonstrated that these two dimensions are empirically, as well as conceptually, independent from each other. This two dimensional formulation is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Issue 1 : Maintenance of heritage culture and identity

Issue 2 : Relationship sought amongst groups



These two issues can be responded to on attitudinal dimensions, shown as varying along bipolar dimensions, rather than as bald (positive or negative) alternatives. Orientations to these issues intersect to define four *acculturation strategies*. From the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups (on the left of Figure 1), they are referred to as *acculturation strategies*. The first strategy is when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures; this defines the *assimilation* strategy. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, this defines the *separation* alternative. When there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture while in daily interactions with other groups, *integration* is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained while the person seeks at the same time, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then *marginalization* is defined.

From the point of view of members of the larger society (right-hand side of Figure 1), these strategies have two aspects: the *acculturation expectations* that the dominant group has for the way the non-dominant group should acculturate and their own *willingness to change* themselves during the acculturation process (Berry 2005). With respect to expectations, when assimilation is sought by the dominant group, it is termed the *melting pot*. When separation is forced by the dominant group, it is *segregation*. Marginalization when imposed by the dominant group is *exclusion*. Finally, for integration, when diversity is a widely accepted feature of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called *multiculturalism*. With respect to willingness to change, research has also been carried out with members of the larger society examining the process of mutual accommodation. This aspect has been termed *multicultural ideology* (Berry, Kalin and Taylor 1977). Finally, it is important to note that the concepts of assimilation and integration have often come to be used as synonyms, particularly in Europe and the United States. In the present usage (widely accepted in Canada), these are clearly distinct, based on the different emphases on the value placed on cultural maintenance.

In a recent international study, using cluster analysis with a sample of more than 5,000 immigrant youth settled in 13 countries, we found that there are four ways of acculturating. A number of intercultural variables were assessed: acculturation attitudes (preferences for integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization); cultural identities; language knowledge and use; and social relationships with peers (the latter assessed with respect to both the youth's heritage group and the national society). The most preferred way of acculturating was *integration*, defined as being oriented to both the heritage culture and the new society (36% of the sample exhibited this pattern). In this group, there was a positive attitude toward integration, positive identities with both cultural groups, knowledge and use of both languages and friendships with members of both cultures. *Assimilation* was least preferred (19%); youth here exhibited a pattern on these variables of being oriented mainly to the new national society. *Separation* was in second place (23%) with a pattern of being oriented mainly to the heritage culture. *Marginalization* was in third place (22%); these youth were uncertain how to acculturate, had negative identities with both cultural groups, had poor national language facility and had few friends in either group. Other factors were related to how immigrant youth acculturate, described below.

Gender: The proportion of boys and girls differed significantly across profiles, with girls more often showing the integration profile and boys showing the marginalization profile.

Length of residence: The profiles were analyzed for differences in relation to length of residence. The profiles showed a clear pattern of differences across the three length-of-residence categories: the integration and assimilation profiles were more frequently found among those with longer residence; the proportion of integration and national profiles found among those born in the new society or with 12 years or more of residence was more than double that of those with six years or less of residence. In contrast, the marginalization profile was

dramatically less frequent in those with longer residence: over 45% of those with six years or less residence showed a diffuse profile, while only about 12% of those with the longest residence showed this profile. On the other hand, the separation profile was almost equally frequent in all length-of-residence categories. Thus, among the most recent arrivals, the marginalization profile dominated, while the assimilation profile was very low. For those who lived in the society of settlement from birth or from their early school years on, the integration profile dominated, and the assimilation profile was second in frequency.

Neighbourhood ethnic composition: Acculturation profiles were also related to neighbourhood ethnic composition. Results showed that the integration profile was most strongly represented in neighbourhoods where residents were equally balanced between members of the adolescents' own group and others; the separation profile dominated in communities made up entirely of the adolescent's own ethnic group, while neighbourhoods with a larger proportion of residents who were not from one's own group tended to have a higher proportion of assimilation profiles than those with more same-group residents.

Societies of settlement: The profiles differed depending on whether the society of settlement had been established largely by immigrants ("settler societies" such as Australia, Canada and the U.S.) or whether immigration was a more recent and less common phenomenon (e.g., European countries). In the settler societies, over 50% of the adolescents showed an integration profile. The integration profile was generally less common in European countries, typically between 30% and 40%. With respect to the cultural identity component, there is a parallel finding: youth in settler societies.

With respect to cultural identities, the mean scores on ethnic identity are numerically higher than those for national identity in all societies in the study. However, the difference is greatest for youth in settler societies compared with non-settler societies. With respect to the relationship between the two identities, a similar result can be found. In settler societies, the correlation between ethnic identity and national identity are usually positive, while in non-settler societies it is negative. That is, it appears that youth in settler societies have worked out that it is possible to be attached to both cultural groups (their heritage group and the national society), while in non-settler societies, there is a choice to be made between them.

How well do immigrant youth adapt?

Adaptation was assessed by two variables: *psychological well-being* (self esteem, life satisfaction and lack of psychological problems, such as being sad or worrying frequently) and *sociocultural adaptation* (school adjustment, and lack of behaviour problems in the community, such as vandalism and petty theft).

We examined how well immigrant youth were adapting in comparison to national youth. It is important to note that the comparison yielded no significant difference. That is, overall, national and immigrant youth had similar levels of both psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Adaptation among immigrant youth varied with only one demographic variable: gender. Immigrant boys had slightly better psychological adaptation scores than immigrant girls, while immigrant boys scored lower on sociocultural adaptation compared with immigrant girls. No relationships were found between adaptation scores on the one hand and age, length of residence, neighbourhood ethnic density and parents' level of education on the other hand. Among national youth, boys had higher scores than girls for psychological adaptation but lower scores for sociocultural adaptation.

Of some interest is the relationship between the two forms of adaptation. In a structural equation model, the best fit was obtained when sociocultural adaptation preceded psychological adaptation, rather than the other way around. That is, dong well in school and the community leads to better psychological well-being.

Acculturation is a mutual and continuous process that involves everyone who lives in culturally diverse societies. The examination of acculturation has become a core issue in understanding intercultural relations in culturally plural societies.

Relationship between how immigrant youth acculturate and how well they adapt

Of greatest importance for policy formulation was the finding that there were important differences in both forms of adaptation depending on how immigrant youth were acculturating. There were substantial relationships between *how* youth acculturate and *how well* they adapt: those with an integration profile had the best psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes, while those with a diffuse profile had the worst. Falling in between these two groups were youth with an ethnic profile: they had moderately good psychological adaptation but poorer sociocultural adaptation. Those with a national profile had moderately poor psychological adaptation and slightly negative sociocultural adaptation. This pattern of results was largely replicated using structural equation modelling.

Of particular importance for our discussion is not only the relationship between how youth acculturate and how well they adapt, but also another variable, *perceived discrimination*. This is important because the experience of such discrimination is the best indicator of the degree to which immigrant youth are permitted to participate equitably in the life of the larger society. As noted above, those in the integration cluster reported experiencing the least discrimination, and those in the diffuse cluster reported the most; in between these two, national cluster

youth had moderately low discrimination and ethnic cluster youth had moderately high discrimination. And in the structural equation model, the single most powerful variable predicting poor psychological and sociocultural adaptation was the degree of discrimination perceived by immigrant youth. Thus, the degree to which immigrant youth experience discrimination corresponds with their preferred acculturation strategy and has a direct impact on their adaptation.

In summary, it appears that immigrant youth do better, both psychologically and socially (including at school), when they are able to achieve a balance in their relationships and in their developed competencies in both their heritage cultures and the new society in which they are now living. In contrast, marginalized youth are in a very difficult position, experiencing substantial discrimination and attaining poor psychological and social outcomes. Public policies that encourage and support balanced relationships and competencies in intercultural situations are thus superior to other arrangements that may be proposed by politicians or practised by public institutions. Public schools in Canada have a key role in achieving this balance, since we have no other integrating public institutions. The multicultural movement within schools (and now being advanced in other public institutions, such as media, health care and justice) appears to be the most appropriate way to engage in intercultural relations in our culturally plural societies and neighbourhoods.

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PSYCHOSOCIAL INTEGRATION OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION RACIALIZED YOUTH IN CANADA*

ABSTRACT

This article considers integration of second and third generation racialized youth in Canada from a psychosocial perspective. Integration is viewed as a multidimensional construct entailing micro (individual psychosocial experiences), meso (group behaviour) and macro (societal involvement) levels. A particular attention is paid to youth cultural identity and integration.

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As immigrant-receiving societies undergo changes in their population demographics, questions about integration remain at the forefront of theoretical, empirical, policy and practice discourse. The 2006 Census found close to 20% (more than 6 million) of Canada's population was foreign born (Statistics Canada 2007). Approximately 60% of newcomers were from Asia (compared to 12% in 1971), 16% from Europe (62% in 1971), 11% from Central and South America and 11% from Africa. Over 200 ethnic origins were reported and close to 16% (more than 5 million) of Canada's population was a visible minority (Statistics Canada 2008). The 2006 Census found that most foreign-born (85%) who were eligible for Canadian citizenship were naturalized (Statistics Canada 2007), which is one measure of successful host-country integration policy.

Pluralistic societies offer unique and dynamic opportunities for inter-group diversities and growth; however, they also face particular challenges. Among these are experiences of prejudice and discrimination by minority groups, including migrants and visible minorities. Different migrant groups can experience varying degrees of prejudice and discrimination in their countries of settlement, which often are influenced by broader historical and contextual factors, that can ultimately influence their cultural identity and acculturation process (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2003, Phinney et al. 2006, Phinney et al. 2001). Research on the experiences of descendents of immigrants in Canada is an emerging field. Examining the integration experiences of descendents of immigrants is critical because their experiences are distinct from those of newcomer populations (Reitz and Somerville 2004). Despite being born in the country, some argue that this population may in fact experience higher levels of discrimination than newcomers (Reitz and Banerjee 2007).

Racialized youth

Recent events in Western immigrant-receiving countries with growing cultural and ethnoracial diversity have prompted public discourse on revisiting the merits of multiculturalism. A particular focus has been on the integration or marginalization of youth who are from immigrant backgrounds and yet are natives of the country. Integration of second and third generation youth,[1] particularly those from racialized groups,[2] has been in the media spotlight both in Canada and in other countries, such as France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Kramer 2006, Murray 2006, Saunders 2006). The October 2005 riots in France among marginalized second and third generation North African youth have been critically analyzed within historical, social, political, religious, economic and global contexts and have led to the examination of the broader social structures that may create barriers to integration for these youth, who are mostly racialized (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2006, Honiker 2006, Ossmani and Terrio 2006). In Canada, immediately after allegations of terrorist plotting by a group of Muslim youth in Toronto, the media engaged in heated discussions and reported on varying perspectives ranging from a backlash on multiculturalism to its reinforcement as a fundamental Canadian value.

These events have illuminated the increasing marginalization and social exclusion of youth and have called into question the success of multicultural policies and social integration initiatives in immigrant receiving countries (Barry 2001, Bissoondath 1994, Galabuzi 2001, Ornstein 2006,

Verkuyten and Martinovic, 2006). While Canada's immigrant population has steadily grown, and it's cultural and ethnoracial diversity continue to increase, the integration of immigrants is not always consistent or rapid. Although research on immigration and settlement has primarily centred on the experiences of newcomers, Boyd (2003) notes that there has been a growing interest in examining the experiences of descendents of immigrants, particularly those from racialized groups.

Reitz and Somerville (2004) argue that the integration experiences of descendents of immigrants are distinct from newcomer populations because many of the initial settlement barriers, such as language, are not relevant. Moreover, despite being born in the country, this population may in fact experience higher levels of discrimination than newcomers, which may evoke feelings of not belonging within mainstream society (Abouguendia and Noels 2001, Hall and Carter 2006). Some researchers refer to the differing levels of integration among first and subsequent generations as the "immigrant paradox," suggesting that the first generation of immigrants has higher levels of adaptation to the post-migration context than the second, and that over time adaptation of native-born youth may decline (Berry et al. 2006). Consequently, "understanding the experiences of second and third generation immigrants may provide clear indication of the long-term prospects for integration for racial minorities" (Reitz and Somerville 2004: 1).

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Psychosocial integration

Integration can entail a spectrum ranging from social inclusion and sense of belonging to social exclusion and marginalization. We refer to Hall, Stevens and Meleis's (1994) socio-political definition of marginality as the "condition of persons being peripheralized from the mainstream or centre of society, based on their identities, status and experiences" (as cited in Choi 2001: 197). Social integration is a multidimensional construct, recognized as the ability of individuals or groups to participate fully in Canadian society, regardless of economic, social or cultural background, which can be examined in terms of inclusion, participation and belonging (Ravanera, Rajulton and Turcotte 2003).

Youth attitudes towards the larger society can range from a positive sense of belonging to feelings of exclusion (Phinney and Devich-Navarro 1997). However, little is known about the impact of prejudice and discrimination on the integration of second and third generation racialized youth. Such influences may affect youth's integration on three levels: 1) individual psychosocial experiences (e.g., sense of belonging, cultural identity, self-esteem), 2) their group behaviour (e.g., intra- and inter-group relations) and 3) their broader societal involvement (e.g., civic engagement, volunteerism). We define the first two domains as dimensions of youth's psychosocial experiences in relation to integration; the third we recognize as youth's societal integration. Applying a systems perspective, all are interlinked and range from micro (individual psychosocial experiences), to meso (group behaviour) and macro (societal involvement) levels. The focus in this article is on youth cultural identity and integration.

Examining the relationship between cultural identity and level of integration among racialized youth is important. Understanding integration pathways among this population is particularly crucial given their higher levels of economic and social disadvantage as compared to the general Canadian population (Ornstein 2006). Galabuzi (2001) argues that such extreme disadvantage by racialization may diminish one's sense of belonging and integration within society. Cultural identity is a broad term used to encompass the interplay between ethnic, cultural, social, racial and national identities. Multicultural settings provide opportunities for becoming aware of one's cultural identity, not only in contrast to a dominant majority, but through ongoing contact with other cultures (Khanlou 2007 and 1999). This contextual conception implies cultural identity manifests itself in the presence of culturally different other(s).

To date, there is a paucity of research exploring cultural identity and integration of descendents of immigrants in Canada. Reitz and Somerville (2004) highlight the need for more research examining the relationship between social integration, including inclusion and marginalization, and the resultant psychosocial outcomes on youth, which include identity formation. Existing research suggests that cultural marginalization, a negative consequence of a lack of social integration, may lead to negative social and psychological impacts on an individual, including identity confusion (Choi 2001). Research with immigrant populations in the United States has revealed that second and third generation descendents of immigrants can also be at risk of poor social integration, particularly when there is delayed identity establishment and when families retain traditional cultural practices and customs (*Ibid.*). Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) comprehensive study exploring the lives of second generation immigrants in the United States

similarly found varying patterns of integration among this population.

While research is beginning to illuminate some of the links between levels of integration and cultural identity among youth, it is important to note that this research is predominantly conducted in the United States, which may limit the generalizability to experiences of youth in Canada given the distinct social and immigration policies (Reitz and Somerville 2004). In addition, existing research has focused more on the theoretical concepts of assimilation, economic and educational mobility, and self-identification of racial identities among descendents of immigrants (Alba 2005, Fuligni and Hardway 2004, Gans 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Portes and Zhou 1993, Waters 1994, Zhou 1997). As a result, there is a need to explore experiences of youth within the Canadian multicultural context in general and among Canadian-born second and third generation racialized youth in particular.[3]

In a previous study, entitled "Immigrant Youth and Cultural Identity in a Global Context" (IYCIP)[4] (Khanlou, Siemiatycki and Anisef 2003), we examined cultural identity, self-esteem and migration experiences of youth. Youth from four cultural groups, including both traditional and new source countries of migration to Canada, participated in the study. The IYCIP had a prospective, comparative, longitudinal design and utilized quantitative and qualitative data-gathering methods. The sample of 45 participants consisted of English speaking youth who were immigrants or descendants of immigrants and were between 17 and 22 years of age. Traditional immigration source countries included Italy (11 youth) and Portugal (8 youth). Recent immigration source countries included Afghanistan (9 youth) and Iran (17 youth).

The youth's cultural identity was found to be complex and fluid, and significantly influenced by different contexts, including the broader socio-political context, in which it was constructed. The participants had varying levels of integration within Canadian society both as newcomers and descendents of immigrants. For example, Canadian-born youth from a Portuguese background revealed that many of their Canadian-Portuguese peers were not integrated in terms of educational success, frequently dropped out of school and generally felt marginalized from mainstream Canadian society. Canadian youth from an Italian background, on the other hand, felt that as a group, descendents of Italians (both in Canada and in the United States) had achieved success along various dimensions of integration including political, economic and cultural. In both groups, although the youth were born in Canada (except for one youth from the Portuguese group), many of them had a strong affiliation to their ancestors' country of origin and culture.

Youth in the traditional source countries relayed experiences of prejudice and discrimination for the most part within the context of their parents' or grandparents' lives; however, youth in the new source countries discussed direct experiences. Four main themes emerged on Afghan and Iranian immigrant youth participants' experiences of prejudice and discrimination: 1) societal factors influencing prejudice, 2) personal experiences of discrimination, 3) fear of disclosure and silenced cultural identity and 4) resiliency and strength of cultural identity (for a detailed discussion, see Khanlou, Koh and Mill 2008).

As others have observed, the more integrated into society youth become, the higher their psychosocial functioning (Phinney et al. 2006). New research is needed in Canada that will expand on the findings of studies such as the IYCIP and examine the integration pathways of Canadian-born racialized youth. Examining integration from multiple vantage points of youth, parents and others will facilitate the development of comprehensive and innovative public policies, programs and practice recommendations to eliminate barriers and facilitate better integration of racialized youth. In addition, findings will contribute to the discourse on multiculturalism and provide new directions to theory building on integration in culturally diverse settings.

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Notes

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1 By second generation, we refer to children born in Canada to one or both foreign-born parents. By third generation, we refer to children born in Canada to Canadian-born parents.

2 By racialized groups, we refer to Galabuzi's definition of "persons other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race and non-White in colour" (2001: 10).

3 There are also research initiatives under way in Europe examining the integration of second generation. For example, see The Integration of the European Second Generation (TIES) project at www.tiesproject.eu/content/view/20/35/lang,en/.

4 The IYCIP study was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under its standard research grants. Details are as follows: Nazilla Khanlou (Principal Investigator), Myer Siemiatycki and Paul Anisef (Co-Investigators), "Immigrant youth and cultural identity in a global context" (2003-2006).

WHEN MIGHT THE TWO CULTURAL WORLDS OF SECOND GENERATION BICULTURALS COLLIDE?

ABSTRACT

Second generation youth often identify with two cultures (heritage and Canadian). Although these biculturals usually negotiate their lives between two cultural worlds with ease, there are situations where conflicts may arise because of an incompatibility between the norms associated with each culture. Our research has identified some key points where bicultural conflicts can occur for second generation Canadians.

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Second generation youth in Canada are the children of parents who immigrated to Canada from another country. Although there is a tremendous amount of diversity among individuals within this second generation, they often share the feature of being bicultural. Culture can be defined by the norms and standards of a group that will delineate the appropriateness of behaviour. Bicultural individuals, therefore, have psychological access to two sets of cultural norms that may be tied to geography, ethnicity and/or religion. In the case of second generation Canadians, our research focuses on their heritage culture and their Canadian culture. Heritage norms are typically acquired from parents, extended family and the ethnic community to which parents belong. The basis of "Canadian" norms is much broader because they are acquired through the infrastructure of Canadian society (e.g., schools, media, social services), the neighbourhoods in which they live and from many of their peers. Moreover, Canadian norms are acquired through either a majority English-language or a majority French-language context, while heritage norms may be acquired through a completely different language.

Cultural conflict is likely to occur when heritage and Canadian norms offer incompatible behavioural prescriptions. These conflicts can be experienced at different levels in the lives of second generation youth. At the group level, they may experience discrimination because they have been perceived as not "fitting in" on the basis of criteria such as skin colour, accent or type of dress (e.g., Giguère et al. 2007). This is an example of an intergroup conflict because it involves an interaction between individuals, where some individuals are responding to others on the basis of group categories.

Our recent studies have focused mainly on cultural norm conflicts that are experienced at the interpersonal level or the intrapersonal level. Interpersonal conflicts for second generation youth may occur with parents or peers. Intrapersonal conflicts are experienced within the individual and are well captured by the experience of "feeling torn between two cultures."

In terms of their daily interactions, second generation Canadians do not constantly experience cultural conflicts. This is not surprising given that there are more similarities between the norms of cultural groups than there are differences (see Schwartz and Bardi 2001). Moreover, the cultural identity of bicultural individuals is contextually driven and usually only one culture will be salient in a particular situation. For example, immigrant children's behaviour may be largely determined by their heritage culture when they are with their family and by "Canadian" culture when they are at school. Clément and Noels (1992) have referred to this phenomenon as "situated identities."

A conflict between the two sets of cultural norms of the bicultural individual is more likely to be evidenced when the two cultural identities of bicultural individuals are simultaneously salient to the individual, when these identities evoke two sets of norms that are incompatible and when the individual feels some commitment to each set of norms. Finally, a conflict is more likely to occur in a situation that begs the individual to follow only one of the two sets of norms.

It should be noted from the outset that most of our research has focused on the adult children of South Asian and Chinese immigrants. We have focused on children of Eastern immigrants to Canada primarily for three reasons. First, they compose by far the largest immigration population in Canada. Second, these groups come from Eastern cultural backgrounds, which have been described

as collectivistic and are often guided by clear (i.e., well-defined) and tight (i.e., with little room for digression) norms (see Triandis 1995). Canada, on the other hand, is a Western and individualist culture and its norms are often less prescriptive. Finally, we have focused on young adults because they are at a developmental stage where they are more likely to face the challenge of resolving incompatible norms (Phinney 1990).

Our research aim has been to understand some of the psychological mechanisms surrounding normative conflict. Most of our work is based on samples of young adults who are attending university, and their responses may be somewhat less varied than the responses that would be obtained from broader random sampling. Within our research program, we have argued that the realm of close relationships (dating, sex and marriage) is one area where there is the potential for cultural conflict for bicultural individuals of Eastern descent. It is generally recognized that the norms of interactions in relationships are primarily defined and transmitted by culture (Berscheid 1995), and reviews of the literature on immigrant families have indicated that the issue of dating and relationships can be associated with considerable tension, particularly for the daughters of immigrants (e.g., Hynie 1996). For second generation Eastern immigrants, in a Western culture in particular, close relationships are typically associated with two distinct, and often contradictory, sets of norms (see Tang and Dion 1999).

For the remainder of this paper we will focus on two related domains of interpersonal relationships where there is a potential for interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict for second generation youth.

A conflict between the two sets of cultural norms of the bicultural individual is more likely to be evidenced when the two cultural identities of bicultural individuals are simultaneously salient to the individual, when these identities evoke two sets of norms that are incompatible and when the individual feels some commitment to each set of norms.

Cultural norms of partner selection and preferred mate attributes

An important decision facing the majority of young Canadians is what type of person they would like to have as a life partner. Research by Buss et al. (1990) has demonstrated tremendous cross-cultural consistency in the attributes that men and women desire in a mate across 33 different countries. Individuals across cultures prefer a partner who will be kind and considerate, and our findings with young adult Canadians concur with those of Buss (Hynie et al. 2006, Lalonde et al. 2004). Mate selection across the world is often done within homogeneous cultural contexts where a large pool of potential partners will share ethnic, religious and linguistic features. In the case of second generation Canadians in urban centres such as metropolitan Toronto, however, the pool of potential partners is culturally heterogeneous given the tremendous variability in the ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds of their multicultural Canadian peers.

Cultural norms will influence not only what we look for in a life partner but also how we look for a potential mate. In Western cultures, marriage is seen as the union of two individuals. Although family approval is desirable, young adults are expected to find their partners without their parents' assistance. Marriage in Western cultures is assumed to be a consequence of a couple's feelings or romantic love. In contrast, in many Eastern cultures, marriage is seen as the alliance between two families (Dion and Dion 1993), and in some cases they may be arranged. Although children's selection of a marriage partner is desirable, obligations and duties may be more important than personal preferences. Young adults from some Eastern cultures may be expected to respect their parents' desires regarding the choice of a spouse, and love may be better conceptualized as a state that may follow marriage rather than one that precedes it (Goodwin and Cramer 2000).

So what happens to the children of immigrants who develop two sets of norms that offer some incompatible behavioural prescriptions regarding preferable traits in a mate and the nature and meaning of the union with a life partner? These young adults know what their family would like and expect in their intimate relationships but also know of the choices and expectations of their Western peers. Given that family is the primary carrier of heritage culture for the children of immigrants, the expectations of the family should play a role in their mate preferences. A first step in our research program was to determine if heritage culture and family expectations played a greater role in the preferred mate attributes of second generation youth of Eastern cultural backgrounds compared with the expectations and preferences of their European Canadian peers.

Our first set of studies in this area (Lalonde et al. 2004) focused on second generation South Asian Canadians. We expected that these young adults would be aware of two different sets of cultural norms regarding mate selection and that they would still be influenced by their heritage culture although they lived in a Western culture. Our results indicated that they had in fact internalized some of the norms of their heritage culture. They were found to have a stronger preference for "traditional" attributes in a mate (e.g., family reputation, parents' approval) compared with the preferences of their European Canadian peers. A second study with a different sample of South Asian Canadians further demonstrated that those with a greater preference for traditional

attributes in a mate identified more strongly with their South Asian heritage and were more culturally connected to their families. This idea of cultural connectedness refers to the psychological concept of family allocentrism, which is essentially the expression of cultural collectivism at a family level (see Lay et al. 1998).

Our second study on this topic (Hynie et al. 2006) focused on second generation Chinese Canadians, as well as the views of their first generation parents. Parents still play a strong role in the selection of their children's mate in modern China (Xiaohe and Whyte 1990), and parental approval is reported to be an important factor in determining modern Chinese marital satisfaction (Pimentel 2000). As with previous research, our results indicated that when it came to rating the importance of different attributes in a mate, both children and parents emphasized the importance of an understanding partner above and beyond all other characteristics. Chinese immigrant parents, however, rated traits associated with traditional family structure, function and roles as being of moderate importance relative to other potential characteristics, even though they themselves had resided in North America for an average of 30 years. In contrast, their North American-raised children perceived traditional characteristics as being the least important of the possible traits in an ideal mate.

Similar to our South Asian samples, second generation Chinese Canadian's preference for traditional mate characteristics reflected their degree of family connectedness as well as their identification with their Chinese heritage. Finally, we found that parental preferences for traditional attributes in a mate for their children positively correlated with the children's actual preferences for the same attributes, corroborating our belief that parental cultural expectations will help shape the views of their children about relationship partners.

The studies reported above indicate that second generation South Asian and Chinese Canadians tend to prefer more traditional attributes in a mate if they are more culturally connected to their families and if they identify more strongly with their heritage culture. These findings demonstrate that identification with a cultural group influences the choice within incompatible sets of norms. Our most recent data (Lalonde and Giguère 2007) comparing young adult Canadians from different cultural backgrounds within the same study (Chinese, South Asian and European Canadian) indicates that preferences for traditional attributes in a mate (e.g., similar religious and cultural background, parental approval) were again related to cultural connectedness to family for our Eastern samples. This study further revealed that a preference for traditional attributes in a mate were stronger for the South Asian sample than the Chinese sample.

Young adults from some Eastern cultures may be expected to respect their parents' desires regarding the choice of a spouse, and love may be better conceptualized as a state that may follow marriage rather than one that precedes it.

Different cultural expectations about what is important in a life partner can lead to potential cultural conflicts in bicultural individuals in a number of situations. In situations where the two sets of opposing cultural norms are simultaneously salient, second generation youth may have to confront difficult and painful dilemmas. For example, what happens when bicultural individuals are attracted to someone who is from a different cultural or religious group? At the interpersonal level, such individuals may experience conflict with their parents if the parents expect their children to marry within their group (see Uskul et al. 2007). At the intrapersonal level, some second generation biculturals may experience an internal conflict if they find themselves attracted to someone from another culture. Part of them may want to give in to the desire and explore the potential of a relationship, while another part of them may be telling them to bury these feelings and wait for a more appropriate target for their affection. Given that recent Canadian Census data indicates that inter-ethnic and inter-faith relationships are on the rise in Canada, it is quite likely that such cultural conflicts are being experienced by many second generation Canadians.

Cultural norms of sexuality

In the cross-national study of mate preference attributes conducted by Buss et al. (1990), the attribute that elicited the largest cultural difference was the desire for chastity in a mate. Moreover among the nations that judged chastity as more important relative to other nations, we find India and China. English and French Canadian samples in the Buss study, on the other hand, ranked chastity as one of the least important attributes in a mate. Lalonde and Giguère (2007) compared second generation Canadians from different cultural backgrounds (Chinese, South Asian and European Canadian) and found that a preference for chastity was stronger for both of the Eastern background samples compared with the European Canadian sample. This later difference highlights another important potential source of conflict for second generation Canadians – norms regarding sexuality.

Our most recent study (Lalonde and Giguère 2007) includes a comparison of norms regarding premarital sex. We asked second generation South Asian and Chinese Canadians, as well as European Canadians, to rate the importance of chastity as a desired attribute in a mate and provide their views concerning the appropriateness of engaging in premarital sex in a loving relationship. We also asked the same participants to rate the perceived views of their parents and peers regarding premarital sex.

Both South Asian Canadians and Chinese Canadians showed a greater preference for chastity in a mate compared to their European Canadian peers. Of greater

interest, however, were ratings about the perceived appropriateness of engaging in premarital sex if involved in a loving relationship. As expected, South Asian and Chinese Canadians perceived premarital sexual intercourse as less appropriate than did their Canadian peers, although this difference was more marked for South Asian Canadians. More importantly, the ratings of South Asian Canadians fell in between what they perceived their South Asian parent perceived as appropriate (i.e., not appropriate) and what they perceived their Canadian peers perceived as appropriate (i.e., quite appropriate). These data provide evidence that second generation South Asians see their views regarding sexuality as falling between two sets of cultural norms.

To investigate more directly the key aspect of bicultural intrapersonal conflict (i.e., feeling caught between two cultures), we asked our respondents the extent to which they felt torn or caught between the norms of majority Canadians and their heritage norms when it came to intimate relationships. South Asian Canadian reported feeling more torn between the two cultures than did Chinese Canadians or a sub-sample of Italian Canadians. Moreover, South Asian Canadians who reported more of this intrapersonal conflict were more likely to report lower self-esteem. Greater intrapersonal bicultural conflict, therefore, can be associated with negative psychological outcomes. We believe that there are many situations where different cultural expectations about sexual behaviour can lead to potential interpersonal (e.g., with boyfriends or girlfriends) and intrapersonal cultural conflicts in bicultural individuals.

Second generation youth are usually no different from their Canadian peers whose families have been in Canada for multiple generations. There are some situations in their lives, however, where they find themselves facing cultural conflicts because they have to negotiate and compromise between the expectations of their heritage norms and their Canadian norms.

Other potential areas for bicultural identity conflicts

The potential for bicultural identity conflicts extends beyond the area of intimate relationships. Given that Western cultures have strong norms of autonomy and independence and that Eastern cultures have strong norms of family connectedness and interdependence, we believe that situations where the children of immigrants attempt to assert their autonomy will give rise to both interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts. We have been examining the potential for such conflicts in a few contexts. One example lies in the transition from living in the familial home to other types of living arrangements. In general, the norm of Canadian young adults prescribes moving out of the familial home much earlier than Eastern norms. More importantly, Eastern norms set criteria for moving out, such as marriage.

Another example where the above norms may be simultaneously salient is in the domain of education and career choices. The Western norms of individualism and autonomy may guide the individual to follow a passion that is not automatically linked to financial security (e.g., an Arts degree in literature, theatre school), while the Eastern norms of family connectedness and interdependence may call the individual to pursue domains of work that are valued and recognized by the heritage community (e.g., medicine, law, business) or where they will be able to financially provide for the family. Our recent work suggest that greater familial and cultural pressure is placed on children of Chinese immigrant compared with the pressure experienced by their European Canadian peers with regards to academic performance and that these pressures may be more stressful for second generation Chinese Canadians.

Conclusion

Second generation youth are usually no different from their Canadian peers whose families have been in Canada for multiple generations. There are some situations in their lives, however, where they find themselves facing cultural conflicts because they have to negotiate and compromise between the expectations of their heritage norms and their Canadian norms. We believe that it is important to focus attention on second generation Canadian youth because they are at a point in their lives where they are establishing their identity, their autonomy and their intimate relationships, and each of these is tied to different cultural expectations from their heritage and Canadian cultures.

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SIX MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF SECOND GENERATION YOUTH IN TORONTO, WINNIPEG AND CALGARY*

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Six major characteristics of second generation youth can be identified on the basis of their graphic and narrative data, collected in high schools in three Canadian cities, Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto between 2004 and 2007. Briefly put, these adolescents have strong attachments to home and school, a sense of being Canadian, a sense of locality and a mobility of mind that allows them to imagine and express cultural identifications as part of the process of integration. Moreover, most recognize the benefits and ideals of multiculturalism, although some of the youth are highly critical. Many, but not all, tend to be susceptible to consumerism. Each of the characteristics is discussed, drawing upon graphic data, including photos of places of inclusion and exclusion, urban maps of preferred places, cultural collages, narrative data from focus groups and written responses and interviews. For each characteristic, a general statement is presented in italics, then nuanced and illustrated with data. A critique of the façade of globalization and multiculturalism, from the voices of these youth, serves as a conclusion.

Second generation youth, born in Canada, whose parents moved across national and territorial boundaries to settle in this new world, are called upon to construct and situate themselves in terms of multiple frames of reference, thus revealing their sense of belonging to particular localities, globalities and mobilities. Second generation youth explore how they produced and maintained space for themselves and are, in turn, produced by public and private places. We pay close attention to the representational, relational and imaginary nature of their spaces and, above all, to the interrelationships and links with their social practice in the three cities. Examples are cited from the second generation participants shown in Table 1.

Strong attachments: *All participating youth have strong attachments to home and school, which serve as the heart of their identifications and provide them with human and social capital in the form of connections, support and sources of understanding themselves and the world around them.*

Second generation youth in this study demonstrated strong attachments to their homes, schools, places of worship, neighbourhoods, Canada and countries of their parents' origin through their photographs, drawings, writings and interviews. These multiple attachments enable them to navigate spaces for themselves in their globalized worlds. Speaking of Canada, Home Slice says:

> Being Canadian for me is important. I have advantages being Canadian. Canada is also where I grew up. It is important because I can learn about different cultures. I also have a strong education system, and safety.

Lue Rue, who claims she is proud of being Canadian, represents many aspects of "Leb Pride" in her cultural collage: flags of several Middle Eastern countries, a Christian cross and an Islamic crescent. The dominant Western discourse of binaries, which assumes an either/or position on national or cultural identification and attachment, is challenged by these youth, who are concurrently attached to multiple places and do not see a conflict among them.

Their attachments are not based on naïve imaginaries or memories. Strong as these attachments are, they do not prevent the youth from noticing the ugly and unsafe aspects of places they are attached to. Blue Flag Baron rages against the media that portrays his neighbourhood very negatively but also acknowledges that it is "a horrible community" where he is not the only one in his group who has not been "robbed, mugged, beat up…for no reason." Similarly, Shana is nostalgic about her parents' country of origin where her relatives' unconditional affection makes her feel much loved but also aware that violence is very common in the city she visits; she does not sleep well for fear of armed robbery.

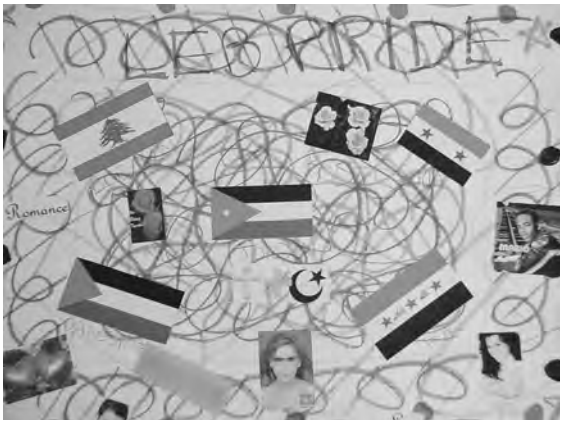
Table 1
Self-ascribed characteristics of selected second generation youth

Code name	Gender	Ethnicity	Religion	City
Unicorn	F	Jamaican/Antiguan/Canadian	Protestant	**Winnipeg**
Malcolm X	M	Filipino	Roman Catholic	
Educ07	F	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
GCSPMEST	F	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
Rubber Duckie	F	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
Jil	F	Filipina	Roman Catholic	
LueRue	F	Lebanese Syrian	Christian	**Calgary**
Chickita	F	Mexican-Mennonite	Christian	
Ramel	M	Libyan	Islam	
Gonzo	M	English	None	
Captain Crack	M	White/Blackfoot/British/Romanian	Christian/None	
Meena	F	Sri Lankan	Roman Catholic	**Toronto**
Shana	F	Guyanese	Christian	
Dorissa	F	Portuguese	Roman Catholic	
Gelato	M	Italian	Roman Catholic	
4Lyfe	M	Portuguese	Christian	
Blue Flag Baron	M	Spanish; parents Chilean/Columbian	Catholic	
Home Slice	M	Italian	Catholic	
Vinyard	M	Portuguese	Christian	

Sense of being Canadian: *Most, if not all, participants are able to imagine themselves as Canadian and recognize that they are on a journey of life, moving across cultural and other spaces at home, school, malls and elsewhere, in youth-specific and friendly places.*

While the first generation youth in our study are not as likely to feel "Canadian" as subsequent generations, it has been assumed by many that, by the second generation, youth begin to feel an attachment to their birth country. This is certainly true amongst the majority of second generation youth in our study, as illustrated with three examples.

Redefining ancestral origins to create anew, Lue Rue is proud of being Canadian because "it accepts me in its country, especially because I am not from here. It accepted me for being Lebanese," as noted in her life story. In her urban map, Beirut is her preferred place outside of Calgary, without further explanation. In her photoscape, she stresses the importance of her computer in her room as the Internet makes everything accessible. Her cultural collage combines many elements of "Leb Pride": flags from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, a symbol of a Christian cross, the crescent moon and star symbol associated with Islam, connected with a + symbol, as well as pictures of Arab celebrities, the term "romance," a picture of some roses and a picture of two heart shapes and rings.



Lue Rue's cultural collage.

When queried about the Lebanese/Syrian/Middle East influences in her collage, she responded:

> I think that whole area is one and it will always be one, no matter whatever is going on…but we will always be one language, same culture, same people, like for me when people say that I am Lebanese, like, yeah, I am Lebanese but I am Syrian too, and I can say I am Syrian, I am Jordan, I am Lebanese, I can say whatever because I think they are all my people, they are all one.

Acknowledging all influences to the region, this redefinition of ancestral identification moves beyond boundaries – be they ethnic, country or religious – to create a new metaphor of identity attached to a general territorial identification.

The second generation is the most likely of all generation groups to value Canada for its multiculturalism and diversity. Rubber Duckie states that the best metaphor is: "a multi-coloured floral lei. It is the best way to express myself as a cultural individual living with so many different ethnicities in Canada." She expresses both individual and socio-cultural perspectives, taking up Canadian multicultural values, which she expresses as "diversity without losing the courage and value to be yourself."

Rubber Duckie's cultural collage in the form of a shoebox.

In terms of citizenship, the second generation is more likely to mention rights, responsibilities and to consider being Canadian citizens as a privilege than youth from other generations. Jil says, "I never realized what it meant to be a Canadian; then I thought it was a way to change and be different. As a Canadian, it gives people a chance to be free and we have so many different freedoms [that] I don't think many people think about."

This generation is also the most likely to mention tolerance and discrimination in their projects, as part of their sense of Canadian identity. Meena's views are consistent with her understanding of citizenship in a comparative context:

> To me, being a Canadian means to express my thoughts, being free to express my opinion. Rights to my own religion. The reason I think this way is because in Sri Lanka, there are many wars and I don't have the right to express my thoughts. It's a free country, I think it's good, like its freedom, like it's not like back home, teachers can't hit you or stuff like that.

Conceptualizing Canadian identity in terms of rights, responsibilities, privilege and multiculturalism is consistent with other studies on immigrant youth (Lee and Hébert 2006, Lévesque 2003, Hébert and Racicot 2001). Youth's voices reveal that, in practice, a diversity of ethnocultural identifications does not diminish association with national identity in Canada. For second generation adolescents, a positive interaction between national identity, equality rights, acceptance of others and specific group memberships influences the formation of complex identifications as Canadians.

Sense of locality: *The young people in question have a strong sense of locality, intuitively knowing that their local neighbourhood shapes them and that they contribute reflexively to shape the neighbourhood.*

How do second generation youth view their sense of place within the city? Youth participating in our project were asked to identify, on urban maps, places where they spent time and to trace their routes to and from these places. In another research task, participants were asked to take photos of the places where they are included or excluded and to comment on them. Similar approaches in Australia (Lynch and Ogilvie 1999, White et al. 1997, Wooden 1997) identified the geographic boundaries of youth and corrected stereotypes that held that places where youth congregate are dangerous and lead to criminality.

In terms of mobility within the city, second generation youth travel a great deal more outside the country than the third-plus generation. Table 2 shows the different travel modes of each generational status. The first generation showed the greatest geographical distance in their travels with just over one-third traveling outside the country, compared with 23% of the second generation and only 7% of the third-plus generation. Over one-third of the second generation does not travel outside their city of residence, the highest of any generational group. The differences are statistically significant, meaning that generational status does have an effect on travel pattern among youth in Canada.

Most of their preferred places included their homes, neighbourhoods, schools and other local establishments, such as malls, parks and recreation centres, which are youth-friendly or youth-neutral places. A small number defined their sense of place in relation to their ethnocultural or religious affiliation. GCSPMEST explains:

> My house is important to me because this is where I live. I usually feel safe and comfortable here with my family. When I'm at home, I do my chores, eat, sleep, do my homework, watch TV or [use] the computer. I can relax here [in my sister's room] and talk to my sister at the same time because I feel wanted. [In my dining room] I'm surrounded by familiar things.

Mobility of mind: *The mobility of mind allows adolescents to think, imagine and experience cultural identifications as part of the integrative process. Immobility of mind with respect to change is central to the angst experienced around dual cultural attachments by a few second generation participants. Most participants do not appear to be experiencing the oft attributed angst of second generation.*

Table 2 Geographic mobility by generation status, Canada

	1st generation		2nd generation		Third-plus generation		Total
Does not travel	10	24%	21	37%	21	30%	52
Travels only in province	6	14%	9	16%	23	33%	38
Travels outside province	11	26%	14	25%	21	30%	46
Travels outside Canada	15	36%	13	23%	5	7%	33
Total	42	100%	57	100%	70	100%	169

P<0,01

For youth, mobility of mind includes being able to imagine oneself as another, as living elsewhere in another place or time, as being comfortable with having different references of identification, moving beyond tolerance and openness to the acceptance and negotiation of difference. This type of mobility also includes the ability to recognize, in one's local surroundings, symbols that have international, transcultural or global reference.

Of considerable interest are the use of symbols and the recognition of significant relationships within local spaces with global reference. Other forms of mobility of mind include the use of symbols or metaphors for living with many cultures and ethnicities, and thinking deeply about the problems of the world in a reflective public space. These approaches take up the metaphor of pilgrim searching for truth, while embarked on a long life journey for understanding of self, other and the world.

In Chickita's scrapbook, she comments that she has "the will to travel and the freedom to fly," and in her cultural collage she includes two flags symbolizing her connections to Mexico, her willingness to explore the world and imagining herself in more than one place of attachment.

Gonzo has travelled to the mythical "Desert" without specifying which one. He "loves it" and feels relaxed when he is there. When asked what he feels he could accomplish in this space, he replies: "I could hope for knowledge or enlightenment, but I don't really expect anything." Unicorn also reflects upon her journeys: "Where I live, I am very relaxed and the places that I have traveled [to], I am filled with energy and ready to go exploring."

Rubber Duckie reveals a particularly strong attachment to two Filipino shops: the Tindahan Food Mart and Myrna's Café and Catering, in her photoscape. "This place is important to me because it is one of the first popular Filipino restaurants in my neighbourhood. I have a lot of good memories here. This photo represents good friends and my culture." Local spaces are more meaningful for her than ubiquitous shops found in almost every mall in every city, because personal relationships play out there within her ancestral cultural group.

Mobility of mind for self-confident Captain Crack focused on the school as a micro-society, using some of its spaces to think about world problems and to observe struggles for power. He credited the Relaxation Space for

Chickita's cultural collage.

Rubber Duckie's photoscape images of multiple attachments.

providing an opportunity for reflection at global levels and across boundaries. Very politically minded and philosophical, he disagreed with democratic systems and preferred a more socialist/communist system. He writes that these approaches are more effective and work quickly versus a democratic system that involves long, drawn-out voting processes. "This place, I just do nothing and just think of the problems of the world."

For second generation adolescents, being comfortable with multiple attachments is particularly salient, as is being able to symbolize, to think deeply about world problems, to imagine being in other situations and to cross over.

Recognition of multiculturalism: *Most participants recognize the benefits of globalization and the ideals of multiculturalism.*

Reflecting upon multiculturalism, Gelato writes:

> I'm in favour of multiculturalism because we are all multiculturals. I'm not going to be a hypocrite and say that I don't like immigration when my parents were immigrants, and I wouldn't be here if they didn't immigrate….I like how we are all different – something interesting.

Going beyond duality to multiplicity, he reveals that he is familiar with his parents' journey and aware of its meanings for him and for his appreciation of difference around him. Significantly, he puts an airplane in his cultural collage to represent immigration, thus modernizing the metaphor that immigrants come by boat, landing in yesteryear at Pier 21 in Halifax.

Finding multiculturalism to be advantageous, Gelato explains his thinking:

> I don't think anything bad could come of it. Maybe more people, more culture. I don't have any bad feelings toward it. I like how the different cultures are here. It's welcoming. It's free. You can express all your views and opinions without anybody putting you down. There's mosques, there's temples, there's churches, there's everything.

When asked about equity issues, he replies tentatively, relying on his own personal experiences, "At

Captain Crack's Relaxation Space.

my job, we have plenty of people that don't speak English, and we're welcoming to them but…maybe in…higher levels – a job, like…if you don't speak English, it would be very tough. It is a free place. I don't think they are judged upon the colour of their skin."

Meena disregards boundaries in choosing her friends, "If I look at my school, no one cares what colour skin you are, or what religion you are. They don't care about that. Like, when I met my friends, that's not the question I asked them or they asked me." She holds similar beliefs about the labour market: "I think if you're going for a job, then I don't think people look at skin colour here 'cause everyone's from a different culture, a different country, no one is Canadian here, original Canadian, so really, very few people…"

Whether male or female, these youth blend in identifications to create anew, beyond cultural, racial and religious boundaries, thus developing commonalities based on interests, gender and activities. These examples of civic pluralism provide ample evidence of the engagement and awareness of these Canadian youth in transcultural processes of creating new modes of belonging. All is not sweetness and agreement, however, for ideologies are not the same as realities.

Susceptibility to consumerism: *Many, but not all, second generation youth in this study tend to be susceptible to the intense messages of the market, taking up the identification of "shopper." Second generation adolescents are particularly susceptible to being concerned with fitting in and being accepted.*

The shopping malls were places of great interest among youth. One-third of all preferred places were shopping malls and stores. Some are youth friendly, like those stores that catered specifically to young people, such as urban or hip-hop clothing stores. Others are youth neutral, such as food courts and department stores. Youth identified these places as central areas for meeting, hanging out and socializing. For some, however, the lure of consumerism is significant. Educ07 commented, "I feel glamour and happy, sophisticated clothing shop, I consider it to be "my" store. When I shop for jewellery, I feel like I am on clouds, a breathless scene." Moreover, the cultural collages produced by the youth were replete with images of electronics, jewellery, designer clothes, shoes and cars. Many were not able to acquire the objects they desired but engaging with them was still possible. Dorissa said:

> I usually go to every store to try something on and if it's okay, I tell them to put it on hold for an hour and I say this, like, every store and they get really mad – over and over!

For some, it was more the environment in which the objects were showcased that attracted them. Shopping malls offered novelty, in contrast to the monotony of their lives, safety from natural elements and dangerous streets and no-cost or low-cost entertainment. Meena comments:

> You wake up, you go to school, you come back home, do your homework, you watch TV, you go to sleep, and then you wake up again. Same process. But when you go to the mall, there's, like, events, and Christmas and Santa Claus.

Gelato's metaphor of airplane for immigration.

Objects and environments served primarily as topics of conversation and destinations with friends and family. Dorissa said, "I usually hang out at the malls because there is a lot of people to interact with, and it's like just a social place to be." Several others mentioned that they went shopping with their parents to purchase groceries, appraising and comparing costs, variety and quality of the available merchandise.

Nevertheless, the pressure to possess "cool stuff" was mentioned by several youth, and some critically analyzed their subjectivity as consumers. Vinyard said:

> I worry about how I look because I believe nowadays people judge you on how you look….Looks matter now, and you don't look a certain way, people won't accept you, so I believe you have to keep up. Especially clothing, if you don't have the *right clothing*, I think, people don't think you are cheap, but they just won't like you….I don't really like that, but I try and keep up because at the same time I don't want to be left out….It does not make me feel appreciated. It makes me feel angry because who are they to tell me what am I supposed to be, how am I supposed to look, or…that's the way it is nowadays. I guess I just have to go along with it.

Façade of local spaces: *Some are highly critical of globalization and multiculturalism, seeing beyond the façade and the ideal to recognize the unpleasantness behind the scenes. These youth are more likely to strongly and critically identify the issues of over-consumption, racism and human rights inherent in the human and environmental exploitation that sustain current approaches to globalization.*

These young people reflect on multiculturalism and democracy, finding them both laudable for their human rights, but mostly also decrying the shortcomings of multiculturalism and democracy, as there is still racism and discrimination in Canada.

Malcolm X emphasizes nationalist and environmental issues while revealing his façade. An underlying tone of sarcasm apparent throughout his activities supports his self-doubt and uncertainty. Malcolm X is "uncomfortable, quiet and lonely" in new places; he shops infrequently and centres himself on his home area where his friends are, where he attends school and where his recreational activities take place. When referring to international issues, Malcolm X responds by taking up nationalistic perspectives. In his written responses, he sees Canada's role in environmental issues as needing to protect its own environment and to act as a role model for the rest of the world. Entitled "Politics," his cultural collage focuses on politicians in Canada and in the United States, indicative of a heightened sense of Canadian nationalism in a globalizing world.

Another participant, Ramel, has traveled extensively, in the United States, Italy, England, Germany, Africa, Holland and different parts of Canada, as indicated in his urban mapping, and yet he feels "like a tourist and a foreigner in each country I have visited. My favourite places outside of Calgary are the Red Deer soccer field and the West Edmonton Mall."

Captain Crack sees no hope for removing racism from the world: "Multiculturalism is great, but even if you educate them, there will always be someone who will teach their children to fear and hate. And it will be forever, we will never be a non-racist world." Having been subjected to racism, this is for him a fact that cannot be avoided. Commenting on the power of globalization, he further explains:

> I believe that there is not real culture any more. It is all media and corporations tying to vie for business. There are religions but they don't really contribute to culture much any more, nobody really cares about that, everybody's trying to get away from religion and everybody's trying to make their own culture, but really they are following the same culture, which is advertisements.

More cynically, he comments that "jewellery is hip hop's hold on culture" and that "people define you by what kind of car you drive. So if you drive a sports car, you're a rich person. If you drive a truck, you're a working guy."

Expressing discouragement and even despair, these Canadian youth are astute thinkers. They tend to prefer local and national attachments, while worrying that society is too far gone to retreat from the internal impact of an overwhelming global consumer economy upon Western civilization.

Thus, the complex portrayal of second generation youth brings nuance and subtlety to the concerned conversation regarding their integration. These young people are aware of the processes, places and images involved in creating new belongings, not easy but mostly satisfying.

Malcolm X's cultural collage.

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Notes

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PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION BY CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS: RESPONSES AND RESILIENCY

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ABSTRACT

A pan-Canadian sample of children aged 11 to 13 who are children of immigrants was obtained to assess their adaptation to Canadian society. The results show that one third of the 1.5 and second generation children experienced acts of discrimination against them. The results also investigate the children's responses to these perceived acts. Finally an assessment of their resiliency was assessed to determine the short- and long-term impacts of these acts of discrimination on these children. Tentative findings suggest the children exhibit healthy resilience patterns.

The last 25 years have been referred to as the era of "immigration" due to the unprecedented number of individuals who are no longer living in their countries of birth. As Tsimbos (2006) points out, globalization, advances in technology, communication and transportation as well as the break-up of several countries – for example, the USSR and Yugoslavia – have forced or facilitated increasing numbers of people to emigrate in search of better living conditions and greater security. The number of people seeking academic and employment opportunities in other countries is rising in response to pressures to relocate and opportunities in the global labour market (Arthur and Pedersen 2008, Heet 2003). As such, we have witnessed dramatic changes in the number and structure of international migration while the number of countries involved in human mobility has been rising steadily (Demeny 2002). Our interest in this paper is focused on the experiences of the second generation (children, ages 10 to 13) of these immigrants. Although it is generally perceived that children adapt more quickly than adults, it should not be assumed that they do not experience adjustment issues in their everyday experiences (Arthur and Merali 2005). Specifically we will be looking at the level of perception of discrimination by these children and the forms it takes. We also will look at how these young people evaluated this experience as well as how they responded to the discriminatory events in their lives.

The ethnic context

Today, the percentage of foreign born in Canada is 20% of the total population, the largest proportion of foreign born in over 75 years. Moreover, over 13% of these immigrants are visible minorities. With immigration numbers averaging nearly a quarter of a million each year for the past decade, the number and proportion of immigrants in Canada continues to increase. The three groups targeted in this study (mainland China, Hong Kong, Filipino) make up nearly 5% of the Canadian population. Since 1980, nearly 800,000 Chinese (from mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Vietnam) have taken up residence in Canada making them the largest visible minority group (1.1 million, or 3.7% of the population). Likewise, Filipinos are recent immigrants to Canada and currently make up 1.1% of the population. Over the past decade, the number of immigrants from mainland China has increased from just over 18,000 to over 33,000 in 2006. Filipino immigration has also increased over the same time period from 10,000 to nearly 18,000. At the same time, the number of immigrants from Hong Kong has decreased from 22,000 to just over 1,400. Further comparison reveals that immigrants from mainland China ranked third in 1996 but have been number one since that time. Hong Kong Chinese ranked first in 1996 but today rank 22nd. Filipinos were ranked sixth in 1996 but ten years later were ranked third in the number of immigrants entering Canada.

The second generation

The second generation of immigrants will influence the course of Canadian society as we progress into the 21st century. For example, it is estimated that children of immigrants make up 20% of all children under the age of 18 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005). The integration of these

young people merits the attention of the federal government not only because they make up a sizeable component of Canadian society but also because they are highly impressionable and a positive experience early in life will increase the likelihood that they will become effective citizens in adulthood. At the same time, exclusion can lead to feelings of resentment and anger and create sub-ethnic enclaves that view mainstream society with hostility and distrust, which can be disruptive and unproductive. The diverse experiences of children of immigrants, whose identities can evolve dramatically as they grow up in Canada, play out within communities that are rapidly changing themselves (Melia 2004).

The process of integration begins with the different paths of second generation children as well as the institutions that represent the focal points of contact between them and the host society. The paths and adaptation of the second generation is very different from that of their immigrant parents. Moreover, past research does not offer much guidance for the understanding of contemporary events as conditions in the past are quite different from those confronting immigrant children today. For example, today's Canadians' view of integration is embodied in the belief that it is a way wherein individuals can maintain their culture and beliefs within respect for the legal system – but always with an emphasis on a shared set of values, in contrast to the view held a generation ago. We also know that the context that immigrants find upon arrival in Canada plays an important role in the course that their offspring's lives will follow.

Second generation children find that this is a time of conflicted identity in almost any context; as such, it takes on additional complexities for both immigrants and their children. As the new generation grows up, there is a greater awareness of both their minority culture and the wider dominant culture, neither of which is entirely their own (Melia 2004). For first generation parents, personal identity is linked more closely to the country of origin but the second generation has a more difficult time selecting a culture to internalize. Moreover, cultural plurality becomes a liability for immigrant youth when confronted with intolerance. Young people realize that to identify with another ethnicity not only risks making them perpetual "outsiders," but it may also bring prejudicial and discriminatory action upon them. How do young children of immigrant parents react to these events? They may be oblivious to these developments or they might develop chronic self-doubt. In the end, these young people will be forced to select their own identity but the external social environment will have a great impact on what that identity looks like and how they participate in the larger socioeconomic environment.

Cultural plurality becomes a liability for immigrant youth when confronted with intolerance. Young people realize that to identify with another ethnicity not only risks making them perpetual "outsiders," but it may also bring prejudicial and discriminatory action upon them.

One of the implications of the experiences of young children of immigrants can be placed within the debate on human capital formation and transfers or what is sometimes called the *brain drain*.[1] In short, will young second generation children with a good Canadian education be prepared to stay or to leave Canada as they get older and enter the labour market? This reflects a social, economic, cultural and political interest in what human capital will be lost or gained and will this be temporary or permanent (Balaz et al. 2004, Commission of the European Communities 2001). This process can influence both the composition as well as the dynamics of the host population – growth of the population, age-sex composition, and fertility and mortality rates, among several factors. As to whether or not this second generation will integrate or assimilate into the mainstream society or form a new urban underclass, the question remains unanswered (Farley and Alba 2002). However it is clear that children of immigrant parents face both short-term and longer-term adjustment issues in reaction to their environment; these have an important impact on their future pathways. This takes us to the question of resiliency, which will be addressed shortly.

Much of the existing research on second generation youth has focused on educational and linguistic outcomes (Harker 2001). Moreover, because second generation individuals are socialized and educated in the mainstream society, it might be expected that they would face fewer obstacles in their daily lives. However, recent data suggests this might not be the case. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) note that while the preferred outcome by second generation children is integration into Canadian society, there are barriers encountered by this cohort that impede such a move and lead to marginalization or separation. Others also have noted that the 1.5 generation is much like the second generation in that they have parallel experiences (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997, Kibria 2000). For the present study, we limit our empirical assessment to the 1.5 and second generation of our three targeted groups.

Our choice for the three groups identified for the purposes of this study lies in the fact that "race" is an ascribed attribute based on perceived physical characteristics and is an important dimension of all social encounters in Canada. When people meet for the first time, both "race" and sex are the first things we notice about people. The importance of this is that we utilize "race" and sex to provide us with clues about *who* a person is (Kibria 2000). As such, "race" operates as an involuntary sign over which the individual has little or no control. The control of this variable thus allows us to assess the impact of such a factor. At the same time, the study of Asian Canadians offers an opportunity to expand our understanding of the

dynamics of "race" and ethnic options. The category of "Asian" is powerfully marked and widely recognized to be an umbrella label, encompassing a variety of divergent national groups. On the other hand, specific national groups from Asia would find the idea of "Asian Canadian" to be of limited meaning and consider it a label that has been imposed upon them by mainstream society. Presently, Asian Canadians have been described as occupying a "middle" position in the "racial hierarchy" of Canada. Their pattern of income and education attainment, rate of intermarriage and social mobility suggests that "Asian Americans" enjoy some latitude in how they organize and express their ethnic identity. Our research will provide comment on this aspect of identity.

Resiliency

While a considerable amount of research has focused on generation one, on immigrants and their levels of psychological adjustment as well as on their integration into the economic and political structures of society, there is only a small body of work that addresses the experiences of their children (Gamburd 2000). Resiliency in visible minority children has not been systematically examined by social scientists. Our paper investigates this second aspect of the integration process – the resiliency of young second generation visible minorities.

The social context that visible minority immigrant children face as they enter Canadian society today is "colour," location and the absence of mobility structures. These young people experience discrimination and this seems primarily based on their visibility. Resiliency is the capacity to cope effectively with the internal stresses of their vulnerabilities (Miller 1999). It focuses on protective factors that enable an individual to adapt successfully to his or her environment. In short, it concerns itself with the ability to adapt to changes (Chaves 2005, McElwee 2007). For example, the existence of social networks may be a valued resource for young second generation children of immigrant parents as they cope with challenging experiences. In summary, resilience is manifested as the ability of young children to respond or perform positives in the face of adversity.

Methodology

The data utilized in this study were collected from six major urban centres across Canada during the 2001-2005 period through the New Canadian Children and Youth Study. The data collection involved four Metropolis Centres and over 50 scholars. This non-random sample used a snowball technique to identify immigrants who had lived in Canada less than ten years and who had children in the 11 to 13 age group. Both parents and children participated in a face-to-face interview lasting one to two hours. For this paper, three groups are compared: mainland Chinese (People's Republic of China), Hong Kong Chinese and Filipino children. A total of 1,050 young 1.5 and second generation young males and females in this age group were interviewed. Data was collected on a number of social and physical attributes of the individual. The present paper focuses on the measurement of perceived discrimination, the self-reported impact of such perceptions and the responses of the children to such experiences.

Results

Perceived discrimination

We begin our analysis by assessing the extent to which young visible minority, second generation youth experienced discrimination. Individuals were asked to identify whether or not they had experienced discrimination in the past year and, if so, to identify the nature of the discriminatory behaviour. Table 1 reveals the extent of perception and nature of discrimination. It shows that just under one third of the young respondents claimed they had experienced a discriminatory act directed toward them. The data also reveal that skin colour, nativity and linguistic accent were the most common elements upon which the discrimination experienced by these children was based. Children were also offered an opportunity to identify other activities that brought differential treatment by others toward them. Nearly half of the respondents identified other types of discriminatory action directed toward them. The results show that, overall, there is little systematic difference in the extent and type of perceived discrimination among the three groups.

Children's reaction to perceived discrimination

Those individuals claiming to have experienced a discriminatory action directed toward them were asked how they responded to it. A wide variety of response strategies were presented (see Table 2). While there are some differences in responses among the groups (e.g., verbally protested, tried to forget, avoided interaction, screamed/cried), the results show a notable consistency

Table 1
Level and nature of perceived discrimination experienced by youth (N=338)

	Percentage who said "yes"		
Reason for Discrimination	**Mainland Chinese (N=132)**	**Hong Kong Chinese (N=106)**	**Filipino (N=100)**
Colour of skin	22.7	26.4	26.0
Not born in Canada	22.0	26.4	17.5
Speak with an accent	10.6	7.5	16.5
Dress differently	6.8	4.7	8.2
Ethnic group affiliation	7.6	12.3	7.2
Religious affiliation	1.5	4.7	1.0
Media portray negative	9.1	11.3	10.3
Other	46.6	34.9	36.1

Table 2
Response by individual when experiencing perceived discrimination, in percentages (N=408)

Response taken	Mainland Chinese (N=163)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=120)	Filipino (N=125)
Talked to friend about it	61.1	70.0	71.8
Worked harder to be better	63.8	50.4	52.8
Defined offender as stupid	51.6	44.5	43.5
Talked to family about it	51.2	60.2	48.0
Experience wasn't that bad	54.3	55.2	62.8
Took it as fact of life	46.3	52.1	53.2
Ignored the situation	47.2	37.8	44.2
Verbally protested	38.0	29.1	19.5
Tried to forget	37.3	49.2	65.3
Reasoned with person	31.5	34.5	41.6
Reported incident to authority	29.6	31.7	28.6
Protected myself	28.0	22.2	39.0
Didn't react or do anything	28.2	32.8	32.0
Returned the same back	28.2	15.8	22.4
Pretend not offended	21.7	27.7	31.5
Avoided interaction	8.1	11.0	17.9
Screamed or cried	6.8	12.6	15.2
Physically attacked offender	11.7	7.5	5.6
Joined a gang	3.1	4.2	4.0
Joined a protest group	2.5	4.3	7.3
Went to media	1.8	3.4	1.7

among the groups with regard to how they responded to the perceived discrimination. Moreover, the types of responses reveal simultaneously decreasing frequency among the groups: most talked to their friends about it, few went to the media.[2]

Importance of event

When the children acknowledged that they had experienced a discriminatory act, they were asked how important this experience was for them compared to other things that were important to them. The data shown in Table 3 reveals the importance given to such an event. A surprising number claimed that is was not at all important. However, nearly half of the children noted that the experience was somewhat/not very important to them, although Filipino children were less likely to view the event in such a manner. Filipino children seemed to be more impacted by the event as nearly one third of the Filipino children felt the event was the "most" or a "very important" event in their lives, while fewer indicated that it did not impact them at all.

These results show that while young people understand discrimination has meaning, they tend to deal with it relative to the importance it has in their lives. However, it is worth noting that there are differences among the three groups.

Nature of being upset

Children also were asked to indicate how much the experience bothered or upset them. The results show consistency among the three groups. Over three-quarters of the respondents noted that the experience was not upsetting or was only a little upsetting, while the remainder felt it upset them a lot or was extremely upsetting. We then probed and asked these children how it upset them and they provided the following responses (see Table 4). A sizeable proportion felt sad, depressed, helpless, discouraged, angry and ready to strike out at the offender. The results from Table 1 confirm this feeling and in some cases confirm that the child actually engaged in physical violence. However, the results also demonstrate that the impact on self-esteem, self-identity or family identity seems to be minimal and did not negatively impact the individuals' identity.

Children were then asked about how long they were upset. Fewer than 70% of all three groups felt that they were upset for a few minutes to a few hours, and then the feeling diminished. However, between 15% and 19% of the three groups claimed they were upset for a few days to a few weeks.

Table 3
Student self-evaluation of importance of experiencing discrimination, in percentages (N=338)

	Most/very important	Somewhat/not very	Not at all
Mainland Chinese	15.6	51.1	33.3
Hong Kong Chinese	19.2	51.3	29.6
Filipino	32.1	46.3	22.6

Table 4
Ways in which child was upset by experiencing discrimination, in percentages (N=365)

	Mainland Chinese (N=144)	Hong Kong Chinese (N=115)	Filipino (N=106)
Feeling scared/terrified	2.8	2.6	4.7
Feeling weak/confused	5.6	7.0	11.3
Feeling sad/depressed	17.4	28.7	25.5
Feeling helpless/discouraged	18.1	8.7	11.3
Feeling angry/strike out	13.9	13.0	13.2
Feeling ashamed of self/family	0.7	7.8	3.8

Table 5
Impact of Experiencing Discrimination (N=402)

	Disagree/strongly disagree			Agree/strongly agree		
	Mainland Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Filipino	Mainland Chinese	Hong Kong Chinese	Filipino
More attached to my culture	41.4	49.6	41.3	58.6	50.4	58.7
More mature person	42.3	30.8	25.0	57.7	69.2	75.0
Made me turn against Canada	68.7	88.2	87.0	31.3	11.8	13.0
Wish I wasn't a member of ethnic	65.1	85.3	91.5	34.9	14.7	8.5

Surprisingly, about 12% of the respondents noted that they still were upset about the incident at the time of the interview, which ranged from six months to three years after the fact.

Impact of experience

Children were asked to assess the lasting impact of the incident. Table 5 identifies specific ways in which children felt that the incident impacted them. The results show that the event strengthened the children's attachment to their culture and made them, in their eyes, more mature. Other impacts varied among children in the ethnic groups. For example, while most children did not see the event as "turning them against Canada," nearly one third of the mainland Chinese children expressed such an attitude. In addition, over one third of the mainland Chinese children claimed that the experience made them wish they were not a member of their ethnic group.

Conclusion

The extent to which children perceive discrimination impacts their propensity to develop positive self identities, integrate into Canadian society and lay the foundation for the next generation. Our results show that discrimination continues to be a reality in the lives of 1.5 and second generation children. Moreover, we found that the impact of such an event varied. In addition, we found that children have many different responses to such an act. Children may respond to acts of discrimination in both "healthy" and "unhealthy" ways. In the former, resilience is expressed through prosocial, adaptive actions while unhealthy resilience is seen in the use of aggressive or self-destructive behaviours. Our results show that children use both types of resilience techniques, which culminate in very different outcomes for the child. As revealed, a number of children attacked their perpetrator, either physically or verbally. At the same time, we found that healthy resilience techniques were much more likely to be employed. For example, our results show that children understand the importance of networks of friends, relatives and acquaintances in dealing with potentially traumatic events and have drawn upon their social support networks to deal with the experience. High on their responses were talking to a friend or family member about it, working harder to be better and considering the experience as not being too bad.

Our research shows that markers of "Asian" are pervasive and encompass a variety of ethnocultural groups. As such, those specific groups with such a marker reveal similar experiences with regard to perception of discrimination. In addition, the concentration of second generation children in large metropolitan areas adds to their vulnerability by subjecting them to counter-cultures that block upward mobility. These children find themselves in a "knowledge economy" that requires extensive education and provides networks that allow them to engage in upward mobility. Their parents had not previously been part of the existing networks; thus, second generation children are disadvantaged. As such, entrance into the existing labour market may be limited to labour intensive industries (on the decline) or personal services, neither of which offers good channels for upward mobility. Finally, these children experience discrimination that adds to their vulnerability.

However, it would seem that second generation immigrant children are using education as an avenue of upward mobility and developing social networks. They have also developed strategies for blunting the impact of discriminatory acts directed toward them. For example, they have chosen to downplay the importance of these events and, in so doing, have opted to retain their cultural heritage and are thereby able to participate in both mainstream society as well as their own ethnic community (bi-cultural integration). This resiliency of young 1.5 and second generation visible minority children allows them to turn adversity and crises into opportunities for growth. These protective components reduce risks, promote self-esteem and enhance positive relationships with both their ethnic community as well as mainstream society.

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Notes

[1] Others refer to this distribution as "brain gain," "brain waste," "brain circulation," "brain overflow," "brain distribution" or "brain redistribution."

[2] It is important to note that more children identified a "response" to perceived discrimination than claimed they were discriminated against (see the number of cases in Tables 1 and 2). Follow-up interviews revealed that while some children were unwilling to admit they had experienced discrimination, they were prepared to comment on how they dealt with it. The results further confirm that young people have developed a series of strategies to deal with the perceived experience of discriminatory action.

IMAGINING CANADA, NEGOTIATING BELONGING

Understanding the Experiences of Racism of Second Generation Canadians of Colour

ABSTRACT

Drawing on information gathered from focus groups with second generation Canadians of colour, this paper explores their experiences and perceptions of racism, as well as their feelings of belonging in Canada. It additionally addresses the ways in which the second generation compares their experiences with those of their parents.

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A colour portrait of Canada

Second generation Canadians of colour represent a segment of society faced with unique challenges. Drawing from a bourgeoning collection of work on the topic, as well as my own fieldwork, I outline the perceptions and experiences of racism of second generation Canadians of colour and how they influence their feelings of belonging in the national community. I additionally address how second generation individuals compare their experiences of racial discrimination to those of their parents.

The prevalence and effects of racism have not escaped the lens of critical and politically active citizens, officials and researchers. Determined to uncover the countless forms of inequity facing people of colour in Canada, a significant collection of work has centred on the meaning and utility of national identity and its exclusionary tendencies. Statistics and research evincing startling rates of racial discrimination have, over the last three decades, prompted considerable studies in equity, citizenship and belonging. Recent research by Reitz and Banerjee (2007) examining the relationship between racial inequality, discrimination and the social integration of racial minorities in Canada reveals that racial inequality is a significant issue and that the extent of discrimination varies not only among racial groups but across generations. In fact, their findings show that second generation individuals are less likely to report feeling like they belong in Canada than both their parents and their White counterparts.

The ethnocultural makeup of Canadian society has been transformed over the last several decades by different waves of immigration, with the result being that the country is fast becoming one of the most ethnically diverse nations in the world. This ethnocultural shift has been paralleled with efforts by both the Canadian government and citizens alike to deal with novel immigration issues. Perhaps the most significant of these efforts is the Canadian government's policy of multiculturalism (1971), which is credited with not only instituting the idea of cultural pluralism into Canadian government but also incorporating it into the Canadian identity (Wood and Gilbert 2005). There is much debate as to whether multiculturalism is a discourse that legitimizes difference or serves as a tool of integration that produces or reinforces racism in Canada (Henry and Tator 2006). While there are numerous supporters of the potential for multiculturalism to positively impact the lives of racialized minorities in Canada, there are also critics who claim that the policy is ill-equipped to deal with the inequity in contemporary Canadian society (Kobayashi 1993).

Regardless of the formation of government branches and divisions dedicated to reducing racism in Canada and the implementation of policies to counter the phenomenon, racism persists as perhaps one of the greatest barriers to the realization of full social citizenship for racialized minorities. As the *Ethnic Diversity Survey* (Canada 2003) shows, experiences of racial discrimination are an unfortunate fact of life for one in five people of colour living in Canada. Although second generation racialized Canadians currently represent just less than two percent of the total population, projected statistics for visible minority populations in Canada suggest that they will represent an increasingly significant segment of the country's total population.[1] As such, the issues facing this group of Canadians will increasingly become those facing Canadians as a whole and will demand the action and resources capable of addressing them.

Visible minority or invisible majority?

Focus group accounts of second generation Canadians of colour reveal that there is variation in the degree to which this group of Canadians is racialized into the Canadian cultural landscape. Racialization refers to the practice of defining otherness through the attribution of connotative meanings to particular objects, features and processes and entails the construction of categories of population that serve to differentiate, render inferior and exclude various groups (Anthias 1998:574). For the second generation, somatic characteristics including skin colour are used to mark their body as different from the mainstream "White" body, thus rendering them "visible." Interestingly, research with this group shows that there are degrees of visibility associated with their identity, or put another way, a range of awareness of the one's position of difference within the dominant society, a position that is dynamic through time and across social situations. This visibility is most commonly associated with, but not limited to, negative stereotypes that are governed by historical context, the socio-political climate and current events. As the two accounts below highlight, not only does there appear to be a "range of difference" within which racialized Canadians are placed, but also some ethnocultural groups are consequently rendered more visible than others.

> For me I've never been identified as a visible minority unless I tell people that I'm Spanish – then they look down [on me]. Typically no one really sees me as a racial minority or a visible minority. I've never had that. (FG1-04)

> The week or two after September 11th you're kind of like, nobody ever said anything directly, but you can sort of tell that people are doing a double take. You are a lot more visible than you had been a few hours before. (FG3-02)

Contrary to the label ascribed by mainstream culture and the Government of Canada, most second generation Canadians of colour do not incorporate the identity of "visible minority"[2] into their self-image. On the contrary, what emerges in discussions is a desire to resist this classification that distinguishes them from a pan-Canadian identity and further reinforces their racial exclusion. Instead, they view themselves as representatives of an "invisible majority" whose membership, while often denied or restricted by society, is nonetheless as equally valid and Canadian. Ironically, it is the Canadian government's racial classification that excludes second generation Canadians of colour and is not, in most cases, a self-imposed distinction. This paradox does not escape the second generation racialized Canadian.

Racism and the generation gap

While there are many similarities between the experiences of immigrants of colour and their Canadian-born children, there remain several key differences that significantly influence sense of belonging. The most important of these include awareness of the changing nature of racial exclusions and balancing of multiple cultural identities. Second generation racialized Canadians are keenly aware of the changing nature and forms of racism in Canada, and this knowledge has been gained through stories told by their parents about their experiences of immigration. Although there is a general consensus among the group that racial discrimination is prevalent in today's society, many believe that they face less racism than their parents. Discussions of the forms of racism reveal sensitivity to a shift from overt acts of discrimination to increasingly subtler forms.[3]

Crafting and supporting a link between the culture and beliefs of their parents and a "Canadian way of life" is a vital yet challenging element of belonging for second generation Canadians and plays a significant role in processes of identification. Although engaging in this bridging process shapes new possibilities for self-definition, it reportedly increases feelings of exclusion from either or both cultures. As a result, second generation Canadians of colour report difficulties negotiating the terms of their cultural memberships, a struggle that they feel is different from any experienced by their immigrant parents.

> Things changed a lot from Jamaica, but they still have their Jamaican community. Whereas for myself, I had people in those circles of friends growing up, but then you have to make your own friends…and you don't have that Jamaican-Caribbean anymore…I think that's the huge difference – having to form your own community, renegotiate boundaries, identities that they haven't had to go through. So actually for I'd say sometimes it's hard for them to relate. (FG5-02)

> I kind of feel caught in the middle, I guess….If I experienced any sort of racism from other people it would kind of just make me think twice about how I treat other people. Whereas I don't think that my parents would do that. It's different between the generations. (FG3-04)

These two first-hand accounts of growing up as a Canadian of colour point to the difficulties that second generation individuals encounter with respect to relating their experiences of racism to those of their parents. While these quotes effectively point to a generation gap, they

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additionally, and perhaps more importantly, reveal the presence of processes of reconciliation that allow for several forms of belonging that do not detract from feelings of Canadianness. This is especially the case as it relates to intergenerational differences in responses to experiences of racism where, in fact, many second generation individuals report having stronger emotional ties to Canada than their parents despite the incongruity of experiencing marginalization in their homeland.

Unconventional Canadians: The second generation and belonging

The processes through which racial exclusions are understood by second generation Canadians of colour are multiple and complex. One widespread challenge is coping with claims of perpetual immigrant status. Despite being born in Canada, second generation Canadians are often tasked with not only overcoming racial barriers within societal structures and institutions, but also *proving* their Canadian identity. This is a task that many feel is impossible considering the mindset of the mainstream population. Some second generation citizens report that the continuous questioning of their heritage is primary among the reasons for feeling excluded from society and that although they have a strong personal sense of belonging in Canada, it is taxing to maintain in the face of unremitting doubt.

> I find for me, too, there's an obsession to know exactly where you're from. I can't count the number of times…."Well, where are you from?"…because they can't exactly pinpoint it. People like to know exactly where everyone's from. I don't know if that's a form of racism, but I find that I especially deal with that. (FG3-01)

For some second generation Canadians of colour, a sense of belonging in Canada is partial, ambiguous and, at times, even critical. In the face of exclusion, some second generation individuals have found it beneficial, if not necessary, to complement their Canadian sense of belonging with additional types of attachment.

For some second generation Canadians of colour, a sense of belonging in Canada is partial, ambiguous and, at times, even critical. In the face of exclusion, some second generation individuals have found it beneficial, if not necessary, to complement their Canadian sense of belonging with additional types of attachment. While these connections to local, provincial and regional communities are not unlike those held by other Canadians, for the second generation it is one way in which they handle the partiality of their *acceptance* into society.

> I think the ideas of community and nationality for me are really fluid and very difficult to pin down...I'm always Filipino-Canadian. So my sense of belonging…I do feel like I belong here and I can get by here, but I also feel very comfortable around Filipino groups….I feel like the whole idea of racism is kind of complicated with second generation people. (FG3-04)

There is also an ambiguity associated with belonging in Canada that is experienced by many second generation individuals. Although this results from struggles over striking a balance between Canadian and ancestral cultures, it is also a consequence of the uncertainty surrounding what it actually means to be "Canadian." Complicating this process are wider claims that ethnocultural attachments preclude or lessen one's sense of being Canadian, even though research shows that this is not necessarily the case.

> I would say, of course, it's hard, the point we made earlier, to not feel like you belong and to be constantly questioned and doubting….If people come here because of the ideal of inclusion, it can be like a broken dream or hope that wasn't realized. (FG5-04)

Emerging from some of the second generation racialized Canadians is a reflexive and critical evaluation of not only the importance of national belonging, but also the possibility of actualizing this identity and having it acknowledged and supported by other Canadians. More specifically, for many second generation individuals, the parameters of Canadian identity, although multiple, do not reflect inclusive ideals. As such, the critical belonging that materializes is often mobilized by both a personal determination to resist definition based on criteria of exclusion and a desire to remedy the inequities faced by all Canadians of colour. In the words of a second generation Canadian, "My sense of belonging gives me the right to be critical. If I didn't belong somewhere I wouldn't really even care to criticize." (FG3-02)

Conclusion

For second generation Canadians, dealing with racism is a fact of life. Although individual experiences of racial discrimination vary, there is a consensus that it is a significant issue in Canada. Processes of identity ascription by mainstream society mark the body of the Canadians of colour as "other," and this not only serves to exclude the second generation, but also reminds them of their perpetual difference. In comparison to the experiences of their parents, the second generation reports experiencing less racism, although they acknowledge important shifts in the nature of contemporary racism toward increasingly subtler forms. Recognition of this intergenerational divergence is

the outcome of different contextual and perceptual frameworks that position second generation Canadians in complex spaces of awareness and tolerance that render them more sensitive to the nuances of difference.

Focus group discussions reveal that experiences of racism have a generally neutral or slightly negative effect on the second generations' sense of belonging in Canada. Although they described their identities as Canadians as being partial, ambiguous and, at times, contradictory, further analysis reveals the presence of multiple imaginings of Canada (in which the terms of belonging differ). It is within these alternative visions that some second generation racialized Canadians critically reflect on the duality of the social landscape in which they are simultaneously included and excluded, and also challenge the racial structures that seek to define them. Their continuous struggle to eliminate racial barriers in Canada and their willingness to contest the homogenous images of national culture promise to reshape the ethnocultural landscape of the future.

Notes

[1] By 2017, roughly one in five Canadians will be a member of a visible minority, representing approximately 22% of Canada's population. (Bélanger and Malenfant 2005)

[2] Term coined by Statistics Canada that refers to "persons (other than Aboriginal persons) who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour." Statistics Canada (1999). *1996 Census Dictionary*. Ottawa. Catalogue No. 92-351-UIE.

[3] Some overt acts of discrimination noted by second generation Canadians in the study include name-calling, unfair hiring practices and physical harassment. Examples of subtle forms of racism include excess politeness, racism denial and institutional discrimination.

PARENTS AND TEENS IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Cultural Influences and Material Pressures

ABSTRACT

Immigrant families are often depicted as battlegrounds between first generation parents and second generation children. Interviews with immigrant teens reveal a more complex picture of conflict, consensus, continuity and change in intergenerational relationships in immigrant families, as well as variation based on gender, cohort, family type and conditions of immigration.

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There is no question that parents face shifts in their roles and relationships with their children upon immigration and settlement (Kilbride et al. 2001, Tyyskä 2003a, 2005 and 2006). Many immigrant parents report feeling that their parenting ability is under serious stress in a number of ways (Tyyskä 2005 and 2006). One of the major stresses comes from living under economic duress, a particularly well documented fact of life among racialized immigrants (Liu and Kerr 2003). Poverty alone creates situational and systemic obstacles that undermine attentive and nurturing parental behaviours. While many immigrant parents struggle with unemployment, underemployment, multiple job holding and shifts in gender-based economic and domestic roles, their children may not get the attention they deserve. In order to avoid being trapped in poverty, many immigrant parents also put added pressures on their offspring in the areas of education and future employment (Creese et al. 1999, Beiser et al. 2000, Tyyskä 2005 and 2006).

Parental authority over children may be challenged: changing maternal and paternal work and family roles may alter customary family relationships both between parents and with children. It is common for male immigrants to undergo a loss in their work status, which they also experience as a loss of their status as head of the household. At the same time, immigrant women in some communities are compelled to seek gainful employment, which may give them added status in the family (Ali and Kilbride 2004, Anisef et al. 2001, Creese et al. 1999, Grewal et al. 2005, Tyyskä 2005). In the extreme, the resulting tensions can contribute to an onset of, or an increase in severity of, family violence against women and children (Creese et al. 1999: 8, Tyyskä 2005, Wiebe 1991).

Other pressures on intergeneration relations in immigrant families emerge from the faster cultural adjustment of children, as compared to their parents. Children often learn the official language faster than their parents due to the influence of schools and peers. This can lead to two types of intergenerational problems. First, language differences can create conflict in intergenerational communication and transmission of culture and identity (Anisef et al. 2001, Bernhard et al. 1996). Second, role reversals and shifts in parental authority may arise, as parents rely on their children as mediators/translators in their dealings with social institutions (schools, hospitals, social services) and the host society's culture (Ali and Kilbride 2004, Creese et al. 1999, Momirov and Kilbride 2005, Tyyskä et al. 2005 and 2006). Thus, while immigrant children may claim new roles and responsibilities in their families during the settlement process, many parents expect to retain the customary degree of authority over the children, a situation that results in family tensions (Creese et al. 1999).

Given these often dramatic shifts, it is not surprising that much of the research into intergenerational relations in immigrant families tends to focus on intergenerational conflict ("the generation gap") in terms of the contrary expectations of "old world" parents and their "new world" children (Tyyskä 2005 and 2006). Immigrant parents tend to report concern over issues such as peer relations and social behaviour (Wong 1999, Wade and Brannigan 1998), dating and spouse selection patterns (Dhruvarajan 2003, Mitchell 2001, Morrison et al. 1999, Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002), educational and career choices (Dhruvarajan 2003, Li 1988, Noivo 1993) and retention of culture (James 1999).

For their part, many immigrant youth feel torn between their desire to fit in with their peers and their desire to meet their parents' expectations (Tyyskä 2003b and 2006). Particularly stark differences emerge in some immigrant communities with regard to parental expectations of male and female

children. Adolescent girls in some immigrant families have much less freedom of movement and decision making power than their brothers (Anisef and Kilbride 2000, Anisef et al. 2001, Tyyskä 2001, 2003b and 2006). Parental fears for daughters relate predominantly to dating – which is equated with premarital sexuality – while fears for sons centre on drugs and violence (Anisef et al. 2001, Tyyskä 2006).

Complexities in family relationships: Views of Iranian and Tamil teens

Conflict between immigrant parents and their children is by no means inevitable. My research into adolescent-parent relationships in the Toronto Iranian community (Tyyskä 2003) suggests that there is a complex pattern of gendered intergenerational relationships. I examined patterns of both conflict and cohesion in parent-teen relationships. Interviews with 16 teenaged Iranian-Canadians uncovered a continuum of parent-adolescent relationships from traditional to non-traditional in the Iranian immigrant community. Some families are distinctly traditional: family relationships are hierarchical in terms of both gender and age. There are distinct parental expectations from boys and girls. Young people, and particularly young women, have little influence in the family communication and decision-making process. In contrast, in non-traditional families gender relations are less hierarchical and there is more open communication and more input by young people in family matters. Youth in the non-traditional Iranian families reported fewer intergenerational problems than those in the traditional families. Most notably, nearly all of the teenaged respondents reported changes in their parents' approach to parenting and intergenerational relationships, through increasing flexibility and openness during the immigration and settlement period. Many youth reported that their parents were willing to make changes that resulted in an increase in harmony between the generations. Furthermore, the teens expressed appreciation for their parents' efforts.

Many immigrant youth feel torn between their desire to fit in with their peers and their desire to meet their parents' expectations.

Many similar themes arise from the replication of the above study through interviews of 20 Sri Lankan Tamil youth in Toronto (Tyyskä 2006), to be summarized below. However, significant distinctions also emerge, pointing to the need for a careful analysis of intergenerational behaviour patterns. To begin with, the Tamil study uncovered richer details regarding patterns of continuity and change in intergenerational relationships in immigrant families. Literature on Tamil families in Sri Lanka reveals a traditional pattern of family life with parental control over children and an expectation of obedience and family loyalty, within an extended family framework (Kendall 1989: 13). Children owe their parents financial support in times of need and during the parents' old age (Sivarajah 1998: 12-13). These expectations produce tensions after immigration. Areas of disagreement between Tamil immigrant parents and their children include those listed for immigrant families in general, including parental stress on education (Kendall 1989: 7, Kandasamy 1995 19, Tyyskä and Colavecchia 2001: 12-31, 98-113), children's better English language skills and cultural norms and expectations. The latter refers specifically to marrying within the caste and retention of Tamil dialects. Intergenerational relations are further stressed by long separations between children and their fathers who often arrive first, spend years apart from their families and find themselves so burdened by paid work (dual jobs are common) that repairing family bonds is difficult after reunification (Kandasamy 1995: 18-20).

In keeping with other studies, particularly among South Asian immigrants, there is reportedly more control over young Tamil girls' lives than those of their brothers. There is particular concern over the safety and good reputation of girls (Kandasamy 1995: 17-18, Handa 1997: 253-274), exemplified in one Tamil father's description of his daughter as the "flag bearer of our culture" (Tyyskä and Colavecchia 2001: 20) who needs to uphold family reputation by being chaste, dressing appropriately and participating in cultural customs. This pattern was confirmed in my interviews of Sri Lankan Tamil youth (Tyyskä 2006).

In addition to the richer details about the more uniformly traditional family life among Tamils, compared to Iranian immigrants, the results also suggest that there is a cohort difference among youth. The first generation youth (and also those in the so-called "one-and-a-half" generation) who were born outside of Canada and had a chance to experience family life in Sri Lanka reported fewer problems with their parents, compared with youth who were born in Canada. The results seem to suggest that there is an increase in conflict between the generations over time as children get drawn into the host culture through peers and other social influences. However, it may also mean that youth who share the first generation immigrant experience with their parents may continue to uphold the more traditional values even as they grow up. The outcome would be that, in the absence of changes in parental values, there is more harmony in these relationships than in those between first generation immigrant parents and their second generation (Canadian-born) children (Tyyskä 2006).

Pushing the boundaries: Taking on "culture"

In order to better understand the balance of conflict and consensus in immigrant families, we need to return to the previously made point about the need to expand the scope of intergenerational values and activities in immigrant families. Aside from the frequently noted parental pressures toward their children's education as a pathway to good careers and financial security, the bulk of the literature on immigrant youth-parent relations dwells on the realm of values and cultural expectations,

including familism and observance of cultural values, which includes religion. As valuable as this focus is, it may actually be responsible for the stereotypical perception of immigrant families as battlefields between the generations. As already noted, immigrant families are far from being uniform and even further from being conflict-ridden and problematic. This gets confirmation from both Iranian and Tamil youth who reported generally positive relationships with their parents, regardless of reports of specific problem areas (Tyyskä 2003b and 2006).

At the same time, the single-minded concern for the values embedded in cultural observance neglects a consideration of the everyday material lives of immigrants, as an important part of their family lives. In a recent article (Tyyskä 2008), my goal was to shed light on the gender division of paid and unpaid work in Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant families. Work is an important aspect of the daily material culture of immigrant families and is subject to negotiation and change upon immigration and settlement. Shifts and continuities in this area do not apply only to adults (as described above) but are also part of teens' lives in their socialization toward taking on increasingly "adult" roles and responsibilities.

Men tend to be the breadwinners in most cultures while women tend to take on the bulk of daily domestic responsibilities (child care, cooking, cleaning). Men take on occasional domestic tasks such as household maintenance and yard work. This situation is expressed in notion of a double day of work for women who normatively combine participation in the paid work force with the burden of domestic work (Tyyskä 2007, Krahn and Lowe 2003). The cycle continues through generations as girls get raised toward primary domesticity while boys get raised toward being breadwinners.

Tamil children in Sri Lanka participate in paid work if their parents are in need. Similar expectations are reasonable upon immigration, given the general drop in status of living.

In the context of immigrant families, we need to be sensitive to culturally based family strategies of survival. For example, as explained above, Tamil families have a tradition of family loyalty, filial obligation and reliance on extended kin. When extended ties break upon immigration, it is up to the members of the nuclear family to negotiate tasks and expectations among themselves. Amidst the financial pressures of immigration, it is likely that new patterns of support emerge that are, nevertheless, in keeping with traditional patterns. As indicated, Tamil children in Sri Lanka participate in paid work if their parents are in need. Similar expectations are reasonable upon immigration, given the general drop in status of living.

Indeed, most Tamil youth (Tyyskä 2006) reported familial pooling of resources based on gender divisions. Male Tamil teens reported a higher rate of wage-work participation than the female teens who were more dependent on money from their parents. However, young women and men alike reported giving money to their parents if needed. It is this pooling of money that may account for the high degree of home ownership among these particular families, though the issue of sponsorship debt to extended family still looms large at least for some of them. It seems that it is up to parents and teen males to carry the burden, with suggestions in the literature that the load is larger for adult males who may carry more than one job (Kendall 1989, Kandasamy 1995).

The gender division of work is reflected in patterns of decision-making power in families. Wage-earner status gives the teen males more say in their families. The young Tamil men reported giving advice to their parents, reflective of their masculine status and wage-earning position. There was less evidence of this among the young women whose contributions to family finances are through "banking" of family funds gained from allowances or occasional gifts of money, rather than earning employment incomes. Though they also gave money to their parents when needed, they reported having less say in their families. Thus, while the traditional pattern of deference to parents may be breaking for male teens, the pattern continues for the young women.

Many of the Tamil families in the study uphold traditional gender patterns in domestic work. These, however, are muted or changed in some instances, due to the comparatively high levels of education and participation in wage work by the mothers in the sample. It seems that maternal wage work participation puts pressure on both adult males and all teens to share the domestic work load. It is particularly notable in that the teens reported increased domestic work participation in instances where their fathers reportedly did little or nothing. This sharing of household labour may also be explained by the absence of an extended family to share domestic tasks.

Thus, focusing on adults' gender division of labour gives a false picture of the full scope of work taking place in families. It seems that at least in some immigrant families, the stresses and demands of making a living, involving both mothers and fathers in the wage work force and the lack of customary help from adults in the extended family, are a driving force toward changes in both wage and domestic work arrangements of the younger generations. These are a part of familial and cultural patterns that require much more study and attention in order to get an accurate and balanced picture of what is taking place in parent-youth relations in immigrant communities.

From the intergenerational battlefield to reconciling contradictory intergenerational practices

In addressing the full scope of "culturally" based and defined activities, my research into intergenerational relationships in Iranian and Tamil families, through the

eyes of teens, opens up new ground for research in relation to the five themes outlined above. The first aspect requiring emphasis is the need to consider youths' views of family life to round out the significant literature on parental issues and concerns. It is through these types of studies that we can, second, uncover the often significant contributions of immigrant youth to their families' survival and well-being amidst their families' financial pressures. Interviews with youth clearly illuminate aspects of intergenerational relations that are not captured in parental interviews alone. Third, there are patterns of both continuity and change in family relations and hierarchies upon immigration and settlement. Some traditional patterns prevail while others change significantly. Fourth, my studies underline the need for a consistent gender analysis in intergenerational relationships. The lives of immigrant youth need to be contextualized through an examination of culturally based gender scripts of behaviour. Fifth, there are important differences between cohorts of immigrant youth in relation to their history of arrival (i.e., the differences between "first" and "second" generations and the "one and a half" generation – those who immigrated as children) that need to be captured. Sixth and finally, we need to expand the term "culture" to include a wider array of non-material and material aspects.

In summary, this article highlights the importance of examining multiple aspects of parent-youth relationships in immigrant families in order to avoid negative stereotyping of all immigrant families as intergenerational battlefields. The study also points to the need to shift the focus from parent informants to youth informants in studies of intergenerational relationships. If we are to understand families fully, we need to account for the experiences and perceptions of all family members, not only parents. Like all parents, many immigrant parents want and seek for opportunities for more effective parenting (Tyyskä and Colavecchia 2001). A good starting point is to create more and richer dialogue between the parties across the generational divide.

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VISUALIZING CANADA, IDENTITY AND BELONGING AMONG SECOND GENERATION YOUTH IN WINNIPEG*

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In 2007, an analysis using the *Ethnic Diversity Survey* conducted by Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee made national headlines. One of the major findings was that racialized second generation youth experienced the highest rates of racial discrimination. Among all visible minority second generation youth, 42% reported experiencing racial discrimination. When racial groups were examined separately, it was revealed that 61% of Black second generation youth had experienced some form of racial discrimination compared to 11% of White second generation youth (Reitz and Banerjee 2007). A more detailed regression analysis revealed that racialized second generation youth are far less likely to feel like they belong in Canada and that their sense of Canadian identity is diminished as a result. This pattern was repeated when youth were asked about life satisfaction, voting patterns and trust. Taken together, these results reveal that racialized second generation youth have the lowest rates of social integration among young people in Canada. This observation was not affected by income. As a result, racialized second generation youth with low incomes were just as likely as those from higher income brackets to feel socially excluded.

Reitz and Banerjee's findings are contrary to "conventional wisdom" with regard to our knowledge of the second generation and their place in Canadian society. Two bodies of theory try to explain the life trajectories of the second generation. One is more optimistic arguing that by the second generation, youth would feel a stronger sense of belonging and a greater sense of Canadian identity than first generation youth. This theory postulates that as time in Canada increases, a sense of Canadian identity would develop. This idea has been buttressed by research identifying the successes of the second generation. For example, they are more likely to be upwardly mobile in both education and income than their first generation peers (Boyd and Grieco 1998, Hum and Simpson 2007). Another theoretical tradition, however, argues that the process of integration is not so seamless. Min Zhou (1997), Gans (1992) and others have argued that while a significant number of second generation youth would follow a classical assimilation trajectory resulting in higher rates of economic success and social integration, there are instances where poverty and maladaptation are the result, particularly among racialized groups. This second group is disadvantaged by poverty and, as a result, an oppositional culture forms where the values of the dominant society are rejected. This group is most likely to experience racial discrimination and low levels of social cohesion.

We decided to examine this phenomenon in greater detail. Much of the published research on second generation youth involves large-scale quantitative analyses with large samples. While very useful in determining general trends, this type of research does not provide much information on individual lived experiences. The following discussion is based on results from a three-year study of high school students in Winnipeg using the methodology described in an earlier article in this volume (see Hébert, Wilkinson and Ali 2008). Using a variety of different qualitative methods, we asked a number of second generation high school students in an inner city high school in Winnipeg questions about their experiences fitting in, growing up, discrimination and identity. This article is based on the responses given by a small group of second generation females as we followed them through their high school years.

How can we link identity of the students in our study to their views on Canada? Waters (1994) identifies typologies of identity among second generation youth in the U.S. including American-identified and immigrant-identified typologies. Those who are American-identified will ascribe to both ethnic and American identities. Those affiliating with an immigrant identity will conform mainly to their heritage identity, to the exclusion of their American identity. In our study, students who are Canadian-identified should display commitment to both their Canadian and ethnic

identities. They would also feel more connected with the country and express stronger social ties than those with other identities. Students who are immigrant-identified may not have as strong ties to their Canadian identities and may feel looser attachment to the country. Like Water's students, these students will be more marginalized and express a more pessimistic view of Canada.

Jil, a second generation Filipina youth, describes her experiences of racism in Winnipeg. She reflects on her experiences as a child growing up in the inner city:

> I was teased a lot because I was probably the only Filipino in my community. I only had a few friends. It made me feel a bit bad about myself because I never understood why I was teased. It was only recently that I began to feel confident in myself and have forgotten the mean things people have said to me.

Despite her early experiences of racism and in contrast to the research conducted by Reitz and Banerjee, Jil now describes life in Canada positively. She identifies as Canadian and when asked about her thoughts on the country she replies:

> I think that Canada is a place where people can begin new lives and have a better future. To me, it's a place for cooperation. A lot of my family came to Canada to start a future. I think that having so many different cultural backgrounds is good because it lets people get along with people outside their own cultural background. I think that it probably helps get rid of the prejudice and discrimination we may think at first.

Much of the published research on second generation youth involves large-scale quantitative analyses with large samples. While very useful in determining general trends, this type of research does not provide much information on individual lived experiences.

Despite experiencing racism, Jil is positive in her assessment of Canada and living in a multicultural society. In this regard, she exhibits the characteristics of Canadian-identified. It is a theme reflected by other students in our study. Educ07, a female Filipina student replies, "I am very open so I talk to anyone I need to. I am very familiar with all the different races in Canada and I know that the colour of their skin or traditions doesn't define who they are as a person. I would not want anyone to judge me completely, so I try to so the same thing." While she too experienced racism, she claims it has not played a significant role in her life. Ballhettawsomodd has similar views on Canada stating, "Our multicultural society allows people of different races to appreciate each other and who they are." Larissa, a second generation female, who identifies as Haitian, Jamaican, Dakota Sioux and Swampy Cree, agrees. Paraphrasing her multiple responses, she believes that ethnic background does not matter. She feels Canadian and though she experiences racism, she feels she is relatively insulated as she has a number of friends of different races, cultures and religions. Although all racialized students in our study had experienced racism at one time in their personal histories, overall, the young women exhibited the characteristics associated with the Canadian-identified typology.

Racism and fitting in remain sources of concern for the second generation's vision of Canada, despite their positive outlook. When asked to identify the most important issue facing Canada today, GCSPMEST replies:

> There is a lot of discrimination in our country that goes on whether it is about religion, race or culture…In a country like ours we need to work together and accept one another to build a stronger and more diverse country. If we all cooperate with one another, we can live in a peaceful and strong country.

A similar sentiment is shared by Lynn, a second generation Spanish-Filipina female. When asked to identify the most important social issue for Canada, she indicates it involves "cooperat(ing) with each other together whether or not we are different cultures…" When compared to other countries, however, she states, "I like living in Canada because we are multicultural and we don't have to be afraid of being different." Thus, the students in Winnipeg feel that cooperation, recognition and appreciation of difference are key issues for social cohesion and, in this way, also exhibited the characteristics associated with the Canadian-identified typology.

The results of the Winnipeg study reveal that most second generation students coincide with the Canadian-identified group. Even though they are unsure about their place in Canadian society, their unease about their position in Canadian society is likely due to their status as teenagers rather than as marginalized youth. Even the young women who were more pessimistic in their outlook about Canadian society would be best categorized as Canadian-identified more than ethnic-identified. Is this a consequence of our sample being drawn ten years after Waters' study? Is it because the study was conducted in Canada? Perhaps it is a combination of these factors. It is interesting that none of the second generation students in our study revealed any tendencies toward the ethnic-identified category; however, since the sample is small and not random, it is not appropriate to generalize these results beyond the participating high school. It is also important to note that Waters' (1994) model indicates that social class of parents and type of school attended help shape identity. Because all the participants attended the same high school and live in the same neighbourhood

(thus having similar socioeconomic statuses), we cannot generalize to other youth.

Despite the limitations, there are interesting parallels between the two studies. Like Waters' working-class students, the youth in this study were most likely to be located within the Canadian-identified category. While this article discusses only the responses of second generation students, our study includes immigrant and third-plus generation students – and their identities tend to correspond with the youth in her article. In fact, students with the most positive outlooks on Canada looked more favorably on their future prospects than those students who conformed to immigrant-identified categories only. It is important to remember that identity is dynamic and changes over time. For this reason, their largely positive outlook on Canada and the reduced significance of racism may change as they grow older.

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Notes

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SECOND GENERATION YOUTH IN TORONTO

Are We All Multicultural?

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The term "second generation" youth is broadly applied to children of immigrants. Some scholars use the term to mean children with either one or two foreign-born parents, others require at least one adult in the household to be foreign born; some include children who immigrated at a very early age, while others insist the country of birth is an important signifier. Most scholars, however, are interested in the acculturation processes and outcomes, based on concerns about the person's integration in the receiving society. In Canada, as elsewhere, the concern itself is indicative of uncertainty that second generation youth may not see themselves, and may not be seen by others, as "fully" Canadian. This is despite the policy, official discourse and ideology of multiculturalism, which suggests that various cultural groups are equally valued in this country.

Culture is usually theorized in two distinct ways: as a set of distinctive, relatively stable attributes associated with a group and the more fluid relationships between individuals, groups and their representations. The former is used to signal group identity, associated with race, region, nationality, religion or primary language. The latter creates the space in which these attributes are claimed, contested or modified. So, how do second generation Canadian youth see themselves?

Data from Toronto collected as a part of a tri-city project[1] provided us with some insight into how second generation youth identify themselves in the most multicultural city in the world. For three years, we collected data from the same cohort of 32 youth in two schools, in a variety of textual and graphic forms. The schools were located in neighbourhoods characterized by a high immigrant population, lots of highrise apartment buildings and low mean incomes.

The data showed that the youth had a remarkable sense of self and confidence in who they were. Blue Flag Baron's[2] statement, "I would like to be nobody because I am me," was quite typical of both his male and female peers in tenth grade. In almost every case, the youth had positive self-images and did not want to change anything about themselves. "I am a unique butterfly…I do not want to be anybody other than myself," said Dorissa. The youth were given a form on which they were asked to name their ethnicity, along with other demographic data. They did so in a wide variety of ways, based on one or both parents' national (Portuguese), sub-national (Chaldean), or pan-national (Latino) origins; religion (Catholic); race (Black); their own place of birth and residence (Canadian); hybridity (Italian-Canadian) or rejected an ethnic label altogether. Given the ethnic diversity in their schools and neighbourhoods, it was "normal" to have such differences and understandable that they claimed their ethnicity in multiple ways (Hoerder et al. 2005, Sicakkan 2005). These identifications allowed them not only to claim commonalities with other groups through race, religion or place of birth, but also to establish their unique group memberships. In choosing their ethnicity in many different ways, they were able to subvert the imposition of binary terms, such as mainstream/ethnic or White majority/visible minority, still widely used in Canada to distinguish racialized immigrants and European origin populations.

For the youth in this study, multiculturalism was an everyday lived reality, and they extolled its virtues for three main reasons. First was their understanding that Canada's policy of multiculturalism had enabled their parents to come here from countries where they had lacked economic opportunities, political freedom or personal safety. Having visited or heard stories about their parents' countries of origin, the youth figured that Canada had improved their life chances by accepting their parents as a part of its multicultural mosaic. Recalling a visit to her parents' country of origin, Shana said:

> I was scared to sleep because I was afraid that someone would come in the house and steal something. And, I remember years before when my dad used to live there, they had a store and people came in the store and they shot my uncle and they stole all the money.

The second reason youth valued multiculturalism was because of the opportunities it created for them to engage with people and artefacts from many different cultures. Home Slice, a Catholic

of Italian heritage, said he liked his multicultural neighbourhood because "we have mosques, temples, churches here. We have everything." He was intrigued by Bollywood films and the strange script he could not read at the Indian store that he visited with his friend. Similarly, Shana claimed all her friends had different cultural backgrounds and said, "I'm in favour of multiculturalism because you can eat other people's food and if the whole country was just one culture, it would be very boring."

The third, and possibly the most important reason for the youth's appreciation of multiculturalism, was a structure of feeling that they were not judged by their peers on the basis of their race, religion or ethnicity and that diverse people got along fairly well in Canada. Shana said:

> Well, in my neighbourhood, everybody treats everybody fairly. You are not judged because of the colour of your skin. There are a lot of different cultures in our neighbourhood – not just one specific culture. Our neighbourhood is pretty multicultural and the kids in the summertime, they usually, we all come together and play.

Blue Flag Baron, who had been in a different school earlier, persuaded his family to send his younger brother to a school that was more multicultural. He said:

> I think it's because the Catholic school I went to wasn't really multicultural. It was a lot of Italian and Caucasian people, so I was brought up in basically a White society until I came here. So, I kind of felt weird, like, it's not like I'm racist or anything but I felt weird, like, I didn't, it was like they're brown and black and it was like cool, but what kind of people are they? Like, I didn't really have that much exposure to them. But for my little brother, I, you know, said why not send him there where you know he's got that multicultural school thing, and what not, and that school is pretty much well known for their multiculturalism.

Possibly the most important reason for the youth's appreciation of multiculturalism was a structure of feeling that they were not judged by their peers on the basis of their race, religion or ethnicity and that diverse people got along fairly well in Canada.

Within the confines of their schools and neighbourhoods, and in relation to their peers, multiculturalism seemed to serve the youth quite well. Bourdieu refers to this as the field, or context, in which the value of cultural capital is assessed (1990). However, beyond the limitations of this field, a cultural heritage that was different from the dominant culture did not take them very far. Speaking of immigrants in his workplace, Home Slice said, "At my job, we have plenty of people that don't speak English and we're welcoming to them. But, perhaps higher levels jobs…if you don't speak English it would be very tough."

Dorrissa talked about how she was often viewed with suspicion at the shopping mall she loved to visit. She said:

> One of the security guards that works there, he'll be like standing near the window and we'll be like walking around and every aisle we are in he'll pass by, or he'll walk in that aisle, or I'll turn a corner and he'll be right there.

Blue Flag Baron pointed out that the police regarded youth in his neighbourhood with similar suspicion and often harassed them. He explained:

> Maybe we're, like, we look like we're under suspicion or something. Like my 18-year-old friend, he smokes, he smokes marijuana and he smokes cigarettes. But it was kind of weird because he was smoking a cigarette and they had thought it was something else, and they all rushed into the skate park and "Please nobody move!" This and that, and it was retarded. And they've done it to us several times.

Defending the residents of his multicultural neighbourhood and decrying the stereotypes associated with them, he said:

> I don't think it's the people. I think it's the bigger people, I mean the bigger picture, what people think they should be, and how people portray [the neighbourhood]. I've talked to people that are like my friends, living in [a suburb], and they just give me this awkward look, when they're like, yeah, where do you live again? I'm like, [the neighbourhood] and they're just like, their jaw drops completely and they're like, "You come from that area?" And then they totally get a different perspective of you, they think that you're this gangster person and you're going to shoot everybody.

These data show that the youth were beginning to develop an understanding of the limits of multiculturalism through their increasing awareness of how immigrants, especially those who lived in low-income neighbourhoods, who looked like people from "Third-World" countries or who did not speak English, were regarded in the dominant White society. Razack (1999) calls this the "culturalization of racism," which in effect invites minorities to keep their culture but enjoy no greater access to power and resources. Referring to Essad, she says, "If we live in a tolerant and

pluralistic society in which the fiction of equality within ethnic diversity is maintained, then we need not accept responsibility for racism." Writing about Australia, Hage (1998: 60) suggests that the *inclusion* of immigrants in the national narrative keeps them coming, but their *exclusion* from the privileged social, political and cultural spheres of society keeps them available exclusively as providers of cheap labour.

For the Toronto second generation youth in this study, their multicultural schools and neighbourhoods largely provided them with the field in which they could claim their multiple identifications with a sense of confidence. But cracks in the façade of multiculturalism were already beginning to appear as they considered their location in the wider social context, even as Canadian-born children of immigrants. Their realization of how immigrants who did not speak English were confined to lower level jobs afforded them insights on how their parents were treated upon their migration to Canada. They were themselves viewed with suspicion by people in authority, and their multicultural neighbourhoods were considered ghettos associated with criminality.

As policy-makers contemplate their choices in selecting types of immigrants permitted to migrate to Canada and creating structures that include or exclude them and their children from positions of power and privilege, they need to consider whether they want a just and equitable multicultural society, or one that is divided into an underclass of immigrants and their children and a privileged group of aging European-descent people.

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Notes

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[2] The youth are identified by their self-selected pseudonyms.

ON THE EDGES OF THE MOSAIC

Navigating Ethnocultural Identity among Second Generation Greek and Jewish Youth in Halifax*

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This research project focuses on Jewish and Greek-origin youth in Halifax. Our interest has been in mapping out, through data gathered from qualitative interviews, how second generation youth of Greek and Jewish origins living in Halifax articulate their day-to-day experiences. The realities of immigration in Atlantic Canada are quite different from that of rest of the country and present unique challenges for identity maintenance due to the low numbers of immigrants and low densities of immigrant concentration. As a result, we expected to find an increased pressure on young people from non-majority groups in Atlantic Canada, compared with what would be found in larger Canadian metropolitan centres, to look like everyone else, to speak English only and to organize their leisure time around activities outside their ethnocultural/religious community.

Methodology

Fifteen Greek youth, seven women and eight men, 18 to 24 years old, and eight Jewish youth, three women and five men, 17 to 24 years old, participated in this project. The majority were born in Atlantic Canada and/or had lived most of their lives there. In the spring of 2004, qualitative interviews were conducted with two student research assistants, one of Greek and one of Jewish background. Analysis was conducted with the assistance of the qualitative software program *Nu*dist*. Our aim was not to be able to make generalizations about ethnic youth beyond those involved in this project; rather, we were interested in looking at ethnic youth who live outside major metropolitan centres in order to add something new to the existing literature.

Ethnic youth outside urban centres: Importance of a dual identity

The recognition of the importance of hyphenated identities among diasporic populations is widespread among scholars of culture and identity. The hyphen is, on the one hand, often seen to mark the limits of assimilation into a dominant culture and, on the other hand, the limits of remaining entirely ensconced within difference. In Canada, few immigrants settle outside the major urban centres in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec. This likely puts unique pressure (and higher levels of "acculturative stress") on young people in Halifax to both maintain their distinct cultures and to assimilate into the dominant culture. To date, research on Jewish and Greek youth has privileged those living in urban centres. Our project intends to fill in these gaps.

Findings

Self-identification

Among the Greek youth interviewed, the most commonly used identifier was "Greek Canadian," followed by "Canadian of Greek origin," followed by "Canadian Greek."

As defined by the participants, being of Greek origin means following traditions and having certain priorities, being part of a rich culture and being part of a unique community. It is to feel a sense of belonging, to participate in maintaining a culture and, according to Penelope (G11), "It means to be proud of where you came from and it means you are different from everyone else."

Most of the Jewish respondents defined themselves as Jewish. What this actually meant to the participants is complex; however, as Daniel (J1), for example, suggested, at this point in his life he sees himself more as "a Canadian Jew than a Jewish Canadian." Somewhat similarly, Ryan (J5) pointed out that outside of the country he might identify as Canadian, while within Canada he would identify as Jewish. Most participants identified Jewishness as a sense of belonging, of pride and a way of life, not as a religious practice.

Both Greek and Jewish participants mentioned similar ways in which they learned to be Greek or Jewish. The Greek participants mentioned four primary ways of learning what it means to be Greek: 1) by watching others (e.g., their parents, their peers, their priest) 2) by attending Greek school and listening to Greek music 3) by traveling to Greece and 4) by interacting with other cultures. The Jewish participants mentioned three main components to the way in which they had learned about being Jewish: 1) watching others 2) growing up outside of the Jewish centres 3) watching family elders.

In terms of their religious self-identification, the majority of the Greek participants responded that they were religious and practicing in various degrees. Many of them mentioned, however, that in the eyes of others in the community they may not be "practicing enough," but in their opinion they were practicing the right amount. Furthermore, in the eyes of at least one female participant (Kat, G15), religion is more important culturally and the church acts as a common meeting place for friends. Most of the Jewish participants described themselves as Conservative, although as Jenna (J8) offered, this may have something to do with the few options available in Halifax: Few of the Jewish youth participating described themselves as religious.

Participation in community: The public sphere

The various community activities that the Greek participants described taking part in were very similar. Participants were well aware that identifying as being Greek (even a hyphenated Greek) and as a member of the Greek community acts in many ways as a form of insurance protecting them from loneliness, economic downturns and, simply, life's vagaries. A minority of individuals interviewed had problems with the small size of the community. Despite some concerns expressed over a generational gap, the majority of participants agree that they have a decent relationship with the community's more senior members. Likewise, all the Jewish respondents described participating in the Halifax Jewish community to some degree.

Relationships and eventual marriage were central community concerns in the eyes of both groups of young people. Relationships between young Greek-Canadian youth were found to be closely monitored by the Greek community with the consequence of being extra careful when forming such relationships (or they simply avoided them). The view among the Jewish participants was slightly more complex: they dealt more specifically with the issue of religious conversion as well as intermarriage. Jenna (J8) described the struggles her mother went through prior to her conversion. The trauma of acceptance (or the lack thereof) experienced by the new convert was, however, seen as potentially more desirable than the experience of internal conflict that might arise in inter-faith families.

> The recognition of the importance of hyphenated identities among diasporic populations is widespread among scholars of culture and identity. The hyphen is, on the one hand, often seen to mark the limits of assimilation into a dominant culture and, on the other hand, the limits of remaining entirely ensconced within difference.

Family life and friendships: The private sphere

In general, the Greek participants felt that they had good relationships with their families. Many participated in family activities on a regular basis. Relationships with siblings are also described in highly positive terms. A participant (Aphrodite, G10) described the closeness of her family as indicative of that of the community more generally: "My family is really close, everyone, even my third cousins, where some people just don't even really talk to their first cousins."

Most of the Jewish participants also suggested that they had positive, open family relations and suggested that this was the case for most or many of the Jewish families they knew. Where there were conflicts, the participants were reluctant to place any responsibility on their religious or cultural affiliation, seeing the conflicts as personal or individual. Some Jewish participants felt that their fathers were distant or busy, and some noted tensions with the religiosity of their mothers. The participants also noted close relationships with their siblings.

Among Greek youth, conflict was often the result of differing opinions, worldviews and experiences. Kat (G15) openly and accurately identifies the conflict and its origins: "Because I grew up in Canada, and they grew up in Greece, because Canada is a lot different than what it was when they first came, my friends are all Canadian, and I've grown up and been taught that the sky is the limit, my parents don't think so liberally as much as I do." Similarly, among the Jewish participants, the main area of conflict raised had to do with life course and life decisions and parental concern over the choices their children made and the paths they were following. These conflicts were seen as difficult but usually resolvable – again, the participants were hesitant to ascribe any connection between these things and their Jewish identities.

The majority of the Greek participants agreed that, even though they had many Greek friends, most of their friends were not Greek. The main reason for this was because of where they were raised and the number of Greeks around them. Many participants also responded that even if all their friends were not Greek, they would still make an effort to maintain friendships with their Greek friends. The participants who answered that most of their friends were of Greek heritage claimed that it was easier to relate to other Greeks because they had similar upbringings, problems and parents. Similarly, most of the Jewish participants acknowledged that most of their friends were not Jewish; the reasons they gave for this were varied, relating primarily to their sense of connection to the community, as well as it its size and location.

Gender roles in the public/private continuum

According to many of our respondents, a typical Greek male is expected to be serious, respectful, educated, married and a good provider for his family. A typical Greek female,

by contrast, is expected to be proper, cook and clean, be educated, be married by her mid-twenties and have (Greek) children as soon as possible.

Although the Jewish cohort did not report different gender roles and expectations, as had their Greek counterparts, many youth in both groups discussed the expectations they felt surrounding dating and relationships between youth in the community. One male Greek (Lukas, G9) respondent suggests: "'Cause people talk far too much, because it's not like two friends in high school who can go out, hang out, whatever, and just have a good time, 'cause once two Greeks do it, they're expected that it's got to go farther." Most of the Jewish participants felt the primary pressure exerted upon them was to marry someone Jewish. But the difficulty of meeting this expectation in Halifax was noted. Not only did family and community exert pressure on Jewish youth to marry other Jews, many of the participants also emphasized marriage in their own sense of Jewish expectations. Only one participant said that she did not expect to marry a Jewish person.

Cultural differences

In the perceptions of the Greek-Canadian youth of Halifax in this study, young men in Canadian culture can and do live in their parents' house much longer than young men in Greece. The latter are pushed to mature much earlier. By contrast, young Greek-Canadian women's experience of the age of maturity, as culturally defined, is the opposite of young men's and across cultures. According to Aphrodite (G10): "Greek youth living in Greece, girls I just remember being 15 and feeling like an adult, and going to Greece and feeling like a child."

For most of the Jewish participants, "everything" was different. Significantly, they felt that in Israel – where Jewishness is central to national identity – you could be a "real" Jew without being religious (affiliated), which they felt was not as true in Canada. A major difference the participants articulated was the mandatory military service that is part of life for all but the most ultra-religious of Israeli Jews. Eric (J3) noted: "Well, the most particular, the age 17, I'm ready to go to university and they're ready to go to the army."

In terms of settling in Halifax, some Greek participants found it limiting in terms of employment opportunities. Another disadvantage of living in a smaller city with a small Greek community is a greater difficulty in keeping one's culture alive. In addition, living in a city where everyone knows everyone else presents yet another disadvantage for some participants: "the negatives are the gossip, and all, being so involved in your life and you don't even know these people, you know what I mean" (Penelope, G11). On the positive side, another Greek-origin male participant (Achilles, G5), speaking for about half of the participants in this study, expressed a fierce commitment to Halifax. The majority of the Greek participants stated that living in Halifax means that you get the best of both worlds.

Only a few of the Jewish participants answered the questions related to settling in Halifax, which likely reflects the ambivalence about this question among both young people and their families. Those with positive feelings about settling in Halifax also mentioned its size and the fact that they saw it as a nice place to raise a family. Most noted that one had to "work at" being Jewish in a small community like Halifax; they noted positive and negative aspects of this, such as the closeness of the community and proximity to other groups versus the relative lack of knowledge of Jewishness in others in the region.

Some conclusions: Differences and similarities

Our findings from Halifax suggest not a decline in ethnic identity but different articulations for the second generation of Greek and Jewish Canadian-born youth compared with the ethnic identity of the immigrant parents' generation and, thus, different "performances" of such identities.

We found several similarities between the Greek and Jewish youth interviewed in this study. For example, both groups exhibited a shared sense of pride in the uniqueness of their communities, especially in light of their small numbers.

We found several similarities between the Greek and Jewish youth interviewed in this study. For example, both groups exhibited a shared sense of pride in the uniqueness of their communities, especially in light of their small numbers. How our respondents navigate their hyphenated identities is central to a larger question about how they, as Canadian-born ethnic minority youth, have grown up within the omnipresent and state-sanctioned discourses of multiculturalism, yet in a region of Canada where immigrants and ethnic communities are numerically "lost" in a majority White Canadian culture.

The ambivalent experiences of our participants reflect the particular problematic of minority cultures in the Canadian peripheral regions where minority numbers are very low and where multiculturalism as policy, practice and critical discourse are often strongly opposed. The space for diversity within these communities is also minimized because of their small size. For Jewish youth, for example, most of the activities within the community are organized through the city's two synagogues. Young people who are secular, or who do not find fit easily into Orthodox or Conservative categories of religious observance, may feel isolated in Halifax. Similar experiences are shared by the Greek youth for whom the options of being a secular Greek-Canadian in Halifax are very limited.

Both groups shared similar experiences of learning about identity and culture and similar feelings of Otherness, including the experience of racism and how this emphasized the need to maintain community and traditions. As the national discourse of multiculturalism is so foundational to Canadian self-identity, those living outside the urban spaces where visible social and cultural differences are central

to everyday life may experience a double sense of marginalization. Because of this isolation, both groups expressed a similar sense of the importance of community participation in order to ensure the survival of their communities. Sometimes this could be linked to a desire to leave the region and find a space within a larger diasporic community; at other times it was articulated in terms of a relative rejection of identity in favour of assimilation; and in still other instances, it manifested itself in terms of a desire to stay and fight for the maintenance of the regional community.

All the participants described similar experiences of close-knit families and connection to peers from the same ethnic group. Although most of the young people involved had diverse groups of friends, they all marked the importance or significance of having or having had close friendships with other young people with similar cultural, and thus minority, backgrounds to their own. They also described similar experience of difference between themselves and youth in Greece and Israel.

There were differences between the groups. One major difference exists in their experience of religiosity. Although there was some similarity in terms of the experience of being seen as less observant than might be expected in a larger centre or by the parental generation, the Greek youth identified themselves as being more religious than the Jewish youth.

Although we have not used gender from the beginning as an analytical category in this study, gender differences emerged very strongly in the analysis of the Greek youth data. Gender differences were less marked in the Jewish cohort. Further probing of the respondents might reveal the gender dynamics at work within Jewish families, and this is an area that is certainly worth further study. Discussions of marriage and expectations around marriage were central to discussions of identity in both groups. The expectation that one marry someone with a similar cultural background loomed large for most of the respondents.

Epilogue

Our analysis is preliminary in nature. However, we are very excited by the richness of the data we have explored. What is most clearly pointed to by our work is the need for more, as well as larger, studies that look at the experience of minority young people outside of the major urban centres of Canada and the United States. The complexity with which the young people in our study expressed their experience of pride and marginality needs to be given further expression in order for us to be able to draw a much fuller picture of the experience of social difference and Canadian identities in Canada as a whole, not just in Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.

Notes

* This paper is a synopsis of a much lengthier piece currently under journal review. The authors wish to acknowledge a Faculty of Graduate Studies (Saint Mary's University) Internal Grant that enabled them to carry out this project.

[1] Authors' names are listed in alphabetical order.

FRIENDSHIP AS RESPECT AMONG SECOND GENERATION YOUTH

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Friendship is key to the struggle for recognition, rights, solidarity, all parts of relational citizenship and social networks, and is often taken as *prima facie* evidence of social capital (Honneth 1995, Kingwell 2000, Hébert et al. 2003, Coleman 1990). Friendship requires mutual recognition and its imperative governs the reproduction of social life, according to Honneth, who draws upon Mead's social psychology and Hegel's early premise that practical identity-formation presupposes intersubjective recognition as part of his theorization of a struggle for recognition. Two tasks are central to this claim: the mapping of forms of recognition in such a way as to check these against empirical data, thus identifying the social experiences that generate the pressure for a subjective process of mutual recognition; and the negative equivalents for the corresponding relations, i.e., the denial of recognition. Types of denigration and insult constitute denials of recognition, whereas emotional relationships of familial love, friendship, where love is taken broadly, and legal recognition and approval constitute three forms of recognition. Furthermore, Honneth considers social esteem to be essential to the development of legal recognition and human rights. Political and economic analysts, however, consider social networks to involve trust between citizens and between citizens and the state, the latter being a relationship that must be built (Putnam 2002, MacKinnon 2007). Of particular interest then are the understandings of familial love and friendship among Canadian second generation youth, whose struggle for recognition encompasses identification as Canadians *and* as members of parental groups of origin.

Forms of understanding of familial love and friendship are discussed here, drawing from in-depth interviews with eight second generation adolescents residing in Calgary who were born in Canada and whose parents, one or both, were born elsewhere.[1]

We discuss these youth's understandings of recognition in terms of five themes: respect, friendship qualities, support for learning, links to emotional closeness and the lack of recognition, represented in Figure 1 below. For each sub-theme, a selection of quotes is presented in alphabetical order according to their self-selected code names.

Table 1
Self-ascribed characteristics of selected second generation youth in Calgary

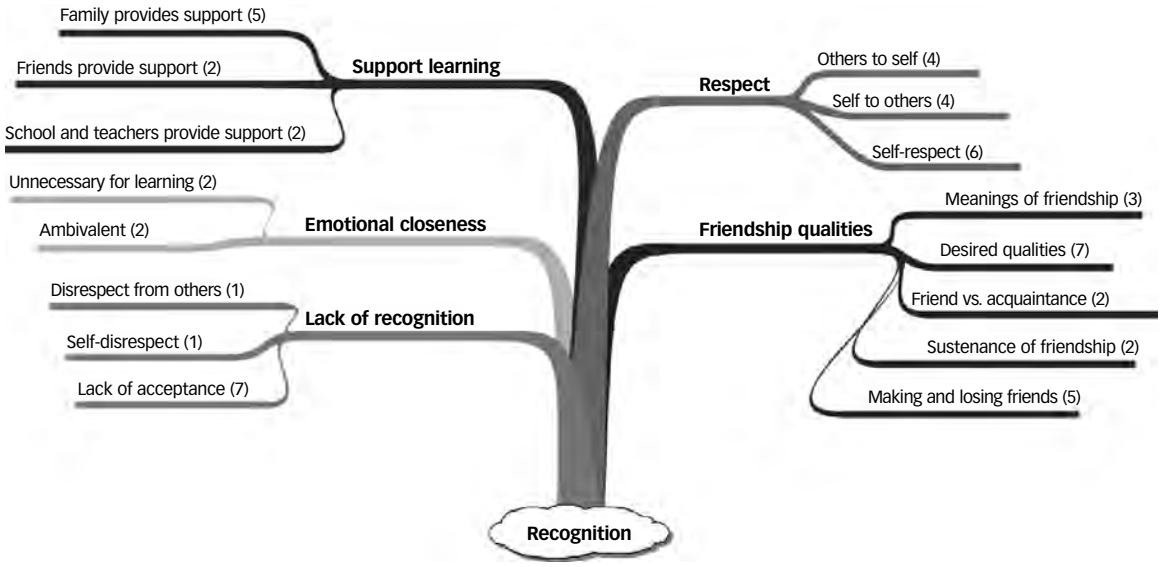
Code name	Gender	Ethnicity	Religion
Barbie	F	Vietnamese	Buddhist
Batman	F	Irish-Egyptian/Scottish	None
Chiquita	F	Mexican-Mennonite	Christian
Lue Rue	F	Lebanese/Syrian	Christian
Anonymous	M	Welsh/Canadian	None
Captain Crack	M	Blackfoot/White-British-Romanian	Christian/none
Gonzo	M	English/Canadian	None
Ramel	M	Libyan	Islam

Respect

One of the main findings is that friendship is deeply connected to respect. Interview results suggest that second generation youth clearly value their association with peers at school and family members because they experience a sense of respect. The mutuality of respect appears to be tri-directional: from others to self, from self to others, and self-respect.

Six themes illustrate *how others respect them*: by accepting them, by being there for them, by showing them they care, by respecting their decisions, by protecting them from danger and through trust and honesty.

Figure 1
Recognition in five themes in the interviews with second generation adolescents in Calgary, with indications of the number of occurrences noted for each sub-theme



> I think everyone is giving respect in a different way. My sisters, like my younger sisters, it is because I am older and like they respect me because I have been through more things than them. My brother respects me because I hope to graduate next year and do something like what he is doing, opening his own business now. They [parents] respect me because I know what I want and I am trying real hard to get it. And compared to my other sister who wanted to go to school before she got married but, well, I don't know what happened, but she got married and then she stopped going to school and then she didn't even work for a long period of time and then she had kids. (Barbie)

> If they know like something bad is going to happen or they have a certain feeling about someone that I just met and they will tell me stuff just to keep me safe. And if I was in a bad situation, they would help me out. Um, they respect my decisions. (Lue Rue)

> Well, it's tough to explain, like let's say you got hurt right? And you are at home sick or whatever, and they come visit you. And they tell you, "hey let's do this on the weekend." (Ramel)

Asked how they show *respect to others*, many treat others the way they want to be treated, which is a fundamental moral principle, the "Golden Rule," referring to the ethics of social reciprocity. These youth help those in need, are fair and nice to family and friends, protect friends from harm, listen to others, exchange views and understand the beliefs and feelings of others.

> By doing the exact same thing. I respect their family and their things and their privacy and everything about them. Like my friend Ariel, I can talk to her about anything and everything and just like, her parents are wonderful and I respect them. (Batman)

> Well, when they want to talk, I let them talk. And when they ask for an answer I give them one. And then, basically with my friends, respect goes two ways. They show respect by sharing their mind after I share mine. I also show them respect by helping them when they need help and such. (Anonymous)

> They will show me respect and stuff, like my parents and stuff. And when people show you respect you tend to show them respect too. Like someone who was even this smart would probably do the same thing. And so you show them respect. I try to show them equality more so than respect. But with friends, it is kind of a weird respect because friends fight all the time and even beat the…out of each other and then call it a day. What it comes down to with friends is that you can pretty much, it is not equality, you can do anything to each other like even beat each other and what not, love each other, but the bottom line is that you would save that person from harm and protect them and that sort of thing and the love is there. That is the bottom line. (Gonzo)

Self-respect is explicated by the participants in terms of good deeds, avoiding harm, having confidence in

oneself and by the principle of respect-as-privilege embedded in many interviews.

> Well, I think I do respect myself enough. About three to four years ago I had really low self-esteem because people didn't really treat me as well as my friends would….But then, all of that stopped on the way to where I am now. As a story, my friends always stuck up for me because I couldn't stand up for myself, but then when I saw one of my friends getting picked on, I decided I was going to help them because they helped me. It made me feel proud, of both of us, I guess. Well [now], I don't really demand respect. I give respect and I receive it. (Anonymous)

> Respect, through parents and teachers, it is privileges and trust and that sort of thing. (Gonzo)

> Yes, I respect myself.…Because I am not afraid to be who I want to be. I have the kind of attitude like, if you don't like me, it's your problem. I am going to do what I am going to do. (Ramel)

Second generation youth clearly value their association with peers at school and family members because they experience a sense of respect.

Friendship qualities

Desired qualities in a friend, the meaning of friendship, the difference between friend and acquaintance, the sustenance of friendships, making and losing friends were all themes of great interest, as illustrated below in the elaborated statements from second generation participants.

> I look for people who are friendly, understanding and who, maybe, are not completely different than me. I like people who understand where I am coming from and I understand where they are coming from. I guess just understanding each other very well, yeah, I think that is it. [On making new friends two years ago after move to Calgary], so the first day I kind of picked my way around a few groups and like, whoever was nice to me, I asked if I could eat lunch with them and if I didn't really like what they stood for and their values, then I kind of didn't hang out with them very much after that, even though I remained in touch with them and still talked to them and I wasn't completely excluding them. And so after I drifted around from group to group and kind of just decided what I liked and did not like. Then I met a few people in my outdoor ed. class that I did not want to be with, then I met a few people and they invited me to work with them and I found I enjoyed them and I liked the people who are involved in their group and that is the group I hang out with now. (Chiquita)

> A friend is someone who you know. Someone you would go to help whenever they need help; someone who would help you when you need help. I think that a friend can be anything they want to be as long as they are there for you. A friend can be cowardly or brave, small or tall, fat or skinny, and they could all be your friend as long as they remain your friend. I think the basic difference is that an acquaintance you get to know over time, but a friend you will know over time. I try to talk with my friends as much as I can and I also make sure that I give them what they give me in return. Yes, it goes two ways. If I want to make a new friend on my own, I would at least exchange friendly talk with, between them. Something like the usual, "hello" in the middle of the hallway and then gradually to up from that to talking in the lunch room and stuff like that. (Anonymous)

> To be a friend means to listen. To be a friend means for them to be able to tell you something and you not go telling every one about it. To be a friend means intelligent with what they say and to listen. To be a friend...like people who laugh and have an all around good time. Qualities...humour and trustworthiness. I don't go for looks or for brains. I just look for somebody who I think would be a trustworthy person and who would be really funny. [In order to sustain friends] be nice. Don't go mouthing off and shooting off your mouth and then expecting your friends to help you the next day or something; just all around not being a jerk. (Captain Crack)

> I think being a friend is probably trusting, like you have got their trust and that sort of deal. But it also means you can tell them "no" or tell them to "shut up," tell them what they are doing is wrong and that they are being an idiot. That is kind of what it means to be a friend, being brutally honest. I look for a sense of wit, a quest for knowledge, as in not being closed-minded. And probably not the same tastes because that makes for good conversation. How do I maintain my relationships? Mostly through contact; that is the easiest way. We are always contacting each other. With some friends you can do it by phone and stay in contact, but a lot of times you go do stuff with each other. Making new friends is mostly through other friends. Old friends are hard to keep up because people change a lot but it is starting to settle down a bit, so I'll probably keep these friends. But friends I made back in Grade 3, I don't really see any more because we have changed and are so far apart. And so it can

be location, likes and dislikes, and it can be something as simple as not liking the same kind of movies, so you don't talk to each other over the summer, then the next year you lose touch. And it is also hard to rekindle those relationships. (Gonzo)

Support for learning

Learning is the central task of school-based adolescents, and the role of persons in their social networks is of major concern to learning. These second generation adolescents claim that friends and family support their learning and that this support is manifested through motivation and advice, but do not specify "help with joint homework preparation," as do other Canadian youth.

> My family and friends support my learning. I think they just support my learning by just being a part of my life. Yeah, because they are interacting with me as much as I am interacting with them and because they are making my experience fruitful. I am actually making progress in my life. (Anonymous)

> Most of my friends support my learning. They kind of make me want to show up for school in the morning because some days I just want to go back to my house and go back to bed for another two hours. But they are too funny to miss, so I just show up. And my aunt and uncle, Victor and Sheryl, they support my learning by encouraging what I do. They do support me because they give me lectures on how if I get an education now, that life will be so much easier for me later. (Captain Crack)

> My family definitely encourages my learning and whatnot. Yeah, people like my friends, they encourage general knowledge but not so much school learning. The teacher on here is Mr. Goudreau, he is definitely encouraging. But, yeah, friends are the knowledge people, and friends and teachers are the school learning people. (Gonzo)

> Yeah, my brother [supports my learning]… Because of what he gives me, how he explains it, I interpret it different than I would from my parents. My parents give me clothes, you know, they want be to be happy because when I am happy, I will obviously want to do good for them, right? You know, and make them proud… (Ramel)

Links to emotional closeness

Asked if the persons who supported their learning are emotionally close to them, most responded positively; however, the second generation were not in as full agreement, with two dissenters and two ambivalent participants, all without much elaboration, as this was deemed to be fairly obvious.

> No, I wouldn't say that. Because my friends to me are the same thing, and my parents want me to do good in school, but they don't really say anything, and my sisters, they have their own school so they have that to worry about. My family is to me like competition. Who supports my learning the most? I would say my brother, my boyfriend and my brother's ex-girlfriend. (Barbie)

> Um, it depends on the person. Like even though you are emotionally close to them, there are some that are more than others, for example, my father does but William doesn't. Well, actually, Will does support my learning but he is not as involved in my life in learning, he is just some guy I know that I am really good friends with. (Batman)

Acceptance among peers, in the family and in the community is of major importance among the participants, yet second generation participants are adamant about casting aside those who do not accept them.

Lack of recognition

Occurrences of a lack of recognition take three forms: generalized disrespect against women, specific disrespect from a family member or friend and a more frequent lack of acceptance from others. One second generation participant mentions the impact of prejudice against women, which recognizes women only as sexualized objects and focuses on guarding herself against this form of disrespect:

> Don't sell my body, that would be the main thing. That is the very, very main thing. I just think that virginity is very important and so I am not going around giving other guys pleasure when it is going to wreck my body and my reputation and stuff like that. I mean, like the media right now, just sort of like, gives you a state of mind or like, whatever, everything is just sex-oriented, like everything is about sex, especially against women. Yeah, I just hate it. I don't like it. (Lue Rue)

Self-respect also diminishes when lack of recognition occurs within the family and network of friends, as one second generation adolescent explains:

> Well, it is not that he [father] doesn't respect me, it is just that he doesn't really recognize

> me….He tells me to think creatively, and I still don't know what that means. Well, I figure that if I want to get respect from him, I have to find the answer myself. (Anonymous)

Acceptance among peers, in the family and in the community is of major importance among the participants, yet second generation participants are adamant about casting aside those who do not accept them. Acknowledging that no one is obliged to like another, these youth do not tolerate those who do not respect them as persons or esteem their achievements or qualities.

> If they know you and understand you and they like you for who you are, then that is great. But if they don't give you a chance and they are all snobby and stuff like that, and they think you are all snotty and prep., I guess, and that when they don't see you as a good person, then I think that is their loss. I don't think that they have to like you or anything. (Barbie)

> Well, people have to like you if you are going to go anywhere. The important people like the ones who have the decision making power that can control your future... (Captain Crack)

> That is just who I am though. I am just like, "If you don't like me, that is your problem!" Yeah. (Ramel)

This lack of moral respect is particularly galling for these youth, who see its immorality as central to the problematic treatment by those who fail to appreciate them as persons.

Conclusion

In our analysis of recent youth data, we demonstrated that recognition is lived as forms of respect among friends and family and within social networks, and that these are foundational to supported learning. In other words, that respect generates trust. Conversely, the lack of recognition is experienced as disrespect. The analysis reveals that the latter value the respect and support of family and peers. These youth are very clear and articulate on what friendship qualities matter to them, on the multidirectional nature of the relationships of respect/disrespect between themselves and others and on a principled respect as key to supported learning and recognition.

Moreover, this analysis provides empirical support for Honneth's theorization on the struggle for recognition as based on forms of respect and the lack of recognition as disrespect. The participants have understood that it is secure emotional love between family members and between friends that is fundamental to mutual recognition and caring. Such love allows persons to be free, as a general principle, for it is upon such social esteem that legal recognition can be ascribed and human rights awarded to generalized others. Thus, such nuanced understandings of friendship make legal relationships possible among citizens as equals and between citizens and the state. Such understandings impact on public policy making, including educational policy, for the long-term integration of new Canadians. Friendships are essential to well-being, successful participation in school and society, integration, human rights and citizenship.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SECOND GENERATION OF HAITIAN ORIGIN IN QUEBEC

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the issues surrounding second generation immigrants in the Quebec context and highlights some significant findings from the writer's work on the social experience and identity building of second generation youth of Haitian origin in Quebec over the last 15 years.

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Maryse Potvin is a political scientist, sociologist, professor of education at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM) and a researcher at the Quebec Metropolis Centre (Immigration et Métropoles) and the Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CÉETUM), where she coordinates the Discrimination and Insertion research pole. For about 12 years, her work has focused on ethnic relations, racism, discrimination, second generation youth, antiracist education and citizenship, critical analysis of the media and public opinion, social and educational inequality in disadvantaged multiethnic urban environments and equal opportunities in education for minority youth. She trains future teachers on issues of social and educational inequality, discrimination, citizenship and human rights.

Despite numerous studies on maintaining ethnicity across generations and the perpetuation of ethnic inequalities, there has been very little discussion of the second generation concept in Quebec and in Canada (Simard 1999, Potvin et al. 2007). Yet beginning in the early 20th century in the United States, researchers of the Chicago School took an interest in the characteristics and integration patterns of children of immigrants, who were mainly of European origin at that time. Presently, the second generation concept is widely used in U.S. research circles that focus on immigration studies to denote children born in the host society of immigrant parents (Gans 1992, Portes 1996, Waters 1996, Perlmann and Waldinger 1997, Zhou 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2000).

Up to the 1990s, various writers in Europe, the United States and Canada described these young people, particularly those from "visible" minorities, from the standpoint of a "social pathology" and cultural conflict, as typifying the second generation. These young people seemed to form a "problem" class – alienated, anomic, and caught between two supposedly incompatible or antagonistic cultural systems (Malewska-Peyre et al. 1982, Yahyaoui 1989, Weinreich 1979). This crisis image has generally been associated with the youth of minorities most integrated into the majority culture and social relationships of the "host" society – young North Africans in France, Afro-Caribbeans in Britain and the U.S., and Haitians in Quebec – compared with minorities that remained "foreign" or lived in parallel institutions. In Quebec, the youth of the second generation of visible minorities, including young blacks, end up at the centre of public debate and alarmist talk about integration in the media, in ethnic and intellectual communities and in the halls of government. Like the North African youth in France, they – more than other citizens – are asked to embody the successes of the existing "integration model" and thus demonstrate the orderly operation, not merely of the political decisions made about them, but of social cohesion and the dominant order. Their "problems" may teach us more about the host societies themselves.

Quebec has seen no in-depth terminological or scientific debate about second generation youth. Until the 1990s, early studies of immigrant children tended to make no distinction between young immigrants and children born in Quebec to immigrant parents (Laperrière 1989 and 1991, Meintel 1993). But given the statistical reality of social inequalities persisting over time (high unemployment, problems at school, etc.), the second generation youth from visible minorities have become a focus of concern and major issue both for Quebec governments (which increased their involvement in integration during the 1990s) and for community leaders (most of whom are first generation). It was not until the mid-1990s that the first work specifically addressing the second generation came out (Potvin 1997, 1999 and 2000). And today, the second generation concept often seems to be reserved for children of post-1965 immigrants from non-European migratory waves identified by the authorities as belonging to visible minorities.

So why have the second generation youth of "new immigration" from the South suddenly raised so much interest and discussion? It is because they challenge the integration and equality model of the host society. According to Dubet (2007: 7), the "second generations" are discovered when the children seem less well treated than their elders or refuse to be treated as poorly. They experience a segmented assimilation (Zhou 1997), though some succeed academically and professionally and leave the ethnic neighbourhoods, thus eluding second generation status. Again, according to Dubet

(2007), the second generation theme emerges when the migratory process is interrupted, when the children and grandchildren of the first arrivals are no longer immigrants but also, even over time, have not become French or Quebeckers like the others.

In Quebec, public views on the integration of minorities are out of step with the actual processes at work in social relationships and the reality of racism (Potvin 2008). These descendants of immigrants are subjected to a socio-cultural integration process that, through mass consumption, school, the media and peer culture, makes them less and less culturally distinguishable from other young people. That reality does not rule out, but it does not necessarily imply, a parallel integration into an ethnic culture and social web. Second generation youth tend to negotiate their relationship with citizenship and ethnicity in ways that clash with the shrinking prism through which the majority views them. The ethnic markers used by these young people, partly in reaction to symbolic and physical exclusion, also generate alternate identities based on resistance, interbreeding, combined loyalties and alternating codes (Potvin et al. 2007).

The example of the second generation of Haitian origin in Quebec: Some observations

From the early 1990s to today, our research on second generation youth of Haitian origin in Quebec from both disadvantaged and well-to-do backgrounds (Potvin 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007a and 2007b) aimed at understanding how the sociological processes generating inequalities, discrimination and boundaries present in the day-to-day experience of these young people affected the building of their identity and, in a broader sense, their social experience. The intention was to reveal the plurality and variability of modes of participation and belonging, but also the strategies of resistance, opposition and negotiation used by second generation youth while replacing these processes in the social relationships of their society. We wanted to know how these young people stood out from the other young natives of the "majority" group and the first immigrant generation. Without getting caught in the traps of reductionism and essentialism, do the differences entitle us to speak of a particular second generation experience specific to distinct groups – racialized, ethnicized, disadvantaged, or all three? How then do we describe these young people without generalizing or truncating the reality? What processes affect how they negotiate identities and how they integrate socioeconomically?

The collective reflection process of the young people of Haitian origin covered by my research showed that culturally, they belong to Quebec society and do not see themselves as standing out from other young Quebeckers in terms of education, aspirations and immersion in a culture of mass consumption. Yet their social experience is built by and around racism and social determinisms arising from an immigration process that they did not initiate, blocking their egalitarian participation and emerging individuality. Racism is acutely felt because of – not in spite of – their strong sense of belonging to Quebec society. As noted by Reitz and Banerjee (2007) in their analysis of the Canadian *Ethnic Diversity Survey*, which corroborates the qualitative studies of the second generation, second generation youth from visible minorities feel more victimized by discrimination, because, as born Canadians, they expect recognition of their social equality and of their rights as citizens.

> In Quebec, the youth of the second generation of visible minorities, including young blacks, end up at the centre of public debate and alarmist talk about integration…They are asked to embody the successes of the existing "integration model" and thus demonstrate the orderly operation, not merely of the political decisions made about them.

So what makes second generation visible minority youth stand out most from other local youth is the racism they suffer, which tends to create or recreate physical and symbolic differences. Racism's role is not merely economic; it is central to the process of identity building, socialization and belonging. It would be fairer to speak of a differentialist neo-racism, exacerbated for this second generation, who are symbolically, culturally and physically both insiders and outsiders. These young people, who embody both the "other" (the foreigner) and the "same" (the native), are blurring the markers that the majority uses to distinguish the "us" from the "them." As Dubet reminds us (2007: 7):

> [*Translation*]
> From the standpoint of the parental culture, they are rootless; from the standpoint of the host country's culture, they are still immigrants. Moreover, the racism they face changes frequently. Whereas anti-immigrant racism was content to highlight the parents' cultural differences and cultural "archaism," anti-second generation racism highlights their cultural proximity: they are like "us," too much like "us," too modern, too ambitious, too into consumption, too visible in the city, institutions and the media.

Racializing and ethnicizing exclusion jeopardizes any chance these young people have of modernizing their

society's existing citizen integration model. So, for the young people of Haitian origin we met in the field, there is no "away" (where they are often sent) because, in fact, in their minds, they are not immigrants. They also find no refuge in Montréal's Haitian community, which they see as a minority space created by and for the first generation, mainly offering services to newcomers and serving as a political springboard for an elite as opposed to providing integration tools for these young second generation Quebeckers. Thus, these young people struggle, to varying degrees of success, to find a place among drastically different realities in order to find positive resources that lend meaning to their racism-fragmented experience. They move mainly among three identities that signify belonging and participation leading to normative, strategic or ethical acts by the young people: Quebec society (the Quebec identity), which integrates them culturally and, at the same time, rejects them socially; the Haitian minority community (the Haitian identity) inherited from the first generation of Haitians in Quebec, which provides little in the way of tangible support for their experience; and the black community (the black identity), which is symbolic, diasporic and transcendent, providing support for a universalized historical meta-story lending meaning to their experience of racism in Quebec.

Each of these identities has a dark and a bright side. Each identity is shot through with a tension that affects young people's ambivalent ideas about their feelings of belonging and the participatory patterns that those feelings allow. Accordingly, there is also tension between the identities, since they do not all have the same functions and are not active in all situations or in all individuals. This shaky balance gives young people the feeling of going through their own special experience, which is also a process of resistance and identity – the experience of second generation black Haitian youth. The specific nature of this shared experience stems from the tension between their strong cultural integration and their problematic social and political participation in Quebec.

The Haitian community is seen as an emotional space with its history rooted in parentage, the extension of family life, and a certain institutional completeness in Quebec, but also in the parents' painful immigrant experience, negative media images, and separated families. Yet, to the second generation, this community looks disorganized, bereft of resources, unattractive and unable to meet the needs that they see as being specific to their generation. They know neither its structures nor its history, and they do not anticipate continuing the work of their ancestors. Attachment to the parents' country of origin is vestigial and symbolic, and many of them have never been there. They struggle to identify with a minority group that is marginalized and a target of prejudice by the dominant group. This community's minority status and weak associative structures, networks, and political and economic heft all seem to be factors that distance it from the community. They condemn the attitude of the affluent classes of the first wave of immigration in the 1960s that have done nothing in terms of community development. While they want out of the community, they expect it to do something to give them resources that they cannot find elsewhere. But they say that it is not meeting their expectations.

Culturally, [these youth] belong to Quebec society and do not see themselves as standing out from other young Quebeckers in terms of education, aspirations and immersion in a culture of mass consumption. Yet their social experience is built by and around racism and social determinisms.

Their Quebec identity is equally fragmented and opposed to the other two – an identity of cultural references through school, television, work, neighbourhood, friends, and music – but second generation Haitian immigrants' feeling of rejection based on assumed differences is also exacerbated by media images, job discrimination, different and ostensibly unfair treatment by police, painful school and neighbourhood experiences, the gradual erosion of their friendships with Francophone Quebeckers, their perception of a marginalizing nationalism and their problem with building common causes and asserting their citizenship. Perceived as Haitians, they see their mobility impeded and remain at the bottom of society even though they are not immigrants. Despite access to education and training, these young people fail to overcome the social handicaps associated with the underclass and underprivileged and are often unjustly ascribed to "Third World immigrants." Also, despite a Canadian immigration policy that screens immigrants for qualifications and education, the unequal relations between North and South continue to fuel a certain collective feeling of inferiority that affects even the best-educated of these children of immigrants. They see the labour market as running on prejudice, downplaying their differences (which they see as assets), and exploiting and excluding them because they belong to a minority group that lacks the weight of numbers to become a real force or build a parallel market. The fact that some of them "get out" only serves to exacerbates the frustration and sense of exclusion of others. These young people are thus isolated on a road to integration strewn with obstacles and lack the individual power to make their way in. For them, young second generation blacks have the same problems but fail

to position themselves as dominant players. They say that they are powerless to associate, build networks, collectively claim recognition for their rights (and for their problems) and offset discriminatory situations.

These young Quebeckers find it hard to express themselves politically since their problems would be misconstrued by the dominant thinking and not reflect the traditional split between sovereignists and federalists. For them, Quebec's "national question" is a luxury in an affluent society, while they are rapidly losing their language and history. Quebec is where they live and is the source of their cultural landmarks, but the Quebec identity is not a positive option for them.

Yet they do subscribe, at a critical distance, to elements of Quebec's societal and civic culture, which shows that they objectively belong to this society – the French language, the system of rights and values associated with citizenship (freedom, equality, independence), the democratic institutions and mobility strategies, combined with a desire to make their historical and social contribution to the shared heritage. Quebec society provides them with major educational, cultural and social resources, and their determination to be part of its history, beyond a demoralizing categorization, blends with the sharing of civic values with the rest of Quebeckers.

Their Quebec identity is ambivalent because of their differentiation and sense of inferiority as members of a minority. These young people are aware of the social roles that they have internalized, but at the same time they refuse to take a strictly normative approach. Similarly, they defend their interests in the educational and labour markets but remain critical of a purely instrumental commercial logic, which they perceive as a neoliberal trap of individual accountability for "failure," though they are also looking for solidarity to fight the exclusion they feel victimizes them. The tension between these forces reveals a subjective space that enables them to keep their distance and look critically at roles and strategies based on an ethical vision of their own lives. This logic of subjectivation is fuelled by the experience of racism: feeling different and inferior, these young people experience a stronger tension between social standards (for example, equality, merit, competence and social utility, as part of a kind of social hypocrisy) and their strategies for defending their interests, setting their various identities against one another.

Where these two identities come together, we find the black identity that provides no physical or practical resources but that plays a symbolic role as a middleman between their Quebec and Haitian identities. The black identity provides a cultural response to social integration problems and politicizes the identity that distinguishes second generation Haitian immigrants from those of the first generation and from other young Quebeckers. For these young people, the syncretic black identity is much more expressive of their sense of sharing a common experience and destiny and helps them express identity, opposition and historicity. The black identity affords continuity, meaning and a historical foothold in North America that is more inclusive, more part of their experience and more modern than their bits and pieces of Haitian history. It fosters symbolic solidarity with different cultures, histories, heroes, schools of thought, and fighting methods and movements. It provides images of success and resistance, a historical foundation, fragments of memory, and the sense of a shared experience and faith (Islam, for some young converts). Its symbolic dimension makes the black identity their own, suited to their modern urban lives and affording them creative and critical abilities, especially through music. It supports liberating and collective action that builds belonging rather than subjection to belonging. This transclassist and transnational black community unifies the experiences of blacks around the world and garners media coverage for black identities. It enables people to counter domination by rediscovering their roots, defining themselves, freeing their minds of the chains imposed by their relationship with whites, and so on. Racism becomes a cognitive category that rebuilds identity around the black diaspora and a globalized memory of black movements and culture, enabling these young people to make the analogy between their situation and that of black people around the world. Leaders in American struggles like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, with their post-modern plasticity, make it possible to reconcile the individuation process with membership in a collective entity. Their cultural resources give the young people a feeling of belonging to this emotional community with non-national historical referents. Yet the black identity is not unambiguous: skin colour limits their freedom, and this blackness affords no practical resources for social integration that can meet their daily needs.

These young people believe that their experience is specific to the second generation, based on a number of different identities that they must reconcile to find a place in their society. By opposing exclusion, they acquire cultural resources to build their own identity, one that belongs neither to their immigrant parents nor to other young Quebeckers.

Ultimately, this second generation's identity is an uneasy mix of all three identities. It grows out of a relationship of domination, sometimes drifting towards an obsession with authenticity, an essentialization of colour and a rejection of whiteness for individual and

collective acceptance. But it also addresses black youth integration into a society that deprives them of a social function to match the expectations it raises. These various approaches to self-definition stem from the various heritages that make them up and from a range of participatory approaches. Depending on the social relationships and the individual involved, youth identity or "us" assumes different meanings to oppose, assert, differentiate or understand itself, or simply to exist. With the first generation, the second stresses its "Quebecness," individuality, blackness or African roots. With police, they are dominated, young, black and immigrants. With antiracist institutions or activists, they argue their "Haitianness" or blackness. These ways of belonging also stem from different types of racism – ideological racism (skinheads, the far right), systemic or institutional racism (police, school authorities and politicians), historical racism (focus on the white culture) and marketplace racism (jobs and schools).

These young people believe that their experience is specific to the second generation, based on a number of different identities that they must reconcile to find a place in their society. By opposing exclusion, they acquire cultural resources to build their own identity, one that belongs neither to their immigrant parents nor to other young Quebeckers. The experience of racism is a source of identity and explanation of their experience that breaks down and then rebuilds identity. This experience assumes a critical distance from Quebec's Haitian community and the dominant order, as well as membership in the diaspora and blackness (Césaire's "negritude") from which they derive cultural resources. But this specific second generation experience mainly reveals problems in Quebec society with its ongoing debates and social relationships that give it meaning.

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CREATING A GENUINE ISLAM

Second Generation Muslims Growing Up In Canada

ABSTRACT

As immigration trends continue to make Canada an increasingly religiously diverse country, Canada's own multiculturalism policy has become questionable. In order to better understand the creation of religious identity within the Canadian context, it is necessary to examine the integration and acculturation experiences of the second generation, those who have grown up in Canada. This experience of growing up differently will hopefully begin to shed light on the policy implications of multiculturalism and whether it is effective in Canadian culture. This article examines the religious expression and involvement of second generation Muslim immigrant youth growing up in Canada in comparison to the first generation, in an attempt to fill this research gap. As part of a larger research project, this article focuses on the ways these Muslim youth are constructing their personal identities and their Islam as Canadians.

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> Give it a couple of...generations for people to get...out of the shell of their own culture, to mix with the world. Because I believe what we have in Canada is an opportunity that a lot of the world doesn't have, I mean, don't get me wrong, there's a lot of blood on the hands of everybody who lives in this country. But we have an opportunity for people to start fresh. We have people from all different backgrounds, all over the world. We are a representation to the world....There are certain points into staying and understanding your own culture and appreciating your own culture. But to be able to evolve and to move on with the times...we can show the world here how to live amongst people from all different backgrounds. (Male Muslim participant)

The issues of religious belief, practice and identity in Canada are complex. As "old-stock Canadians" are becoming less religious, immigration is strengthening cultural and religious pluralism (Lefebvre 2005). Over the past 30 years, Canadian society has become increasingly religiously diverse due to immigration patterns.[1] Also, Canada's approach to diversity is to foster a culture of inclusion through its core values of equality, accommodation and acceptance (Biles and Ibrahim 2005). Although Canada remains predominantly Christian, between 1991 and 2001 the Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist communities in Canada have nearly, if not already, doubled in size (Bramadat 2005). Within this Canadian context, religion has remained important in relation to the creation of identities, boundaries and group solidarities. In fact, research in Canada has shown that recent immigrant children and youth are twice as likely to attend religious services in comparison to their Canadian-born couterparts (Biles and Ibrahim 2005).

Canada's official multiculturalism policy promotes the idea that Canada is not only defined by its acceptance of new immigrants, but also that these immigrants should maintain their differences so that they can contribute to and transform Canada's cultural mosaic. In effect, they become Canadian while at the same time enriching the country that has welcomed them (Beyer and Ramji 2007). This policy has come under constant inquiry as to whether it is in fact genuine, whether it has been effective and whether it is advisable to pursue, given the international realities of the impact of immigration and integration (or lack thereof). Greater examination of the second generation is essential in understanding policy implications of multiculturalism and its effectiveness in Canadian culture.[2]

Muslims in Canada

The Muslim community began to grow rapidly after the 1970s, building mosques and establishing transethnic communities across Canada (McDonough and Hoodfar 2005). Canadian immigration policies have allowed Muslims from almost every part of the Muslim world to migrate to Canada, and many tend to be from middle and upper-middle class families. In fact, the number of Muslim immigrants to Canada has doubled each decade since 1981 and Pakistan, India and Iran have been among the top 10 source countries for immigration (Statistics Canada 2003). Thus the foreign-born Muslim population in Canada is diverse, multiethnic and multilingual. Given the fact that many Muslims have lived in Canada for a few decades, the population of Canadian-born Muslim youth has substantially grown. These younger Muslims, known as the second generation, have no direct ethnic

identity to build upon, and therefore have to define Islam and its practices for themselves, in juxtaposition to the ethnic cultural values they have received from their parents.[3]

Many studies undertaken in the European context find that Muslims turn to a Muslim identity because of the contact of different cultures. Our research, however,[4] deals with a different group of immigrants than those that are most often the focus in such studies. North American research on immigrants also tends to focus on the first generation immigrant population, often with little regard to the role of religion (see, for example, Berns McGown 1999, Coward and Goa 1987, Janhevich and Ibrahim 2004, McLellan 1999, Rukmani 1999, Shakeri 1998). Academic and non-academic literature on Canada's most recent immigrants tend to focus on language acquirement, foreign credentials, understanding Canadian norms and a strong memory of a "homeland": these are non-issues for the second generation. Therefore, there is currently a lack of research helping us understand the long-term implications of migration to Canada and the effects of migration on religious identity.

Research objectives

This research project examined the involvement of 92 second generation immigrant[5] Muslim youth, aged 18 to 27, that had at least one immigrant parent and were either born in Canada or had arrived in Canada before the age of ten. These participants came from Muslim backgrounds, and were currently living or studying in the urban areas of Toronto, Ottawa and Montréal. The interviews were conducted over a two-year period beginning in September 2004 and concluding in April 2006.

The purpose of the research was to investigate the participants' involvement in religion and their attitudes towards religion. The question of religious identity or lack thereof was central to the investigation. Interviewees were asked about their upbringing within their inherited religious identity, about their own involvement in that religion, if any, and about any religious practices or unconventional practices they may have adopted. They discussed how their own views and practices differed from their parents' generation (the first generation of immigrants), and how they situated themselves within Canada and the wider world.

The focal point of this research was to find out how this generation was or was not reconstructing its overall and specifically religious worldviews, practices and identities. Our organizing assumption was that these youth are "caught between two worlds," in between the religious and cultural identities and experiences of their parents, on the one hand, and those of the mainstream Canadian culture, on the other.

The second generation Muslims focused upon in this study are not being confronted by a new culture, but have been raised within Canadian culture, in which they feel completely at ease. They have been raised to contend with a variety of identity dimensions in their lives, those of their Islamic faith, those of their parents' ethnic cultural heritage and those of Canadian culture, the values and practices of which they have been exposed to through school, politics and the media. The approach taken in the study was to take into account the culture of both the participants and their parents, in order to better understand the diverse conflicts and tensions faced by the second generation Muslims as they develop their religious identities in a Canadian society.

In terms of identity, definitions of what makes someone Muslim vary from discipline to discipline. Åke Sander (1997), at the Institute of Ethnic Religions in Gothenburg, Sweden, has suggested a four-category classification system, defining what makes someone a Muslim. A Muslim can either be an "ethnic," "cultural," "religious" or "political" Muslim. A person belonging to an ethnic group in which the widely held belief of the population is Muslim can be considered an ethnic Muslim. A cultural Muslim is someone who is socialized in a Muslim culture. A religious Muslim would be considered a person who performs the Islamic commands and a political Muslim is a person who claims that "Islam in its essence primarily is (or ought to be) a political and social phenomenon" (Sander 1997: 184-185).

The second generation Muslims…have been raised to contend with a variety of identity dimensions in their lives, those of their Islamic faith, their parents' ethnic cultural heritage and their exposure to the values and practices of Canadian culture through school, politics and the media.

Although these categories might be useful at the level of quantifying population information, for this particular study it is imperative that the interviewee's own self-definition be utilized in the classification (Ramji 2008). This study looks at orthopraxis (actions of obligation), intentions, familial and institutional influences, as well as levels of belief.[6] Therefore, given the information that was provided by the participants during the interviews, the Muslim participants of this study can be separated into four categories using the basis of self-definition and identification.[7]

Participant categorization

The four-fold categories fashioned from the 92 participants' own perceptions are: the *Salafists* (6), the *highly involved* (36), the *moderately involved* (33) and the *non-believers* (17). *Salafists*[8] are those who espouse forms of Islamic Sunni ideology and practice what they consider "pure" or "original" forms of Islam. *Salafists* believe that the only reliable guides for living and practicing Islam are the *Qur'an* and *ahadith*. These, they insist, should not be viewed in innovative ways, and therefore they often hold highly conservative or restrictive views about Islam. *Salafists* put Islam at the centre of their lives – a highly demanding and conservative form of Islam. For *highly involved* Muslims, Islam is a central aspect of their lives and great importance is given to the five pillars as the core of Islamic practices.

In contrast to the *Salafists*, however, members of this group are less insistent on the unique validity of their own understanding, are significantly more irenic in their attitudes towards other people, other lifestyles and other worldviews, and are internally more varied in the specific ways that they construct their Islam. The *moderately involved* are those who are generally knowledgeable about Islam, engage in some practices, such as high feast days like the *Eids*, identify clearly as Muslims, but for whom Islam does not form a central practical part of their identities and lives. Many of the *moderately involved* are like a large portion of the Christian North American and Western European population, whose members adhere or identify to their religion, believe in it, but only practice occasionally. *Non-believers*, representing the other extreme from the *Salafists*, define themselves essentially as atheists or people without a religion, although they admit to being Muslim through their family and cultural background.

While we must be careful in our interpretations across categories, one conclusion seems clearly justified: a significant number, perhaps even a majority, of second generation Muslims in Canada are at least highly involved in their religion and sometimes more. The second generation is not being lost in significant numbers to the majority secularism of the Canadian population.

Also of interest was that the men are on average more likely to be highly involved than women, and the younger youth are more likely to be highly involved than their slightly older siblings. It is possible, therefore, that strong Islam in the second generation is more appealing to Muslim men than women; but especially that the high level of involvement that seems typical of the late-teen and immediate post-teen years will taper off or perhaps become moderate as these people get older.

The possibility of strong Islam as a form of youthful rebellion, at least for some Muslim youth, appears to be a definite possibility. Internal evidence indicates that a sizeable number of the younger *highly involved* or *Salafist* Muslims came to this high involvement relatively recently; and that only some of them had been this way since childhood. One male participant, in explaining why some of his fellow Muslims were reconstructing their understanding of Islam in a more severe way, said:

> I think I may be echoing other people when I say that every generation has its rebellion, and the rebellion in my generation has been something called the Islamic Revival Movement – so the movement that says that our parents' way of following religion was not strict enough, things like that...I see it as just adolescent rebellion, you know, and I think it's if anything, necessary. It's a trend towards going back to the sources, things like that. Uh, specifically things like the *hijab* and the beard, those are more prevalent in the new generation than in the older one.

Within the four subgroups, the *Salafists* and the *highly involved* groups shared many characteristics, but the *Salafists* separated themselves in terms of a strict adherence to practice. The central features of the *Salafists* involve a strict observance of what they consider religiously obligatory acts such as following *halal* dietary and sexual regulations, fasting during Ramadan and the five daily prayers (if not more). They do not mix with the opposite sex outside their immediate family, and at least three of them said that it was difficult to live in a society that is not segregated by sex. In keeping with these injunctions, all four of the women wear *hijab*. None of the six is presently married. The majority (up to 90%), if not all, of their friends are Muslim and share their beliefs, their behaviours and decisions. The *Salafists* tend to separate the notion of ethnicity from the practice of Islam. These participants often criticize what they consider to be their parents' cultural practices, such as extravagant weddings, listening to music and encouraging career over marriage. The culture/religion distinction is critical for those who consider themselves to practice Islam better than their parents. They have undertaken their own personal searches for the understanding of Islam. Their sources are often the Internet and electronic chat rooms, and personal reading. Many of their parents encouraged this kind of personal search for knowledge. Correspondingly, they do not consider the mosque an important source of counsel. They acknowledge that they attend Friday *jum'ah* services, but beyond that the mosque itself does not play a role in their lives. Five of the six were involved in the local Muslim Student Association. They deny the validity of intra-Islamic distinctions like Sunni vs. Shi'a, or consider the non-Sunnis as not authentically Muslim. In either case, their Islam is a Sunni Islam. *Salafists* conscientiously make all aspects of their lives as Islamic as possible. They do not feel alienated from Canadian society in the sense of considering that they belong somewhere else. This is part of the culture/religion distinction. They are highly critical of various aspects of the dominant culture in Canada (for example, if the topic came up, they were all vigorously opposed to the recent federal legislation that puts gay and lesbian marriages on an equal footing with traditional marriages).

Although several of the *highly involved* were critical of various aspects of Canadian society, they also showed a greater tendency to mesh their Islam with dominant Canadian values and orientations.

The *highly involved* tend to share some, but not all, of the characteristics of the *Salafists*. In fact, some of them date, drink or smoke. All of them practice regularly, especially when in comes to daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan and Friday services at a mosque, but many do so less often than they would like to or feel that other things like school, music and friends prevent such regularity. They are, as a group, more likely to make accommodations to the surrounding society and correspondingly are far more likely

to have a greater number of non-Muslim and non-practising Muslim friends. Many also have more liberal attitudes towards moral issues such as homosexuality, dress codes, and relations among the sexes. Just like the *Salafists*, the majority place a strong emphasis on the central role Islam plays in all aspects of their lives, on the importance of regular ritual practice and on the importance of learning more about Islam, mostly through personal exploration.

Although several of the *highly involved* were critical of various aspects of Canadian society, they also showed a greater tendency to mesh their Islam with dominant Canadian values and orientations. Thus, for instance, one male interpreted the necessity of personal *jihad* as meaning that one had to work hard and make a success of oneself. To be Muslim was to always be modern and make the world a better place. Another stressed environmental consciousness and connectedness to the Earth as an important aspect of Islam for her. Two of the *highly involved* did feel that one day they would like to return to the land of their parents, but in these cases the reasons were more cultural than religious; neither felt that it was more difficult to be a Muslim in Canada. The vast majority are very comfortable as Muslims and as Canadians. While they are engaging in unique and sometimes unanticipated reconstructions, they are not drawing sharp distinctions between Islam and Canada, between Islam and the West, between homeland and diaspora. Like the *Salafists*, the *highly involved* almost always feel at home and, isolated experiences of prejudice aside, largely accepted. Only one of them expressed the idea that they were living between two worlds.

If the *highly involved* are more like the *Salafists*, but more varied and less extreme, the *moderately involved* also show significant variation except that they are more like the *non-believers* than the *highly involved*. The most significant element separating the *moderately involved* from the *highly involved* was the fact that they did not place religion at the centre of their lives but regarded it as a focus for balance in life.

As a result, the *moderately involved* only occasionally go to mosque or *khana*, usually on special occasions like the *Eids*. They pray, but not regularly and not in any orthodox manner. Some read the *Qur'an* and some search for answers on the Internet but they stay away from organized associations because of their perceived differences. Most of them date, drink or smoke, but all who do hide it from their parents.

For the *non-believers*, religion of any kind is simply not very important. Few of them are alienated from their Muslim heritage entirely. Interestingly, although several participants in the other categories declared that the events and aftermath of 9/11 brought them closer to Islam, it is among the *non-believers* that we find the opposite reaction: one declared that, in her opinion, 9/11 only shows that "religion causes nothing but trouble." For the rest, they either grew up in families without stress on religion or they drifted away from their childhood practice without rancour.

It should be noted that the role of the media has played a significant role in shaping the lives of many of the Muslims interviewed, from the *Salafists* to the *non-believers*. For the *Salafist* and *highly involved* groups, media representations of Muslims after 9/11 had a correlating affect on identity. Many of these youth stated that the media made all Muslims seem like terrorists after September 11, and in reaction, many began "wearing" their Islamic identity with pride and more openly. One woman stated that 9/11 played a large role in her deciding to wear the *hijab* and being more attentive to her religion. Another woman acknowledged that 9/11 made her want to learn more about her religion in order to be able to answer constant questions and had recently begun wearing the *hijab*. *Moderately identified* Muslims also felt that the image of Islam had been tarnished after 9/11 and some actually began studying Islam to better understand it and to explain it to others.

Canada's second generation Muslim youth are constructing their identities in general, and their religious identities in particular, in diverse and highly original ways, without regard for what the majority might think and without apparent fear of marginalization.

Some broad patterns can be discerned within the Muslim sample in our project. The majority are clearly highly involved, and very few are drifting away from their faith, especially if their involvement began during their childhood. Their Islam is for the most part individualistic rather than community oriented, although many feel that they are part of a non-descript global community of Muslims, specifically through Internet access. Only a small minority rely on a particular authority, and never the same one. The role of the media impacts their sense of self-identity as Muslims. Their Islam is also highly varied in its details: with the exception of the *Salafists*, the rest could not really be classified neatly along "liberal/conservative" lines, although on personal moral issues, the general trend was definitely in a conservative direction.

The vast majority, including the *Salafists*, feel comfortable in Canada. Their attitude to the country is generally positive even if they disapprove of various aspects of its dominant culture. Almost without exception they approve of Canada's multiculturalism policy and think that the country is by and large doing a good job in putting it into practice. There is also a strong emphasis on humility, kindness, compassion and peace as central concepts to their Islam – a unique understanding of their faith, which in many instances was far more important than the five pillars of Islam; in this way, their faith is quite distinctive to these Canadian Muslims, and for them, truly genuine.

> We have a fairly good multicultural model here in Canada, whereas in Pakistan I think there's more racial polarization, you know, no acceptance of people who are even slightly different from you, much less people who are fundamentally different....I think I have an advantage over people who lived in Pakistan all their lives because I can see from the dominant culture, which I consider to be the Christian Canada, I can see from their vantage point as well as what happens at home and what my parents believe. So there's much more of a basis for comparison, and I think that makes my choice more genuine. (Male Muslim participant)

Conclusion

What we are finding is that Canada's second generation Muslim youth are constructing their identities in general, and their religious identities in particular, in diverse and highly original ways, without regard for what the majority might think and without apparent fear of marginalization, as would be expected in a context that claims to permit and even encourage this. Yet these same people, with few exceptions, also claim to feel entirely comfortable in Canada, to consider it a fine place to live, that welcomes immigrants and accepts difference. In short, they are different, but they usually also feel completely, and in an unproblematic way, Canadian.

The second generation in our preliminary sample did not, on the whole, feel disempowered or disadvantaged; nor did they seem fearful of their futures. Their attitude to discrimination, which a great many had experienced in their lives, was to ignore it as the manifestation of others' ignorance, and certainly not to accept it as a feature of the society in which they lived. Canada's multiculturalism policy, ideology and orientation definitely structures the limits of how one can be different; it is a very integrationist and, perhaps in its own way, even an assimilative multiculturalism. Yet it is also one that the second generation youth in our research seem to accept as genuine, as permitting them to live their lives as their religious convictions see fit. None wanted to live in a society where Islam was the sole religion. They all valued living in a society that is religiously and culturally diverse. One female participant, when asked how she felt about Canada's diversity, summed it up succinctly for the others:

> I think it's a good thing for Canada. I mean it's always more exposure, more ideas, more….Even within religion itself, if you don't necessarily believe in another religion, you can always take certain aspects of what they practice or what they do if it's a really good thing. I mean I see it as a good thing, it's just more diversity and more exposure to ideas you never would have considered before had you been living in a small tiny bubble.

This conclusion applies especially to the highly diverse, but also highly involved, ways in which the majority of these Muslims construct their personal identities and their Islam. Confirming conclusions reached from research among second generation Muslim youth in Europe (Khosrokhavar 1997, Vertovec and Rogers 1998), Canada's counterparts seem to be exhibiting a similar combination of greatly varied, highly individualistic and, for the most, very serious attitudes towards their religion. They are not dependent on their elders, they do not rely on traditional sources of Islamic authority, and they are not in the least hesitant about creating their own *bricolages*.[9] These are not people who are just carrying on the traditions of their immigrant parents in a kind of exercise in religiocultural preservation. Nor are they people who are simply "assimilating" to the dominant culture. Like most youth in Canada, they seem to feel it incumbent upon themselves to reconstruct their world on a primarily individual basis. Their Islam is innovative rather than imitative, individual rather than communitarian, covering somewhat evenly a vast spectrum from what some observers might be tempted to label as "extremists" but which I will avoid for the same reason the majority of the participants scorned such terms – for being limiting and one-dimensional.

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Notes

[1] Multiculturalism is a key element to Canada's immigration and citizenship policies. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988) places great emphasis on the freedoms of citizens to practice their religion without prejudice or interference. The Act states: "the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism."

[2] Portions of this article have been drawn from a co-authored paper with Peter Beyer titled "Brought up in Canada but Different in Religion: Classifying Styles of Religious Involvement among Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim Youth" presented at the annual meetings of the Canadian Society for Studies in Religion (Saskatoon, May 2007).

[3] This article is a discussion piece of a much more in-depth examination about second generation Muslim women within this project and its methodology. Please see Ramji (2008). Information on all three immigrant groups can be found in Beyer 2007 and forthcoming).

[4] "Religion among Immigrant Youth in Canada" is a research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The author collaborated with Peter Beyer, principal investigator, Shandip Saha and Leslie Laczko (University of Ottawa), Nancy Nason-Clark (University of New Brunswick), Lori Beaman and Marie-Paule Martel Reny (Concordia University) and John H. Simpson, Arlene Macdonald and Carolyn Reimer (University of Toronto). This research study on Muslims is part of a larger study that focuses on second generation immigrants from Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim backgrounds and who currently reside or study in the urban regions of Toronto, Montréal and Ottawa-Gatineau.

[5] As a second generation Canadian myself, I am not fond of using the phrase "second generation immigrant" as it somehow implies that I am an immigrant and not a Canadian. Even though I am a Canadian citizen, the term makes me think that I am either a second class citizen or not "truly" Canadian as it is still linked with the idea of belonging somewhere else. The phrase was used within the research project, so I will use it here (sparingly).

[6] Islamists, particularly the Salafists, tend to look at the level of one's Muslimness (see Roald 2001).

[7] 92 people were interviewed who considered themselves to have Muslim backgrounds. Of the 92 participants, 58 were female and 34 were male.

[8] *Salaf* generally refers to the Companions of the Prophet and the first generations of Muslim followers. *Salafis* are thus people who seek to go back to this original Islam, generally rejecting the normative character of intervening developments.

[9] Thanks to Peter Beyer for the use of this term to best describe the "do-it-yourself" assembly or creation of religion.

HANDING DOWN THE ENTREPRENEURIAL SPIRIT

From the First to the Second Generation among Ethnic Minorities in Montréal

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the handing down of the entrepreneurial spirit from the first to the second generation among ethnic minorities. The preliminary results are taken from interviews with second generation young people whose parents own or owned a business at some point during their stay in the Montréal area. The results show how little impact the parents' community of origin has on the potential development of entrepreneurial spirit in the second generation. Factors such as the nature of the relationship with the founder and personal ambitions play a more significant role.

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Entrepreneurship and related practices are topics that have been widely studied in both national and international contexts. For a number of years, researchers in a variety of fields – sociology, management, anthropology, economics, demographics – have taken an interest in entrepreneurship issues. Because this field of study concerns a set of practices related to the specific context of a given society, it is founded today on the emergence of a genuine sub-discipline that includes topics such as starting up a business, expansion, business families and succession, to name just a few.[1] The increasing scope of the field raises numerous questions, including some more specifically related to the integration of ethnocultural minorities into the labour market, business creation opportunities (Waldenger et al. 2001, Brenner et al. 2001, Fortin 2002) and problems associated with succession in family-owned businesses founded by immigrants (Valdez 2002, Lin 2005, Lee 2006). Indeed, understanding the inherent dynamics of minority ethnocultural groups involved in business lies at the heart of life in a liberal society, where personal initiative, the challenges of globalization and the elimination of certain barriers are all issues that challenge the nature of the social ties at work in a society at various stages of its development (Greve and Salaff 2003, Arcand at al. 2008). As some studies have clearly shown (Helly and Ledoyen 1994, Braga Martes 2004), starting up a business is a means often used by members of ethnocultural minorities to overcome a variety of problems (discrimination, failure to recognize qualifications and credentials, weak social networks) experienced when searching for or trying to maintain employment. Although this is a well-documented phenomenon, the same is not true of the prospects of immigrants' descendants for taking over the businesses they founded. Likewise, the existing studies focus very little on the values that promote the development of entrepreneurial spirit in the children of immigrant businesspeople.

In the following pages, we will focus on the specific phenomenon of the passing on of entrepreneurial spirit from first to second generation among ethnocultural minorities in Montréal. To do this, we interviewed young adults whose parents had immigrated to Canada and who owned a business at some point during their lives in Canada. What, in short, can create the conditions favourable to the development of entrepreneurial spirit in the second generation of a minority ethnocultural family that is involved in business? To provide a more in-depth look at this issue, the study focused on relations within the family unit and the business that encouraged the handing down of practices and skills that were likely to create a desire in young people of the second generation to also get involved in business, whether by taking over the family business or by setting up their own business. This is the dynamic we refer to as "entrepreneurial spirit."

To date, we have conducted 11 interviews with young people aged 20 to 33 from ethnocultural minorities whose parents were first generation immigrants and who own or owned a business at some time during their lives in Canada. To avoid categorizing results by membership in a particular group, we used a transcultural approach, conducting interviews with young people from a variety of ethnocultural backgrounds. Table 1 presents the characteristics of the individuals interviewed.

Our study was set in Montréal and the preliminary results were compiled from two perspectives: first, the sociology of ethnic relationships and second, and more specifically, the sociology of ethnic entrepreneurship and the managerial relationships within family businesses and how they are managed and transferred. To guide our analysis, we formulated a hypothesis, which was inspired notably by the work of Karra, Tracey and Phillips (2006); our hypothesis states that the more the values inspired by the parents' culture of origin are at the heart of the family relationships, the greater the chance that entrepreneurial spirit will be passed on from one generation to the next. This hypothesis highlights not only similar processes but also differences between the groups, in particular, factors like greater merchant tradition or barriers to employment for certain groups, for example, visible minorities. With this in mind, we make certain comparisons in order to highlight the plurality of experiences in the second generation. To facilitate the presentation of results, we have identified four main themes: the relationship between the generations of one family, including factors such as leadership, authority and parents' ambitions for the children; the personal and professional ambitions of those interviewed; the importance of a sense of belonging to the parents' ethnocultural community and the viewpoint about Canadian and Quebec society. Together, these four themes provide an initial picture of how the entrepreneurial spirit is passed on to second generation ethnocultural minorities.

The parent-child relationship in a business family

The interviewees' relationships with their parents and extended family indicate that family circles were highly influenced by an entrepreneurial culture. For a number of them, this was both an advantage and a disadvantage – what one interviewee termed a "give and curse." The "give" is seen as an advantage because, from early childhood, they were immersed in this culture, an experience that allowed them to develop a deep understanding of the business world; at the same time, however, the family relationships were coloured by discussions about the business, a situation referred to as a "curse."

> [*Translation*]
> I am very free. For instance, because I study, I can take time off. Now, you and I are having a conversation; I can take time off as well (for this interview). If I need a day off to write my 20-page paper, it's fine. The disadvantages (of working for the family business) are that I live with my family and I am always with them. Only when I am studying can I get away. (Lebanese descent)

> [*Translation*]
> What I don't like is that business problems become family problems. (Peruvian descent, interview #1)

> [*Translation*]
> Yes, it's different (working in a family business). The decisions affect the whole family.…There can be problems, misunderstandings. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are affected by the decisions and can take things personally. (Peruvian descent, interview #3)

Table 1

Parents' country of origin and decade of arrival in Canada	Type of business owned by parents	Founder and number of employees in 2007*	Child's education and occupation in 2007
Chile, 1970s	Computers and transportation	Father, no employees	Administration studies
Egypt, 1980s	Construction and beauty products (2 businesses)	Father and mother, 20 and 10 employees, respectively	Business degree and entrepreneur (tourism)
Italy, 1970s	Entertainment products (music)	Father, 30 employees	Bachelor of commerce, full-time in family business
Jewish, year of arrival unavailable	Computer software	Father, 30 employees	Full-time in family business
Lebanon, 1990s	Bakery	Father, 120 employees	Commerce studies, part-time in family business and salaried employee
Morocco (Jewish), 1970s (interview #1)	Clothing	Father, 5 employees	Actress, full-time in family business
Morocco (Jewish), 1960s (interview #2)	Footwear	Father, 10 employees	Economics and employment studies
Peru, 1990s (interview #1)	Clothing	Mother, 2 employees	Engineer, part-time in family business and salaried employee
Peru, 1990s (interview #2)	Communications	Father, 8 employees	Communications entrepreneur, part-time in family business
Peru, 1980s (interview #3)	Restaurant	Father, 60 employees	Full-time in family business
Vietnam, 1980s	Clothing	Father and mother, 15 employees	Entrepreneur (fashion)

* As the table shows, the majority of the parents who founded businesses are men.

Some interviewees stated that they needed to spend time with people outside the business to avoid both their private and public lives being taken over by the business. That being said, all but one interviewee stated that they had very good relationships with their families and, specifically, with the founder of the business. For all of them, the management style of the father and/or mother is a source of inspiration, despite occasional "faults," such as a lack of authority or excessive control and a fear of taking risks. This source of inspiration results in the development of a work ethic:

> [*Translation*]
> Yes, really, to manage my own company. In my relationship with my customers, when I am away, I see people who remember my father. I have images of my father in the street walking with his little briefcase trying to sell advertising space. He worked really hard. He is well respected for that. It's an inspiration for me. (Peruvian descent, interview 2)

In some cases, it is revealed through great admiration for the founder:

> I think he (the father and founder of the business) is fantastic. What he accomplished is very impressive. I have to go to some conferences where people, clients for instance, told me "Your father is my hero." That's why they have a lot of respect for his authority. What he accomplished is very impressive. (Jewish descent)

When viewed that way, the business is a place where the family circle is recreated. Despite the omnipresence of business-related subjects in daily family life, all interviewees underscored that it was not a factor in discouraging them from eventually taking over the business or starting up another entrepreneurial project. In that sense, the values of honesty, hard work and ambition promoted by the founder were also sources of inspiration for the second generation. Even in the case where the relationships was conflictual, which was the case with just one person, the respect that the children had for what their parents had built was a model from which they took inspiration. The values mentioned, which define the outer edges of the entrepreneurial spirit, are important in order to properly grasp the thoughts of the interviewees, in terms of understanding both the entrepreneurial spirit and the ways in which the second generation young people integrate in Montréal. Indeed, all interviewees clearly stated that their parents not only attached importance to their ethnocultural origins but also encouraged the children to be open to differences and cultural diversity:

> [*Translation*]
> The entire Egyptian community lives in the Saint-Laurent area of Montréal. My mother took a map of Montréal and picked the spot that was farthest away (from that community). We've been there for 27 years. There (in the Saint-Laurent community), the mindset was closed. Kind of like the Chinese corner stores that hire only Chinese people. (Egyptian descent)

> [*Translation*]
> I don't judge people from their origin. I'd be friends with anybody as long as they respect me. (Moroccan Jewish descent)

Second generation children say that they are open to cultures and perceive that openness as offering opportunities for friendship and opening new markets.

Starting up a business is a means often used by members of ethnocultural minorities to overcome a variety of problems… experienced when searching for or trying to maintain employment.

A life of one's own: Personal and professional ambitions among children of business immigrants

Although the influence of the parents, in most cases the father, is important in lifestyle and career decisions, none of those interviewed felt that they had been pressured in any way to take over the family business or to start up their own business. Personal ambitions varied and did not necessarily correspond to what the parents had envisioned for their children:

> [*Translation*]
> I was always told I should be a doctor, and when I left school, it all blew up….It was a major disappointment (for the parents). It was not what my parents had planned for me. I'm the artist, the black sheep. (Vietnamese descent)

Later on, the same individual told us about her decision early on that she did not want to take over the family business:

> [*Translation*]
> No, never. I was asked once to manage the business for them for two months and I hated it. I decided that I didn't want to do that. The pressure, the fact that they did everything themselves. I went crazy. Just watching them, I told myself it would ruin my life doing that. (*Ibid.*)

We noted that parental ambitions varied considerably depending on the type and size of business. Thus, in the case of a founding business that had reached a certain size (20 to 120 employees), aspirations for the children to work in the business and to plan to take over one day were stronger, though they were not perceived by the children as pressure of any kind. In addition, children

in such situations were more receptive to eventually taking over. This shows not only the influence that the parents can have, but also the health of the business on the children's future careers. In that sense, there appears to be a link between the degree of involvement of the children in the family business and the quality of the relationship with the founder. The better the relationship was, the stronger the desire to invest oneself in the family business, if only for a short time:

> [*Translation*]
> I was basically born in the restaurant. I was six months old when my father opened it. I have always seen what the restaurant business and customer service meant, how to run a restaurant.…For me, it comes naturally. It's not like any other kind of work. I left my father to see what it was like to work somewhere else, to have a set schedule. Here I have more freedom than anywhere else. I can appreciate the freedom my father gives me. (Peruvian descent)

In short, the relationship with the parents does not have a significant influence on the eventual taking over of the business, but it plays a definite role in creating the conditions required for the development of entrepreneurial spirit.

Although the influence of the parents, in most cases the father, is important in lifestyle and career decisions, none of those interviewed felt that they had been pressured in any way to take over the family business or to start up their own business.

The community of origin: A business community?

In some cases, the community of origin was a driver for the creation of a business by the first generation. Whether as a result of identifying community-specific needs, associating with other family members already in business in Montréal or the need to overcome barriers to employment, the ethnocultural community is a key support for the creation of a business. However, this phenomenon lies on the periphery of the process of creating, maintaining and eventually transferring the business to the children if parents do not appear to have confined themselves to their community alone. The community may have served as a moral or other form of support, as reflected by the involvement of some parents in community associations dedicated to promoting and defending particular ethnocultural interests. This dynamic is different for the children: none of them stated that they belonged to these types of associations even though they felt that the associations provided some benefits. However, all interviewees mentioned the importance of the parents' culture or origin and their desire to maintain some of the practices associated with that culture in some way, shape or form:

> For me, it is not very much about Morocco, but I would like to marry a Jewish girl, for example. You have something in common. I am very proud to be Jewish. (Moroccan Jewish descent)

> [*Translation*]
> I am Chilean first and foremost. No, there is one (a Chilean association) in Montréal, but the people are older. On the other hand, on the September 18 holiday, we all get together and have a Chilean party. We eat empanadas and drink Chilean wine. (Chilean descent)

As for friendships, some interviewees stated that they associated exclusively with people of the same minority ethnocultural background, but the majority associated with people of a variety of origins. On the other hand – and this may contribute to a formalization of the entrepreneurial spirit through a specific idea about the parents' integration process – a number of interviewees acknowledged that they did not associate with people from the two majority groups (English-Canadian Quebeckers or French-Canadian Quebeckers), as indicated in the following two quotes: [*Translation*] "Most of my friends are Peruvian. I get Peruvian students together and we talk and party, etc." (Peruvian descent) [*Translation*] "(My friends) are all Lebanese. I speak English with them." (Lebanese descent)

Relationship with the society that received the parents

The fact that the second generation does not associate with members of the majority groups does not appear to cause particular problems for their integration. Further, it does not prevent the interviewees from having a great deal of respect for the country and province that took their parents in and enabled them to start up their businesses:

> [*Translation*]
> There is a great deal of support for young people who want to start up their own business. We have a lot of support and assistance. There are mentoring services.…People are very open to new things. (Vietnamese descent)

> I don't think I appreciated really before I left. I don't know if it's Montréal or Quebec that I like so much. The language makes it a bit difficult to penetrate, but living in Montréal is great. (Jewish descent)

> [*Translation*]
> Quebeckers are very curious, very open. They are prepared to take risks. I compare myself to them a lot. Quebeckers are similar to my

> Mediterranean culture. That is why I am happy to live in Montréal. We speak two languages; we could take on the world.…The Montréal culture is representative of Quebec culture in general. The people are very open-minded. (Egyptian descent)

A land of opportunity for many, the host society is not perceived as being discriminatory toward minorities. The comments we received reveal the young people's vision of their parents' adoptive country as a country of opportunity that can promote the strengthening of this entrepreneurial spirit.

Final considerations

The handing down of entrepreneurial spirit from the first to the second generation among ethnocultural minorities does not occur uniformly in each group. More importantly, the spirit is handed down differently depending on the type of business owned by the parents. Although there is nothing in the preliminary results to indicate that profitability plays a decisive role in the second generation's desire to take over the business or to start up their own business, the particular line of business can have either a positive or a negative impact. In addition, the type of work done by a parent seems to have some influence on the younger generation's choices. If the parents had to carry out very routine work or physically demanding tasks, the chances of the children seeing entrepreneurship as a viable economic or professional choice are lower. On the other hand, there is a feeling of pride among the second generation, for whom the parents had to make major sacrifices. As for a sense of ethnocultural belonging, again the results did not identify a strong trend towards either low or high retention of the ethnocultural identity of the parents' country of origin. However, for many, the circle of friends is made up of people with the same background or individuals from other minority ethnocultural groups. Whatever the case, everyone agreed that entrepreneurship is a good way for first generation immigrants to integrate because, as one individual underscored:

> People starting their own business build a lot of relationships. You meet a lot of people. So, you are a new guy in town, if you have your own business you are going to meet a lot of people, I think that's good. (Italian descent)

An analysis of the interviews revealed no marked differences between the interviewees and other second generation young people. However, the parents' origins and migratory paths provide a basis for the emergence of an entrepreneurial spirit. Thus, programs, training courses and additional public policies could be introduced to encourage, both financially and otherwise, this spirit in specific communities, especially those with significant problems related to labour market integration.

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Note

[1] The issue does not concern only ethnocultural minorities because in the countries of the OECD, 75% of all small businesses are family owned (with a number of members of a single family running, working in or owning shares of the business) and one-third of family-owned businesses are taken over by the second generation. For further details about the issue of succession in family-owned businesses, all groups combined, see Le Breton-Miller, Miller and Steier (2004).

RACIALIZED YOUTH, IDENTITY AND THE LABOUR MARKET

The Vietnamese Second Generation

ABSTRACT

Discussions of inequalities in the labour market in the Canadian context generally focus on the barriers faced by immigrants but pay less attention to the distinctive experience lived by their children (Rajiva 2005). This paper describes in general terms key issues and challenges faced by second and 1.5 generation Vietnamese youth in their school-to-work transitions, especially those in working class employment situations. Precarity of work condition, the non-linearity of the school-to-work transitions and how gendered and racialized processes shape schooling and employment trajectories are considered.

ESTHER ROOTHAM

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Discussions of inequalities in the labour market in the Canadian context generally focus on the barriers faced by immigrants but pay less attention to the distinctive experience lived by their children (Rajiva 2005). The latter are assumed to have had the same chances and to be on an equal footing as other children born in Canada. This paper is based on my Masters thesis research in which I explored how race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other axes of identity are constructed by children of immigrants. I then studied how these constructions affected labour market participation of children of immigrants, in particular those occupying working class jobs. I conducted a series of interviews in 2006-2007 with 23 young adults who grew up in Canada, primarily in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood, with a family history of immigration from Vietnam, and half of whom were working in low-level manufacturing or service-sector jobs. The narratives of the participants in the study revealed the manner in which the production and performance of gendered, ethnic, racial and sexual identities are fluid, contingent and often contradictory. The complexities of the identities and employment trajectories of the participants are outside the scope of this paper. Here, I will describe in general terms key issues and challenges faced by second and 1.5 generation Vietnamese youth in their school-to-work transitions, especially those in working class employment situations.

Despite a national rhetoric of multiculturalism, racial and gender discrimination is a persistent problem in the Canadian labour market (Gupta 1996, Shields, Rahi et al. 2006). While it has always been historically more difficult for women and racialized people to obtain stable work for equal pay in comparison with White men in the Canadian labour market, there has been a general trend, since the 1970s, towards an increase in precarious work and a decrease in the overall availability of secure and well-paid employment (Cranford and Vosko 2006). Youth are a particularly vulnerable age group to marginalization in the current employment climate (James 1993, Marquardt 1998, Felstead, Krahn et al. 1999, Shields, Rahi et al. 2006). Young people struggle to land full-time permanent positions in Toronto in comparison with their predecessors, before the mid-1990s (de Wolff 2006). Youth aged 15 to 24 have particularly low rates of union membership (Marquardt 1998) and represent a large segment of those in short-term, temporary work situations (de Wolff 2006). Furthermore, studies reveal that racialized workers receive significantly less financial returns for their education (Lian and Matthews 1998, Marquardt 1998).

My research confirms the precarious work conditions faced by many racialized youth in Toronto. Most of the participants in the study in working class jobs often did not know their hours of work from week to week, obtained their work through temp agencies and frequently worked less than full-time hours. Few participants worked in unionized work and most of the participants in manufacturing and service sector work earned the minimum wage. Furthermore, most of the people who I spoke with came from households in which one or both parents worked in factories; for many, they are the result of the downward class mobility that they had experienced as refugees from war, immigrating into an essentially White settler society. For young men and especially young women, decisions relating to completing high school and pursuing or not pursuing post-secondary studies were constantly negotiated with parents, who pressured their children to continue their studies and validate white collar aspirations, which are also more valued in Canadian society as a whole. Many of the young people I spoke with shared their parents' hopes for themselves that they would eventually obtain better paid work in white collar

professions. In this way, they tended to consider their current employment situations as temporary. The research illustrates the complexity of the school-to-work transition of racialized youth in the current employment climate. Many participants held employment while attending school, or discontinued their schooling but had plans to re-enrol in formal education institutions at a later date. The transition from school-to-work for the young people I spoke with was frequently very complex and not final and uni-directional but rather, a dynamic one in which a multitude of trajectories were possible.

Most of the participants worked at worksites consisting mostly or entirely of racialized employees, often with management that was White. A handful of participants were in employment situations that might be considered as being directly related to their Vietnamese family background, in the sense that their employers and co-workers were predominantly Vietnamese or that they were hired, as in the case of one participant, to serve a Vietnamese client base.

Some participants identified current stereotypes about Vietnamese people or those racialized as "Asian" and discussed ways in which these stereotypes had created barriers to their academic and labour market success. These included negative portrayals of Vietnamese people as quick-tempered, violent and criminal, or assumptions that all Vietnamese people would be hard working, quiet and strong in math and science. One participant discussed the way in which she was able to take advantage of the assumptions made by teachers that she was naturally quiet to avoid participating in class discussions. Another discussed the lack of camaderie he felt with his peers in the Political Science program at university; he pointed to their insensitivity during discussions to questions of recognition of minority rights as well as their Anglo-Saxon family background that he believed put them at an advantage in interpreting the Eurocentric curriculum materials presented. Thus, participants were able to identify a number of ways in which racial discrimination has come into play in their schooling and employment experience.

The literature suggests that despite the advances made in terms of young women's participation in post-secondary education, the youth and young adult labour market remains structured by gender to the detriment of the economic well-being of women. While both young men and women now increasingly aspire to post-secondary education, the choices made in terms of areas to study are persistently gendered (Krahn and Andres 1999). Although young women tend to excel in their studies, on average, in comparison with men, they tend to have less confidence in their abilities and also to opt for career tracks into gendered occupational ghettos (Mandell and Crysdale 1993).

The employment and schooling trajectories of the participants in the study were indeed markedly gendered in a number of ways. The types of working-class occupations that were held by participants tended to be highly organized by gender. Young men were found to be working as mechanics, as construction workers, and as machinists in manufacturing, while young women often worked in the service sector. Some young men were also found in the service sector, but there were gendered conceptions of what type of work was appropriate for men. Electronics and sporting goods stores were preferred over clothing stores, and banking and bar tending were also deemed acceptable for men. Young women without post-secondary education tended to opt for employment in areas in which there were limited opportunities for advancement, while some of the young men I spoke with who had discontinued their studies had obtained, or were in the process of obtaining, certifications as mechanics or machinists through trade school or apprenticeship programs.

Most of the participants in the study in working class jobs often did not know their hours of work from week to week, obtained their work through temp agencies and frequently worked less than full-time hours. Few participants worked in unionized work and most of the participants in manufacturing and service sector work earned the minimum wage.

Overall, and with a few exceptions, for those participants without post-secondary qualifications, women's hourly wages tended to be closer to minimum wage than those of their male counterparts, who reported earning from a few dollars to ten dollars above the minimum. In addition to the current wage disparities between the young women and the young men who had discontinued their schooling, many of the young women's longer-term ambitions led them towards areas in the labour market which are constructed as feminine, such as caring work or teaching, and which are financially undervalued. Despite this, all of the young women I spoke with made it clear they did not expect to rely on a traditional (male) breadwinner but sought to develop their own financial independence. Furthermore, these young women rarely highlighted gender-based discrimination as a problem that affected their lives outside of their homes.

Gender identities also came into play in the experience of schooling of the participants. In studying the processes of class reproduction and youth, the work of Paul Willis (1977) on working class masculinities has been especially influential. Willis explored the cultural processes through which young working-class men opted for working-class jobs. In this way, Willis followed the young men's socialization into a working class "oppositional culture" which devalued academic success and, instead,

championed masculine physical strength and manual labour. More recent ethnographic research by Dance (2002) of racialized youth in the urban centres of Boston and Cambridge in the United States emphasizes the importance for young men in particular of adopting "gangsta"-like mannerisms, which she termed "tough fronts," in order to manage the dangers of everyday "streetlife" that they face in marginalized neighbourhoods. Dance argues that teachers and other adults working with youth must be sensitive to their needs to produce an image that allows them to maintain their safety in light of the violence and fighting that takes place on the streets. Through my interviews with young adults, I found some evidence that, for a number of individuals, the adherence to a sort of "oppositional culture" during their youth had led them to subscribe to a tough street culture and reject academic success. The adoption of an oppositional youth culture was particularly relevant for some of the young men I spoke with, although one woman also explained how it shaped her experience in high school. These participants often looked back at their rebellious youth with some regret and attributed their current employment in factory work settings to their rejection of schooling.

It should be noted that while for some of the young men, these tough fronts proved an impediment to their academic success, they did report that some of their peers were able to balance their "streetlife" and their school life and were currently completing college or university degrees. This observation ties in with Carter's (2003) argument that attention be paid to the multidimensionality of cultural capital as some young people are able to juggle successfully between dominant and non-dominant forms of cultural capital depending on their context.

Those I spoke to who had adhered at some point in their lives to a "protest masculinity" did not narrate their rebellious behaviour to be a performance of Vietnamese ethnic identity. In this group of young men, there were those whose friendship circles consisted primarily of people they referred to as "Asian," and others who described their friends as coming from a range of backgrounds, and therefore not exclusively "Asian" or Vietnamese. Thus, while in some discussions of oppositional youth cultures, certain tough fronts are viewed as signifiers of authenticity of ethnicity, this was not necessarily the case for the young people I spoke with (Carter 2003). In fact, the "gangsta"-like postures were understood by one participant in racialized terms as Vietnamese people who were "acting Black." Diawara (1998) discusses, in relation to cinema, how Black maleness in terms of "esthétique du cool" and male violence become a form of cultural capital that can be drawn upon by White actors. Diawara highlights that while White actors can play Blackness or not, Black actors have immanent Blackness, that is, it is a naturalized form of cultural capital. A question that my own research raises is how bodies that are not White *or* Black deploy "Black" cultural capital and, in such cases, to what extent does it becomes fixed, or naturalized, as it does on black bodies?

In conclusion, although the focus of my research was not policy making, certain trends emerge that could be of interest to policy-makers, not the least of which being that second generation racialized youth in working class employment face many obstacles over and above those experienced by their White male Canadian peers: I have discussed the precarity of the work conditions of the participants in the study, the complexity and non-linearity of the transition from school to work and how gendered and racialized processes shaped their experience. Second generation youth form a group apart from their immigrant parents and can not be assimilated to them. Ways in which to help them make their transitions or to remove obstacles, perceived or otherwise, need to be considered.

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PRELIMINARY UNDERSTANDING OF CHALLENGES IN ENTERING THE JOB MARKET

Experience of New Generation Youth from Visible Minority Immigrant Families

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ABSTRACT

We report here preliminary findings of two exploratory studies on new generation youth from visible minority immigrant families. We tentatively conclude that coming from an immigrant family with limited social capital, a major resource for finding employment, may impose unique challenge to their job search process.

Research on the difficulties and experiences of second generation immigrant youth from non-European backgrounds in the Canadian labour market continues to grow. Youth unemployment and underemployment in this group is always significantly higher than in the general population (Yan 2000). As the result of a change in immigration policy, Canada has recruited a large number of immigrants from non-European countries since the 1970s. These immigrants have established their own communities and raised their children in Canada, creating a growing number of non-European new generation youth. The new generation refers to youth born in Canada to immigrant parents or youth that have immigrated themselves at a very young age and been brought up primarily in Canada. Recent research indicates that the new generation youth have done better than their parents who are first generation immigrants (Aydemir, Chen and Corak 2005, Hum and Simpson 2004). Using the 2001 Census data, however, most studies are confined to the older cohort of new generation youth from immigrant families that came from Europe before the 1970s. Research on this growing group of new generation youth from non-European immigrant communities is still catching up to take into account current demographic trends.

The notion that family and other personal contacts are well-known resources in the search for a job (Granovetter 1974) has recently been corroborated by Canadian research on finding employment (e.g., Canadian Youth Foundation 1995, Yan 2000). This finding draws attention to the number and type of resources found within families and contacts and how this may affect the opportunities of youth searching for employment. Payne (1987), for instance, found that unemployment may run in families, perhaps resulting from limited family resources providing access to employment opportunities. This may pose problems for immigrant families in particular. Recent research from Statistics Canada (2004, Zietsma 2007) on immigrants in Canadian urban centres finds higher unemployment rates within the immigrant population compared with Canadian-born individuals and that the economic performance of immigrants, particularly in terms of income, is also lower than their counterparts in the general population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2004). This is true even among those holding Canadian credentials (Anisef, Sweet and Frempong 2003).

New generation youth from these immigrant families and communities may face greater challenges in entering the job market and securing a stable and well-paying job as a result. This may be particularly true for youth from visible minority immigrant families. Some studies indicate that these youth (who were born in Canada or came to Canada when they were very young and have gone through the education process in Canada) tend to have lower income and less desirable jobs compared with the general youth population (Cheung 2005, Palameta 2007). Similar findings are also found in Australia (Nesdale and Pinter 2000).

Taking these conditions into consideration raises a number of important questions. In our research we aim to explore the actual job-seeking experiences of new generation immigrant youth. Given that family is a primary source of job referrals and job-seeking resources, we consider the advantages and disadvantages of their family and its network in their job-seeking process. We are also interested in the impact of educational achievements and aspirations on searching for and finding employment. The research is based on three related data sources. The first draws on qualitative data collected through focus group interviews with new generation youth without university degrees. A total of five focus group interviews were conducted with youth from South Asian, Chinese and Filipino/Filipina backgrounds.

The second data source was collected through survey research conducted with 140 youth graduating from university in 2007. The sample includes new generation youth from non-European backgrounds, new generation youth from European backgrounds and European youth whose parents were born in Canada.[1] The third data source draws on qualitative interviews conducted with 20 new generation youth from various ethnic backgrounds who participated in the survey and who had university degrees.

Research findings

Below we briefly summarize our current findings from this exploratory research. Using our qualitative data sources, we first look at new generation youth who are non-university graduates and then at university graduates. We follow this with a look at the general job search picture of new generation university graduates from European and non-European backgrounds and third generation youth from European backgrounds whose parents were born in Canada. The findings indicate that job search strategies differ among these graduates in terms of their ethnic background. Drawing from the two sets of qualitative data, we highlight some major barriers for youth from visible minority immigrant families.

Job search strategies among youth without university degrees[2]

We found in our interviews that youth without university degrees were likely to move regularly from job to job. These moves were often lateral, rather than to better or more stable jobs. Many of the youth have worked or are currently working in entry-level positions in the service sector in labour intensive jobs. Often these youth have few sunk costs in these jobs, making them easy to leave, and in British Columbia's current tight labour market it is not too hard for them to find their next entry-level job. In the market today, it is often possible for these youth to find work through walk-ins and cold calls on employers. While the goal of job change is sometimes to find better, more rewarding work, many job changes seem to be made in order to facilitate some aspects of personal life.

Despite these youths being able to find work with co-ethnic employers, poor past experiences leave many of these youths evading such opportunities and searching for work outside their ethnic enclaves. Co-ethnic employers often expect too much, according to our respondents, and do not fairly compensate their employees. Interviewees expressed having to work long hours completing arduous work for co-ethnic employers and are asked to accept reduced pay, delayed pay or not receive overtime. Thus, these youth wish to avoid relationships where they feel their shared ethnicity further compromises their right to fair and equitable treatment.

Along with the tight labour market, regular job movement is facilitated by using personal contacts to find work. Personal contacts provide information about job openings or a personal reference to an employer. Using personal contacts can also often shorten the job search. Youth without degrees take advantage of this assistance as they move from job to job. Interestingly, they do not ask for personal contact assistance from family members and are more likely to use contacts from friends. For some of the youth, their parents' ties do not offer them the kinds of opportunities they are looking for. Parents often provide support but are unable to provide contacts for the type of employment being sought. Our respondents also express a strong desire to make it on their own merits. For the youth this often means doing so without the assistance of their parents. Very few youth reported seeking help from employment service agencies, something of which many of the youth were not even aware.

Despite not having a university degree, the youth we spoke with still valued the importance of education. It is an integral part of their values and aspirations, which, as many of them reported, are inherited from their parents who have constantly encouraged or even pressured them to pursue a proper post-secondary education. For many of the youth, a degree or diploma also means holding credentials that provide access to better jobs. Many youth described a continuous approach to their education goals. They regularly take courses in order to "upgrade" their skills and credentials. While some youth express an interest in completing coursework for a degree, there is no sense of urgency to complete a degree, and, in some cases, a specific degree is not the stated goal of taking courses.

> New generation youth…may face greater challenges in entering the job market and securing a stable and well-paying job as a result. This may be particularly true for youth from visible minority immigrant families.

Job search strategies among youth with university degrees[3]

Like their counterparts who have no university degree, the new generation youth with a university degree see value in the credentials they obtained, which open doors to employment opportunities. These youth question, however, the usefulness of the material learned while obtaining their degree. They also desired more support from the university or their academic department in their job search, such as resume writing and interviewing practice. Particularly for those seeking professional jobs, such as teaching, youth desired more practical advice on how to navigate the complicated job application process of their profession.

With a university degree in hand, this group finds "upgrades" through professional experience rather than course work. We found in our interviews that youth with university degrees were planning for the start of a career; they therefore tend to be looking for long-term professional work. This goal leads them to spend more time and effort on the job search, which some describe as "pulling hair" – frustrating and stressful. Despite this frustration, approximately 80% of respondents found work within a two-month period. A majority of them found a job in their professional field, except those with liberal arts degrees. Working for co-ethnics is not common for this group, compared with their non-university counterparts, nor is avoiding the co-ethnic enclave

an important part of the job search experience for youth with university degrees.

Table 1 shows the job search strategies for a sample of 140 students approximately one year after graduating university. Personal contacts include family, friends and acquaintances. Impersonal strategies include cold calls, help wanted advertisements and other approaches not relying on a previous relationship. The recent graduates were asked exactly how they found their current job. In general, university degree youth do not rely on family to find work. Youth in this group, youth with professional aspirations, do not consider their parents to be a valuable resource for obtaining job referrals or information. Parents and family are, however, a valuable resource for emotional support throughout the process of finding work. When personal contacts are used, it is more likely to be through friends and acquaintances that possess some professional experience in the youth's chosen field. Only a few of the graduates were aware that formal employment services existed.

Table 1
How exactly did you find your current job? (N=140)

	Through personal contacts	Through impersonal strategies
New generation non-European youth	35.7%	64.3%
New generation European youth	61.3%	38.7%
Third-plus generation European youth	46.2%	53.8%

Table 1 compares the job-search strategies of university graduates by ethnic/racial background and shows that new generation youth from non-European backgrounds are less likely to use personal contacts for finding work. Only 35.7% of these youth used personal ties to find their current job. This complements the findings of our interviews discussed previously and suggests that the resources found within the personal networks of these youth may not be particularly rich when looking for professional positions. The same is not true for those from European backgrounds. Just over 46% of youth from the third-plus generation group found their current job through personal contacts, and over 60% of new generation youth with European backgrounds found their current job through personal contacts.

Coming from a visible minority immigrant family

The findings presented here require further examination. The findings are suggestive of the difficulties for new generation youth from non-European backgrounds that may follow from having limited personal network resources. Many visible minority youth from both studies reported that their parents – first generation immigrants – are not helpful in the job search process because they do not have a professional job, they work in the ethnic enclave or they lack a wider cross-ethnic social network. Many of their parents do not know how to navigate the job search process in their children's chosen field. When asked about the ethnic background of friends that are instrumental in their job search process, new generation youth from visible minority immigrant families reported in both studies that these friends are largely from their same ethnic group.

Conclusions

If social capital is an important resource for young people searching for work (Granovetter 1974), then this exploratory research suggests that new generation youth face a unique challenge when entering the job market. With the increase in the number of job seekers from these new generations in the immigrant community in Canada (Statistiques Canada 2005), more research is needed on these new generation youth and their job search experiences (Portes 1995).

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Notes

[1] The sample comes form the second wave of a longitudinal design. The sample is not strictly random due to an over sampling of non-European youth in a non-random fashion in order to increase representation.

[2] This study is funded by Research on Immigration and Integration on Metropolis (recently renamed "Metropolis British Columbia").

[3] This study is funded by Canada Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

STRIKING A BALANCE IN CANADA'S DIVERSITY DIALOGUE

The Case of the Portuguese-Canadian Community

FERNANDO NUNES

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The waning decades of the 20th century were witness to a dramatic alteration in the nature of immigration to Canada. While up to the 1960s, the majority (70% to 90%) of those settling in this country still originated from European countries, by 2001 these proportions had steadily decreased, to about 16%. In contrast, the number of new arrivals from Asia, Africa and Latin America rose from less than 10% in the early 1960s, to about 77% in 2006 (Chui, Tran and Maheux 2007, Statistics Canada 2004).

This unprecedented increase in the proportion of non-European immigration to Canada has brought a profound change to our national dialogue on diversity. Up until the late 1970s, it was still common in this country to conceptualize, study and politicize our social, economic and political diversity in terms of cultural, linguistic or class differences. One example of this was our historic preoccupation with the divide between English and French; another was the widespread acclaim given to John Porter's *Vertical Mozaic* (1965). However, the end of the 1970s saw increasing scrutiny being paid in this country to the reality of race (as defined by phenotypical differences like skin colour), as a determining factor of the level of participation in Canadian society. As a result, Canada's historic and national dialogue on diversity, which had previously been concerned mainly with cultural, linguistic and class considerations was soon overtaken by a debate on the effects of race.

This change in mindset has resulted in increased attention, on the part of our government institutions, to issues of colour-based discrimination and exclusion. One example of this has been the gradual restructuring of the Multiculturalism Policy (1971) and the follow-up *Multiculturalism Act* (1988), from a focus on linguistic and cultural preservation, to a program whose priorities today are the promotion of integration and the combating of racism (Canadian Heritage 2008). Another change has been the enactment of the federal government's *Employment Equity Act* (1986, 1995), which targets four designated equity groups, based on phenotypical race, gender and ability (visible minorities, women, Aboriginals and the disabled). On the academic front, this change has been paralleled by the increasing adoption of theoretical perspectives such as anti-racism theory as guiding paradigms for research on diversity and inequality (Dei 1996).

This movement towards the adoption of race-based – as opposed to ethnocultural – categorizations has also resulted, at least at the government level, in a shift away from a research and policy focus on integration that specifically addresses language and culture. For example, much of the current research on minority integration presently conducted by various levels of government agencies focuses on federally designated equity groups, rather than on specific linguistic or cultural communities. Another example of this is the tendency in many publications to write about racial and cultural differences as if they were one and the same phenomena. This is illustrated by the interchangeable use of terms like "immigrant" or "minority" with "visible minority" or "people of colour," as well as the habit of ignoring the cultural and linguistic differences between same-race minorities. Unfortunately, this has meant that the economic, political and social inclusion of social groupings that are based on historical, ethnic or linguistic commonalities is, in many cases, no longer targeted, or recognized as such, at the government level. This has resulted in particular communities, both white and visible minorities, falling "through the cracks" in terms of research and policy.

The Portuguese-Canadian case

Nowhere is this gap in research and policy more evident than in the case of the Portuguese in Canada, a group that is often touted as having made a successful transition from a predominantly rural, under-educated and unskilled immigrant population, to an economically stable, hardworking and self-sufficient community.

Yet, despite this veneer of prosperity and stability, there is evidence that the Portuguese in Canada are facing severe systemic barriers to a full integration into Canadian society, particularly in the realm of education. These barriers are often comparable to those that are faced by some of our non-European minority groups. In some areas, the Portuguese example also defies prevailing anti-racist theories, which explain differential and ongoing lack of access to resources, mainly as a consequence of colour differences. Due to a research gap, these barriers often go unaddressed by policy-makers and, consequently, the situation of the Portuguese remains unknown to many mainstream scholars and policy-makers.

Background: The Portuguese community in Canada

Persons of Portuguese ancestry (also known as "Luso-Canadians") began immigrating in larger numbers to Canada in 1953 and continued to do so up to the early 1990s (Anderson and Higgs 1976, Marques and Medeiros 1980). Originating disproportionately from the poorest rural regions in Portugal and the Azores, the migrant generations of this community had some of the lowest levels of education of any minority group (usually only four years or less) (Anderson and Higgs 1976).

Moving overwhelmingly into unskilled construction, manufacturing or service occupations, the Portuguese soon managed to overcome many of the limitations of their low education levels and achieved a measure of economic success and security in their new land. For example, by the end of the 1990s, they had achieved very high levels (70%) of home ownership (Murdie and Teixeira 2003). They also tended to display low poverty levels and average levels of unemployment (Nunes 1998, Ornstein 2001, 2006a, 2006b and 2006c). By the year 2000, the community comprised 358,000 people, or roughly 1.2% of Canada's population (Statistics Canada 2001). Sixty percent of Luso-Canadians live in Toronto and Montréal, where in each city they represent the 6th and 9th largest non-British/Irish or Quebecois group (Statistics Canada 2003). Large communities also exist in centres like Vancouver, Hamilton, Kitchener, London Ontario, Ottawa-Gatineau, Thunder Bay and Winnipeg.

Yet, the limited occupational and educational profile of the first Portuguese immigrants, coupled by high rates of school dropouts, soon led this community to experience levels of unequal participation in Canada's economic prosperity (Li 1988, Nunes 1986b, Ornstein 2000, 2006a, 2006b and 2006c, Porter 1965). For example, they earn significantly lower than average incomes. They also show low levels of political participation and representation, relative to their numbers, and a tendency to turn inward towards the family, a legacy of having lived under one of Europe's longest dictatorships (the Salazar regime), which strongly repressed political and civic involvement (Anderson and Higgs 1976, Nunes 1986b). The marginalized economic and educational profile of the first generations of the Portuguese-Canadian community also gave rise to a negative image of this group, held by many members of the Canadian society:

> [*Author's translation*]
>
> I am going to give a description of the Portuguese in the eyes of the typical Canadian: The Portuguese are dark and short. They speak a strange language that only they understand….The Portuguese man is a labourer. He works in construction.…The Portuguese woman works as a cleaning lady. The Portuguese is not very sophisticated....[He] doesn't like to study. Maybe the image of the Portuguese…will change in the next generation….I hope so. At least the image they now have could not be any worse. (Duckworth 1986)

Up until the late 1970s, it was still common…to conceptualize, study and politicize our social, economic and political diversity in terms of cultural, linguistic or class differences….The end of the 1970s saw increasing scrutiny being paid in this country to the reality of race as a determining factor of the level of participation in Canadian society.

Today, the Portuguese community, already entering into its third Canadian-born generation, continues to be largely marginalized from many sectors of Canadian society. Luso-Canadians still display the highest percentages of individuals with only a primary school education, among all Canadian minority groups (Matas and Valentine 2000, Nunes 1998 and 2000, Ornstein 2000, 2006a and 2006b). More significantly, their proportion of university and college graduates are equal to those of the Aboriginal communities (6%). Their concentrations in unskilled and manufacturing jobs parallel those of more recent immigrant groups. They also have disproportionately low numbers of people in professional and management positions (Matas and Valentine 2000, Nunes and 1998 and 2000, Ornstein 2000, 2006a and 2006b). As a consequence, they continue to earn significantly lower average incomes than other Canadians and have percentages of upper-income earners that are comparable, once again, only to those in the Aboriginal communities (Nunes 1998 and 2000, Ornstein 2000, 2006a and 2006b). Luso-Canadians also continue to be underrepresented within the political, economic, social and cultural sectors of our nation. In the late 1990s, the Luso-Canadian academic Edite Noivo (1997: 33) observed:

> After 25 or more years in the "land of opportunity", the overall socioeconomic conditions of Portuguese immigrants remain well below the national average…and they show minimal participation in mainstream society.

The community's academic underachievement

The Luso-Canadian community's full inclusion into Canadian society has been most impeded by the chronic academic underachievement of its youth. Since the early 1970s, successive generations of Luso-Canadian children – particularly in the city of Toronto – have been performing at significantly lower academic levels, have been found to be disproportionately represented in special education and remedial reading programs and were reported to be dropping out of school earlier and in greater numbers than most other students. (Brown 1999, Brown et al. 1992, Cheng and Yau 1999, Cheng et al. 1989, Santos 2004, Nunes 1986 and 2003, Ornstein 2000, 2006a, 2006b and 2006c, Yau, Cheng and Ziegler 1993). Luso-Canadians in Toronto have also been more likely to plan not to attend university, to lack confidence in their ability to succeed in post-secondary education, to work the longest average hours of part-time work and spend the fewest hours per week on homework (Cheng and Yau 1999, Cheng, Yau and Ziegler 1993, Larter et al. 1982, Project Diploma 2004). At the turn of the millennium, only approximately 6% of all Luso-Canadians over the age of 15 had obtained a university degree (Matas and Valentine 2000).

The community's dropout problem was highlighted in the report of the Royal Commission on Learning (1994) and among the newer generations by Giles (2002) and Ornstein (2000, 2006a, 2006b and 2000c). In the 2000 report *Ethnoracial Inequality in Toronto*, Ornstein showed how Portuguese youth aged 20 to 24 had the second-highest dropout rate of any minority and described Luso-Canadians as one of the groups "of most concern" (p. 51) and as suffering "extreme [educational] disadvantage" (p. 124-125). In 2006, Ornstein followed with two other reports showing that this situation had not changed and that the Portuguese in Montréal and Vancouver were showing similar trends (Ornstein 2006a, 2006b).

The fears of "social reproduction"

In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of community organizations and activists brought this problem to the attention of the media and government. They blamed the school system for failing to act on systemic discriminatory barriers, such as academic streaming, biased I.Q. testing and low teacher expectations (Dos Santos, Perestrelo and Coelho 1985, Duffy 1995, Ward 1985). The Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education, an ad-hoc group made up of more than 40 community associations and activists, also set up ongoing working groups with both school boards, looking into ways of reversing these trends. These groups echoed the concern of their community regarding the wholesale "social reproduction" and subsequent marginalization of entire generations of Portuguese youth. Participants in a 1998 national study of Luso-Canadians expressed these fears (Nunes 1998: 7):

> If our children do not complete high-school...do not go to university, we are going to continue to have a Portuguese community that is the mirror image of...the first generation….I think that if we do not pay attention [this will turn into] a great calamity for the Portuguese community."

This sentiment was also echoed in a separate study undertaken in Montréal (Noivo 1997: 95):

> First, a great number of third generation members are neither pursuing an education nor acquiring marketable skills….Many appear fervently determined "to enjoy life" instead of just working hard and saving. I found it appalling that no one…seems to realize the seriousness of the situation, or seems troubled by the uncertain…future of the third generation.

Today, the Portuguese community, already entering into its third Canadian-born generation, continues to be largely marginalized from many sectors of Canadian society. Luso-Canadians still display the highest percentages of individuals with only a primary school education, among all Canadian minority groups.

A point of urgency on this matter is the fact that this community's under-24 youth component is proportionately larger and has a faster growth rate than the overall population, or similar ethnocultural groups (e.g., Italians, Greeks) (Nunes 1998, Ornstein 2006b and 2006c, Tepper 2002). Thus, the successful integration of this community is more intimately tied than most to the development of the "social capital" of its youth (Policy Research Initiative 2005).

The community's fears regarding the lack of educational progress of its youth are borne out by research that shows that Portuguese-Canadian children of immigrants are, indeed, not progressing beyond their parents' limited socioeconomic roles. A 2005 report on the intergenerational mobility amongst the children of immigrants indicated that while Portuguese-Canadian youth had nearly doubled the education levels of their fathers, their incomes had failed to improve compared to those of their elders (Aydemir, Chen and Corak 2005). In fact, first generation males were actually shown to be

earning slightly less than their fathers, with females earning exceedingly less. The report also demonstrated that the income levels of the Canadian-born children of the Portuguese are similar to those of more recent visible minority immigrant groups, who also have similarly low education levels, (e.g., Central Americans, South Americans, Guyanese, Jamaicans, Grenadians, Ecuadorians, etc.).

The need for an ethno-specific research focus

A frequent call by many Luso-Canadian organizations and activists, voiced during meetings with various Ontario Ministers of Education and the Royal Commission on Learning, has been for increased research on this problem, including more research into ethnicity-referenced data (Ferreira 1998, Januario 1997 and 1998, Levy 1995, Pedro 2004, Ponte 1995, Royal Commission on Learning 1994: 95-96, Tavares 2004).

Despite these calls and the indications that the Portuguese community faces significant barriers to integration, the situation has yet to be effectively examined by the research community or, in particular, by the government. Being a predominantly White, European minority, the Portuguese are most often not identified as a separate target group in many government research and policy documents. Consequently, in such reports, data on this community is often amalgamated under the rubric of "European," "Southern European" or "White." In this fashion, the community's issues are not highlighted, discussed, nor brought to the attention of policy-makers.

Concomitantly, this group also does not attract much attention from the wider academic research community. For example, in a 2001 annotated bibliography of Master's and Ph.D. theses written between 1980 and 2001 on the topic of diversity, it was noted that out of 1,500 dissertations, only 16 had been conducted specifically on the Portuguese (Mulholland 2001). In comparison, in this same time period, 160 theses were conducted on Chinese-Canadians, 80 on South Asians, 81 on Blacks, 50 on Italians and 20 on Greeks.

At the policy level, this lack of attention is reflected in the lack of inclusion of the Portuguese community in equity initiatives that are designed to counter systemic barriers. For example, some Portuguese youth question why their community is not counted among the designated federal government equity groups, despite suffering severe structural barriers to education (Nunes 1998). They lament the fact that a number of communities whose graduation patterns show no underachievement are included, while they are not. Others have also decried the common practice of using region of origin to determine who is member of a visible minority for equity purposes (e.g., job applications that specifically state that those born in Portugal are not to self-identify as visible minority). One youth pointed out the ironic situation that a Brazilian-born child of Portuguese immigrants, who had moved to Canada from Latin America, would be eligible to claim visible-minority status in an employment application, while the child's cousins, or brothers, who were born in Canada, or in Portugal, would not.

This great lack of research and policy attention points to a current gap in our "diversity dialogue." The absence of an ethnocultural focus in much of the government research affects not only the Portuguese, but also other visible minority groups that are often amalgamated under the rubric of wider racial categories (e.g., Haitians, Vietnamese, Afghans, etc.). Like the Portuguese, a certain number of these groups are also facing severe barriers to integration, yet their unique situations are rarely being addressed separately in research and policy from those of other visible minority communities.

In summary, by casting a wider net in order to include considerations of race, the diversity dialogue has addressed a reality that had long been ignored in previous decades. However, grouping different and often culturally or linguistically unique groups into broad racial categorizations has also often served to obscure significant differences between very different ethnocultural populations of similar race. These communities should be profiled, in their own right, and their needs should be addressed in policy. It is hoped that Canada's diversity dialogue can find the right balance between the need to address both ethnicity and race.

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SELECTED SESSIONS AND PAPERS RELATED TO IMMIGRATION, DIVERSITY AND SECOND GENERATION YOUTH

May 31 to June 8, 2008

This overview is based on preliminary conference programs, submitted by participating associations of the 77th Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences. It is current as of April 25, 2008. Please contact the organizers of respective sessions for additional information.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES (AASSC) / ASSOCIATION POUR L'AVANCEMENT DES ÉTUDES SCANDINAVES AU CANADA (AAESC)

June 1

IMMIGRATION ISSUES

Chair: Birgitta Wallace (Lakehead University)

- Laurie Bertram (University of Toronto)
  "Graftarnes: The Re-surfacing of an Icelandic-Canadian Smallpox Cemetery, 1876-2008"
- Charles Webster (University of Wisconsin – Madison)
  "Immigrants in Scandinavia: Language Contact and New Linguistic Identities"
- Anna Rue (University of Wisconsin – Madison)
  "Andrew A. Veblen: Negotiating National, Regional and Hyphenated Identities in the Bygdelag Movement"
- Claire Johnstone (University of Alberta)
  "Danish Immigration to Canada"

ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN AND QUEBEC LITERATURES (ALCQ) / ASSOCIATION DES LITTERATURES CANADIENNES ET QUÉBÉCOISE (ACQL)

May 31

MIGRATION AND DIASPORA I

- Paulo Lemos Horta (Simon Fraser University)
  "Found in Translation: Migration, Identity and Multiculturalism in *Max and the Cats* and *Life of Pi*"
- Nadine Charafeddine (Université de Montréal)
  "L'ambivalence de la traversée des frontières dans *Littoral* de Wajdi Mouawad"
- Daniel Castillo Durante (Université d'Ottawa)
  "Le sud et ses frontières dans la littérature québécoise contemporaine : Sergio Kokis, un voyageur sans bagages"

MIGRATION AND DIASPORA II

- Christina Horvath (Oxford University)
  "Migration littéraire au Québec"
- Lyne Martineau (Université Laval)
  "L'enseignement de la littérature francophone : ni centre, ni périphérie : le monde"
- Eileen Lohka (University of Calgary)
  "Immigrer vers et dans les autres par les mots : déterritorialisation de la littérature"

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF NETHERLANDIC STUDIES (CAANS) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'AVANCEMENT DES ÉTUDES NÉERLANDAISES

May 31

Individual paper:

- Inge Genee (University of Lethbridge)
  "Recent Dutch Immigration and the Situation of the Dutch Language in Southern Alberta"

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF LATIN-AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN STUDIES (CALACS) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES LATINO-AMERICAINES ET DES CARAÏBES (ACELAC)

June 7

Individual paper:

- Kate Sheese (York University)
  "Fracturas: An Arts-based Exploration of Mental Health and Women's Migration in the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program"

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (CASID) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES DU DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

June 5

RESHAPING THE BORDERS:
MIGRATION EXPERIENCES CONSIDERED
Organizer: Tricia Vanderkooy

- Julie Drolet (Thompson Rivers University)
  "Settlement Experiences in a Small City"
- Agnes Mochama (University of Toronto)
  "Transnational Political Linkages of Immigrants in Global Cities"
- Trish Scantlebury and Kerry Preibisch (University of Guelph)
  "Caribbean Migration Workers: Shifting Responsibilities of Transnational Households"
- Tricia Vanderkooy (Florida International University)
  "Over Time and Distance : Exploring Transnationalism within Haitian Second-generation Immigrants"

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (CHA) / SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DU CANADA (SCH)

June 2

Individual papers:

- Tanja Bueltmann (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand) "Diaspora, Terrains of Belonging and the Role of Organised Ethnicity: A Comparative Study of Scottish Migrant Community Identities in Canada and New Zealand to 1910"
- Paul Krause (University of British Columbia)
  "Identities, Places and Migrations: The Case of Alexander and Margaret Chavous Proctor"
- Audrey Pyée (York University)
  "French and Catholic: Migration, Remembrance and Identity in Two Prairies Communities: Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and Saint-Claude, Manitoba"

June 3

IMMIGRATION POLICY

- Ryan Eyford (University of Manitoba)
  "Vatnsþing: Space and Governance in the Icelandic Reserve, 1877-1887"
- David Gouter (McMaster University)
  "Shifting Ground: Canadian Labour and Immigration in the 1940s"
- Laura Madokoro (University of British Columbia)
  "Not All Refugees are Created Equal: Canada Welcomes Sopron Students and Staff in 1956"

NARRATIVES OF NATION: ETHNIC, INDIGENOUS AND TRANSNATIONAL CLAIMS TO IDENTITY IN CANADA

- Laurie Bertram (University of Toronto)
  "The Settler Body and the Ethnic Land Claim: Migration and Colonial Space on the Prairies"

June 4

REPOSITIONING ETHNIC IDENTITY:
MIGRANT STRATEGIES IN THE CONTEXT OF PLACE
Facilitator: Leslie Page Moch (Michigan State University)

- Willeen G. Keough (Simon Fraser University)
  "Irish Migration, Ethnic Identity and the Processes of Displacement and Replacement"
- Andrea Geiger (Simon Fraser University)
  "'A Thrifty, Hardy Population Better than Those of Europe': Positioning Japanese Migrants in the North American West, 1895-1925"
- Stephen Fielding (Simon Fraser University)
  "'The Face of Little Italy': The Colombo Lodge Beauty Pageant and Italian Identity in Trail, British Columbia, 1970-1976"

THIRD WORLD DECOLONIZATION
AND THE SIXTIES IN CANADA

- Scott Rutherford (Queen's University)
  "From Grassy Narrows to Guyana: The Politics and Symbolism of Indigenous Anti-colonialism and Third World Decolonization in Cold War Canada"
- Sean Mills (University of Wisconsin – Madison)
  "Labour, Migration, and Decolonization in the Sixties"

CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ASSOCIATION (CIRA) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES (ACRI)

June 5

IMMIGRANTS AND TRADITIONALLY UNORGANIZED WORKERS
Chair: Steve Havlovic

- Rajib Dhar
  "Trade Unionism in the IT Industry: An Employee's Perspective"
- Gerald Hunt
  "The Work of Sex: Rethinking Sex Work, Sex Workers and the Role of Organized Labour"
- Louise Clarke and Suzanne Mills
  "An Exploratory Look at Trade Union Organizing of Aboriginal Peoples"
- Rupa Banerjee and Anil Verma
  "The Determinants and Effects of Post-Migration Education among New Immigrants in Canada"
- Steven Wald and Tony Fang
  "The Overeducation of Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Market: Evidence from the Workplace and Employee Survey"

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (CPSA) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE (ACSP)

June 4

Individual papers:

- Garth Stevenson (Brock University) and Mai Nguyen (York University)
  "Immigration Reform in Canada and the United States"
- Oliver Schmidtke, Mirko Kovacev and Jen Bagelman (University of Victoria)
  "Including and Excluding Highly Skilled Immigrants in the Labour Market: A Canadian European Comparison"

June 5

IMMIGRATION POLICY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY
Discussant: Leslie Seidle (IRPP)

- Christopher G. Anderson and Sandy Irvine (Wilfrid Laurier University)
  "Canada in a New Canada-United States Migration Regime: Past, Present and Future"
- Micheline Labelle (Université du Québec à Montréal)
  "Multiculturalisme canadien, interculturalisme québécois : les associations arabo-musulmanes face à l'État"
- Dagmar Soennecken (York University)
  "Refugee Determinations and Judicial Empowerment: 'Not Just What but When'"
- Scott Watson (University of Victoria)
  "The Reluctant Refuge: Contrasting Canada's Refugee and Border Control Policies"

ROUNDTABLE: CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Chair: Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)

- Dagmar Sonnecken (York University)
- Oliver Scmidtke (University of Victoria)
- Christopher G. Anderson (Wilfrid Laurier University)
- Willem Maas (York University)
- Randall Hansen (University of Toronto)

June 6

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CARE: TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Chair: Paul Kershaw (University of British Columbia)

Discussant: Abigail Bakan (Queen's University)

- Fiona Williams (University of Leeds)
  "Theorising Migration and Home-based Care in European Welfare States"
- Christina Gabriel (Carleton University)
  "The Care Circuit: Migration and the Political Economy of Globalized Carework"
- Hironori Onuki (York University)
  "Care, Social Reproduction and Global Labour Migrations: Globalization as Practice, Primitive Accumulation, and Everyday Spaces in Japan"

ELUSIVE BUT INDISPENSABLE: THE "PEOPLE" IN POLITICAL THEORY: THE PEOPLE'S BOUNDARIES: IMMIGRATION AND THE FOREIGN OTHER
Discussant: Stephen Macedo (Princeton)

- Michael Blake (University of Washington)
  "Immigration and Cultural Particularism"
- Phil Triadafilopoulos (University of Toronto)
  "Forced to be Free? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe"
- Anna Moltchanova (Carleton College)
  "The General Will and Immigration"

PUBLIC OPINION, IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

- Antoine Bilodeau (Concordia University), Steve White (University of Toronto) and Neil Nevitte (University of Toronto)
  "Canadian Immigrants' Political Integration: A Regional Perspective"
- Allison Harell (McGill University)
  "Social Diversity and the Development of Political Tolerance"
- Andrea M. L. Perrella (Wilfrid Laurier University) and Jiyoon Kim (Université de Montréal)
  "No Automatic Liberals: Immigrant Voting in the 2006 Canadian Election"
- Erin Penner (University of British Columbia)
  "Majority and Immigrant Opinion and Multiculturalism in Canada"

CANADIAN POPULATION SOCIETY (CPS) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DE LA POPULATION (SCP)

June 5

RACE, ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRANT FAMILIES
Organizer: Judy Lynn Richards (University of Prince Edward Island and University of Western Ontario)

Chair: Sharon Lee (University of Victoria)

- Lisa Kaida (University of Toronto)
  "The Exit from Low Income among Recent Immigrants to Canada"
- Kamrul Islam (University of Alberta)
  "The Socioeconomic Attainment of 30-year-old Immigrant Women in Canada in 2001"
- Barry Edmonston, Sharon M. Lee and Zheng Wu (University of Victoria)
  "Housing Cost Burdens: Immigrant Families in British Columbia"
- Wendy Roth (University of British Columbia)
  "Migration and Racial Assimilation: Dominican and Puerto Rican Identities in Sending and Receiving Countries"
- Monica Boyd and Naoko Shida (University of Toronto)
  "Unstable Ethnicities: Impacts of Question Wording and Respondent Characteristics"

Individual paper:

- Tina Chui (Statistics Canada)
  "Overview of Immigration and Ethnocultural Data from the 2006 Census"

June 6

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION
Organizer: Eric Fong (University of Toronto)

Chair: Eric Fong (University of Toronto)

- Feng Hou (Statistics Canada)
  "Immigrants Working with Co-ethnics: Who Are They and How Do They Fare?"
- Michael Haan (University of Alberta)
  "The Residential Crowding of Immigrants in Canada"
- Teresa Abada and Eric Tenkorang (University of Western Ontario)
  "Gender Differences in the Educational Attainment among the Children of Canadian Immigrants"
- René Houle and Grant Schellenberg (Statistics Canada)
  "Remittance Behaviours among Recent Immigrants in Canada"
- Barry Edmonston (University of Victoria)
  "Canadian Provincial Population Growth: The Effect of International and Internal Migration"

CANADIAN SOCIETY FOR ITALIAN STUDIES (CSIS) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE POUR LES ÉTUDES ITALIENNES (SCÉI)

May 31

ITALIAN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION I
Organizer and Chair: Gabriele Scardellato (York University)

- Margaret Dorazio-Migliore (Langley, B.C.)
  "On the Job: Distress and Fulfillment among Italian Canadian Women"
- Sam Migliore (Kwantlen University College)
  "Migration, Tourism and the Moveable Feast"
- David Bellusci (Dominican University College)
  "On Being Italian: Growing Up in Vancouver

June 2

ITALIAN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION II
Organizer: Gabriele Scardellato (York University)

Chair: Olga Zorzi Pugliese (University of Toronto)

- Angelo Principe (University of Toronto)
  "Singolarità del quindicinale antifascista, La voce degli Italo-canadesi: 1938-1940"
- Gabriele Scardellato (York University) and Roberto Perin (Glendon College, York University)
  "Friulian Migrants and Immigrants: Ellis Island and the British Columbia Labouring Frontier"
- Javier Grossutti (Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University)
  "Unskilled Laborers or Aristocracy of the Work Force? Italian Mosaicists and Terrazzo Workers in New York City"

ITALIAN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION III
Organizer: Gabriele Scardellato (York University)

Chair: Roberto Perin (Glendon College, York University)

- Sonia Cancian (Immigration History Research Center, University of Minneapolis)
  "What Do Love Letters Tell Us about Italian Postwar Migration to Canada?"
- Roberta Iannacito-Provenzano (York University)
  "Social Media and the Representation of Identity among Ethnic Youth in Canada: The Case of Italian Canadians"
- Irene Poggi (Universitá degli Studi di Genova)
  "La questione linguistica nel Québec degli anni '60 e '70 e il ruolo giocato dalla comunità italiana"
- Chiara Vigliano (Università di Lubiana)
  "Italie-Québec : parcours interculturels (Università di Montréal, autunno 2006)"

CANADIAN SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION (CSSE) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION (SCÉÉ)

June 3

IMMIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

- Dan Cui (University of Alberta)
  "Beyond Borders: A Comparative Perspective on Chinese Immigrants in North America"
- Tejwant Chana, (University of Alberta)
  "Globalized Identities: The Essentials of 'Essentialism' and the 'New Racism' of Cultural Differences in Canada"
- Robert Sweet (Lakehead University), Paul Anisef (York University) and David Walters (Lakehead University)
  "Immigrant Parents' Investments in their Children's Post-secondary Education"

CANADIAN SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCTION (CSSHE) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR (SCÉES)

June 3

RESHAPING BOUNDARIES: INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN CANADA
Chair: Robert Fleming

- David Marshall
  "Differentiation by Degrees: System Design and the Changing Undergraduate Environment in Canada"
- Andrew Boggs and David W. Trick
  "How to Make College-University Cooperation Work: Analysis Based on Institutional Case Studies in Ontario"
- Dianne Common
  "Universities, Cities and Politics in the Age of Migration of Talent"

CANADIAN SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGION (CSSR) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RELIGION (SCÉR)

June 3

MUSLIM WOMEN AND THE INTERNET
Chair: Maryam Razavy (University of Alberta)

- Roxanne D. Marcotte (University of Queensland)
  "Representations of Muslims and the Internet: Where to Begin?"
- Rubina Ramji (Cape Breton University)
  "What is Authentic? How Second Generation Muslim Women Define Islam for Themselves"

RELIGION IN CANADA: IMMIGRATION AND THE MILITARY

- Tony Lovink (University of Ottawa)
  "Religion and the African Diaspora in Ottawa"
- Joanne Benham Rennick (University of Waterloo)
  "Canadian Values and Military Operations in the 21st Century"

PANEL: ASIAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN CANADA
Chair: Alison R. Marshall (Brandon University)

- Dan Overmyer (University of British Columbia)
  "Asian Religions in British Columbia"
- Michel Desjardins (Wilfrid Laurier University)
  "Rice Goddesses and Sea Goddesses: Religious Food Traditions in Hindu Bali and Muslim Java Communities"
- Cary S. Takagaki (University of Toronto)
  "Religion and Ethnicity in Canada: Japanese Canadians"
- Alison R. Marshall (Brandon University)
  "Remembering the Laundrymen: Religion Shot Through the Lens of Ambivalence"

June 2

"THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME?": REMEMBERING THE HOMELAND THROUGH RITUALS, MUSEUMS AND LITERATURE
Chair: Janet Gunn (University of Ottawa)

- Kathryn Da Silva (University of Ottawa
  "Home Is Where Our Faith Is: Renegotiating 'Home' within Canada's Goan Catholic Community"
- Shelly Nixon (University of Ottawa)
  "The Variety of Representations of Home in Canadian Museums"
- Stephanie Tara Schwartz (University of Ottawa)
  "Seeking Home in Arab Jewish Literature"

RELIGION IN CANADA: SPOTLIGHT ON MONTRÉAL
Chair: Rubina Ramji (Cape Breton University)

- Roxanne Iavoschi
  "An Immigrant Comes to Town: Being a Part of Montréal's Multi-religious and Multi-cultural Society"
- Richard Foltz (Concordia University)
  "Muslims of Montréal: A Distinctive Context within a Global Reality"
- Manya Saadi-nejad (Concordia University)
  "Iranian Zoroastrians in Montréal: A Minority within a Minority"

June 3

CHRISTIANITY AND ETHNICITY IN CANADA
Co-sponsored by CETA, CSCH, CTS, CCHS, ACS and the Metropolis Project

Chair: Peter Beyer (University of Ottawa)

This panel will provide an overview of *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, in which 11 scholars explore the complex relationships between religious and ethnic identity within the nine major Christian traditions in Canada. The contributors will discuss the ways in which changes in the ethnic composition of these traditions influence religious practice and identity, as well as how the nine religious traditions influence communal and individual ethnic identities. The panel will also dissect the theoretical, historical and empirical issues involved in the study of Christianity and ethnicity in Canada. Coffee and muffins will be served.

Participants:
David Seljak, Paul Bramadat, Wendy Fletcher, Bruce Guenther, Bryan Hillis, Royden Loewen, Stuart Macdonald, Mark McGowan and Myroslaw Tataryn

CANADIAN SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF RHETORIC (CSSR) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RHÉTORIQUE (SCÉR)

June 2

Individual paper:

- Colin Snowsell, University of Saskatchewan
  "The Pop Singer's Fear of the Foreign: The Rhetoric of Race in the NME versus Morrissey Lawsuit"

CANADIAN SOCIOLOGY ASSOCIATION (CSA) / SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE DE SOCIOLOGIE (SCA)

June 3

THE OPEN BORDERS DEBATE: CONSEQUENCES FOR CANADA
Organizer: Philippe Couton (University of Ottawa)

Papers will present empirical and theoretical perspectives on the claim that national borders should be open to immigration and may include studies of social movements that make this claim, comparative studies of the impact of open borders in other areas (e.g., Europe), or on particular migration flows that already benefit from free mobility (some professional groups).

TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKERS IN CANADA
Organizer: Kristin Lozanski (University of Alberta)

Chair: Irene Shankar (University of Alberta)

Discussant: Nandita Sharma (York University)

As Canada's economic boom continues, Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) have become increasingly integral to the Canadian economy. Yet, they occupy a precarious location given their contracted labour and lack of citizenship status. This session invites papers that provide empirical case studies of TFWs as well as papers that take up the social locations of TFWs with respect to specific issues such as labour status or racialization or the broader social structures and discourses that enable this growing form of labour. Theoretical, qualitative and quantitative papers are welcome.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN CANADA II – CITIZENSHIP AND MIGRATIONS
Organizer: Patrizia Albanese (Ryerson University)

Chair: Wei Wei Da (University of Western Ontario)

Discussant: Patrizia Albanese

- Leanne J. Hildebrand (Immigrant Services Calgary, Anti-Racism and Human Rights Community Engagement Liaison)
  "Canadian Cosmopolitanism in Postmodernity: Youth Reflections on their Lived Experience of Canadian Citizenship"
- Dianne E. Looker (Mount Saint Vincent University) and Ted D. Naylor (University of Alberta)
  "The Push and Pull of Rural Ties on Youth"
- Pablo Mendez (University of British Columbia)
  "Age at Arrival and Future Socio-economic Outcomes of Immigrant Children in Canada"

ETHNICITY AND AGING I and II
Organizer and Chair: Neena L. Chappell (University of Victoria)

These sessions invite papers on the increasingly important topic of ethnicity/ethnocultural/subcultural issues relating to aging. They can focus on one subcultural group or many and can include comparisons with host Canadian society or not. As the mix of cultural groups changes within the evolving context of our country, challenges for older adults and aging differ from what you learned in the past. Papers on any focus are encouraged, including immigration, family relationships, gendered health and health care, surmounting systemic barriers to quality of life and many more.

- Wei Wei Da and Alicia Garcia (Brescia University College, University of Westrn Ontario)
  "Immigration and Aging Experience of Older Chinese Immigrants: Identifying Gaps for Future Research"
- Monica Boyd and Lisa Kaida (University of Toronto)
  "Falling Out of Safety Nets or Saved by the Family Ties?: Ethnicity, Immigrant Status and Poverty among the Elderly"
- Karen M. Kobayashi (University of Victoria), Steven Prus and Zhiqiu Lin (Carleton University)
  "Ethnic Differences in Self-rated and Functional Health: Does Immigrant Status Matter?"
- Sharon Koehn (Centre for Healthy Aging at Providence, Vancouver)
  "Establishing Candidacy for Health Care: Ethnic Minority Seniors in Vancouver"

PANEL: ETHNIC AND RACIAL DIVERSITY IN CANADIAN SOCIOLOGY
Organizer: CSA Antiracism Subcommittee

Chair: Jeffrey Reitz (University of Toronto)

Moderator: Pamela Sugiman (Ryerson University)

- George Dei (OISE/University of Toronto)
- Paul Gingrich (University of Regina)
- Peter Li (University of Saskatchewan)
- Victor Satzewich (McMaster University)

June 4

GLOBALIZATION AND TRANSNATIONAL EXPERIENCE I
Organizers: Guida Man and Rina Cohen (York University)

Discussant: Lawrence Lam, Associate Professor (York University)

- Tania Das Gupta (York University)
  "Transnationalism from Below: A Classed, Gendered and Racialized Phenomenon"
- Guida Man (York University)
  "I Am Here and I Am There: Globalization and Transnational Experience of Mainland Chinese Immigrant Women in Canada"
- Francisco Villegas (OISE/University of Toronto)
  "Precarious Migration Status, Transnational Families and Schooling Conditions for Children in Canada"
- Tricia Vanderkooy (Florida International University)
  "Gendered Pathways: Exploring the Life Trajectories of Second-generation Haitians in Miami"

GLOBALIZATION AND TRANSNATIONAL EXPERIENCE II
Organizers: Guida Man and Rina Cohen (York University)

Discussant: Lawrence Lam (York University)

- Rina Cohen (York University)
  "They Need the Work but not the Workers: Transnational Domestic Labour in Four Industrialized Countries"
- Xiaoping Li (Okanagan College)
  "Beyond Ethnic Nationalism: The Asian Canadian Struggle for Global Justice"
- Willa Liu (University of Toronto)
  "Transnational Language and Cultural Adaptation: New Chinese Immigrants' Experience"
- Manda Roddick (University of Victoria)
  "Youth and International Development: Impacts of Global Citizenship"

MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP I
Organizer: Lloyd Wong (University of Calgary)

- Constanza Pauchulo (York University)
  "Reconsidering Citizenship – A Canadian Case Study"
- Paloma Villegas (OISE/University of Toronto)
  "Immigration Enforcement and the Representation of Immigration Status for Mexicans in Canada"
- Feng Zhang (University of British Columbia)
  "From China to Canada: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Chinese Immigrants 1885-1949"

June 5

ETHNICITY AND "RACE" IN CANADA I
Organizer: Wendy D. Roth (University of British Columbia)

Chair: Katharine Legun (University of British Columbia)

Discussant: Lily Farris (University of British Columbia)

- Leanne J. Hildebrand (Anti-Racism and Human Rights Community Engagement Liaison, Immigrant Services Calgary)
  "Canadian Cosmopolitanism in Postmodernity: Youth Reflections on their Lived Experience of Canadian Citizenship"
- Kerri Lovell (University of Calgary)
  "Regional Differences in Ethnic-connectedness"
- Baljit Nagra (University of Toronto)
  "Becoming More Muslim: A Study of How the Post 9/11 Social and Political Environment Has Affected the Identity of Well-educated Young Muslims in Canada"

June 6

TEMPORARY MIGRANT WORKERS IN CANADA
Organizers: Kerry Preibisch (University of Guelph) and Jenna Hennebry (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Chair: Kerry Preibisch

Discussant: Nandita Sharma (University of Hawai'i)

- Kerry Preibisch (University of Guelph) and Jenna Hennebry (Wilfrid Laurier University)
  "Deconstructing Managed Migration's Model: A Critical Look at Canada's Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program"
- Monica Boyd and Joanne Nowak (University of Toronto)
  "Foreign Live-in Caregivers in Canada: Marginalized Workers or Moving Beyond the Mainstream?"
- Janet McLaughlin (University of Toronto)
  "Seeking Rough Hands and Rough Lives: Recruitment, Selection and Screening of Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers in Jamaica and Mexico"

ETHNICITY AND "RACE" IN CANADA II
Organizer: Wendy D. Roth (University of British Columbia)

Chair: Monica Hwang (University of British Columbia)

Discussant: Wendy D. Roth

- Paul Attewell (City University of New York) and Philip Kasinitz (Hunter College and City University of New York)
  "Black Canadians and Black Americans: Contrasts and Similarities"
- Monica Boyd and Jessica Yiu (University of Toronto)
  "The Transnational Dimensions of Ethnic Self-identification"
- Sharon M. Lee (University of Victoria)
  "Shifting Ethnicities: The Emergence of 'Canadian' as Ethnic Origin"

MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP II
Organizer: Lloyd Wong (University of Calgary)

- Caroline Sommerfeld (University of Calgary)
  "Canadian Immigrants: Factors in the Development of a Sense of Belonging in Canada"
- Naoko Shida (University of Toronto)
  "Marrying Outside and Up?: The Impact of Intermarriage on Immigrant Economic Integration"
- Ellie Hobuti (University of Toronto)
  "An Examination of the Predictors of Dominant Language Use and Proficiency in Canada's Three Largest Cities Using a Transnational Framework"

SELECT INDIVIDUAL PAPERS:
- Caroline Chassels (OISE/University of Toronto)
  "Internationally Educated Teachers: Developing Cultural Competency and Confidence"
- Mara Fridell (Ursinus College)
  "The Political Opportunity Structure of Neoliberal Reform in Sweden: Immigration"
- Sylvia Fuller (University of British Columbia)
  "Lasting Precariousness? Intersections of Gender, Race and Immigration and the Consequences of Temporary Employment in Canada"
- (Willa) Lichun Liu (OISE/University of Toronto)
  "Beyond the Stove, Beyond the Drudgery: Food-related housework and learning among New Chinese immigrants in Canada"
- James Dean Steger (Texas A&M University)
  "Transcultural Identity Formation among Gay Men in the Texas Borderlands: The Impact of the Migrant Journey into a 'White' Gay Community"
- Paloma Villegas (OISE/University of Toronto)
  "Transnational Migration Studies and the Pitfalls of Nationalism: A Conceptual Review"
- Elke Winter (University of Ottawa)
  "Nations, Nationalism(s) and the (De)Legitimization of Multiculturalism"

ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (ESAC) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES ENVIRONNEMENTALES (ACÉE)

June 4
- Don Kerr (King's University College, University of Western Ontario)
  "Population and the Environment: Canada in Comparative Perspective"

FILM STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (FISAC) / ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES CINÉMATOGRAPHIQUES (ACÉC)

June 2
NEGOTIATING (TRANS)NATIONAL IDENTITY
Chair: Janina Falkowska (University of Western Ontario)

- Patricia Gruben (Simon Fraser University)
  "Rasa Theory in Mani Ratnam's *Guru*"
- Colleen Montgomery (University of British Columbia)
  "*Deutschkei*: Gender Relations and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Turkish-German Cinema"
- Janina Falkowska (University of Western Ontario)
  "Migration in European Cinemas"

SOCIETY FOR SOCIALIST STUDIES (SSS) / SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉTUDES SOCIALISTES (SÉS)

June 6
- Olivia Ruiz (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana)
  "Migrants at Risk, Migrants as a Risk: Metaphors of Exploitation and the End of Capitalism"

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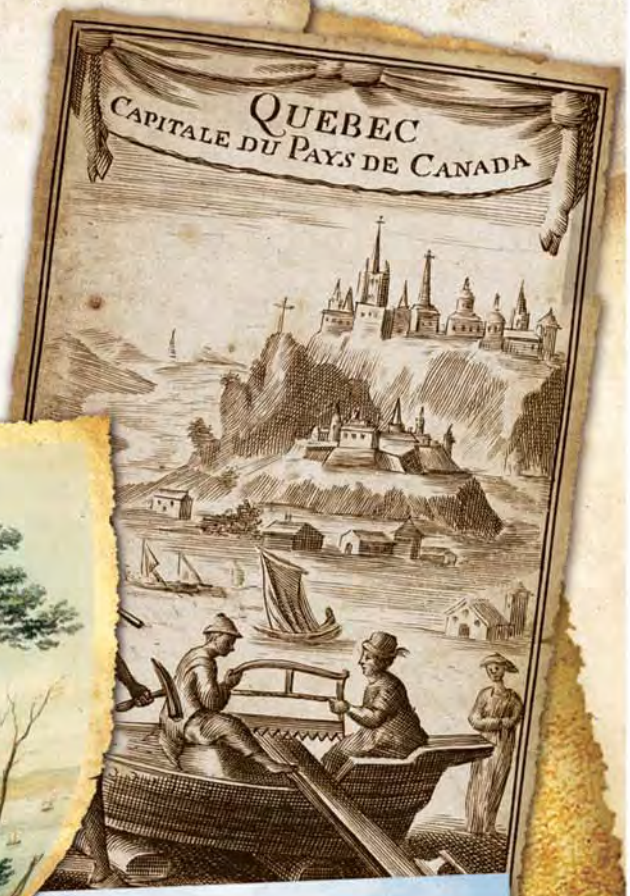

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