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Life on the Reef in the Canadian Ocean

The “New” Second Generation in Canada

Discussion Paper

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Policy Research Initiative

Paper two of a three paper series
on the second generation in Canada and
international experience

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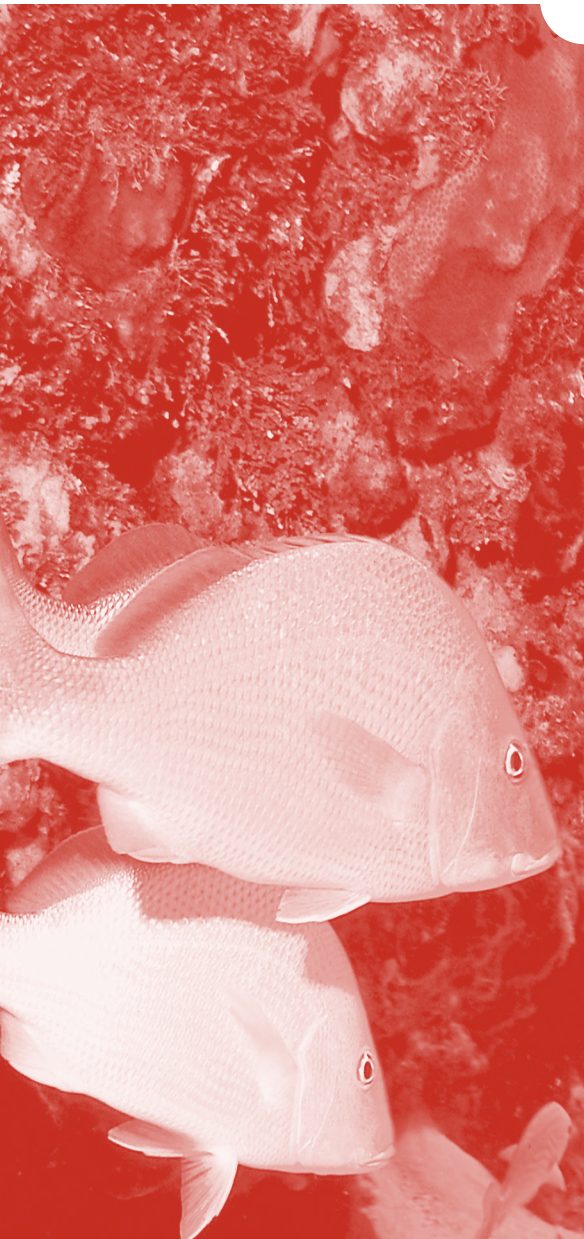


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Concepts and Definitions

The three papers of this study analyze research on the second generation; while analysis to date is somewhat limited in depth, findings are sufficient to inform a discussion on emerging issues and highlight research gaps. As well, research on the integration of the children of immigrants, second-generation or not, is also useful within certain contexts. These findings will be reflected in the analysis when appropriate, within the confines of the definitions and connections described below.

Second Generation Canadians

The term “second-generation Canadian,” rather than “second generation immigrant,” is used throughout the three papers. This is an arbitrary decision on the part of the author; the term “second-generation immigrant” is a misnomer. An individual is either an immigrant or not – if they are born here, they are Canadian. In common usage, however, the terms “second-generation Canadian” and “second-generation immigrant” are interchangeable.

1.5 Generation Immigrants

The distinction between “second-generation Canadians,” who were born here, and “1.5-generation immigrants” is complex. The 1.5 generation consists of individuals who were born elsewhere but who have spent most of their formative years in Canada. Typically this means that they immigrated to Canada before their early teens. This inclusive definition captures individuals from a number of different backgrounds with different characteristics. This presents a number of challenges. Cohort issues must be accounted for. Studies may also use different age categories to define those who are 1.5 generation. This is significant, since age at immigration has been found to affect how well some members of the 1.5 generation integrate initially.

Nevertheless, in spite of these complications, research to date indicates that many 1.5-generation Canadians, particularly those who have spent a significant portion of their youth in Canada, appear to have attributes and outcomes similar to those of the second generation.

Visible Minorities

As defined by the *Employment Equity Act*, the term “visible minority” refers to persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour. The story of the second generation is not simply an immigrant story. Visible minority status appears to be a defining characteristic of the second-generation in future. Such a marker appears closely associated with second-generation Canadians experiencing challenges, as well as with those who are not. As a result, research findings pertaining to visible minorities are applicable to this study, particularly when one examines the challenges that the second generation faces.

Introduction

Canada's ethno-cultural composition varies across generations, reflecting the waves of immigration over the decades. In 2002, among individuals aged 15 and over whose parents were Canadian-born, an overwhelming majority were of European origin. This was also the case among individuals with at least one immigrant parent.

In comparison, in the same reference year, nearly one in two (46 percent) first-generation Canadians aged 15 and over reported non-European origins. This is due to a shift in immigrant source countries, from predominantly European countries before the 1970s to those of Asia and the Middle East since the 1980s. Of the permanent residents admitted to Canada over the last decade, about half were from the Asia-Pacific regions and one in five came from Africa and the Middle East. This demographic shift in first-generation Canadians will transform the racial and ethnic composition of second and successive generations of the Canadian population.¹

Schools and workplaces are witnessing a “3M” transformation as the composition of students and workers becomes increasingly multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multi-religious.

At the same time, new sources of influence shape the second-generation experience. Individuals are more connected globally but are increasingly divergent locally across ethnicity, religion, and culture. Advances in telecommunication technologies and ease of travel enable individuals to build networks internationally and maintain

strong continuous ties with their ancestral home. At the same time, neighbourhoods are becoming more ethnically concentrated in large cities, especially Toronto and Vancouver, attenuating the influence of traditional institutions of integration. Especially in large urban centres, where the majority of recent immigrants settle, governments and social institutions face new challenges at a time of fiscal and human resources pressures. Schools and workplaces are witnessing a “3M” transformation as the composition of students and workers becomes increasingly multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multi-religious.²

This paper is the second of three planned to examine the “new” second generation in Canada and frame these findings within the international context. The first paper in the series established an integration framework to assess research to date and established a model to critically examine the integration environment in Canada. This paper uses that framework to review what is known about how the second generation is currently integrating into society, with an emphasis on the children of immigrants from non-European source countries. Much has been written on the second generation, but a structured analysis that identifies common threads has yet to be completed. This paper attempts to fill that void. The third paper in the series will analyze the situation in other countries to provide additional context for the first two papers, clarify issues and dynamics we must take into account when considering developments overseas, and identify what policy responses are possible – and what are not – within the Canadian situation.

An Evaluative Framework *

The first paper in this research series presented an evaluative framework that detailed how members of the second generation integrate. When evaluating the challenges that the second generation faces, it is useful to define the process of personal adaptation and broader social integration (a process described from this point forward as “acculturation,” as described in Subject Box 1) as the product of interactions between two factors: internal personal characteristics and external environmental influences.

Subject Box 1: The Concept of Acculturation

Acculturation is a concept rooted in the fields of psychology and sociology that refers to how individuals in a society and the society itself adapt to reach a positive equilibrium. It is a two way process. Individuals adjust aspects of their identity to reflect broader societal influences and norms. The host society adjusts its structure to make clear expectations and paths to broader social incorporation. Over time, characteristics of the individual, or groups of individuals, may alter these broader societal expectations.

It is commonly accepted that there are diverse patterns of acculturation and adaptation. Cultural loss by individuals is not predestined, nor is the homogenization of the larger society. For the individual, adaptation typically takes place in regards to two spheres of identity. The first is psychological adaptation, which refers to characteristics that are internal, such as few psychological problems, a sense of self-esteem, and life satisfaction. The second is socio-cultural adaptation, which refers to the quality of the relationships between the individual and their socio-cultural contexts, such as attitudes towards school, lack of problem behaviours in communities, and similar interfaces.

As explored in detail within paper one, certain environmental conditions and forms of social interaction influence how individuals acculturate. Often this process is portrayed as a “strategy”, where an individual chooses their path in response to inputs. Without passing judgement on this interpretation, this and the other papers of the series will instead describe acculturation processes and outcomes as “patterns”, which does not indicate one way or the other whether an individual has conscious control over the acculturation process.

Source: John Berry, Jean S. Phinney, Kyunghwa Kwak, and David Sam. John W. Berry, Jean S. Phinney, David L. Sam, and Paul Vedder, *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation across National Contexts*. Mahwah. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers. 2006. pp 3-14

The importance of personal characteristics, such as emotional maturity, intellect, coping skills, and knowledge (including “human capital”), should not be underestimated. These characteristics define how an individual perceives and reacts to his or her external environment. As a result, even if external influences encourage the adoption of a specific form of acculturation, this does not mean that such influences are destiny.

* For more information on this model and the research underpinning, please see the first paper in this research series (“A Story of Reefs and Oceans: A Framework for the Analysis of the “New” Second Generation in Canada”).

Societal contextual factors may be understood as the ocean in which a fish resides, while the social milieu is the reef on which the fish experiences life.

Nevertheless, research has determined that certain external factors frequently exert powerful effects. In general, these factors can be broken down into two separate but related categories: societal contextual factors, which form the backdrop and give context to the lived experiences of the second generation, and the “social milieu,” the more immediate environment in which the second generation directly encounters external stimuli. Put another way, societal contextual factors are akin to an ocean in which a fish resides, while the social milieu is similar to a reef on which the fish experiences life.

The Ocean: Societal Contextual Factors

Societal contextual factors establish the confines and norms that dictate what is favoured within society. As do currents in an ocean, social attitudes and expectations regarding the concept of citizenship and how cultural groups should associate with society figure prominently and strongly encourage certain paths of integration. These attitudes are primarily a product of two factors: history and current events.³ A country’s history defines its character and attitudes. Current events then refine governmental and societal attitudes, which can differ greatly between specific groups.⁴ Domestic and international policies also likely contribute to defining the societal context of the host country. From these factors, new stresses and social cleavages can arise, either through the expression by broader society of the attitudes described above or through mainstream support of values that do not align with the cultural beliefs of some members of minority groups.

A particularly important societal contextual factor is the perception of discrimination.

A particularly important societal contextual factor is the perception of discrimination. This can exert powerful influences on the acculturation process, particularly if the discrimination is perceived as endorsed or at least tolerated

by mainstream society. Such perceptions may be the greatest factor contributing to poor acculturation patterns.⁵

The Reef: The “Social Milieu”

The social milieu consists of the influences and attitudes one experiences within the relationships and activities that define one’s daily life. This includes attitudes and ideas that can be heard in the home, school, or workplace from family, friends, peers, and co-workers. The media is also a component of the social milieu. Conceptually though, the media is unique, since it is not only an actor itself, but also a channel of communication between other actors in society and the milieu.^{6†}

The milieu filters broad societal factors as well as incorporates the specific social and economic environment in which the second generation resides. This helps define their

† These attributes are worthy of study. The media’s role in Canadian multiculturalism figured prominently in PRI regional roundtables exploring the future of multiculturalism in 21st century Canada.

attitudes to and expectations of both their parents' cultural heritage as well as mainstream society.[‡]

The milieu, however, is constantly evolving. In part, it is influenced by mainstream society. In addition, the aggregated effects of many individuals can not only influence the individual but shape the milieu itself. For example, the language skills and labour market outcomes of the parents of the second generation affect hierarchical relationships within the home that are associated with delinquency and integration into groups at the margins of society.⁷

“Ethnic capital” is a uniquely influential part of the social milieu.

“Ethnic capital” has been found to be a uniquely influential part of the social milieu.⁸ Identified within research on acculturation as a factor that can either positively or negatively affect acculturation, it is an issue that has, as of yet, only been

considered obliquely by policy researchers through studies on the effects of changing source countries on the recognition of foreign credentials and work experience acquired overseas.⁹

The Framework: Patterns of Acculturation

Second-generation outcomes are a product of interactions between personal expectations and broader societal attitudes.

This combination of factors, consisting of both social influences that affect personal attitudes and societal characteristics that affect how the second generation is received by society, interact in a manner that defines how a member of the second generation integrates (see Figure 1).

In short, different factors interact in a number of ways to trigger the adoption of different acculturation patterns.¹⁰

Selective Acculturation – Strong support from parents and ethnic communities and robust exposure to mainstream societal influences results in individuals selecting, on a continual basis, characteristics of each culture when defining their identity. This pattern is associated with strong psychological and socio-cultural adaptation and upward social integration.

Consonant Acculturation – Restricted exposure to mainstream societal influences, coupled with strong connections with ethnic communities and, frequently, parental pressure, results in individuals' orienting themselves toward their ethnic community. This form of acculturation produces relatively positive measures of psychological adaptation (self-esteem, etc.) but poorer socio-cultural integration and distorted integration within mainstream society.

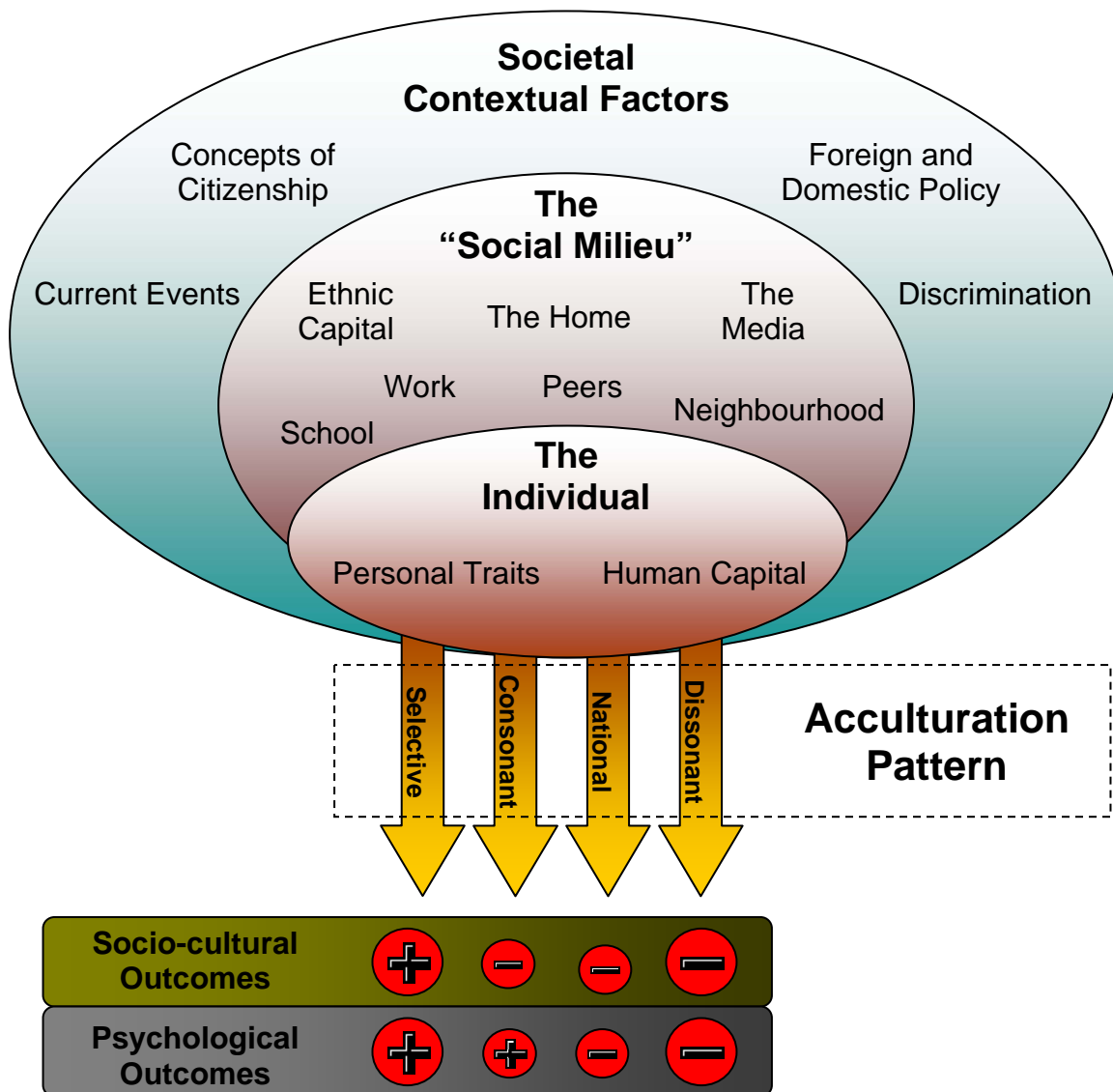
National Acculturation – Frequently driven by parental and cultural expectations of full integration and “success” within mainstream society, and often supported by strong societal preferences for assimilation, individuals focus on integrating into the national mainstream society. Those who follow this path were found to be significantly less well

[‡] It is necessary to note that perceptions of what is “mainstream” can vary significantly from place to place.

integrated both psychologically and socio-culturally than those who followed the selective integration model.

Dissonant Acculturation – Hostility from mainstream society, frequently coupled with the breakdown of hierarchical relations within the home and weak cultural attachments, results in individuals integrating into a societal underclass. This pattern causes the poorest psychological and socio-cultural outcomes. It is also associated with delinquency and hostility towards broader society (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Acculturation Process - Factors, Patterns and Outcomes



Of the four patterns, selective acculturation results in the most positive outcomes by far (see Subject Box 2).

Subject Box 2: Selective Acculturation – An Ideal Based on a Cultural Dialogue

A defining characteristic of selective acculturation is its discursive and open-ended nature. This observation aligns closely with those of Sen in his discussion of positive and negative ways to explore, define and reconcile one's ever-evolving sense of identity.*

As Sen stated, individual well-being is best facilitated by an attitude and approach that is free and unhindered. As those who pursue a selective acculturation pattern navigate their daily lives, their concepts of who they are change and adapt to new situations and stimuli – they are free to explore their identities and affiliations, without interference from either their cultural heritage or broader society.

From this perspective, it is unsurprising that psychological and socio-cultural outcomes are so positive for those following this path. At worst, disparate cultural influences are seen as benign. At best, however, they are key enabling factors in the intellectual dialogues that contribute to identity formation.

This “cultural dialogue” can occur within the other acculturation patterns described above, but it will likely be rarer and shallower in depth. National, ethnic, and dissonant strategies are all defined by the presence of normative influences and expectations – concepts of what is “normal” or acceptable are ever-present. From Sen's perspective, this would hamper the individual's ability to explore their character and identity, resulting in a negative outlook toward life and society. This would logically lend itself to the poor acculturation outcomes that sociologists have identified.

** For more information and reading material on selective acculturation, please refer to paper one of this research series. Content attributed to Amartya Sen has been drawn from the following source: Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. New York, New York, 2006. pp 18-39, 57-58, 170-178.*

Conclusions from the Previous Paper, Regarding Canada's “Acculturation Environment”

The first paper in this series applied the model described above to analyzing what forms of acculturation are supported by Canada's approach to managing diversity. Overall, it was concluded that the Canadian approach of embracing diversity and the nature of Canadian ethnic communities support the cultural dialogues necessary for selective acculturation patterns.

To build on these fundamentals, however, it was asserted that greater effort should be placed on both understanding and acting on the social milieu. Ethnic enclaves and ethnic capital should be explored in greater detail. We must also explore in greater details how policy levers associated with action in these areas can be better utilized. In particular, the role of “institutions of integration” (e.g., houses and congregations of worship, sports teams, the workplace, and other institutional settings that encourage positive interactions between individuals outside of cultural or familial networks) must be better understood and, where appropriate, more fully utilized and engaged.

More research is required to determine what, if any, action is required. Meanwhile, it is evident that such a shift in thinking would not be easy, since it would require governments (federal, provincial-territorial and possibly municipal) to adopt a more holistic approach to designing and delivering diversity policy and to deepen government presence within communities.

Drilling Deeper – Second-Generation Experiences and Implications

Acculturation patterns vary across ethno-cultural groups – this demands that the day-to-day lived experiences of the second generation in Canada be examined more closely.

While the first paper indicates that, structurally, Canada is well positioned to support positive acculturation patterns among the second generation, there are pockets of concern. Notably, it was apparent that among the first generation, acculturation patterns varied significantly between ethnic groups. In and of itself this would influence the character of the households in which second-generation youth come of age (see Table 1) and likely affect acculturation outcomes.

Table 1: Distributions (%) of Four Acculturation Patterns Among First-Generation Canadians – Selective Patterns Predominate but Results Vary by Ethnic Group

Group	Selective	Consonant	National	Dissonant
All Immigrants	50.4	11.1	22.1	16.4
Vietnamese	44.2	5.2	19.5	31.2
Koreans	42.5	22.5	18.8	16.3
Indo-Canadian	63.2	5.7	27.6	3.4

Note: Ethnic groups identified reflect data limitations and should not be interpreted as flagging specific groups for attention. They are included only to illustrate how outcomes can differ between groups.

Source: *Phinney, Berry, Vedder and Liebkind, p 109.*

Overall, the Canadian approach of embracing diversity and the nature of Canadian ethnic communities support the cultural dialogues necessary for selective acculturation patterns.

More importantly though, these differences also suggest that acculturation patterns vary across ethnic groups in general. This both confirms the need to re-evaluate the story of second generation integration (because source countries are changing) and demands that the day-to-day lived experiences of the second generation in Canada be examined more closely.

The acculturation framework identifies factors associated with the adoption of good and poor acculturation patterns. Unfortunately, data on many of these issues, such as the state of hierarchical relations within the home and the nature of the networks that define the experiences of the second generation, are highly varied and poorly understood. Instead, research has focused on social and economic outcomes. As will be displayed shortly, this work is informative, but the framework shows these factors are not the core drivers of integration that many believe them to be. While social and economic factors have been observed to have influence, this influence is often indirect (i.e., they support other factors, such as healthy hierarchical relations between parent and child and the nature and breadth of broader societal networks). Even when social and economic outcomes are observed to have an effect, the underlying factors highlighted by the acculturation framework play a

dominant foundational role that can reduce the positive or negative effects of social and economic outcomes to integration. This is particularly so in the case of education.[§]

Nevertheless, research to date on social and economic characteristics is informative. Recent studies of factors and influences associated with poorer social and economic outcomes have begun to identify apparent connections with ethnic capital and perceptions of discrimination, both of which have been identified as key factors in the acculturation process. A review of this research will also improve our understanding of the experiences of the second generation and begin to fill in the knowledge gaps identified in the first paper in this series.

Issues for Review

Most literature examining the experiences of the second generation in Canada has focused on three issues. These are:

- **Educational aspirations and attainment**, which support both economic mobility and social inclusion. Typically, education is understood as an indicator of capability that can lead to economic success. Education can also broaden one's social contacts and has been connected to greater civic engagement. Stemming from this understanding, aspirations to obtain education can serve as a crude indicator of second-generation youth's beliefs that they will be treated fairly once they enter the labour market. Research findings in this area of study focus on 1.5 generation, second-generation or visible-minority youth.
- **Measures of economic success**, such as unemployment, earnings and earnings mobility, indicate whether the second generation are succeeding economically compared with third-generation (or later) Canadians. Though data on these outcomes frequently stretches beyond commonly used age bands for defining youth, it can inform our understanding of the transition from youth to adulthood and of the outcomes that follow this transition.
- **Perceptions of discrimination** are one of the few factors identified by the acculturation framework that can be examined directly through existing data. As indicated by research on the second generation, these perceptions significantly affect attitudes of psychological and socio-cultural acculturation and directly influence feelings of belonging.

While these three factors have typically been treated as distinct by research to date, common findings in each area of study link them through the acculturation framework. This exercise can be further augmented by recently developed **attitudinal measures**. Because these measures closely parallel the concept of socio-cultural adaptation, it is

[§] An excellent examination of the role of education in second-generation acculturation is Lucinda's Platt's "Opportunities and Obstacles: Diversity in Education, Employment and Social Mobility Among UK-born Minorities," presented at a PRI seminar examining the experiences and challenges of the second generation. Platt found that education can facilitate upward social mobility and integration if contextual factors, such as conceptions of class, permit such mobility, and if influences within the milieu, such as ethnic capital, do not intervene. For some groups, however, success and social mobility remain elusive due to these factors, even with the opportunities education provides.

informative to review findings pertaining to this issue. It is necessary to note, however, that research in this area is controversial.

Educational Expectations and Levels: Generally Positive but Pronounced Differences Apparent Between Ethnic Groups

Immigrant and second-generation youth aged 15 have higher educational aspirations than other Canadians of that age, in part due to their parents' expectations. In particular, visible minority youth – immigrant or second-generation – are twice as likely to aspire to university as other youth of the same age.¹¹ At that age, few differences are apparent between second-generation and 1.5 generation immigration youth from different ethnic groups. Despite some assertions about structural biases in the Canadian education system all have similar aspirations to university education.¹² On the whole, it appears that children of immigrants, whether they arrive in Canada at a young age (1.5 generation) or were born here, believe when they are young that the merit principle underpins Canadian society and that their efforts will be rewarded. This speaks well of societal contextual factors in the country.

The second generation generally exceed their immigrant parents' level of education, but this can vary according to racial or ethnic background.

These attitudes translate into strong post-secondary education (PSE) completion rates; as an aggregated group, the second generation compare favourably with the Canadian average. Second generation Canadians generally exceed

their immigrant parents' education levels, and they perform better than same-age Canadian-born Caucasians throughout their youth and into adulthood.¹³ Nevertheless, pronounced differences between ethnic groups are apparent. Among second-generation Canadians aged 25 to 39, South Asians are more likely to have a university degree.¹⁴ Muslims are also more educated than the average Canadian (likely due in part to the younger age profile of Muslims in Canada).¹⁵ In contrast, Blacks, particularly Black men, appear marginally less likely to complete university than the general population.¹⁶ Despite early ambitions that appear quite uniform, PSE completion rates appear to be segmented along ethnic and racial lines.

These findings fall into a growing body of research that indicate markedly different educational outcomes defined loosely, but accurately, by ethnicity. Though it did not examine the second generation, Toronto District School Board research found that dropout rates differ markedly depending on the student's country or region of origin. Indeed, the study found that region of origin was a much more powerful indicator of dropout rates than class, family income, or household structure.¹⁷

It remains uncertain whether ethnicity, race and sex are the contributing factors of these disparate outcomes among 1.5 and second-generation youth or whether they are merely markers of other challenges. Nevertheless, taken together, and as articulated in the acculturation framework, these findings strongly suggest the influence of ethnic capital within the education process.

Economic outcomes improve with age, but differences between those with different ethnic backgrounds are apparent

Data pertaining to the economic outcomes of second-generation Canadians appears to differ markedly depending on exactly when one looks at their experiences and in what context. The uncertainties of life transitions must be accounted for, and cohort effects must be considered. Overall, however, though they may face challenges when younger, by the time they reach their mid-30s it appears that second-generation visible minority Canadians do quite well. Again, though, those from certain ethnic groups appear to be left behind, which again suggest ethnic capital effects.

Before the age of 25, the story for second-generation youth in the labour market appears to be dominated by the story line for visible minority youth. Cheung observes that visible minority youth between the ages of 16 and 25 who were born in Canada (a group that is dominated by the second generation due to immigrant cohort effects) work fewer hours, receive lower pay and experience higher unemployment compared with the general youth population and with visible minority youth born outside Canada.¹⁸ Kunz's research on youth aged 15 to 29 reached similar conclusions, but she observes that local-born visible minorities were doing better than their foreign-born counterparts. This is attributed to language ability, Canadian labour experience, and an understanding of Canadian socio-economic norms.¹⁹

This research suggests that members of visible minorities, second-generation or not, are having difficulty managing the transition from youth to adulthood as they experience significant barriers to employment and economic inclusion. The nature of these challenges needs to be more fully explored; Cheung cited discrimination as a likely cause.²⁰ This would fit within the acculturation framework being used for this analysis, but, given the harsh economic climate of the 1990s when data for both studies was created, other challenges must also be considered. In particular, the effects of PSE enrolment, as well as the presence of other responsibilities (such as familial), must be taken into account. However, it currently appears that, before the age of 30, second-generation youth face challenges and barriers that can deflect their efforts to integrate economically.

Perhaps in part due to their generally high educational attainment, research on second-generation Canadians suggests that by their mid-30s their labour market experiences appear similar to those of other Canadians.

Nevertheless, perhaps in part due to their generally high educational attainment, research on second-generation Canadians suggests that by their mid-30s (and possibly sooner), their labour market experiences appear similar to those of other Canadians, whether or not they are a member of a visible minority group. Strong participation patterns relative to the Canadian average are apparent; their employment and unemployment rates are about the same as those of the general population. Employment rates for

second-generation women are in fact higher than for other women in the labour market²¹ (see Table 2).

Table 2: Labour Market Outcomes by Birthplace and Parental Birthplace, 2000 (Age 16–65)

Labour Force Status		Third Generation or More	Second Generation		
			Only Father Immigrant	Only Mother Immigrant	Both Parents Immigrants
Employed	Male	77.51 %	76.75 %	78.15 %	77.94 %
	Female	68.52 %	68.55 %	69.7 %	71.8 %
Unemployed	Male	6.36 %	5.53 %	5.39 %	5.14 %
	Female	4.96 %	4.4 %	4.59 %	4.43 %
Not in Labour Force	Male	16.12 %	17.71 %	16.46 %	16.92 %
	Female	26.51 %	27.04 %	25.71 %	23.77 %
Mean Weeks Worked	Male	37.9	37.3	38.2	37.8
	Female	32.5	32.6	33	34
Mean Weekly Earnings	Male	848.5	885.9	905.1	872.4
	Female	576.4	600.1	610.6	629.2

Source: Aydemir, Chen and Corak. Tabulations based on 2001 Census Data.

Average annual earnings are also strong regardless of parental outcomes. There appears to be only a very weak link between the earnings of fathers and sons, and no connection is evident between the earnings of fathers and daughters (see Table 3). Indeed, on the whole, measures of earnings mobility compare favourably with those in Scandinavian countries and are superior to those in the United States and the United Kingdom (see Figure 3). Despite troubling signs that they encounter early challenges, most second-generation Canadians seem to effectively traverse the bridges between study and employment – a transition commonly used as a signpost of entry into adulthood.

Table 3: Earnings of Potential Fathers and Children by Source Region

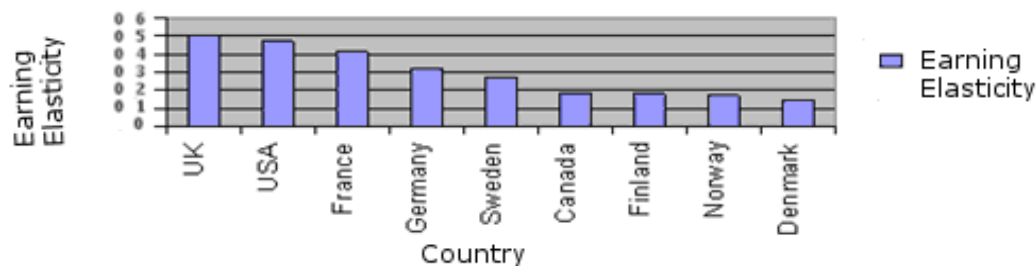
Source Region	Weekly Earnings Relative Third Generation (Relative to Same Age Cohort)*		
	Potential Fathers' Earnings (1980)	Second Generation (Age 25-37 in 2001)	
North America, Northern and Western Europe	1.14	Male	1.14
		Female	1.15
Caribbean, Central and South America and Oceania	0.84	Male	0.86
		Female	1.04
Southern and Eastern Europe	0.90	Male	1.06
		Female	1.17
Africa	1.05	Male	1.06
		Female	1.26
Asia	0.90	Male	1.06
		Female	1.27

Weekly earnings of the Canadian born against which comparisons are being made:

- For potential fathers – Canadian Born, Third Generation or more-\$1,049;
- For Canadian born Men, Third Generation or more, age 25- 37 in 2001-\$839;
- For Canadian born Women, Third Generation or more, age 25-37 in 2001-\$614.

Source: Aydemir, Chen and Corak.

Figure 2: Generational Father-Sons Earnings Elasticities*



* Estimates based on studies of father and son earnings, fathers being 40 to 45 years of age, and their earnings averaged over a 10-year period.

Source: Aydemir, Chen, and Corak.

Even so, as with education, employment outcomes differ between groups. Despite their high education levels, Canadian Muslims (of all generations) are twice as likely to be unemployed as the Canadian average. The jobless rate for this group is also much higher than that of other religious groups.²² In addition, children of immigrants of Caribbean, Oceanian, and Central and South American origins make less earnings progress relative to the Canadian average than those from other source regions. In particular, men from these countries fail to entirely close the income gap between themselves and other Canadians. On average, second-generation men from these groups earn about 90 percent of the Canadian average – more than their fathers, but significantly less than men from other visible minority groups.²³

Regression analysis by Aydemir, Chen, and Corak indicates that outcomes such as these may be due to lower general education levels in the community where these second-generation Canadians were raised; different norms, expectations, and resources regarding education and economic success in those communities; and limited social connections with other communities.²⁴ These findings indicate that the social milieu in which second-generation individuals grew up is directly related to economic success. In particular, the possibility of negative ethnic capital effects is again apparent. Connections between this finding and those regarding educational attainment are worthy of study.

Perceptions of Discrimination are a Concern

In spite of their educational and economic progress in the face of early challenges, some members of visible minorities perceive discrimination directed towards themselves. On the whole, members of visible minorities are more likely to report being treated unfairly at work and in other settings than are members of the public as a whole.²⁵ According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS), among those who are second generation or more, 18 percent of visible minorities reported being treated unfairly sometimes or often, compared with those who are not visible minority (5 percent). First-generation visible minorities report similar levels of discrimination (21 percent), indicating that discrimination or unfair treatment does not appear to be linked to the time or number of generations a person’s family has lived in Canada.²⁶ Instead, the most common reason for perceived

discrimination appears to be race or colour for visible minorities, and language or accent for those who are not visible minority.²⁷

Perceptions of discrimination are prominent. This is particularly evident for second-generation Canadians who are Black or of Japanese descent.

Examining these numbers in greater detail reveals that discrimination may be concentrated on some groups in particular. The highest reported rates of perceived discrimination are for second-generation Blacks (50 percent) and Japanese (43 percent). Intriguingly, the EDS found that, at least in some cities, the second generation of some ethnic groups perceive more discrimination than do members of the first generation. For example, second-generation South Asians in both Vancouver and Toronto reported higher levels of discrimination (45 percent) than did the first generation of the same ethnic background in the same cities (35 percent in Vancouver; 33 percent in Toronto).²⁸ No certain explanation for this is apparent, although it has been observed that discrimination is felt most by those expecting most strongly to be fully accepted by the mainstream.²⁹ Perhaps first-generation immigrants' expectations are such that they overlook behaviour that their second-generation offspring will not tolerate.

Among other second-generation visible minority groups, at least 29 percent reported brushes with discrimination. For comparison, among non-visible minority groups, second-generation individuals of Jewish descent reported the highest level of discrimination (20 percent), followed by Latin American, Arab, and West Asian groups who identified themselves as Caucasian.³⁰

The experiences of Canadian Muslims following the events of September 11, 2001, are worthy of special attention. Portes and Rumbaut observed that the general population's opinions and actions can both define a group and reinforce the establishment of a group identity where one previously did not exist.³¹ Sen echoes this finding, postulating that an individual's sense of self can become highly confused when the community in which he or she lives, or those outside of the community, attempt to typecast them despite the individual's efforts to explore cultural alternatives and define their identity to include other, "non-stereotypical" characteristics. At worse, Sen argues, such stereotypes can cause a shared sense of grievance to develop among those being typecast, forge a sense of shared identity where previously one did not exist, and corrode broader concepts of citizenship.³²

Discrimination appears to be encouraging Canadian Muslims to define themselves more by their religion. Such reactions are in keeping with sociological and psychological theory.

There is some evidence that such an externally driven sense of identity is being forged for Canadian Muslims. Muslims are in no way a unified group with a single identity. Many do not share a common history, language, or ethnicity. Nevertheless, since September 11, 2001, Muslims have reported in focus groups that many Canadians have tried to treat them as a monolithic group. Many have explained that they did not see themselves as Muslim until those around them started identifying them as such. Subsequently, Muslims state that they defend Islam because they consider the accusations unfair. This, in turn, facilitated a bonding over shared grievances and, in some cases, a reaction to a reaction; some have started to identify with the values and practices

of an imagined Islamic world, one that is often more conservative, unforgiving, and intolerant than the reality in countries where Islam is the dominant faith.³³ Second-generation youth, without the benefit of experiences from their parents' country of origin, could be particularly vulnerable to such assumptions.

Within acculturation research and theory, such a bonding experience is not unique. Termed "reactive ethnicity," it has been determined to be a survival strategy often adopted in the face of adversity emanating from mainstream society.³⁴ While not a desirable response, it is, from a psychological and socio-cultural perspective, understandable. The subsequent embracing of fundamentalist beliefs by some in the Muslim community should be viewed similarly; fundamentalism is not necessarily a concern to Canadian society, so long as those who hold these beliefs practise them within the confines of the law. The bigger concern is that, as Sen warned, many of those turning to this fundamentalist belief structure are feeling forced to do so by the general population.

From an acculturation perspective, however, the danger is that the process of reactive ethnicity and the adoption of fundamentalist beliefs can further alienate these individuals, not only from mainstream society but also from elements within their ethnic community. This raises the possibility of a classic dissonant acculturation model and demonstrates how the generally positive acculturation patterns observed for immigrants to Canada may not necessarily hold true for the second generation. This hypothesis appears to align with work within the intelligence community that highlights the importance of social networks in the transition from radical fundamentalism to violence.³⁵

Attitudes and Outlooks – A Subject of Intense Debate

Of the four measures identified, a measure of attitudes is perhaps the most important, since the concept appears to align conceptually with the socio-cultural outcomes identified by the acculturation framework. As already noted, research on acculturation has determined that perceptions of discrimination have powerful effects on the pattern of acculturation that is adopted and the psychological and socio-cultural outcomes that follow. As a result, despite strong educational outcomes for most groups and apparently decent earnings progress, the fact that many visible minority second-generation individuals feel they have experienced discrimination is cause for pause. Despite their general success, does the second generation feel estranged from Canada?

Despite their general success, does the second generation feel estranged from Canada?

Positions on this question are sharply divided.

Positions on this question are sharply divided. Some argue yes, stating that research indicates that feelings of "Canadianness" are segmented across ethnic groups and, more importantly, between visible minorities and Caucasians. According to Reitz and Banerjee's research using Ethnic Diversity Survey data, visible minority second-generation Canadians – Blacks in particular – are more likely to report lower levels of life satisfaction, trust levels, and sense of belonging than do second-generation Caucasians. It is also argued that visible minority

second-generation Canadians are less likely to identify themselves as Canadian and that visible minority recent immigrants seem to have a stronger sense of belonging than the

visible minority second generation that was born here³⁶ (see Table 4). If proven correct, these findings would have profound implications for social cohesion.

Table 4: Attitudes and Outlooks

		Immigrants		Second	Third
		Recent	Earlier	Generation	Generation +
Belonging	Whites	47.9	60.9	57.3	53.3
	Total VM	60.7	61.8	44.1	
Trust	Whites	56.4	56.3	55.2	47.4
	Total VM	52.5	45.6	44.8	
Canadian Identity	Whites	21.9	53.8	78.2	63.4
	Total VM	21.4	34.4	56.6	
Life Satisfaction	Whites	34.4	50.6	45.9	47.4
	Total VM	39.3	45.5	34.6	

Source: Reitz and Banerjee, 2005.

Recently, however, Jedwab’s analysis of this same data indicates that the situation is more complex and that we should not necessarily conclude that the state of social cohesion in Canada is in flux. In particular, Jedwab argues that the observations above about Canadian identity should be treated with caution, since the EDS question on which the data is based was highly open and made no reference to Canada even as it referred to ethnicity and culture. Thus, he argues, responses are highly dependent on individual perceptions of the meanings of “ethnicity” and “nationality.”³⁷

From this perspective, Jedwab asserts that attention should focus on statistics about feelings of belonging that refer specifically to Canada. Here gaps are also evident, but the story is much more complex. Through analysis to take into account the effects of age, Jedwab demonstrates that lower feelings of belonging can, in many cases, be explained by the much younger age of second-generation visible minorities relative to the non-visible minority population, whether or not they be second generation.³⁸ Overall, attachment to Canada appeared to soften slightly between ages 25 and 34, but this was common across virtually all groups studied, regardless of visible minority status. Nevertheless, by the age of 34, Jedwab found that most members of the second generation reported levels of belonging comparable to that reported by most Canadians. At most, only a 4.5-percent gap was apparent between any one visible minority group studied and second generation Caucasians, and only a 4-percent gap was apparent between this same group and the population as a whole. Finally, and intriguingly, at age 34, non-visible minority second generation Canadians were the most likely to rate their attachment to Canada as “not strong at all” (see Table 5).

Table 5: Sense of Belonging

Group	Age	Sense of Belonging to Canada		
		1 – 2 (Not Strong at All)	3 (Neutral)	4 – 5 (Strong – Very Strong)
Not a Visible Minority	25 - 29	6	12.7	80.3
	30 - 34	7.1	13.4	78.3
Chinese	25 - 29	2.7	20.2	76.1
	30 - 34	6.2	16.2	73.8
South Asian	25 - 29	4.6	9.2	86.3
	30 - 34	3.8	8.8	78.6
Black	25 - 29	13.2	17.5	66.7
	30 - 34	8.1	11.3	79.2
Total EDS 2002		6.8	12.8	77.7

Source: Jedwab, 2007.

Jedwab concludes that these shifting feelings over time and apparent gaps in feelings of belonging are not cause for alarm. While conceding that social cohesion may be in flux, he asserts that much more research is required to fully explore the issue. As a first step to filling this knowledge gap, Jedwab explored how religiousness and feelings of ethnic identification affected feelings of belonging to Canada. He found that religiousness had no observable effect. Feelings of ethnic identification, in contrast, were actually found to be positively correlated: strong ethnic attachments were associated with a strong attachment to Canada.³⁹

While appearing counterintuitive, these findings conform to the premise of the acculturation framework used in this series of papers. Psychological and socio-cultural outcomes are best if based on multiple cultural heritages that are managed and reconciled by the individual in an open-ended, fluid manner. From this perspective, Jedwab’s findings suggest that social cohesion in Canada is perhaps not deteriorating. However, much more debate and research are required before consensus on this issue is possible. The acculturation framework could inform and structure this analysis.

Knowledge Gaps and Policy Implications

It is evident that Canada has done many things right. Nevertheless, there are areas where improvement is possible.

The first paper in this series observed that the overall Canadian acculturation environment appears promising; societal contextual factors as well as key observable aspects of the social milieu in which the second generation come of age (that is, neighbourhoods and communities) are in keeping with norms conducive to positive acculturation outcomes. Both appear to be generally aligned with the imperative that a cross-cultural dialogue be facilitated so that individuals can fully explore their identities within a selective acculturation pattern.

Strong ethnic attachments are associated with a strong attachment to Canada.

When we look at the actual experiences of the second generation, the story becomes sharper. Challenges and barriers become evident, and certain groups appear to do better than others. This does not mean that the story described in the first paper is wrong; it is evident that Canada has done many things right. Nevertheless, as indicated in that paper and confirmed by this study, there are areas where improvement is possible.

Because many members of the second generation perceive they are being discriminated against, and since there is debate about their inclusion, it is clear that the policy levers that governments typically rely on (education and labour market supports) are insufficient by themselves to ensure integration of the second generation (and possibly the first generation as well). This does not mean interventions in these areas to improve social access are pointless – far from it. As policies that speak to broader societal values, efforts in these areas form part of the web of contextual factors that inform the acculturation process. In addition, they positively, if indirectly, support other acculturation factors. For example, improved earnings facilitated by labour market supports influence the household and communities in which second-generation children grow up and support their educational and professional aspirations as they grow older. These aspirations affect the attitudes and outlooks of these youths as they define their identity and their place in society.

Nevertheless, recent socio-economic research indicates that, in regard to social integration, earnings and educational outcomes are best understood as outcomes that are driven by other factors. In particular, this review of research suggests that we need to know more about the potential role of ethnic capital as well as about discrimination in Canada.

Ethnic Capital

Recent research on the second generation has connected educational and labour market outcomes to either ethno-cultural heritage or historical regional origin. These findings call for follow-up.

Ethnic capital is a highly sensitive and difficult issue to explore. Nonetheless, we must pay attention to the research finding that it greatly influences the decisions individuals make as they acculturate. In the Canadian context, recent research on the second generation has also connected both educational and labour market outcomes to either ethno-cultural heritage or historical regional origin. While there may be other causes for these outcomes, these findings call for follow-up research to determine under what

circumstances, norms, expectations, and networks within certain ethno-cultural groups may affect acculturation outcomes among the “new” second generation in Canada.

If confirmed by research, it would be out of keeping with both Canada’s approach to managing diversity and the tenets of successful acculturation for governments to interfere directly with the beliefs and inner workings of ethnic communities. Instead, the logical way to mitigate negative ethnic-capital effects would likely be to focus on expanding the web of networks that defines the lives of second-generation individuals within these cultural communities. The objective of such an exercise would be to encourage selective

acculturation, which is the process by which an individual constantly makes decisions and tradeoffs regarding what aspects of their parents' culture and the culture of their country of birth they wish to incorporate into their identity. For this to occur, there must be substantive contact between the second-generation individual and the cultures they are attempting to balance. Expanded networks would facilitate such contact and thus undermine negative effects of ethnic capital.

The most logical way to mitigate negative ethnic-capital effects would be to expand the web of networks that defines the lives of second-generation individuals within these cultural communities.

Before this could be accomplished, however, a number of challenges would have to be overcome. In particular, jurisdictional and capacity issues associated with targeting the social milieu would have to be addressed. These challenges are discussed in some detail in the first paper in this series.

Perceptions of Discrimination

In addition to better defining the role of ethnic capital, there is also a need to more fully explore the issue of discrimination.

As defined within the acculturation framework, perceptions of discrimination have been found to be highly corrosive to social cohesion. At their extreme, such attitudes can contribute to "inward-looking" acculturation strategies, such as dissonant or ethnic, that result in poorer acculturation outcomes.

In addition, although not explored within the Canadian context, Borjas and Portes have observed another facet of perceived discrimination that can have effects on acculturation: discrimination that members of the second generation feel from their own ethnic group.⁴⁰ This can sever the second generation from their ethnic roots, placing them at greater risk of pursuing national or dissonant acculturation strategies, with their suboptimal psychological and socio-cultural adaptation patterns. The possibility of discrimination in Canadian society is a core issue that needs to be examined and addressed if both individuals and Canadian society are to enjoy the full benefits of diversity.

It is possible to reconcile broadly positive educational and economic outcomes with perceptions of discrimination by postulating that visible minorities may succeed only through additional effort on their part.

Positive educational and labour market outcomes among the second generation make the issue of discrimination difficult to define. The second generation cite schools and the workplace as the locations where they perceive discrimination, yet these are the locations where their success is most evident. It is possible that the measure used, *perceptions of discrimination*, could be measuring a

social construct or myth that has been repeated so often that it is now accepted as fact by many who have never actually experienced discrimination.

Recent work on discrimination, however, indicates that discrimination is frequently no longer overt and can be subtle and contextual in nature. Numerous practices and statements have been identified within education systems, political institutions, the media,

and other aspects of Canadian life that could, particularly if considered together, be described as discriminatory.⁴¹ Racial profiling has garnered particular attention since the *Toronto Star* published a series of news stories on this issue.⁴² In addition, small-scale studies examining the effects of names from different ethnic backgrounds or the effect of skin tone on hiring decisions have demonstrated that, in competitive environments, racial discrimination can still be a factor.⁴³

Taking all this into account, it is possible to reconcile broadly positive educational and economic outcomes with perceptions of discrimination by postulating that visible minorities may succeed only through additional effort on their part. With this argument in mind, there is no reason to discount the possibility of discrimination and many reasons to suspect that it may be an under-recognized challenge within Canadian society.

From a diagnostic perspective, where one is attempting to measure inclusion, this debate is not terribly relevant; perceptions are what matter when attitudes are being developed. From the perspective of developing policy, however, this is a very important distinction. If there is widespread discrimination, it would challenge commonly held beliefs about Canadian attitudes towards the realities of multiculturalism, emphasize the importance of Canadian diversity policies and highlight the limits of current initiatives.

If there is widespread discrimination, it would challenge commonly held beliefs about Canadian attitudes about the realities of multiculturalism, emphasize the importance of Canadian diversity policies and highlight the limits of current initiatives.

We must improve our understanding of this topic if we are to develop effective responses to its causes. But given the prominent role schools and other institutions of integration are likely to play in any policy response, jurisdictional issues will again likely be an issue. Many of these institutions, like most aspects of the social milieu, are under provincial jurisdiction. Subsequently, effective action would likely require co-ordinated, if not integrated, interventions by the Government of Canada,

the provinces and territories, and municipalities.

Conclusion

The situation of the “new” second generation in Canada that is starting to emerge is complex. While marked by positive outcomes regarding education and employment, perceptions of discrimination indicate a degree of social exclusion. This may be reflected somewhat in ambivalence among members of the second generation toward the concept of Canada and other elements of Canadian society, but there is significant debate about the strength and meaning of these attitudes. Nevertheless, taken together, it is clear that as successful as the Canadian model of managing diversity appears to be, Canada has not yet demonstrated that it has perfected the process of integration for either immigrants or their children.

Research to date, while overly focused on social and economic outcomes, has been informative. As anticipated by the framework, it is clear that educational and labour market outcomes differ markedly along ethnic lines, likely due to positive or negative ethnic capital effects or discrimination. We need to explore these issues in greater detail if we are to articulate concrete policy responses. Nevertheless, we know enough to conclude

that effective policy responses would likely have to target the social milieu and would require some form of co-ordinated efforts with the provinces, which have jurisdiction over most institutions of integration within the social milieu. Before action is taken, however, much more in-depth research must be completed on both ethnic capital and discrimination.

The third paper in this research series will frame these findings, as well as the findings from the first paper, within the international context. This will inform our understanding of potential policy responses by mapping out what is effective and compatible within various national contexts.

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