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Second-Generation African Youth in Calgary: Transnational Practices and Perspectives

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Second-Generation African Youth in Calgary: Transnational Practices and Perspectives

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

The African population in Canada is growing as a result of Canadian immigration policies from over the last decade. Research has shown that, like many other immigrants, African immigrants in Canada engage in transnationalism (Owusu, 2003), which means they maintain multiple relationships across borders. However, very few studies have focused on second-generation immigrants (Goitom, 2018; Kalu, 2017), also known as “the second generation,” and the studies that have been done on this population have mostly revolved around the issue of their identity formation and integration. There is also a gap in the literature with regards to the relationship between birth order of the second-generation African youth and their transnational ties. This study addresses these gaps in the literature by studying the transnational connections of second-generation Africans in Calgary. The theories of multiculturalism and transnationalism inform the conceptual framework that I have used for this study. Drawing on a qualitative research methodology with a phenomenological approach, I conducted a content analysis on 30 in-depth interviews with second-generation youth (24 females and 6 males) who had sub-Saharan Africa roots and were living in Calgary. The findings indicate that the second-generation African youth engage in six types of transnationalism—sociocultural, economic, political, social-psychological, psychological, and religious—as well as a new type that I have called “intellectual transnationalism.” Also, my research demonstrates that there is a relationship between the birth order of those within the second generation and their transnational connections.

Keywords: Second generation, transnationalism, transnational connections, multiculturalism, phenomenological approach, intellectual transnationalism

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Dedication

To my husband, Stephen, and my children, Jaden and Jenelle. Thank you for all the support, love, and understanding.

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

There is a contention that, globally, assimilation is taking over transnationalism in the second generation (Smith, 2000), which is the term for those who are born to first-generation immigrants. Assimilation theory insinuates that the longer immigrants live in the host country, the more they incorporate into it, adopting the mainstream society's values, beliefs, norms, and culture and becoming like the natives. As a result, they would therefore have fewer connections with their countries of origin (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). Transnationalism, on the other hand, refers to the connections across borders that enable immigrants to maintain multiple loyalties and identities, including both to their countries of origin and their destinations (Levitt & Waters, 2002). Some studies have indicated that second-generation immigrants assimilate into society faster than their parents (Kasinitz et al., 2002), and hence, they are much less transnational than them (Baffoe, 2010). However, there are other studies that argue that the second generation may still embrace transnationalism at the same level as their parents due to the positive influences of the transnational experiences (Portes, 2001), even if those experiences, as Levitt (2001) argues, "emerge in unexpected forms and unexpected places" (p. 212). There is also the argument that, despite their conceptual differences, assimilation and transnationalism can both exist in a society concurrently (Faist, 2000) or even reinforce and influence each other (Levitt, 2003a; Portes et al., 1999). Schiller and Fouron (2001) go even further and argue that, to fully understand immigrant transnationalism, one needs to comprehend their assimilation experiences. Taken together, the above arguments show that, far from being mutually exclusive, the two concepts of assimilation and transnationalism should be studied in connection to one another.

Most of the research on second-generation transnationalism has been conducted in the United States (Haller et al., 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The studies on this topic from Canada have focused mainly on the integration, discrimination, and identity formation of the second generation (Berry & Hou,

2017; Sugiman, 2006), in particular on immigrant groups from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia (Lee, 2008; Wong & Satzewich, 2006). Most of these studies failed to examine the exact transnational attachments that the second generation was involved in. Additionally, many of the studies, for example Berry and Hou (2017), group all second-generation immigrants together as one, leaving the impression that they all have the same experiences. Also, most studies on the African population tend to lump Africans and those from the Caribbean together and refer to both groups as Black, which can contribute to an assumption that all Black people are the same (Boyd, 2008).

There is scholarship on the transnationalism of the African second generation (Goitom, 2018; Karimi et al., 2018). Goitom (2018) examined how Ethiopian and Eritrean young women residing in Toronto form their identities based on their cultural and social experiences, and how they maintain their ancestral cultures. However, the research did not explore the different types of transnational activities that African youth engage in. Karimi et al. (2018) explored how Somali youth residing in Edmonton construct their gender identities to help with their successful integration into Canada. Similar to Goitom (2018), the Karimi, Bucarius, and Thompson's study does not give us a bigger picture of the different types of transnational ties held by the African second generation.

From the above analysis, the following gaps have been identified in the literature. Firstly, there is the need to explore the transnationalism of second-generation in Canada because the majority of the work has been done in the United States (Wong & Satzewich, 2006). Generally, there is little research on the African second generation because most of the studies have been conducted on other immigrant groups, such as those from Asia (Kelly, 2015; Lu, 2011; Ly, 2010; Somerville, 2008). Also, scholarship on second-generation with African backgrounds tends to emphasize the identity and integration of these groups. As such, there has been little exploration of their actual transnational attachments and the consequences of these activities on their lives. Van den Hoonaard (2011) argues that a researcher's experiences shape their research ideas, and I am thus also curious to know if there is any correlation between birth order within

those of the second generation and their transnational ties as this topic is not addressed at all in the literature. This curiosity builds on research I conducted for a graduate research and methods class, in which I interviewed African second-generation youth who mentioned that their birth order could play a role in the transnational ties that they have. As a result of that work, I decided to explore this phenomenon further to confirm or refute the relationship. I searched the literature on this topic but could not find a study on the relationship between birth order and transnationalism amongst African youth in Canada.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

Against the above background, this study explores the transnational relationships between second-generation sub-Saharan Africans living in Calgary and their parents' countries of origin. Calgary is a diverse city in Alberta, a province situated in Western Canada. It sits on a land area of over 848 square kilometres (327 square miles) in the southern part of the province, in the foothills of the Canadian Rocky Mountains and the prairies where the Elbow River and Bow River converge. Calgary is a young city with an educated and entrepreneurial population (life in Calgary, n.d.). Calgary has partnerships with 15 municipalities that together form the Calgary Metropolitan Region. Some of the cities included in this partnership with Calgary include Airdrie, Banff, Cochrane, Chestermere, Crossfield, High River, and Strathmore, amongst others. With all partner municipalities included, the Calgary region covers an area of over 5,110 square kilometres (1,973 square miles) (Selling Calgary, n.d.). The city houses the headquarters of Canada's crude oil industry, and its economy is primarily dependent on petroleum. As a result, when the price of oil falls, it affects the overall economy of the city. Calgary was a booming city until the price of oil dropped in 2016 (McGillivray, 2019). Calgary is also known for the Calgary Stampede, an event that has been held annually since 1923 with the exception of 2020. The Stampede runs over a 10-day period in July and features a parade, rodeo events, musical performances, and other types of entertainment. The Calgary Stampede, an event that is estimated to have a million visitors each year and has been held annually has been a major destination for immigrants to Canada over the past several

decades. Between 2011 and 2016, Calgary received 93,255 immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016), and more recently, between January 2015 and April 2019, the number of immigrants the city received was still relatively high, at 83,395 (Do & Stroick, 2019). In terms of population, Calgary is the largest city in Alberta and the third largest city in Canada (Selling Calgary, n.d.). In 2016, Calgary had a population of 1,297,280, of which 404,700, or 29.4%, were immigrants and 463,450, or 33.7%, were visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2016). In that same year, visible minority second-generation youth (those between the ages of 18 to 29 years) made up 22,471 of the city's population. Additionally, there were 592 second-generation youth (those between the ages of 18 to 29 years) born in Canada with both parents or at least one parent having been born outside Canada as well as having African origins (calculated from Statistics Canada, 2016).

For this research, I define the second generation broadly as being made up of children who were born in Canada to either one or two immigrant parents as well as children who were less than 18 years old when they immigrated with their parent(s) to Canada.

The following questions guide this research:

- 1) What are the transnational attachments that African second-generation youth engage in?
- 2) How are these transnational connections severed or sustained over a long time?
- 3) What motivates second-generation youth to have transnational ties?
- 4) Do transnational ties have any consequences for the African youth?
- 5) Is there a relationship between the birth order of those within the African second generation and the transnational connections they possess?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

I draw on multiculturalism and transnationalism as the two theoretical frameworks to guide the analysis of the transnational practices and activities of second-generation Africans in Calgary. Multiculturalism in Canada advocates for the recognition, retention, and celebration of people's racial,

religious, and other differences (Kymlicka, 2011); therefore, multiculturalism is a relevant structure for understanding the second generation. This is because multiculturalism may influence the degree to which African youth engage in transnationalism. Thus, there is the need to explore how multiculturalism affects the lived experiences of the second generation and how it impacts their transnational connections with their parents' countries. As stated earlier, I will analyze my findings through the lens of transnationalism. Transnationalism, as a framework, is defined as “the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders” (Basch et al., 1994, p. 6). Transnationalism will enable me to analyze the different types of transnational activities of the second generation.

1.4 Methodology

This research employs the use of qualitative research methodology, which “refers to the meaning, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things” (Berg & Lune, 2012, p. 3). Qualitative research is significant for my study because it gives the respondents a voice and allows them to explain what is important in their experiences (Van den Hoonaard, 2011). Ontologically, qualitative research presents the different realities of the people being studied; this is evident in phenomenological studies where researchers report how participants perceive their experiences differently (Creswell, 2013). To undertake this qualitative study, my research utilizes a phenomenological approach to explore the connections that second-generation Africans have with their parents' birth countries. Phenomenological study explains a common meaning that a group of people have after experiencing a specific phenomenon (Laverty, 2003). The approach describes the common meanings for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon. The purpose of phenomenology is to “reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence (Creswell, 2013, p. 76),” which means to understand the universal meaning of the experience of individuals. The

overall objective of the phenomenological approach is to describe what the individuals experienced and how they experienced it. The primary data collection method for phenomenological research is the use of interviews. I conducted 30 semi-standardized in-depth interviews with second-generation youth whose parents' heritages are from sub-Saharan Africa. The analysis of phenomenological data is done by first identifying significant themes, followed by describing what these significant themes mean, and finally, giving a detailed description of what the interviewees experienced and how they experienced it, which is known as a hermeneutic circle. A hermeneutic circle signifies a process of interpreting your data by moving between the smaller texts and the larger texts until you give meaning to the whole text (Creswell, 2013).

While my interviewees have their ancestral roots in the eastern, western, and southern regions of Africa, my analysis will focus on themes that are common to all regions and, at times, will point out the regional differences. The interview process was an avenue for both interviewee and interviewer to co-produce knowledge. The study was coded using Nvivo and was analyzed using qualitative content analysis. I wrote my analysis out using the excerpt commentary units' style (Emerson et al., 2011). An excerpt commentary unit starts with an analytic point, followed by an orientation information, then the excerpt, and finally, an analytic commentary.

1.5 Significance of the Study

My research is significant for several reasons. First, it helps to fill the gap in the literature concerning the transnational activities of second-generation Africans. An extensive literature search revealed that there were no studies focused on the different types of transnational connections that African second-generation youth in Canada engage in. Second, this study conceptualizes another type of transnational behaviour, which is termed as intellectual transnationalism. Third, Wong and Satzewich (2006) argued for the need for more research to be conducted on transnationalism in Canada. They also advocated for more research on other immigrant groups given that the majority of the U.S. literature

focused on groups from Latin America and the Caribbean. Hence, my study on African second-generation youth in Canada meets this need. Fourth, my thesis addresses the gap in the migration scholarship by exploring how the birth order of those born into the African second generation affects their transnational behaviours. This is novel because there is no known research that has explored this interconnection. Also, the thesis is significant because it elucidates the tripartite relationship between multiculturalism, transnationalism, and integration. Additionally, at a personal level, there is significance in this research as I am currently raising my own children who are African second generation, and it will be important for me to learn the different types of transnational ties they may have and my role in shaping those ties. Furthermore, this study will hopefully serve as a reference for other students who would like to do research on African second-generation transnationalism in Canada. In addition, the Government of Canada recently introduced the Community Support for Black Canadian Youth Initiative to provide funding for projects that address the unique challenges faced by Black Canadian youth. My study mentions some of these challenges, which could potentially inform policy development and implementation. Moreover, this research gave participants a voice to tell their stories, and they claimed that doing so was therapeutic for them. Finally, according to Statistics Canada, in 2016 about 6.1 million Canadians were second generation, and those who were second generation with an immigrant background made up 27 percent of Canada's population aged younger than 25 and 16 percent of the population aged 25 to 44 (Statistics Canada, 2018). The percentage of those who are second generation with an immigrant background is projected to be between 39 and 49 percent in 2036, with one in five people being part of a second generation overall. Thus, the second generation in Canada will increasingly make up a substantial percentage of the Canadian population.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This thesis is structured into seven main parts. The first part, as evidenced by this chapter, gives a background to the study, which includes an introduction and a statement of the research problem. It also

talks about the research objectives and questions, the methodology, and the significance of the study. The second part reviews the existing literature on transnationalism and the second generation. The third chapter discusses the two theoretical frameworks, which are multiculturalism and transnationalism. The fourth part focuses on the methodological orientation of the research, which includes the population of the study, the data collection method, recruitment and sampling, researcher reflexivity, ethical issues, and data analysis. The fifth part presents a data analysis of the different connections that second-generation Africans have with their parents' countries, and the effects of those connections. In the sixth part, I discuss the effects of birth order on the interviewees' transnational links, the different types of racisms that they experience, how they negotiate their identities, and how they integrate in terms of being transnational or multicultural. The seventh part includes a summary of the major findings of the study, the limitations of the study, recommendations, and implications for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

To better understand the experiences of the transnational activities of the African second-generation, there is the need to situate the study in the literature. In that regard, this chapter reviews some of the research on transnationalism, the second generation, and integration in Canada. With reference to transnationalism, the chapter discusses the historical trajectory that led to the concept. It also reviews the conceptual muddling of transnationalism and then defines it to establish what the term will mean in the context of this study. This is followed by an exploration of the types of transnationalism, as well as the significance and the threats associated with the concept. With respect to the second generation, the chapter will first define the term to establish its meaning for the study. Afterwards, it will discuss the literature on second-generation Africans in Canada and some of the research conducted on that community. The chapter then address the scholarship on the transnationalism of the second generation, drawing out themes with regards to the extent of their connections, the different transnational activities they engage in, and the consequences of these activities. The section on the second-generation concludes with an examination of the literature on what encourages transnationalism in this demographic. The final part of the chapter discusses integration in Canada and whether the second-generation integrate into the “host society” or engage in transnationalism. This is followed by a conclusion for the chapter.

2.2 Background to Transnationalism

The term transnationalism was first used by Randolph S. Bourne in his 1916 essay “Trans-national America” (Portes et al., 1999; Waldinger, 2013). Bourne’s definition of transnationalism is different from what the term means now. Bourne argued that transnationalism means that America should go beyond nationalism and accept different nationalities and cultures, instead of advocating for the assimilation of immigrants. In this sense, for Bourne, transnationalism meant cultural pluralism or multiculturalism (Waldinger, 2013). This meaning of the word was adopted by historians as some of them had started questioning the concepts of ethnicity and nationality and found the term transnationalism relevant for them

in their research (Harzig & Hoerder, 2006; Waldinger, 2013). In the early 1950s, Philip Jessup, a law professor, used the term transnational, which meant a “diminishing importance of territoriality, the constraints on state sovereignty, the role of non-state actors” (Waldinger, 2013, p. 758). It was, however, a group of anthropologists in the early 1990s who was applied a transnational perspective to the study of migration, fleshed out what transnationalism was, and introduced it as a novel perspective (Lazar, 2011). The meaning of transnationalism used by the anthropologists is different from the one used by earlier historians and political scientists (Waldinger, 2013). The section has summarized a brief background to the concept of transnationalism. In the next section, I will focus on the conceptual muddling of the term.

2.2.1 “Conceptual Muddling” of Transnationalism

Since its introduction as a novel concept by anthropologists, transnationalism has gone through numerous conceptual issues (Vertovec, 1999). Some scholars have argued that transnationalism has always been in existence because immigrants have always been involved in cross-border ties (Kivisto, 2001). Other scholarship has argued that transnationalism is part of globalization and not a standalone discipline because it developed from the growth in transportation, modern communication, and capitalist economy (Hiebert & Ley, 2003; Kelly, 2003). Nonetheless, the anthropologists who introduced the term acknowledged that although social scientists have used the term transnational in the past, there was no specific meaning to it. As such, they advocate for a new analytical framework and conceptualization of transnationalism to understand the effects of the modern technologies and transportation on immigrants’ connection across borders (Basch et al., 1994).

Portes (2001) argues that the anthropologists exaggerated their scope and made it look like all migrants were transnational, whereas transnational migrants “do not represent more than 18 per cent of all the groups studied and, in most cases, this proportion is much less” (Portes, 2001, p. 183). Other authors made similar points (see Schiller et al., 1995; Smith, 2000; Vertovec, 1999). The unit of analysis for transnationalism has also been disputed. Authors such as Levitt (2003b) and Kivisto (2001) maintain that

communities, institutions, multinational companies, and groups are the appropriate units of analysis for transnationalism. This is known as transnationalism from above. Portes et al. (1999), on the other hand, insists that the unit of analysis for transnationalism should be individuals' activities. This approach is known as transnationalism from below. Schiller et al. (1995) term immigrants who partake in transnationalism as "transmigrants" and define transmigrants as "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections cross international orders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (p. 48). Portes et al. (1999) disagree with this definition of "transmigrants" and argue that "immigrants" is an adequate word to describe individuals that take part in transnational activities. Thus, there is no need for an additional concept.

Based on the above conceptual differences, Vertovec (1999) argues that transnationalism hinges on definite conceptual premises, and he elaborates on six of them. Vertovec (1999) conceptualizes transnationalism firstly as a social morphology, which is made up of the social networks and ties across borders. Secondly, transnationalism can be conceptualized as a type of consciousness to mean hybridity of transnational identities. Transnationalism is also conceptualized as a medium through which culture is reproduced. Music, film, fashion, and arts are some of the modes through which this can take place. Also, transnationalism can be understood as an avenue for capital through transnational corporations and remittances. Transnationalism is also conceived as a place of political activities whereby immigrants can engage in political activities in their home countries. Finally, the term can be understood as an avenue for reconstructing what a place means for people who engage in transnational ties. Transnationalism has helped reconstruct the notion of what a home is and has also helped develop translocal understandings of social spaces.

This section discussed the conceptual muddling of transnationalism and its differing conceptualization. Doing so was important because there is the need to unmask the conceptual ambiguity of transnationalism before we move on to define it in the next section.

2.2.2 Definition of Transnationalism

Basch et al. (1994) define transnationalism “as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (p. 8).” For these authors, the most important element of transnationalism is the process through which immigrants create multiple ties that they hold across borders (Basch et al., 1994). Wayland (2006) defines transnationalism as “the experiences of individuals whose identities and relations span national borders” (p. 18). The focus for Wayland’s definition is on the experiences of immigrants across nations. Portes et al. (1999) defines transnationalism as “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation” (p. 219). Wayland (2006) also defines transnationalism as connections of immigrants across borders that represent regular activities. For these authors, transnationalism cannot include all occasional activities and experiences that an immigrant engages in. They argue that transnationalism should be repeated, regular, and constant for it to be defined as such, representing a concept that is also known as core transnationalism (Guarnizo, 2000). However, Portes et al. (1999) do not disregard that the occasional contacts made by immigrants do strengthen the field of transnationalism. Levitt (2001), on the other hand, defines transnationalism to include both occasional and regular activities. Occasional transnational activities are also known as expanded transnationalism (Guarnizo, 2000). The above definitions reveal that transnationalism includes immigrants having ties across borders that occur repeatedly or occasionally.

Within the context of my study, I define transnationalism as the relationships and activities that immigrants and the second generation maintain across borders, whether these relationships and activities happen repeatedly or regularly. The next section will discuss the different types of transnationalism.

2.2.3 Types of Transnationalism

Migration scholars have argued that there are three main types of transnational activities: political, economic, and sociocultural (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Portes, 1999, 2001). Other types of

transnationalism are psychological transnationalism (Baffoe, 2010), religious transnationalism (Mensah et al., 2013; Tam, 2019), and social-psychological transnationalism (Verkuyten, 2005).

Wayland (2006) defines political transnationalism as involving “an interchange of ideas, issues, and conflicts between individuals, groups, and political entities in two or more countries” (p. 19). Some of the political activities include immigrants engaging in civil and human rights back in their countries of origin, having dual citizenship, and actively engaging in political parties in their home countries (Simmons & Plaza, 2006; Wayland, 2006). Political transnationalism also comprises immigrants establishing nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in their home countries that advocate and monitor human rights (Portes, 2001).

Economic transnational activities include immigrants establishing businesses in their home countries which, strengthen the import and export industries. Also, economic associations are formed by immigrants to compel developed countries to treat developing countries’ labourers well and improve their labour practices (Hiebert & Ley, 2006; Portes, 2001). Additionally, economic transnational activity involves immigrants sending remittances back home (Vertovec, 2004). Sociocultural transnational activities include immigrants travelling back home and taking part in festivals celebrated in their home countries. They also engage in charities to help children in poorer nations (Portes, 2001). In addition, immigrants maintain ties and relationships with families in their home countries through communication, such as talking on phone or via social media (Hiebert & Ley, 2006).

Psychological transnationalism is a type of transnationalism that involves immigrants having fond memories of back home. Immigrants idealize the home country even as they try to settle in their country of destination with hopes of achieving economic independence enough to reach a level that would be comparable to a high standard of living in their home countries. These idealizations of home for these immigrants are sometimes through food and music (Baffoe, 2010). Immigrants are argued to reflect on their memories of food and taste whenever they cook in their new countries. Ethnic food is argued to

connect immigrants to their home countries culturally and symbolically as it invokes memories of back home (Tuomainen, 2009).

Religious transnationalism is explained as the ties that immigrants have with their home countries through religious practices and identities (Mensah et al., 2013). Religious transnationalism activities include immigrants participating in decisions in their local churches back in their countries of origin, sending remittances back to churches back home, and attending church service in their local churches whenever they go back home (Mensah, 2008). Examples of religious transnationalism in immigrant Muslim communities, for example, can include immigrants celebrating Islamic festivals, praying together at the mosques, and doing the “sunna,” which also means doing what is mandatory within Islam. Gibb (1998) explained how some Muslim immigrants may teach their children about Islam, which can include having their children attend Qur'anic school. Additionally, some Hindus and Buddhists in Canada may sometimes have shrines in their homes where they pray as well celebrate their religious holidays (Beyer, 2013; Saha & Beyer, 2013).

Social-psychological transnationalism can be described as the feelings of anger, bitterness, and dissatisfaction or satisfaction that immigrants feel when they compare their current situation in a new country with their country of origin as the reference group. If, after this comparison, their life conditions in their country of immigration are much better than their life experiences in that of their source country, then they have a satisfied life. These feelings and judgments help in construction of the identity of the individual. For example, an immigrant running from religious persecution in his country of emigration may assess that his/her quality of life is better when he moves to a new country and finds that there is freedom of religion and he/she is able to be free in the context of religion. In this example, the individual's life expectation of being independent is achieved and he/she is now able to be free to choose another religion, which alters his/her previous identity (Verkuyten, 2005).

This section discussed the different ways in which we can group the transnational activities of immigrants. These different types of transnationalism are political, economic, sociocultural, psychological, religious, and socio-psychological transnationalism. This section was relevant because it enlightened us about the varied transnational connections that the second generation can engage in. The significance of transnationalism will be discussed next.

2.2.4 The significance of transnationalism

Researchers have documented enormous benefits of transnationalism for both the receiving and sending countries. Some of this significance includes but is not limited to, firstly, that transnationalism enables immigrants to acquire knowledge through processes that can be formal (e.g., going to school in the country of settlement and earning a degree or certificate) or informal (e.g., learning from other ethnic and racial groups). This education enables them to adjust in many situations, and it benefits both the country of settlement as well as the home country (Ding, 2015). Secondly, immigrants may send home remittances, which are used in managing the families back at home and can be used to help with financing other projects, such as completing work on family houses, and repairing roads and churches (Portes, 2001). Additionally, the citizens in the home countries may also set up businesses that run and operate remittances agencies that migrants use to send monies back to their home countries. This transnational activity benefits the home country.

Thirdly, immigrants establish businesses in the country of origin, which helps in spreading entrepreneurship (Portes et al., 1999; Portes, 2001). This form of investment helps not only the immigrants in terms of generating wealth and improving their economic status but also the economic growth of their home countries. Furthermore, transnational migrants involve themselves in the politics of their home countries by supporting their parties and the parties' flag bearers in national elections. This could include lobbying politicians in their countries of settlement to help them financially as they support elections back home, as well as helping them ensure the process back at home is free and fair. The Ukrainian Canadian

Congress was able to obtain financial support from the Canadian government to support Ukraine's parliamentary elections as well as to send people back to their home country to monitor the said elections in 2004, 2006, and 2012 (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017). Transnationalism is significant for both the sending and receiving countries.

2.2.5 Threats of Transnationalism

Transnationalism comes with its challenges and threats. Some migration scholars have argued that transnationalism breeds terrorism, revolutionists (Secretary of Defense, 1996), and organized crime (Stoica, 2016). Other transnational threats include theft of cultural property (United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime [UNTOC], 2011) and human, arms, and drug trafficking (Thachuk, 2007). Transnational threats affect the receiving and sending countries negatively. The receiving country may need to put more funds into international security, which causes financial strain (Stoica, 2016), and it also damages the image of the country on the world stage (Thachuk, 2007). With regards to the sending country, transnational threats will impact governance, how institutions work, economic growth, and the overall life of the people in the country. Transnational threats require government and a significant amount funding to combat them. They cause fear and panic, and just a few people involved in these transnational acts earn from them (Stoica, 2016).

In addition, others have asserted that transnationalism poses as a threat to the national unity and identity of the host country. Issues of immigrants' loyalty and adaptability are constantly being debated by politicians, scholars, and policymakers (Huntington, 2004). The argument is that if immigrants have transnational ties with their home countries, then their loyalties will be split between the two countries. They are likely to be more loyal to their country of origin, which might affect the unity in the receiving country. Also, as a result of immigrants having transnational attachments, they might not be able to integrate into their host societies and thus may pose as a threat to national identities. Scholars such as Hugo (2014) dispute the fact that immigrants are more loyal to their home country. This author asserts

that many immigrants, regardless of their transnational attachments, show loyalty to their host countries while also remaining connected to their home countries.

This section discussed some of the possible transnational threats and their impacts. Some of the transnational threats that were mentioned include the potential presence of terrorism, revolutionists, or transnational organized crimes; the potential occurrence of theft of cultural property or human, arms, and drug trafficking; and the potential weakening of national unity and identity. Some of the impacts of transnational threats are that they cause fear and panic and financial strain, and national identities may be weakened.

2.3 Definition of the Second Generation

The second generation is defined as a “demographic group that includes both children born in Canada to immigrant parents and those often referred to as 1.5 generation who immigrated to Canada as children” (Kobayashi, 2008, p. 3). Jantzen (2008) defines the term second generation as “anyone born in Canada with at least one parent not born in Canada” (p. 7). Simply, second-generation immigrants are children born to immigrant parents in their parents’ new country (classic second generation) or the children that came with their parents to their new country when they were very young, and then grew up and attended school in their parents’ host country (the 1.5 generation) (Levitt & Waters, 2002). For the purpose of this research, I define the second generation as children who immigrated with their parents to Canada as well as children who were born in Canada to either one or two first-generation immigrant parents.

2.3.1 Second-Generation Africans in Canada

There has been extensive literature on how African second-generation form their identities (Goitom, 2018), their performance in education (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Boyd, 2008), and how they are racialized and socially excluded (Bailey, 2002). Kalu (2017) examined how second-generation youth who resided in Calgary and Edmonton and had roots in Western Africa formed their identities and what informed their choice of identity. Similar research on identity formation of the African second generation

has been conducted; Kumsa (2005) weighed in on how the parents of the second generation influence their children with regards to the adoption of their ancestral identity. Goitom (2018) also researched how the African second generation navigated their transnational connections to influence their identity formation.

Other scholarship has focused on the integration of the second generation and shown that second-generation African youth do not do well educationally. A study by Boyd (2008) revealed that they are less likely to graduate high school or gain a university education. It has been suggested that this could be due to the low educational level of their parents (Sykes, 2008). The lower academic performance of some African second-generation youth in Canada (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Boyd, 2008) as well as other structural factors affecting them may serve as a pipeline for these youth to end up in prisons (Bailey, 2002; Dei et al., 1997).

Additionally, researchers have examined and identified the discrimination and negative stereotypes that the African second generation experiences living in Canada (Schmitt, 2010). Some of the discrimination they experience includes being racially profiled by the police (Abdi, 2005). In the education sector, African Canadians are labelled as not being smart (Codjoe, 2001), having criminal tendencies (Codjoe, 2005; Sincore & Lerner, 2013), and being more likely to be put in lower-grade classes compared to native-born Canadians (Schmitt, 2010). There is the tendency for them to be followed around in shopping malls and stores compared to other races (Kelly, 1998). Also, regardless of their educational qualifications, African Canadians are more likely to be excluded from the labour market (Abdi, 2005).

2.3.2 Second-Generation Transnationalism

Wessendorf (2016) asserts that there are two main approaches to studying second-generation transnationalism: the practice approach and the process approach. The practice approach primarily studies second-generation transnationalism from a quantitative perspective. The proponents of this approach measure the extent to which the second generation are engaged in transnationalism compared to the first generation and the extent to which the transnational activities of the second generation are decreasing

(Rumbaut, 2002). Those who follow the process approach, on the other hand, are more interested in how the transnational activities of the first generation influence the lives of the second generation. Proponents of the process approach are also interested in the different types of transnational activities the second generation engages in, the process of engaging in transnationalism, and what encourages them (Levitt, 2009; Wessendorf, 2016).

There is debate around the extent of second-generation transnationalism. As noted in Chapter One, some scholars indicate that the second generation participates in transnationalism. Others maintain that they mostly assimilate into the host society and, therefore, do not partake in transnationalism (Jones-Correa, 2002), while other scholarship has indicated that they do both (Faist, 2000; Levitt, 2003a). The literature asserts that although there is proof of transnationalism amongst the second generation, these transnational behaviours are reported as being low (Levitt, 2001) in comparison to those of their parents (Baffoe, 2010). This is because “for most of them unlike their parents ... there appears to be no tingling sensation, no phantom pain, over a homeland that was never lost to them in the first place” (Rumbaut, 2002, p. 1). Regardless of that fact, their transnational activities influence their lives although they integrate more into their host countries than into their parents’ countries of origin (Levitt, 2009).

Some of the transnational activities that the second generation engages in include, but are not limited to, sending of remittances to their extended families back home, travelling to their parents’ birth countries, participating in ethnic group festivals and parades, and speaking their parents’ native languages (Foner, 2002; Jones-Correa, 2002). Furthermore, the majority of second-generation individuals have never visited their parents’ countries, or they may have been there once and are likely not to return and settle there. In addition, a smaller number of those within the second generation is likely to have dual citizenship, and most would speak more English than their parents’ languages (Jones-Correa, 2002). The above gives evidence to traces of economic, sociocultural, and political transnationalism amongst the second generation. Tuomainen (2009) also argues that the second-generation experiences psychological

transnationalism through eating ethnic food although their meals may consist of a mixture of the various cultures from the country in which they reside.

The literature has indicated that the transnationalism of the second generation will continue, although at a declining rate, and it has significant consequences that are both positive and negative. The first positive consequence is that despite the low percentage that is recorded for second generation transnationalism, when the percentage is changed into an actual number, it becomes a significant number. For example, Jones-Correa (2002) argues that even if only 10% of the 23 million people who are second generation and living in the United States engage in transnational activities, it is still a significant number when the math is done. Although 10% may seem like a small number, it becomes 2.3 million youth; thus, if 2.3 million second-generation individuals were actively involved in transnational activities, then these activities could have a significant impact on both their home countries and their parents' countries of origin. Secondly, second-generation transnationalism has social and economic importance for their parents' countries of origin. The second generation has resources, opportunities, and ties in two countries. In the case of economic opportunities, for example, if they are not successful in one country, they can always go back to the other country and establish or invest there (Foner, 2002). In addition, there is the notion of ethnic pride. Second-generation immigrants tend to appreciate their roots and identify with their parents' cultures, which helps them with their identification and also makes them feel better than the natives (Smith, 2006). Finally, second-generation transnationalism can give the second generation an upper hand in getting into colleges. If someone of a second generation obtained part of their education back in their parents' country, their international education might give them an edge over others in the United States when they are trying to gain admission into college (Kasinitz, et al., 2002).

A potential negative effect of second-generation transnationalism is the identity crisis that the second-generation may face. By going back and forth between two countries, they may realize they do not belong to either place. Furthermore, it is expensive to engage in transnationalism, especially when

travelling back home to one's parents' source country, which can put a strain on the family's resources. Additionally, engaging in transnationalism can affect their children's educations if they have to leave school to partake in these connections (Foner, 2002).

2.3.3 Motivation for Second-Generation Transnationalism

What motivates the second generation to engage in transnationalism? Smith (2006) contends that there are two main primary motivations for second-generation engagement in transnational practices. The first is that they maintain transnational connections with their parents' countries to keep the "immigrant bargain" with their parents. In other words, their engagement lets their parents know that they, even as part of the second generation, know their roots. Secondly, the institutional completeness and strong multi-generational networks in their parents' immigrant community encourages transnationalism amongst the second generation.

Also, Schiller and Fouron (2001) assert that race is a very important factor in how the second generation has and maintains transnational ties. It is argued that racism and discrimination encourage the second generation to engage in transnational ties (Foner, 2002). An example of this is when the second generation feel like second-class citizens because of the various forms of discrimination and racism that they experience. When this discrimination and racism happens, the second generation tends to become closer to their parents' countries. Those who are visible minorities within the second generation experience racism, which might prevent them from integrating into Canadian mainstream society (Kelly, 2015). Nagra (2017), speaking of how this process applies to the Muslim community in Canada, asserts that racism and discrimination from mainstream Canadian society encourages the second generation to reclaim and associate with their Muslim identities. In light of these examples, it is apparent that there is a relationship between racism and transnationalism.

Additionally, Levitt (2009) argues that the home, immigrant community, and the practices of the immigrants' parents influence how the second generation engages in transnationalism. The argument is

situated in the fact that the second generation grows up in a transnational social field where they are exposed to the exchange of money, items, practices, activities, and people across borders. Thus, the second generation internalizes these norms, cultures, and beliefs, and they develop skills and resources that they use to navigate the challenges and opportunities they experience in their lives. She further argues that the stronger the transnational connections in the transnational social field, the more ingrained the ties are in the second generation. The transnational social field includes the home, immigrant communities, religious organizations, and political parties. The second generation engages in these social groups, and these groups influence and perpetuate these transnational ties in the second generation, even if their connections are not as strong as those of the first generation. Perlmann (2002) also asserts that the arrangements of the first generation will determine whether the second generation will engage in transnationalism or not.

The above are not the only factors that encourage second-generation transnationalism, as both sending and receiving countries can also help encourage transnationalism amongst the second generation. With respect to the sending countries, it depends on reception methods and modes. This includes how easy it is for the second generation to acquire dual citizenship, how welcoming they are, and the services they put in place that will encourage the second generation to forge those ties (Perlmann, 2002). For the host country, it will depend on their approach to assimilation or multiculturalism. A country that expects its citizens to assimilate will put services and measures in place to encourage the citizens to integrate. On the other hand, a country that practices multiculturalism will put structures in place to motivate their citizens to be multicultural. Multiculturalism, which will be discussed later in Chapter Six, fuels transnationalism. Thus, these are ways in which the receiving and sending countries can help with motivating the second generation to engage in transnationalism.

In addition, religion is argued to be a motivator for the second generation to engage in transnationalism. Levitt (2009) buttresses this point with the conversations she had with two Indian American Muslim college freshmen; the two college freshmen both wanted to pursue careers that would

enable them to help people connect to their parents' countries of origin and their religions. One of them wanted to become a lawyer so she could make more money to help people in her ancestral home. Both of them agreed that the choice of careers was influenced by their faith and religion, which teaches them to help people in their immediate community and, where possible, use their career to help people across borders. Therefore, Levitt (2009) maintains that religion is an under-researched motivator for second-generation transnationalism.

Finally, life course events such as death, divorce, birth, childcare, or illness of family members influence the second generation in being transnational. Some of the second generation follows their parents for occasional visits back home which, when done periodically over a stable period of time, may influence the second generation to keep going back when they are much older, even when their parents no longer are. For others of the second generation, illness of family members would encourage immigrants to go back and visit them. Hence, these life course effects can make people who were not really interested in their parents' culture when they were younger become interested much later on in life. For example, people who have given birth may want to go home with their kids so they can get help from their families with childcare (Potter et al., 2009).

The aforementioned are determinants that encourage transnationalism amongst the second generation. Additionally, second-generation transnationalism might continue if there are more of the first generation to reinforce it. Also, second-generation transnationalism is unevenly distributed amongst the different racial and ethnic immigrant groups (Levitt & Waters, 2002).

2.4 Integration in Canada

Following Kymlicka's (1998) analysis of the work of Neil Bissoondath and Richard Gwyn, he proposes a series of criteria based on some of the key criticisms they raise to help conceptualize integration in Canada. He argues that immigrants "...adopting a Canadian identity rather than clinging exclusively to one's ancestral identity; participating in broader Canadian institutions rather than participating solely in

ethnic-specific institutions; learning an official language rather than relying solely on one's mother tongue; having inter-ethnic friendships, or even mixed marriages, rather than socializing entirely within one's ethnic group..." (Kymlicka, 1998, p. 17-18)" is a good starting point for the discussion of integration despite it not being comprehensive enough. Wong and Tezli (2013) criticize the criteria suggested by Kymlicka (1998) as a one-way process, more like a straight line that immigrants will have to follow to integrate into Canadian society. Authors such as Fleras (2010) perceive integration as a two-way process involving both the dominant and subdominant parts of a society coming together as one, without either one losing their unique traits. He further argues that a one-way process will mean integration is the same as assimilation, which is practiced in the United States. Biles et al. (2008) have also argued that integration in Canada should involve both the host and immigrant communities and, thus, is a two-way process. Li (2003) agrees that integration is a two-way process but argues that this is not the reality because the discourse on integration suggests that immigrants are the ones that need to change and not Canadian society. Also, although immigrants are the ones that are being assessed by the integration discourse to see if they have changed to suit Canada, this same assessment has not been demanded from Canadian society and its institutions to see how open they are to welcoming immigrants as equals.

According to Li (2003), integration in Canada's immigration discourse means the "desirable outcome as newcomers become members of the receiving society, by which the success and failure of immigrants can be gauged and by which the efficacy of the immigration policy can be determined" (p. 316). He argues that this explanation is problematic because it gives a strict and shallow understanding of integration and does not acknowledge the power and unequal relationship between immigrants and native-born Canadians. He concludes that integration in Canada should include what immigrants bring to the table in terms of respecting their differences and seeing these differences as valuable and assets to the nation-building of Canadian society. He further argues that Canada and its institutions should be assessed to ascertain their openness in welcoming immigrants as partners and not as unwanted people. Anderson

and Black (2008) agree that there is the need for mutual effort on the part of both the immigrants and the native-born Canadians to help achieve integration. Frideres (2008) adds that integration means “a society which is closely and intensely linked to its constituent parts, both groups and individuals” (p. 79). To achieve a close-knit society, there is the need for individuals to engage with each other at the institutional level (Fleras, 2012). Based on all of the above, integration simply means when immigrants become an important part of the settlement country without fully being absorbed into the society; this leaves space for them to exhibit their cultural and ethnic differences in a two-way process between immigrants and the host country (Wessendorf, 2016). Integration, then, is different from assimilation, which puts the whole weight of incorporation only on the immigrants and is a one-way process (Ley, 2013). Integration is considered the opposite of exclusion when perceived in economic and social terms (Wessendorf, 2016).

There are different dimensions of integration, including integration that is social, structural, cultural, identity, political, economic, segmented, and differentiated. Social integration can be explained as immigrants engaging with the host country’s institutions, such as their associations and clubs. Structural integration involves immigrants’ engagement with the host country’s core institutions, such as the labour market and schools (Wessendorf, 2016). Cultural integration is the process through which there is the respect of immigrants’ beliefs and values, the internalization of the host country’s beliefs and values, and changes in one’s value system. Identity integration, also known as cultural integration, is explained as a sense of belonging and the personal and subjective feelings of a group or an individual (Frideres, 2008). Political integration involves immigrants’ citizenship status and political involvement in the host country (Anderson & Black, 2008). Economic integration describes how successful immigrants are in the host country’s labour market compared to other immigrant groups and native-born Canadians (Kazemipur, 2014).

Frideres (2008) asserts that immigrants can integrate in some dimensions and not others. Kazemipur (2014) agrees and argues that immigrants can be integrated into some of the domains and

excluded from others. He terms this “segmented integration” and supports this with his work on the integration of Muslims in Canada. His findings indicate that Muslims do not experience obstacles in the institutional and media dimensions, but they do experience biases and feel excluded in economic and social circles. Thus, Muslims in Canada experience a segmented integration. Differentiated integration is the relationship between transnationalism and integration, which means that even if immigrants have a strong sense of belonging to their countries of origin, they can still integrate into their host countries; this type of integration is evident amongst the first and second generation (Wessendorf, 2016).

The above analysis gives a brief account of integration in Canada. From the above we can deduce that integration is a two-way process, which involves both immigrant communities and the host community doing their parts to make it a reality. A one-way integration process has been argued as being similar to assimilation, which is practiced in the United States. Authors have argued that there are different domains of integration that immigrants can integrate in, which include those that are social, cultural, political, economic, and institutional and those represented by identity and media. For the purpose of this study, integration will be divided into four dimensions: social; cultural, or a merging of culture and identity; political; and economic. This is because these domains can be measured by empirical indicators (Wong & Tezli, 2013). Immigrants experience segmented integration when they integrate successfully into some of the domains of integration and not others. The next section will discuss the literature on the integration and the transnationalism of the second generation.

2.5 Integration or Transnationalism for the Second-Generation

Does the second generation’s involvement in transnationalism mean that they will not integrate into Canadian society? Will transnationalism limit the other or vice versa? Migration scholars have acknowledged that immigrants can integrate into their host societies as well as have transnational attachments to their countries of origin, and thus, the two can happen at the same time and both influence each other (Levitt, 2009). Research provides evidence that second-generation youth integrate culturally

successfully (Karimi et al., 2018). Berry and Hou (2017) assert that the second generation has a sense of belonging to both their ancestral roots and their host countries. Other authors have argued that the second generation from developing countries may experience segmented economic integration. This means that they may not be fully integrated into the economic dimension of the host country because they may be unable to obtain a university degree (Halli & Vedanand, 2007). Reitz and Somerville (2004) agree that although there are group variations amongst different second-generation groups, those who are second generation and Black may attain lower levels of education than their parents. The occurrence of cultural integration does not mean that the second generation will not engage in transnational ties. In addition, those who are second generation and more inclined towards being transnational are argued to be more likely to be discriminated against (Berry & Hou, 2017). Schiller and Fouron (2001) agree and contend that one cannot observe the transnational experiences of immigrants without talking about their incorporation experiences. Therefore, transnationalism and integration are complementary, and both can happen at the same time without any conflict or friction because immigrants are potentially transnational, even if they integrate into society (Foner, 2002).

2.6 Conclusion

In order for us to comprehend the experiences of the second generation and transnationalism, it was important for this chapter to review the literature on transnationalism. This review allowed us to establish what transnationalism is, its definitions, the various types of it, and its significance and threats. The chapter also focused on definitions of the second generation, second-generation Africans in Canada, and second-generation transnationalism. Integration in Canada and the relationship between integration and transnationalism was discussed as well. Based on the literature review, the second generation navigates transnationalism to form their identities, and they are known to integrate successfully in some aspects of society. However, there is a gap in the literature because there is no specific study conducted solely on second-generation youth residing in Calgary and the transnational connections that they have

with their parents' countries of origin, and the implications of these ties in their lives. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework through which the data will be analyzed.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the two main theoretical conceptualizations that guide this research and their relevance for the study. Multiculturalism and transnational theories are the theoretical frameworks on which this study was situated and through which it was explored. With regards to multiculturalism, I first offer a brief background to Canada's multiculturalism policies, and then I examine the various ways in which multiculturalism is conceptualized in Canada. The section on this conceptualization includes a brief review of the main critiques of multiculturalism in the Canadian literature. The section concludes with how multiculturalism as a theory motivates or undermines integration and transnationalism amongst the second generation. With reference to the discussion on transnationalism, I provide a brief historical journey of the concept. I then situate my work within two of the conceptualizations of transnationalism and state the relevance of transnationalism to my work. The chapter concludes with how the two theories together provide appropriate contributions to this study.

3.2 Background to Canada's Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is Canada's identity to the world (Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Kymlicka, 2010), and this is due to the fact that even prior to the formation of Canada in 1867, Canada was already geographically diverse; therefore, multiculturalism is perceived as always having been present in Canada (Guo & Wong, 2015). Multiculturalism was institutionalized in Canada in 1971, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau signed Canada's multicultural policy, making Canada the first Western country to officially adopt such a policy (Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Guo & Wong, 2015). Canada's multiculturalism policy was enshrined in the Canadian constitution in the year 1983. In 1988, the Canadian multiculturalism Act was passed, with the objective to "promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society" (Burnet & Driedger, 2014).

3.2.1 Conceptualization of Multiculturalism

There are five main ways to conceptualize multiculturalism. One conceptualization is that multiculturalism is an empirical fact. This means that multiculturalism is something we can observe in reality. For example, Canada is multicultural in reality because it has many different cultures living together in one nation, including those of English, French, First Nations, Indian, Chinese, and hundreds of other ethnic backgrounds. Indigenous people were the original inhabitants of the land we now call Canada, followed by the French and English colonizers, then other European and non-European immigrants. These different cultures residing in one country make Canada a diverse society (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). There are other ways in which Canada's diversity can be explained. Canada is linguistically, religiously, geographically, and racially diverse. With regards to religion, there are many different religious groups, and these include those who follow Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, etc.

Canadians are also linguistically diverse with two official languages (English and French) and many other native and ethnic languages such as Mandarin, Hindi, Swahili, Punjabi, Portuguese, amongst others, which are spoken by different ethnic groups. Geographic locations give rise to another form of Canada's diversity. There is diversity in the country due to how people are geographically placed. For example, in the United Kingdom, the Scottish and English, apart from their historical differences, have their territorial locations that differentiate them. English Canadians and French Canadians fall under this type of diversity when Canada is used as a case study. The final form of diversity is with regards to "race." "Race" is a socially constructed concept that refers to a group of people by their physical characteristics. The existence of various racial groups also makes Canada multicultural (Memmi, 2000). The demographics of Canada give empirical evidence of the fact that Canada is culturally, linguistically, racially, religiously, and geographically diverse, giving a descriptive version of multiculturalism in reality (Fleras & Elliott, 2002).

Multiculturalism can also be conceptualized as an ideology. This conceptualization contemplates what multiculturalism, or its ideals ought to be. Multiculturalism as an ideology holds a set of ideals about how the differences in society should be dealt with, which includes the notion that diversity needs to be taken seriously, with messages and terms such as: “diversity within unity,” “(multi)cultural relativism,” “respect others,” “active acceptance,” “mosaic” and “inclusiveness” (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). The ideal that diversity needs to be taken seriously is centred on the importance and significance of having cultural pluralism. This is because the coexistence of different cultures is argued to be able to provide a more rewarding and rich life than monoculturalism. By this prescription, all cultures need to be treated as equals without one culture taking superiority over another. But some authors have argued that this is not the case and that there is the need to grant some groups more rights and privileges (Kymlicka, 1995). Li (2003) has argued that this type of multiculturalism is just symbolic because it motivates individuals to be multicultural while institutions are not held to be multicultural in the same vein.

The theme of diversity postulates that regardless of ethnic groups wanting to be with people who are similar to them, it is important for all groups to unite for the common interest of the nation when it is needed, thus providing unity within diversity. But is this always the case or this is just an ideology? Bissoondath (1994) and Gwyn (1995) argue that multiculturalism does not unite Canadian society but rather weakens it. The authors argue that multiculturalism endorses and encourages stereotypes, grouping together people who have the same physical characteristics and boxing up people into ethnic packets and packages (Bissoondath, 1994; Gwyn, 1995). Other scholars beg to differ because they argue that regardless of immigrants’ attachments to their home countries, immigrants still can have strong loyalties and attachment to Canada (Baffoe, 2010).

The ideal of (multi)cultural relativism advocates for tolerance and seeing the value of other cultures; multiculturalism also follows this idea. This ideal also reminds society that culture is relative and there is no right or wrong, and thus, there is the need for respect for each other’s cultures. The theme that

stresses “respect others” indicates that having numerous cultures residing together in one country needs to be built upon a foundation of respect. It is important for people to feel safe and secure because if they are threatened, they might fight back, which would result in crisis and chaos. Hence, this theme reinforces the importance of citizens in a multicultural state having respect for one another. Meanwhile, the ideal about active acceptance is that committing to multiculturalism as an ideology goes beyond tolerance of other cultures—it also requires accepting other cultures as valuable and important for human existence. If other cultures are not accepted, this nonacceptance could produce racial and ethnic uneasiness, and a situation that could be avoided if people were encouraged to accept other cultures instead. In essence, there is the need for other cultures to be celebrated and respected. Bissoondath (1994) disputes the above assertion and argues that multiculturalism cannot achieve the above because the cultures that are being celebrated have complexities that need to be dealt with before they can be celebrated.

The term “Mosaic” represents the perception that Canada is a multicultural mosaic, or that the living together of diverse cultures makes Canada multicultural. This idea has made Canadians leaders and citizens quite proud. However, it is argued that this is not true since the mosaic idea is used to conceal the inequalities and discrimination that actually exist in Canadian society. This is because just as the tiles in the mosaic are not the same, the cultures in Canada are not equal, and thus, the reality on the ground is far more complex than the simple picture the mosaic portrays (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). Some of this discrimination can be seen when we look at the experience of Blacks in Canada. Although Blacks are one of the most educated groups in Canada, they are usually found to hold precarious and low-paying jobs (Galabuzi, 2006). Some scholars have also outlined some of the challenges that Aboriginals experience as a racialized minority in Canada, which include but are not limited to sometimes living in deplorable states with high unemployment rates and low income (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017). As for the ideal of “inclusiveness,” it promotes equality for all minorities, such as visible minority groups and women. If a

nation were to be committed to multiculturalism, then such minorities should not be excluded but rather included in the society.

Multiculturalism can also be conceptualized as a practice that applies the ideals of multiculturalism. Both the state and minority groups may put the ideals of multiculturalism to practice to each of their advantages. The ruling government may use it at the national and international levels for both political and economic interests. For example, the Canadian government has used multiculturalism, politically, as a reaction tool for the crises that have occurred between English Canadians and French Canadians. In order for the English Canadians and the French Canadians to live together peacefully, multiculturalism was established in Canada to help achieve that (Satzewich & Lioudakis, 2017). Also, as a result of the way Canada was structured, with English Canadians and French Canadians living in the same country, the country could not have employed nationhood, and as a result, multiculturalism seems to serve a better purpose for Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). In addition, Canada has used multiculturalism to gain economic interests. Economically, Canada is internationally recognized for its multicultural values and thus gives Canada a good reputation for other countries to do business with. Canada is able to do trade with other countries by leveraging the fact that there are diverse nationalities living within it, and as a result, Canada as a country is seen as friendly as well as culturally sensitive. Also, as a result of different nationalities living in Canada, the source countries for the people of these nationalities will also be encouraged to do business with Canada; hence, from an economic standpoint, multiculturalism is good for Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 2002).

Minorities use multiculturalism to gain interests to fight the discrimination they encounter in society. It has been proven that some visible and racial minorities endure numerous types of economic, residential, educational, and other institutional discrimination due to the unfair interpretation of their visible physical and cultural characteristics. Consequently, they need multiculturalism as a tool to help them eliminate the hurdles and barriers they experience and also to allow them to integrate into the society

(Fleras & Elliott, 2002). Multiculturalism is important for minorities because, through it, minorities are able to live out their cultures by fighting the discrimination and racism that they experience from the dominant cultures. Living out their cultures brings them peace and also memories of their source countries, and is a way that multiculturalism is used as a tool by minorities to help them adapt to their new countries.

Multiculturalism can also be conceptualized as a policy that is used to address or manage cultural diversity (Guo & Wong, 2015). There are two main features of it as policy. One of the features is the use of policies that are aimed at correcting the disadvantages of ethnic minorities and enhancing the inclusion of the minority cultural groups. For example, these policies would accommodate specific traditions and needs, such as giving recognition to holidays for Muslims living in a Christian-dominated country. Another feature is that multicultural policies seek to protect and preserve cultural diversities. They aim to ensure groups are equipped with the tools to pursue, maintain, and develop their cultural specificities. Wong and Satzewich (2006) argue that Canadian multicultural policies over the past three decades have encouraged immigrants to engage in transnational practices. Therefore, multiculturalism encourages both integration and transnationalism; this will be further explored in Chapter Six. In contrast, Li (2003) argues that multicultural policies are not able to reconcile diversity and unity to help Canadians integrate and unite while still holding onto their unique characteristics of being diverse. This assertion reveals that multiculturalism can be idealized, which is a major critique of multiculturalism in the literature.

Multiculturalism as a social policy has been critiqued by some scholars and politicians. The founding ideals of Canadian multiculturalism are criticized as being mainly White and dominating and, thus, not supporting minorities due to the policy acting as a concealed form of monoculturalism (Abu-Laban, 2002; Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002; Bannerji, 1996; Henry & Tator, 1994; Teelucksingh, 2006). It is also critiqued as being ambiguous in contrast to how the government portrays it. Several authors have argued against multiculturalism, with some countries in Europe such as Austria, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, France, Finland, Luxembourg, and Portugal retreating from it and opting for a sole

integrative model with regards to immigration (Barrett, 2013). Western democratic countries like Germany, the UK, and France avoided adopting multiculturalism policy because they have perceived multiculturalism as a barrier to social integration; as such, immigrants in these countries must conform to the doctrines of the dominant culture (Guo & Wong, 2015). The head and former heads of these countries who moved away from multiculturalism include Angela Merkel (Germany), David Cameron (the UK), and Nicolas Sarkozy (France), each of which have given speeches denouncing multiculturalism as a state policy because, to them, it has failed in creating unity out of diversity. David Cameron even made declarations to the extent that multiculturalism encouraged Islamic extremism (Barrett, 2013). It is imperative to also evaluate in the Canadian context the literature that has critiqued multiculturalism. Along those lines, this section will explore two critiques, the first one being that multiculturalism is a “scam” and the second being that multiculturalism is divisive.

There are two ways in which multiculturalism has been argued as being a scam. The first argument is that multiculturalism policies that are meant to fight against inequalities instead just scratch the surface without uprooting the cause. The second argument is that multiculturalism is used as a tool to manage and control ethnic minorities. While numerous multicultural policies, acts, and institutions have been enacted, such as the Employment Equity Act (in 1986), the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (in 1996), Canada’s Action Plan Against Racism (in 2005), Canadian Multiculturalism Day (celebrated on June 27 of each year), amongst others, they fail to address structural inequalities or to create an inclusive and fair nation. Similarly, Fleras and Elliott (2002) contend that, in reality, these policies work superficially without battling the root cause of inequality and the problems of racism and ethnic discrimination. Hence, their argument is that multiculturalism is used as a hoax to conceal the real agenda of multiculturalism. The purpose of multiculturalism, according to Fleras and Elliott (2002), was not built on diversity but rather on a drive to create a united front for a country that was falling apart. In other words, multiculturalism in Canada was not an answer to social equality and justice but rather a response to the

political crisis between Quebec and the rest of the country. Additionally, it was an answer to the reactions of Indigenous people against the White Paper that they deemed to represent an assimilationist model. As well, multiculturalism was a defense to portray the perception that immigrants were not a threat to Canada (Guo & Wong, 2015; Mackey, 1999).

Multiculturalism is also considered a scam by critics who argue that it is used as a policy to manage and control diverse ethnic groups. Official multiculturalism in practice is a policy intended to celebrate differences, and in practice, multiculturalism as a policy may not be perceived as a tool to dominate minorities. However, in its application, it has controlling consequences on minorities while doing the bidding of the dominant culture (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). The process by which multiculturalism is used as a tool to exert power and influence is performed through employing concepts such as “pluralism,” “diversity,” and “tolerance.” Mackey (1999) argues that multiculturalism in Canada hides behind the use of liberalism to support “dominant white Anglophone” culture (p. 16). Thus, for Mackey (1999), multiculturalism “constructs cultural hegemony without the production of cultural homogeneity” (p. 178).

So, although liberalism means the erasing of difference and the promotion of homogeneity, in Canada, liberal multiculturalism is used as a tool to control and manage differences, and this is what Mackey terms as the institutionalization of difference. Institutionalization of difference means that the government comes up with a plan to manage differences between ethnicities to make Canada appear to be homogenous, but this process ends up taking power from ethnic and cultural minorities and giving the power to the government, who uses this power to control them. Power is taken when the government decides to deal with “stubborn cultures,” or cultures that are deemed as not in alignment with national unity, by prohibiting their right to their culture. Thus, according to this critique, multiculturalism is a façade that hides the social control of minority cultures (Mackey, 1999). Multiculturalism in Canada, then, is considered a deceptive tool because it does not tackle the real issues of the inequalities that immigrants and ethnic minorities are experiencing.

The second critique is one that views multiculturalism as being divisive. Multiculturalism is asserted break people up into cliques (Bissoondath, 1994; Gwyn, 1995). An example of this critique is illustrated in Bissoondath's description of a university's food court where people of the same ethnic and racial groups sat together as well as the allocation of his college which, was based on his ethnicity and colour. In this criticism, Bissoondath is building a case about why he believes multiculturalism divides and does not unite, because if multiculturalism is supposed to unite people, why does he observe an abundance of ethnic groups sticking together instead of mingling and forming a united front? In that regard, scholars who debate against multiculturalism maintain that multiculturalism creates ethnic enclaves and ghettos rather than a united Canada. This idea is termed "ghettoization" (Bissoondath, 1994, p. 111) to demonstrate the springing up of ethnic packets of communities and neighbourhoods everywhere in almost all the major cities of Canada. The argument here is that if multiculturalism was intended to create unity out of diversity, then why is it not being condemned but rather praised?

Additionally, although Canada has provided a multicultural framework, immigrants continue to bond together instead of actively incorporating into Canadian society. This was manifest in May 1992 in the main plan of the Jewish Congress' president, who intended to combat the increased number of intermarriages between Jewish people and those outside of the Jewish religion (Gwyn, 1995). For Gwyn (1995), this is one piece of evidence that multiculturalism is not working as it is intended to because people are still clinging to their kind and creating ethnic ghettos instead of building national unity. Also, Bissoondath (1994) argues that multiculturalism as a policy cannot be successful because the cultures that are being celebrated have complexities that need to be dealt with for the multicultural policies to be beneficial, and this very idea, he asserts, is being ignored.

Furthermore, multicultural policies, such as Canada's Multiculturalism Act, are critiqued as being visionless because they do not have an end goal of how they envisage multiculturalism in Canada to be. The Act is condemned for being unclear and lacking definitions, and for having a hidden agenda of

dividing the people and ruling them (Bissoondath, 1994). More specifically, the Multiculturalism Act is described by Bissoondath as an “ill-considered document focused so squarely on today that it ignores tomorrow. And it is very short-sightedness might account for the consequences it has brought about for individuals, families...and the country as a whole” (Bissoondath 1994, p. 44). The point made by Gwyn (1995) against multiculturalism is that it weakens the national identity of Canada. He contends that if Canada keeps celebrating and tolerating cultural differences, then the British ideology that Canada was built upon and that defines Canada will be lost, and as a result, Canada will be left with nothing but the total destruction of a country.

Overall, these critiques have some validity as my research findings reveal the continued existence of racism experienced by second-generation African youth. Nevertheless, the positive aspects of multiculturalism are also very important given how the practice of multiculturalism facilitates transnationalism and various forms of transnational practices amongst second-generation African youth.

3.2.2 Conclusion

Glazer (1993) argues that Black people need to embrace multiculturalism to combat the discrimination that they experience and their segregation, both which are a result of the historical references of prejudice and their inability to assimilate into the America society. He asserts that only Blacks in the United States were deprived from assimilation, and as a result, they are not really integrated into society. Blacks also have low intermarriage rates and high rates of residential segregation amongst them. This segregation of Blacks motivates their need for multiculturalism. Is this applicable in Canada? Does the second generation reject integration and embrace multiculturalism in Canada? The above discussion gives evidence as to why the multiculturalism theory is important for my study. Multiculturalism could fuel either integration or transnationalism. Therefore, this theory will help us to understand the influence of multiculturalism in the lived experiences of the African second generation.

3.3 Transnationalism

Researchers in the 1990s wanted an analytical framework through which to explore and understand the connections that immigrants have with their home countries; transnationalism was developed as a result and has been used as a theoretical framework since then (Basch et al., 1994). As a framework, it provides a space where immigrants' multiple networks, relationships, and identities are examined and explored, and an avenue to understand the lived experiences of immigrants (Vertovec, 2001). It has also been used to describe the social connections immigrants have with their home countries and what those connections involve (Portes, 2001), political activities (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002), the religious connections they have with their home countries (Mensah et al., 2013), social-psychological transnationalism (Verkuyten, 2005), psychological transnationalism (Baffoe, 2010), and the exchange of money and other economic goods (Obadare & Adebani, 2009). Immigrants are also able to develop cultural connections both across borders and in their host countries (Vertovec, 2001).

3.3.1 Conceptualization and Contextualization of Transnationalism

After establishing that transnationalism provides an avenue for exploring immigrants' lived experiences across borders, I shift here to a discussion of two conceptualizations of transnationalism by Vertovec (1999) that will be useful for my study. With regards to transnationalism, I will illustrate it as a type of consciousness, and as a mode of reproduction.

Transnationalism as a type of consciousness explains transnationalism as hinging on the consciousness that one can have as either multiple or dual identities. Many immigrants do not identify with just one place and, as individuals, can hold dual consciousness; therefore, they may have multiple identities that connect them with more than one country. This consciousness brings people together to form diasporas. With this conceptualization of transnationalism, transnational relations can happen without one having to travel to another country. It can be experienced through the usage of cultural articles and through one's imagination and mind. Another feature of transnationalism as a type of consciousness

involves the memories that people have of a place and the attachments, they have with it. This multiple consciousness alters an individual's identity, perception, vision, and recollection, which creates a "transnational imagery" that has been noticed to transform different ways of reproducing transnational connections (Vertovec, 1999, p. 451). Scholars' opinions have differed on the influence of transnationalism with regard to its effect on the loyalties and the sense of belonging of immigrants. Some are of the view that regardless of immigrants' multiple identities, immigrants will still be loyal to Canada and have a sense of belonging to it (Kazemipur, 2014). Others have disputed that possibility and have argued that immigrants having multiple identities could hinder their sense of belonging to Canada. Multiple identities could be a way of escape for immigrants while experiencing discrimination and racism because the literature has argued that racism and discrimination encourage the second generation to engage in transnational ties (Foner, 2002). Hence, those of the second generation who are visible minorities and experience racism may integrate into some parts of the society and tend to become transnational (Kelly, 2015).

The conceptualization of transnationalism as a mode of cultural reproduction indicates that transnationalism is used to reproduce cultures such as music, movies, and clothing in other parts of the world through electronic, print, and social media. In addition, some cable TV stations are geared towards particular ethnic or religious groups, which helps these ethnic and religious communities with the production, reproduction, and the maintenance of their cultures (Vertovec, 1999). People do not passively watch these networks but are being actively impacted by the consumption of these cable TV networks. This conceptualization is useful in that it can serve as a framework to examine some of the transnational ties that immigrants have and how they were formed.

While the above has provided some descriptive conceptualizations of transnationalism, this concept needs to be contextualized to provide more theoretical depth and nuance. In this regard, I will discuss transnationalism in the context of the new social mobilities paradigm and the paradigm of

diasporas. Usually when sociologists discuss mobility, they are referring to social mobility, which pertains to when people move up and down the socioeconomic ladder (Faist, 2013; Sheller, 2014). However, in 2000, sociologist John Urry argued that mobility has a social as well as a geographic component (Urry, 2000). Urry and other scholars developed a contemporary way of explaining movement in the social sciences that taps into diverse disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, geography, sociology, tourism, and migration studies (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Although mobility is not a new phenomenon, scholars are calling this approach the new mobilities paradigm because it has initiated a new way of re-examining the existing mobilities theories and approaches and bringing to the fore the relational aspect of the world (Faist, 2013). The proponents of this new theory argue that the social sciences have not adequately explained the movements of people, objects, communications, images, technologies, etc. and how these movements shape and inform social life and activities (Sheller, 2014). They further maintain that mobilities need not be studied separately but that there is the need to see how other aspects of mobilities interrelate and depend on each other. An example to explain the aforementioned better is when researchers who examine transport tend to investigate transport as a separate entity and focus on the simple aspects of it, ignoring the fact that the ways in which people move and the activities that take place in the transport circle tell a story. Also, the proponents of the new mobilities paradigm advocate that people and places should not be seen as distinct but that they should rather be perceived as related through the activities performed by the people in the place. Simply put, people need to travel to places to practice a performance, and the place being visited determines what can be done there (Sheller & Urry, 2006). In a nutshell, this paradigm is a new way of exploring how people, ideas, objects, information, waste, and things move and the social impacts of these mobilities (Urry, 2000). For the new mobilities paradigm theorists, movement is the focal point of study; it what they are interested in and forms the basis for inquiry. In essence, movement is not just the outcome of social, political, and economic activities but is what informs these activities (Leese & Wittendorp, 2018).

Faist (2013) explored the relevance of the relationship between the new mobilities paradigm, migration studies (transnationalism), and sociology (network society). There seems to be a dialectical relationship between the new mobilities paradigm, transnationalism, and diasporas based on how the three converge because they all discuss issues of movement. While diaspora studies focus solely on the movement of ethnic groups and people (Satzewich & Liou, 2017), transnationalism asserts that not only humans move across borders but also money, information, goods, and networks, amongst other items; regardless, the new mobilities paradigm is a much bigger concept with diverse conceptualizations and forms of analysis (Wong, 2017), and with movement being at the centre of these analyses. Additionally, new mobilities paradigm studies encompass more breadth and scope than the studies of transnationalism and diasporas. This is because the new mobilities paradigm goes beyond nomadic and sedentarist notions of mobilities and places. The social sciences were critiqued as focusing on sedentarist theories and thus being static (Sheller & Urry, 2006). However, methodologically and conceptually, transnationalism and diasporas extend beyond the range of the new mobilities paradigm (Wong, 2017).

3.3.2 Conclusion

Theoretically, there is a complex relationship amongst transnationalism, the new mobilities paradigm, and diasporas. However, for my research, transnationalism theory is the main theoretical framework used because it will allow me to describe the different types of transnational activities that the second generation partake in and also explore the effect of these transnational connections on their lives. The transnationalism framework is useful in advancing knowledge about the connections that the second generation have with their parent's country and to fill in the identified gaps in the literature mentioned in Chapter One and Chapter Two.

3.4 Appropriate Contribution

Wong and Satzewich (2006) argue that multiculturalism fuels transnationalism. This is due to past Canadian multicultural policies, which have encouraged immigrants to engage in transnational ties.

However, it seems transnationalism, which is an expansion of multiculturalism, is challenging multiculturalism. Dual citizenship, which is an aspect of transnationalism, has been argued as splitting immigrants' loyalties between their home countries and host countries. Thus, immigrants showing loyalty and having a sense of attachment to their home countries may challenge their integration into Canadian society, which is the aim of the multiculturalism (Wong & Satzewich, 2006).

Based on the above analysis, multiculturalism and transnationalism theories are complementary frameworks for understanding the practices and activities of second-generation Africans in Canada. Both theories will be able to help me analyze my research questions. The literature is arguing that multiculturalism encourages transnationalism, while transnationalism challenges it. Thus, I will situate my analysis within both contexts and see how the two theories can help me understand the experiences of second-generation Africans. It is important to situate my analysis in these two theories because, firstly, they complement each other; secondly, Canada has a multicultural policy; and thirdly, I am examining the transnational connection of second-generation Africans.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the use of both multiculturalism and transnationalism as a theoretical framework and also discussed the relevance of the two theories to the study. The conceptualization of multiculturalism as a practice and as an ideology will serve as a structure for me to be able to assess how the life experiences of the second generation fit into multiculturalism. I also gave insight into why the two are relevant for the examining of my work. The next chapter will discuss the methodology of my study.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodological strategies and issues of the study. It expatiates on the data collection process, the population of the study, the recruitment and sampling methods, and researcher reflexivity, or my insider and outsider status. Additionally, the ethics procedure and the process for data analysis are discussed.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

For my study, I employed the use of qualitative research methodology, with phenomenology for my research design and semi-structured interviews as the method for data collection. In line with this methodological orientation, I undertook a qualitative study because qualitative research methodologies helped me to examine the experiences of my participants through face-to-face conversations (Van den Hoonaard, 2011). There is a lack of research on African second-generation transnationalism; hence, qualitative research gave me the opportunity not just to describe the experiences of my participants but also to understand their experiences to help fill in the gap in the literature.

In addition, qualitative research methods allow the researcher to develop more of an understanding of the phenomenon being studied, and they give more detail of the experience than quantitative methods (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, qualitative research gives the researcher room to explore the essence of the interviewees' experiences, which is an important aspect of a phenomenological study. In addition, I was interested in understanding the experiences the research participants were involved in and how the second generation makes attachments with their parents' birth countries; the qualitative approach gave me the tools to be able to explore that phenomena through my in-depth interviews with the respondents. Ontologically, qualitative studies provide different perspectives arising from the participants being studied. Research respondents in a qualitative study do not only get to share their realities but they are also able to explain what it means to them, based on their experience (Creswell, 2013), and this is the reason

why qualitative methods are useful for my research. Qualitative research gives study participants a voice to explain their truth. Finally, as Sloan and Bowe (2014) put it, as a methodology, phenomenology is qualitative.

4.2.1 The Phenomenological Approach

Phenomenological research “describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a phenomenon” (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). Phenomenology research focuses on examining the experiences of individuals, and the argument is that the phenomenon that the individuals are experiencing influences their behaviour (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). In other words, phenomenology is interested in human lives as lived.

Phenomenology is perceived as a methodology because, through it, individuals’ written or spoken languages are analyzed to bring meaning to their experiences (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). There are two main types of phenomenological research, which include a) descriptive or psychological phenomenology (Moustakas, 1994) and b) hermeneutic or interpretive phenomenology (Van Manen, 1990). Descriptive phenomenology focuses more on describing the lived experiences of people within a specific social context (Creswell, 2013). Moustakas (1994) emphasized the use of the *epoche*, meaning a process through which the researcher needs to bracket out their feelings and experiences and analyze the phenomenon being studied with a fresh perspective. Hermeneutic phenomenology, on the other hand, emphasizes more the interpretation of the subject matter and not just a description of it. It also allows the researcher not to bracket themselves and fully understand the essence of the events being examined (Van Manen, 1990). The differences between the two are based, firstly, on how each explores the lived experiences of humans (Lavery, 2003) and, secondly, on whether one needs to bracket their feelings out or not (Creswell, 2013).

I focus on hermeneutic phenomenology for my study because I am interested in understanding the common meaning that second-generation Africans hold in relation to their parents’ birth countries. Hermeneutic phenomenology was developed by Martin Heidegger, and it is a build-up of descriptive

phenomenology in the sense that it goes further than just describing by also interpreting while not bracketing one's feelings. Some could argue that by not bracketing one's feelings, the study would not be objective, and it would be filled with bias. However, researcher bias has been argued to add knowledge to a study (Flick, 2009). The focus of his work was to emphasize even the trivial details of people's experiences that are usually taken for granted. For Heidegger, one cannot understand the world without making reference to their own background and experiences. Thus, as one is trying to find the meaning of a phenomenon, one needs to find this meaning from their own background, and the best way to do this is through interpretation. Heidegger argues that every interaction involves an interpretation of the situation based on a person's background (Lavery, 2003).

A hermeneutic phenomenology approach will help me to not only describe my respondents' experiences but also allow me to interpret the meanings of their experiences based on my upbringing, culture, experiences, and my sense of who I am. This will coproduce a common meaning of the phenomenon without bracketing my own feelings and experiences (Creswell, 2013). For instance, in my data collection phase, I was reflective by allowing my background and experiences into the conversations that I had with my respondents. I acknowledged some of the feelings of racism and discrimination that my respondents have experienced and some of the transnational activities in which they were engaged. I was able to do this through the research process because hermeneutic phenomenology allows me to. Simply put, interpretive phenomenology is "understanding gained through interpretation" (Dahlberg et al., 2008, p. 65). Researchers such as Hans-Georg Gadamer, Van Manen, Spiegelberg, and Colaizzi have used hermeneutic phenomenology. There are no set strict rules to follow when doing phenomenology research. Researchers have used different hermeneutic phenomenology approaches to interpret their data (Kalu, 2017; Streubert & Carpenter, 2011; Vis, 2005).

Thus, according to these proponents of hermeneutic phenomenology, understanding someone's experiences is not something we can do without because our experiences are who we are as individuals.

Thus, individuals tend to understand others through their consciousness or by referencing their own understanding and backgrounds; through this same process, we are able to give meaning to other people's lived experiences. In other words, we are able to interpret or provide meaning to one's lived experience as we are being "constructed by the world while at the same time we are constructing this world from our own background and experiences" (Laverty, 2003, p. 24). Thus, for researchers conducting hermeneutic phenomenology, they cannot fully bracket themselves from the process; they need to engage the process through their understanding of the world and their past experiences. Having settled on my research topic and the phenomenon I wanted to study, the next stage was to find people who fit the criteria for the research and ask them about their experiences. In this case, my target population was second-generation Africans. The next section will give a brief background about the population of my study.

4.3 Population of the Study

My research population for the study was second-generation Africans residing in Calgary. Statistics Canada (2018) defines second-generation immigrants on their website as "individuals who were born in Canada and had at least one parent born outside Canada." However, other researchers have different definitions for the second generation. Some argue that children that come with their parents to Canada can be termed as second generation although they are typically referred to as the "1.5 generation" because they were not born in Canada (Lee, 2008). Based on these definitions, my respondents were chosen from Africans who were born in Canada to one or two parents who relocated from an African country to Canada and were 18 years old or older. As well, my respondents were chosen from individuals who immigrated with their parents from Africa as children and grew up here and are now at least 18 years old. My working definition of "second-generation Africans" thus includes both of these two types of respondents, that is, those of African background who are either of the 1.5 generation or the second generation.

Data from Statistics Canada based on the 2016 census indicate that the population of the second generation in Canada made 6.1 million of the Canadian population, which showed growth in that population in Canada from 5.7 million in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Also, the number of Africans immigrating to Canada in recent times have increased, with Africa ranking second in terms of the most frequent source continent for recent immigrant (Statistics Canada, 2017). If that is the case, then there is the need to know more about this growing population that is made up of individuals who are either born outside the country but grow up here or born here in Canada. The second-generation immigrants have diverse backgrounds with regards to education levels, religion, ethnicities, cultures, and birth countries of parents. Ghana, Sudan, Nigeria, Somalia, and Angola are some of the African countries of origin of the second generation residing in Calgary and who are the potential population and participants of my study.

4.4 The Sample

With my research population being second-generation Africans, those included in my sample had to have parents who had immigrated from Africa. The source countries the participants' parents had come from included Ghana (14 participants), Sudan (6 participants), Nigeria (4 participants), and Somalia (2 participants). Three of the participants had parents that were both from Africa but from different countries in Africa. Among these three participants, one had parents from Ghana (mother) and Nigeria (father), another had parents from North Sudan (mother) and South Sudan (father), and the third of these respondents had a mother from Cape Verde and a father from Angola. Also, one of my respondents had a father who was from Ghana and a mother who was born and raised in Canada. Through these participants in my sample, I had representation from the regions of West Africa, East Africa, and Southern Africa. The experiences from these second-generation participants are similar but also very different with regards to the regions of Africa that their parents immigrated from.

My respondents included people with different generational types. Eleven of my participants were born in Canada with both parents being from Africa, and thus, they represented the traditional definition

of the second generation (Kobayashi, 2008). Eighteen of the respondents were born outside of Canada but came into the country with their parents when they were young; as such, they are what is usually called the 1.5 second generation (Lee, 2008) but are considered to be second generation for this study. One of the interviewees was born in Canada but had one parent being White and Canadian (born in Canada) and the other being African (born outside Canada), thus making her a 2.5 second-generation immigrant (Jantzen, 2008).

I interviewed six males and twenty-four females. I would have wanted to interview a balanced proportion of males and females, but I got the opportunity to interview more females as a result of the connections I had who knew more females, and the people who were willing to sit with me were also females. Out of the six males, two of them had roots in the eastern part of Africa and the rest had ancestral ties to the western part of Africa. My participants had the choice to either use their real names or choose a pseudonym. A majority chose to use a pseudonym and, as such, not all the names in the final analysis are the real names of my respondents. The tables below show the background demographics of the research respondents involved in this study.

Table 1: Background Characteristics of Participants (Male)

Names/Pseudonym of Participants	Parents' Country	Source	Generational type	Religion	Educational level	Gender
1Bcouver	Ghana		2	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Male
Anonymous	Nigeria		1.5	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Male
Ray	Ghana/Nigeria		1.5	Christian	Student	Male
Ahmed	Somalia		1.5	Muslim	Bachelor's Degree	Male
Ebuka	Nigeria		1.5	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Male
Jamal30	Sudan		1.5	Muslim	Undergraduate Student	Male

Source: Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi, 2018

Table 2: Background Characteristics of Participants (Female)

Names/ Pseudonym of Participants	Parents' Country	Source	Generational type	Religion	Educational level	Gender
Charity	Ghana		2	Christian	Bachelor's Degree	Female
Philomena	Ghana		2	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Female
Rita	Ghana		2	Christian	Bachelor's Degree	Female
Amanda	Nigeria		2	Christian	Bachelor's Degree	Female
Shetin	Ghana		2	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Female
Ranya	Sudan		1.5	Muslim	Undergraduate Student	Female
Rawya	Sudan		1.5	Muslim	Undergraduate Student	Female
Nelly	Ghana		2	Christian		Female
Yaaya	Ghana		2	Christian		Female
Anita	Ghana		2	Christian		Female
Eugenia	Ghana		2	Christian		Female
Catherine	Ghana		1.5	Christian		Female
Jessie	Ghana		1.5	Christian		Female
Adwoa	Ghana		2.5			Female
Maha	Sudan		1.5		Bachelor's Degree	Female
Re	Sudan		1.5	Muslim	Undergraduate Student	Female
Eila	Angola		1.5	Christian	N/A	Female
Sebila	South Sudan		1.5	N/A	Undergraduate Student	Female
Ayan	Somalia		1.5	Muslim	Undergraduate Student	Female
Nana Yaa	Ghana		1.5	Christian	Undergraduate Student	Female
Ebony	Ghana		1.5	Christian		Female
Whitney	Nigeria		2	Christian		Female
Joy	Ghana		1.5	Christian	Student	Female
Kui	Sudan		1.5			Female

Source: Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi, 2018

4.5 Recruitment and Sampling

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 30 respondents. The decision to interview 30 participants was based on the literature. Morse (1994) proposes having at least six people for

phenomenological studies, and Creswell (2013) recommends 5 to 25 respondents. In addition, analysts have suggested that 30 is an approximate number of participants for interviews in order to help one reach data saturation when using semi-structured interviews (Morse, 2000). Thus, I was able to reach theoretical saturation with a sample of 30 individuals. I recruited respondents through the use of the snowball technique, which is defined by Noy (2008) as a sampling procedure in which “the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants” (p. 330). The process normally involves interviewing a person who fits one’s research and then asking the respondent to refer to the researcher other people who comply with the research criteria (Berg & Lune, 2012), which in the case of my study would include those who are African and second-generation, residing in Calgary.

Within this technique, I was able to use the connections and personal networks I have made in the African community in Calgary to contact potential respondents. I used gatekeepers to connect me with research respondents and then followed the snowballing technique to help me find other respondents. Initially, it was difficult to get research participants, and that was one of the limitations of my study. Some of the respondents that I was introduced to did not reply to my emails or messages or pick up my calls. Other participants stated that they would only participate in return for money, their argument being that they worked and went to school at the same time, and so, their time was scarce and valuable. I did not put in my ethics application that I was going to use money to entice my respondents, so I had to continue looking for people who were interested in talking with me from their own free will. At a certain point, I thought that my research would not be possible seeing as how hard it was to secure participants. I remembered I had earlier interviewed two people for a class paper. My fourth research question had been influenced by suggestions given to me by these two people. I contacted them to ask about participating in my study, and they were excited to do the interviews. They, in turn, connected me with their friends through the snowball technique. My former supervisor, Dr. Madibbo, also connected me with some people who fit my study criteria to help me reach my target of 30 respondents (Roulston, 2010). With regards to

gender, I interviewed more females than males, and this could be attributed to the fact that most of my personal networks and connections that I used to obtain my respondents were female.

4.6 Data Collection Method

Interviewing is the primary data collection tool for hermeneutic phenomenology; thus, I conducted semi-standardized in-depth interviews with the participants who had experienced the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013) of transnational migration. As Van den Hoonaard (2011) argues, in-depth interviews allow “people to explain their experiences, attitudes, feelings, and definitions of the situation in their own terms and in ways that are meaningful to them” (p. 78), and this is what a phenomenological study wants to achieve. In-depth interviews with the respondents enabled me to understand their perspectives and actions. Furthermore, the semi-standardized interview style also allowed me to go into the interview with some questions to start off the conversations (Roulston, 2010). Semi-standardized interviews also have open-ended questions, which allowed the respondents to express themselves (Berg & Lune, 2012). Lastly, this interview style gave me the chance to probe further for clarifications about the issues being discussed (Frey & Fontana, 1994).

For the interviews I conducted, I was not looking to only collect data from respondents by hearing what they had to tell me—I was also interested in how they said it and how they conducted themselves before, during, and after the interview process. In that sense, I took notes of the respondents’ body language, posture, gestures, and interactions: Did they sigh? Did they laugh? Did they say something sarcastically? I acknowledged that the interview process was a social activity, and thus, I could generate data from not only what the participants said but also from the process of interviewing. This is what researchers term an “active interview.” An active interview is when interviewers pay attention to the “interpersonal interactions” as well as what participants have to say when administering in-depth interviews because of the fact that social reality is achieved through both (Van den Hoonaard, 2011, p. 82).

Furthermore, I made sure the interview process was conducted in a way that ensured that the participant was the expert of his or her own experiences. This was made evident when some of the respondents would ask me if what they were saying was right. When they would ask me such a question, I would reply by letting them know that I was not the expert of their experiences, and whatever they shared with me was their understanding of their experiences and therefore what I wanted to hear. This is also because hermeneutic phenomenology searches for the respondent's perception of the truth and how they have experienced it. I administered in-depth interviews to 30 respondents who had either both parents or one of their parents having immigrated from Africa. The interviews ranged from between 15 minutes to one hour and were carried out in English. All participants agreed that they could be digitally recorded to allow for easy and accurate transcription (Roulston, 2010).

Interviews were administered on the phone and face-to-face (Roulston, 2010). Twenty-one of the interviews were conducted on the phone, while nine of the interviews were administered face-to-face. A majority of the interviews were conducted on the phone because most of these respondents were working and/or attending school with busy schedules and so preferred to have the interviews via phone. The face-to-face interviews were conducted mostly in one of the workrooms in the University of Calgary's Taylor Family Digital Library (TFDL). I always asked the respondents where they wanted to meet, and we would come to an agreement before a workroom was booked for the meeting. The respondents who were interviewed face-to-face agreed the booked workroom also added to making them feel comfortable.

The interviews were conducted in 2018 from March through to the end of June of that year. Some of the questions that respondents were asked sought information about the following: their parents' countries of origin, their connections with their parents' birth countries, if they still wore traditional clothing, what their birth order was, and if they identified as Canadians and/or of the countries that their parents immigrated from. They were also asked to answer a number of questions about the ties they had with their parents' birth countries, including how they navigated and learnt to engage within these ties.

4.7 Data Analysis

After each interview, I transcribed the interview fully by typing it out and then assigned a code name to it. After transcribing all interviews, I read through each one and synced them with the notes I took during the interviews. After the first read, I started analyzing the data using a hermeneutic circle, which simply means I used a process of interpreting my data that moved between the smaller sections of text until I made meaning of the whole. For hermeneutic phenomenology, the data is the language used in the interview (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Using the hermeneutic approach by Van Manen (1990), although he did not specify using a particular software, I utilized the qualitative analytical software Nvivo. This software is designed to aid in organizing and analyzing qualitative data to create themes from my interview transcripts. I used NVivo because it saves time; it quickly organizes, stores, and retrieves data; and it uncovers connections in ways that are not possible manually. Some of the themes generated were political transnationalism, sociocultural transnationalism, political transnationalism, parental training, and racism, amongst others. The generated themes known as structures of experience are the first part of the hermeneutic circle. It means reading the interview transcript and coming up with a theme for the whole abstract that is read; this part of the process is called the extraction. After generating the themes of whole passages, I moved on to the selective stage, which included looking at the different phrases in the passages to see what they meant. During this stage, I jotted down the meaning of these phrases and statements. Afterwards, I made sure the selective phrases had the same meaning as the wholistic themes that had been created earlier. I then supported the themes with evidence from my data and also with the priori themes and theories from my literature review and theoretical framework.

Then, I wrote my analysis out using the excerpt commentary units' style. As explained by Emerson et al. (2011), this style “focuses attention through analytical point, illustrates and persuades through a descriptive excerpt introduced by relevant orienting information, and explores and develops ideas through commentary grounded in the details of the excerpt” (p. 214). This style of presenting qualitative data is

my preferred option because it helped me interpret my data and make an analytical point, and then enabled me to back it up with a verbatim quotation from my data. It also allowed me to elaborate on why I made each analytical point.

4.8 Ethics

Ethics is explained as “the set of ethical principles that should be taken into account when doing social research.” A researcher needs to know what they can or cannot do in a social study and that needs to be decided and approved (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012, p. 16). Therefore, before I started my interviews, I submitted an ethics application to the University of Calgary’s Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB). This was important because the board had to know of my research plans, the benefits of the research to the respondents, and whether it posed potential harm to them. After my application to conduct my research was approved, I contacted my gatekeepers in the African communities to help me reach my participants (Berg & Lune, 2012; Roulston, 2010; Van den Hoonaard, 2011). Before each interview, I sent my respondents a copy of the study’s consent form and the recruitment script if I had their email addresses. If I only had their telephone numbers, then I asked for their email addresses via phone. Thus, all my respondents were sent the consent form and the recruitment script prior to the interviews.

For those who I met in person for the interviews, I discussed the consent form with them beforehand. I then asked each participant to sign two copies of the consent forms, and I kept a copy and asked them to keep the other copy. For the respondents whose interviews were conducted via phone, some signed the consent forms and returned them to me before their interviews. Others, for lack of printers and scanners, gave me verbal consent. Others also signed the consent even after giving verbal consent and sent them to me. For each of these participants, I explained about the consent forms with them and answered any questions or concerns that they had.

I assured my interviewees of confidentiality and anonymity based on the information they chose on the consent form (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). For those who chose to remain anonymous, I ensured them that they would remain anonymous, and for all the respondents, I assured them that the data would be kept confidential. The data was encrypted and kept safe on a password-protected laptop where no one else had access to it (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Roulston, 2010; Young & Atkinson, 2012).

4.9 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is defined as the level of faith one can have in the methods and the findings used in a study to corroborate its quality (Connelly, 2016). When qualitative researchers talk about rigor, they are seeking to find out how the study can be trusted (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Research is perceived as a fiction or unreliable if there is no trustworthiness (Amankwaa, 2016; Morse et al., 2002). To prevent this in a qualitative study, there is the need for the researcher to be transparent about the process of the research (Connelly, 2016). Guba and Lincoln (1981) asserted that a study needs to have “truth value,” “applicability,” “consistency,” and “neutrality” so not to be considered worthless. Terms such as generalizability, objectivity, and external and internal validity have been argued to be pertaining to quantitative research and not being quality concepts to determine the validation of qualitative research (Amankwaa, 2016). The aforementioned terms have also been argued to be valuable in rationalistic or positivistic paradigms (Shenton, 2004), and thus, there was the need for new terminologies to be used in the naturalistic paradigm as the knowledge produced in these spaces is different. In that regard, naturalist scholars Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggested concepts such as credibility, fittingness, auditability, and confirmability as ways to confirm rigor in qualitative research. These terminologies were later changed to credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To ensure trustworthiness in my study, I drafted two tables that guided my research so I could measure and ensure rigor. The following tables are based on the scholarship in this area (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Korstjens & Moser, 2018; Shenton, 2004) as well as what I did in my work to support rigor.

Table 3: Qualities for Verifying Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

Qualitative/Naturalistic Verification Terminology	Quantitative/Rationalistic/Positivist Verification Terminology	Definitions
Credibility	Internal Validity	The truth in the research from the participant's viewpoint
Transferability	External Validity/Generalizability	The degree to which the study can be repeated and applied in other settings and situations, and with other respondents
Dependability	Reliability	This demonstrates how the research findings can be consistent and stable over time
Confirmability	Objectivity	The standard at which the finding can be confirmed by other researchers. Also, there should be a degree of neutrality. The findings should be not be informed by the researcher's interest but rather should reflect the voices of the participants.

Table 4: Strategies to Ensure Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

Qualitative/Naturalistic Verification Terminology	Verification Techniques	Definitions
Credibility	Prolonged engagement	Long engagement in the field to know more about the culture, build trust, and test for misinformation.
	Persistent observation	To notice the salient elements in the field with regards to the phenomenon being studied and how to focus on those details.
	Structural Corroboration	Gather bits and pieces of information and data, and then pin them together to form the whole picture.
	Triangulation	Four different modes: Using several data sources, data collection methods, investigators, and theories.
	Peer debriefings	Bringing in an impartial peer into an analytical meeting where there will be an examination of the research to ensure there is not researcher bias.
	Member checks	When the investigator takes the findings, analysis, and conclusions back to the research respondents to check in with them on if that is what they meant and to also get feedback.
	Well-developed research methods	The investigator needs to use the right research design and methodology for the phenomenon being studied.
	Consent/honesty	Respondents should consent to being interviewed and should also be encouraged to be honest from the beginning of the interview.
	Clarified bias	The researcher has to be reflective about their experiences, background, trainings, biases, and qualifications.
	Iterative questioning	The investigator can use this to expose lies by probing some of the answers given by respondents by rephrasing questions. It can be used also to explore a topic more

	Testing your data collection (interviews) techniques	<p>when the investigator explores some of the answers given by the participants.</p> <p>Test your interview guide by conducting one or two pilot interviews.</p>
Transferability	Thick/Rich description Journalling	<p>Provide adequate and detailed information of every aspect of the study.</p> <p>Having a rich description can be possible if a researcher starts journalling when the study starts and stops when it ends.</p>
Dependability	Inquiry audit Audit trail	<p>A peer examines the process (process notes or journal) and the product (findings, interpretations, conclusion, and recommendations) of the research.</p> <p>Explain the process of the study from start to finish. Two types:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Data-oriented approach, which demonstrates how the data was collected and analyzed to achieve the findings and recommendations. 2. Theoretical approach, which is when the concepts in the research question lead the process of the research.
Confirmability	Audit trail Triangulation Reflexivity/Reflexive journal Conference Presentation	<p>Describing the whole process of conducting the research step-by-step</p> <p>Using different sources, collection methods, researchers, and theories.</p> <p>Keeping a journal to reflect on the research process and on yourself as well.</p> <p>Presenting your preliminary findings at an academic conference and people confirming your findings based on their own experiences, and their own or other research.</p>

The contents in the above table helped me to know which of the strategies were feasible and which ones I could engage in to ensure rigor in my study. In the section below, I will discuss some of the techniques I used under the main four terminologies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

4.9.1 Credibility

To establish the credibility of a study, one should ask: how are the findings of the research credible and how do they reflect the original voice of the participant? (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). I demonstrate the credibility of this study having employed the following: prolonged engagement in the field, peer review, well-developed qualitative research methods, ensuring consent/honesty, testing the data collection (interviews) techniques, and clarifying bias.

Prolonged engagement: Before the interviews took place, I familiarized myself with the respondents through the documentation, such as their letter of initial contact and the consent letters. This helped build trust with my participants and allowed me to ask them distinct questions about transnational ties. I encouraged participants to support their answers with life experiences, and the interview data were used to support the findings. Also, during the analysis stage, there were some respondents who I contacted again to check in with to be sure I had the right interpretation of their lived experiences.

Peer review: I asked a friend who has a master's degree in sociology, despite being in a different field, to ask me questions about my research. She asked me thorough and hard questions about my methods, theories, and analysis. She probed me on why I interpreted the data the way I did and if I could look at it another way. I asked her to take a look at some of the themes and if it corresponded to the quote. The conversations and debriefings made me honest with my work and I recorded them (Creswell, 2013).

Testing your data collection (interviews) techniques: Prior to the start of the research, I had two pilot interviews based on my previous research for a methodology class, and I used that opportunity to test my interview guide (Forero et al., 2018).

Well-developed qualitative research methods: For this technique, I used the research design and methodology that was right for the phenomenon that was being studied. The justification of the methodology was explored in the above sections in this chapter (Shenton, 2004).

Consent/honesty: After my participants agreed to be interviewed, I sent them a consent form (this process was discussed in the section on ethics). Respondents had the right to stop partaking in the interview process at any time until the defence of the research. They were also encouraged to be honest and to speak the truth of their experiences (Shenton, 2004).

Clarified bias: I had a critical self-reflection about my feelings, biases, preconceptions, and my research relationship. How I did this is discussed in section 4.10 on Researcher Reflexivity – Insider and Outsider Status below.

4.9.2 Transferability

Transferability examines how the study can be transferred to other contexts or settings. I made my research potentially transferable by providing a rich description (Amankwaa, 2016) about my setting, the Canadian city of Calgary, in Chapter One. My sample, sample size, sample strategy, demographic, and interview procedures are explicitly explained in Chapter Four of my work. Also, in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I provide verbatim quotes to support my findings. In short, there is thick description about my participants and the research process that allows readers to know if they can transfer my work to their chosen settings. I was able to do this by keeping notes on my progress.

4.9.3 Dependability

The strategy I employed to make my findings stable and consistent over time was the use of an audit trail. I did that by detailing the process of the research from the beginning to the end by keeping a research journal (audit trail). This research journal informed my writing of the methodology chapter. As I mentioned earlier, I asked a colleague to critique my analysis (inquiry audit).

4.9.4 Confirmability

As per Lincoln and Guba (1985), I achieved confirmability through an audit trail, recording the research journey through keeping a journal and presenting at conferences.

Audit trail: I recorded the whole research process from start to finish, and this I did by journaling.

Reflexivity/Reflexive journal: The journal included notes on how I analyzed my data, the themes that emerged, the relationships between these themes, and the methodological process. My final text on my findings and conclusion demonstrated how my study was linked to the literature and the relationship between my theoretical concepts (Amankwaa, 2016). This made me reflective of my thoughts, experiences, feelings, and how this might influence the study. Also, I digitally recorded my interviews and transcribed them verbatim. Therefore, my interview data were not rooted in my own words or feelings, but they depicted the voices and viewpoints of the study participants.

Conference Presentation: I presented preliminary findings of my work at the Canadian Sociological Conference in June 2019. After my presentation, I had other presenters confirm my analysis based on their experiences, their research, and other research related to my work.

4.10 Researcher Reflexivity – Insider and Outsider Status

Researchers can bring their own biases into their research, especially in collecting data and writing, where personal characteristics such as education, social status, class, culture, and gender can affect how the research is conducted and interpreted. Knowing how to tackle this issue as a researcher is very important in qualitative research (Creswell, 2013; Van den Hoonaard, 2011).

In conducting this study, I was both an outsider and an insider, and both statuses had advantages and disadvantages. My status as first generation made me an outsider to my research respondents, who were second generation. My position as an outsider was a drawback for two reasons. Firstly, my outsider status made it difficult for me to find respondents. Most of my connections were from the first generation. Hence, I had to rely on the snowballing sampling technique to select second-generation participants.

Secondly, my outsider positionality created a tense ambience where the participants initially did not feel relaxed and were also hesitant to share with me their experiences in the early stages of the interview process. Thus, I had to make my outsider status work in my favour. While interviewing my respondents, I shared in their experiences by acknowledging that their experiences were similar to mine because I also had African parents and could understand where they were coming from. Additionally, I explained to them I was a researcher and would not share their stories with anyone except the way in which they permitted me to share based on their signed consent forms. These processes made them feel more comfortable talking with me and in opening up, even though I was not one of them (second generation) and not part of their social circles.

Being an African gave me an insider status. There were two downsides to this positionality, with the first one being that I could relate with some of the discrimination and experiences of being an African. It was important that I navigated this by striking a balance and being careful with how much I could empathize with what my participants said to ensure that their voices were paramount. Secondly, because I was an African, some of the participants wanted me to finish their thoughts, or they ended their sentences with “you know?” because they saw me as an insider. I had to probe further when they wanted me to finish their sentences. I also told my participants that they were the experts on their experiences, and I needed them to explain further when they said, “you know?” because I did not know what exactly what they meant. That helped me negotiate this disadvantage. An advantage of being an African was that it made it easier for me to gain the acceptance, trust, and cooperation of my respondents because I was not seen as a complete stranger. This created an atmosphere where my participants felt free and comfortable to share their experiences with me. Thus, my in-depth interviews involved active participation with both interviewee and interviewer sharing stories and co-producing knowledge together (Laverly, 2003).

Depending on the gender of the participant I was talking to at a particular time, I was either an outsider or an insider. Because I am female, I assumed most of the female participants would feel more

comfortable talking with me and see me as one of their own. However, I did not go into these interviews with these gendered mindsets. I am glad I did not have any gender bias because the males appeared to be more comfortable discussing issues with me openly than the females. Furthermore, my status as an African made both males and females feel comfortable around me regardless of my gender. My respondents' class, educational attainment, and culture varied; as a result, depending on with whom I was talking, I was either an outsider or an insider. My role as a researcher allowed me to navigate myself around my ethnicity and/or gender to ensure that my participants felt comfortable enough to share their experiences with me.

Reflecting on the interview data while one is analyzing is relevant in hermeneutic phenomenology (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). During the interview process, I wrote reflexive notes that described the interview setting including noting gestures, body language, and other non-verbal cues portrayed by my participants. These notes were later used for data transcription and data analysis. The reflexive notes were not used as one of the main data collection methods because the majority of my interviews were done on the phone, and only nine of the interviews were administered face-to-face. Hermeneutic phenomenology does not allow researchers to “bracket” themselves from the research process; rather, researchers are encouraged to bring with them their experiences and their consciousness into the research process (Creswell, 2013). Thus, in hermeneutic phenomenology, the description of the experiences is important as well as the reflections of the researcher on these descriptive experiences or their “essence” (Sloan & Bowe, 2014, p. 1297). Hence, in the examination of my data and throughout the research process, I was conscious of my own past experiences as an immigrant. When writing, my position reflected the voice of my participants. This was done since the phenomenon I studied was peculiar to them. I am not second generation and thus my bias was limited or totally eliminated in that sense.

Regardless, in the examination of my data and throughout the research process, I was conscious of my own past experiences of sexism, racism, and discrimination and also my experiences as an immigrant, and I engaged in reflexivity. When writing, my position reflected the voice of my participants.

Although I could empathize with some of their experiences such as racism, discrimination, and their upbringing in African homes, I could not share in their experiences of identity crisis and the difficulties surrounding how they identified themselves. This was because the phenomenon was particular to them as second-generation individuals, and thus, my bias was limited in that sense.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodology and the procedure through which the research was conducted. It talks about the relevance of why qualitative research methodology was the best way to approach this research. There was a discussion on the importance of undertaking this study from a phenomenological perspective and what that means. I talked briefly about my population and my sample, and how I was able to find respondents to talk to. My reflexivity and positionality as the researcher and the ethics procedure and data analysis were also discussed.

Chapter Five: African Second-Generation Canadians' Connections to their Parents' Birth Countries

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the interview data obtained from the respondents, and it is divided into five main sections. The first section examines the different types of transnational connections that second-generation Africans have with their parents' countries. This is followed by a discussion of whether they sustain or sever these ties. Afterwards, I explore what motivates them to have these ties. The fourth section examines the consequences of these connections and a conclusion.

5.2 Second-Generation Africans' Transnational Ties

I analyzed the data from the process approach of studying second-generation transnationalism, which means I was more interested in knowing the types of transnational activities the second-generation African youth were engaged in, the processes through which they became transnational, and also the effects of these attachments on their lives (Wessendorf, 2016). The process approach of studying second-generation transnationalism is primarily done using qualitative research, which was how this study was conducted.

5.2.1 The Different Transnational Activities

The interview data indicated that second-generation Africans in my research engage in several transnational connections. The literature reveals that there are several types of transnationalism, which include social-cultural, economic, political, social-psychological, psychological, and religious transnationalism. Different transnational behaviours have been labelled and categorized by scholars, which has advanced our knowledge of transnationalism, but this is not to say the classifications are without flaws. In this section of my thesis, I want to state the challenges I have with the typologies before I discuss the different transnational behaviours that my respondents engage in.

To begin with, when categorizations are made, transnational behaviours appear to be mutually exclusive, while in reality they overlap. This is a result of the generalization of these classifications.

Transnational activities are fluid, and therefore, there is the need for scholars to make the distinction very clear when they classify these connections. I will use examples to buttress how some of these groupings overlap. Religion is a significant cultural trait and, as such, can be categorized as social-cultural, but its activities are usually grouped under religious transnationalism. In this example, we see how religious activities can be sociocultural as well as religious. Additionally, communication with family could be for social, cultural, economic, or political reasons, but it is mostly viewed as sociocultural.

Also, some authors have labelled travel and exchange programs organized by universities (Portes, 2001) and travelling across borders as solely a form of sociocultural transnational behaviour (Lima, 2010). But some people travel primarily for political or economic reasons. Thus, there is the need for researchers to be clear in their categorizations. For instance, they should explain the purpose of the transnational behaviours and justify the label they give them. For example, if respondents travel across nations, the researcher needs to explain the motive for the travelling and not just classify travelling under the sociocultural category each time. Therefore, if immigrants travel solely to engage in economic reasons, then travelling across borders should not be labelled as sociocultural but rather as economic transnationalism. This supports my earlier assertion that the labels are fluid but that there is also the need for clarity and justification of them to achieve some sort of mutual exclusivity. Hence, typologies should not be based on earlier fixed categorizations of the earlier advocates of the discipline, but rather they should be framed based on one's study and the motive of the transnational connections. The initial grouping was to help with our understanding of the different types of transnational activities that immigrants could engage in. However, the classifications need to be improved to help our overall understanding of transnationalism. Regardless, as I earlier indicated, these typologies are relevant; thus, I will classify my respondents' ties, but I will be very clear with my groupings so I can achieve some sort of mutual exclusivity. In this vein, the interview data revealed that second-generation Africans engage in

social-cultural, economic, political, social-psychological, psychological, religious, and intellectual transnationalism.

5.2.1.1 Social-cultural Transnationalism

The data revealed that participants in my sample actively partook in social-cultural transnationalism more than any of the other types of transnationalism. Some of the forms of social-cultural transnationalism that they engaged in included travelling back to their parents' countries, being part of diasporic associations, and communicating with family back home. All of these activities are done mainly for social and cultural reasons, and that is why I have classified them as social-cultural transnational behaviours. They go back home to meet family and friends; they are part of diasporic associations for social and cultural activities; and when they communicate with families back at home, they do so for social reasons.

Travelling back to their parents' countries

A minority of the second-generation Africans I interviewed did participate in travel to their parents' countries of origin as part of the connections that they were building with that part of their lives. While others had never been back since they moved to Canada or had never gone to their parents' countries since they were born, some had at least gone back twice to visit family friends. Even with those who had gone back, the majority of them went back when they were very young. The participant who identified by the name "Yaaya12" for the study was part of the group of people who had visited his parents' country twice, but it had been over 10 years since she last went back.

I have only been back twice in my life. The last time I went was when I was around may be 11 or 12 years old, so it's been a while (Yaaya12's interview).

For people like Amanda, although she had been to her parents' source country twice, she went on the last trip alone because she felt the need to reconnect with where her parents came from.

R: So, my parents took us, I will say I have been to Nigeria twice. And really the connection is just like from hearing the stories that my parents tell me from back home. What they tell us about our family, but we don't visit often. The first time I went I think was 11 and I stayed for 2 months and then I went recently, and I was there for 3 weeks.

I: Ok, so did you go by yourself or you went with the whole family?

R: (laughs) Yeah, I just always had this push. This drive to always go back and I didn't like the fact that we were here for soo long and weren't going often enough. So, I just took it upon myself to go there alone (Amanda's interview).

Thus, the second-generation youth I interviewed did travel back to their parents' countries to visit family and friends and also to have a connection with their parents' birth countries. All of my respondents wanted to go to their parents' source countries in the near future to visit. Most of them expressed wanting to go back after completing their university degrees, even if it was just for a visit. While they all wanted to go and visit at some point in the future, some had no intention of going back there to live permanently because they saw Canada as their home and felt they were here to stay. Others had plans to go back and settle there permanently and, as such, had gone there already to survey the place to see if they would be able to live there. This corroborates literature that asserts that educated immigrants are more likely to engage in transnationalism (Hiebert & Ley, 2006). For instance, Ahmed did his school program placement in Uganda, which is quite close to Somalia, so he could get the chance to go and explore Somalia and see if he might want to live there permanently.

So, when I did my master's it was the first time I went back to Somalia. So, I did my master's in social work and the focus was international development because I was trying to see if I can do work overseas in terms like community development. I went for a placement in Uganda for a few months and I was like when I am out here, I am going to go to Somalia. So, I went to Somalia for a little over a month and first I thought oh I am home (Ahmed's interview).

Ahmed's plan was to be near home so that he could see if there were prospects of him going back after he was done with his master's degree. He furthered reiterated that it looked like there was a possibility for him go back:

I did my placement there it was almost like a litmus test to see if there was like a future opportunity. And I think it's still is like in terms of like opportunities for my family or my future family for like if I was to have children. Ummm, the standard of living will be more manageable. It's almost like coming here and you are already starting like 20/25 steps behind you know because a lot of multiple generations have assets or wealth that they have passed down so it's almost for us to catch up, it's ridiculous. Like you know here, like buying a home is almost half a million dollars, \$450,000. If you want a good home, if you have 3, 4, 5 kids and each one wants or even want to double up on rooms or whatever but it's like even a decent home is really high priced. Back then when I went there, I saw that economic development was happening and it wasn't for the conflict area, but the area is developing, and I can see a future, having the possibility and living a lifestyle there that is manageable (Ahmed's interview).

Ahmed liked the idea of going back home (to Somalia) and settling there and having a family after he weighed the options and opportunities in both Canada and Somalia. He argued that there were several others who had plans of going back to Somalia. Maha had plans of going back in the near future and using the knowledge she had acquired in Canada back home to help her parents' country. Amanda had gone once before and liked it and wanted to go back to explore business opportunities so that she could go and permanently live there. Nana Yaa had plans of going for four months to learn more about the country and also to see how best she could grow her ties with her roots. Hence, my respondents were eager to go back home, and they had future plans for their parents' countries. Therefore, my research refutes earlier research by Al-Ali et al. (2001) that due to war, immigrants do not want to go back to their homelands because the

home they know is no more. This was not the case for my respondents; they still wanted to go back, and some had intentions of even moving back to settle there permanently after the war had ended.

Diasporic associations

The second-generation Africans in my study partook in diasporic associations, which are associations related to where their parents immigrated from. These could be community or school associations. Sebila was part of the school association for African students where she was studying.

So, I am part of the school one. The school [African student association in Lethbridge] is for Africans, it is not specifically for Sudanese ... but the association here [Calgary] it is mostly adults that attend so there is usually not a lot of people my age. I wouldn't want to be a part of an association that only adults are part of because then I would need people my own age to interact with (Sebila's interview).

Others had leadership roles in these diasporic associations:

We are youth coordinators [for the Sudanese association in Calgary] and we have a kids' club that we do every Sunday. ... We realized that a lot of them are into arts, dancing, and all that recreational stuff and might not have the opportunity to that or their parents might not have that interest for them. So, we made this club and it is at the community so of course parents will bring their children to it. It is opened to everybody of course but a lot of the people who come are Sudanese kids and other Black communities (Rawya and Ranya's interview).

Rawya and Ranya were interviewed together. They answered some of the interview questions together, and others they answered separately. They were involved in teaching kids who attended their club traditional cultural dances from Sudan, and they also talked to them about the Sudanese culture to help the children build a connection with their parents' country. Shetin was also a second-generation African and very much involved with the Ghanaian Canadian Association of Calgary. She was the youth coordinator in the association, and this is what she had to say:

I am the youth coordinator and I act as the liaison between like the Ghanaian youth in Calgary and the adults. So, it is usually the adults that plan all these activities and I come up with these ideas for programs. But I kinda act more like the voice for the young people. And so, I help with coming up with events for younger Ghanaians (Shetin's interview).

From the above, one can clearly see that as part of the ties that the second-generation Africans I interviewed were building with their parents' country, they were involved in the diasporic associations in their communities.

Communicating with family back home

All the respondents that I spoke to who had relations back home still communicated with these family members on phone, through letter/email writing, or through different social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, or Skype. Nana Yaa said that he still stayed in touch with his grandfather through letter/email writing:

R: Yes, I write letters to my grandpa.

I: Letters? In 2018?

R: Yeah, he likes it, so we write letters, a little bit and he prefers emails. We do life updates via letters (Nana Yaa's interview).

Eugenia, on the other hand, communicated with family via social media, especially through WhatsApp, where she said she would chat with her grandmother.

I: How do you communicate with your family back home?

R: Usually through WhatsApp.

I: Ok. With your grandma too?

R: Yes.

I: And you communicate with your cousins?

R: A few of them, not often and when we do it's usually through WhatsApp or social media (Eugenia's interview).

The above analysis corroborates literature about the different kinds of sociocultural transnationalism that the second-generation engages in (Foner, 2002; Jones-Correa, 2002). The above examples of social-cultural transnationalism, which includes the second generation travelling back to their parents' countries, the second-generation youth being part of diasporic associations, and the African youth communicating with family back home, are the types of social-cultural transnationalism that the second-generation African youth partake in while residing in Calgary.

5.2.1.2 Economic Transnationalism

My participants engaged in economic transnationalism by sending money back home in the form of remittances. The African youth I spoke with would send money back home based on two factors. The first was based on which region in Africa their parents immigrated from. The second factor was the type of immigration stream that their parents used in moving to Canada. For example, generally, my interviewees whose parents immigrated from the western part of Africa did not engage in economic transnationalism. Only two out of the twenty respondents who had their roots from West Africa said they had sent money back home before. The two respondents also pointed out that sending money back home was not a constant thing that they did, and they only did this once to help out. In comparing those of my sample who had their ancestral roots from the West of Africa to those who had their roots from the East of Africa, I realized that the majority of those with ancestral roots from the east did tend to send money back home more often than those from the West.

After further probing the topic with the respondents, one intriguing finding was that those whose parents immigrated from East Africa came mostly as refugees, and they still had families back at home who lived in refugee camps or in other countries where they were not permitted to work. These second-generation participants, growing up, saw their parents remitting monies to their families back at home to

help them, and they also heard stories about the conditions that they lived in. As a result, when they grew up and started to work, they decided to help their parents by also sending money back home to help their families.

I: Do you send money back home?

R: So, my dad does, and hence I do. When I went back [Somalia], I started learning more about some of the struggles and challenges that some of the family members were going through, so after that experience I do now send money. I send it as an investment for the next generation, so I am paying for the education of a couple of people by giving them capacity. Then they will be able to learn how to survive and to then give back to the community. My dad gives, gives to the extent that he can't save and when I went there, I learnt why. To the point where they called him Abu Gandhi (Ahmed's interview).

So, I have to. With the war, it happened mostly kinda in the villages where most of my family members live; my cousins, my mum's twin sisters, one of my uncles so they all kinda of were uprooted. They didn't have a home and they all escaped to, like, the northern part of Sudan so not South Sudan like the next country over and they live there. But the thing is, they don't employ Sudanese people so even if they wanna work, they are not going to be able to support all the kids in the house. They have about 7 children, 8 children now with 2 women in the household and my uncle basically going to Sudan to look for work and there is no work because the country is effectively not functioning right. So that's where the money kinda goes to, to put those kids in school, have some food on the table or something (Maha's interview).

Ahmed's parents immigrated from Somalia to Canada as refugees. While Ahmed was growing up, his dad used to send money back home, and he did not understand why until he visited Somalia as a student, at which point he then understood why his dad had to help. He realized then the impact of his dad's remittances on the lives of his family members back home. As such, he had decided that he would

start sending money back home as soon as he got a job. Maha, just like Ahmed, also would send remittances because her relatives had fled Sudan and were living in a country where they could not work because they did not have a permit to work, nor could they find work in Sudan as a result of the ongoing conflict. As such, there was the need for her to send money back home to help with the situation.

For my interviewees whose parents immigrated from the western part of Africa, the majority of their parents had immigrated as economic migrants. Also, most of the West African countries have stable economies, and as such, their parents' families worked back at home and did not solely depend on their families abroad for monies. Their parents did send money back home to support their parents and other members of the families, but the second generation did not need to send money back home themselves.

Scholars have asserted that immigrants sending monies back home is one of the ways immigrants connect with their parents' countries (Vertovec, 2004), and engaging in these activities has some benefits. Remittances not only help the second generation to identify with their parents' countries, but they also are used to help families back at home, such as with helping others set up businesses, or helping with family members' schooling, amongst other things. These findings confirm some of the research that was examined in the literature review. It is, however, worth noting that regardless of the significance of remittances, the majority of the second-generation youth that I interviewed had never sent or did not send remittances back home. Hence, my findings corroborate other studies that maintain that the majority of the second-generation does not send money back home and that the transnational activities of the second generation differ based on their ancestral roots (Jones-Correa, 2002).

The argument though is that my sample of second-generation Africans was engaging in economic transnationalism by sending money back home. The frequency did depend on what immigration stream their parents used and which part of Africa their parents had immigrated from.

5.2.1.3 Political Transnationalism

The participants in this study did partake in political transnationalism. The majority of them held dual citizenship with the countries that their parents immigrated from. Rawya, for example, had dual citizenship with Canada and Sudan.

So, we only have the Canadian citizenship for the longest time. The last trip that we went to Sudan, we were able to get a citizenship card so now I am Sudanese. She still wasn't able to (referring to her sister). You have to be either 14 or 16, she wasn't at the time so next time we go she will be able to get that (Rawya's interview).

I: Would you want to hold a dual citizenship with Canada and your parents' birth country?

R: Oh yeah.

I: Is that something you already have, or you are now going to have?

R: Yeah, we definitely do. We did it so long ago (Anonymous' interview).

Hence, my respondents did hold dual citizenship with their parents' home countries, which connected them to those countries. In addition, only about five participants from my sample partook passively in politics back at home. One also participated in conferences here in Canada that explained the political terrain back in their parents' country and also aimed to ensure there was peace amongst those who had immigrated here.

Like we have had few like peaceful conferences, we go to the community and we talk. Because of the anger and the tension that have been brought overseas to Calgary, there is a lot of tension between the community members and people do not even get together anymore. And so, a lot of the youth we get together once in a month or so and we talk about wanting to connect Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, you know? All the different kids all together just to talk about what their parents have been telling them and trying to correct what their parents have been telling them. Sometimes the parents are ignorant in the fact that they just give you false news. And you as a child you just want

to listen to your family even if you are in this adult age you wanna listen to your family or you wanna say that they are right, but they are often misguided, right? So, I don't really get politically involved but I do kinda observe and I do go to these conferences and I listen in and I try to see if there is a way that I can interject, or I need to remain in the background and just gather more information (Maha's interview).

Therefore, the sample of second-generation Africans who I spoke with did have a connection with their parents' countries through politics by having dual citizenship, passively learning about the political terrain, and partaking in conferences that would educate people about the political atmosphere back in their parents' countries (Jones-Correa, 2002).

5.2.1.4 Social-Psychological Transnationalism

My respondents experienced social-psychological transnationalism, usually when they faced racism in Canada, and they compared it to the good treatment they received from their parents' communities. Amanda stated that when she would go back to her parents' country to visit, people immediately would tell her that she was not from there and treat her differently in a nice way. That is, they gladly welcomed her into their space, and she was mostly regarded as someone having higher status than them. In this example, we are able to understand Amanda's social-psychological behaviour because of her visit to her parents' country and her connections to their diasporic associations. These social relations form the social part of social-psychological transnationalism, with feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction being the psychological aspect. The main contention here is how she felt when she compared the social experiences, and that is why this particular transnational behaviour cannot be grouped under social-cultural transnationalism. Below is an extract from Amanda's interview:

You are always going to be seen as a different but even though they see you as different back home, the way they will treat you is still better than how a White person here will treat you because you are Black. That is the difference ... you experience the same thing back at home but it is

different, you experience that because people think ... you are better than them whereas people here think that you are inferior and so that why they treat you that way and when they think you are inferior (Amanda's interview).

From the above, we can observe that Amanda had feelings of satisfaction about her parents' country when she compared her experience there to her experience here. From my conversation with her, I understood that she enjoyed being in Nigeria and that she had thought about and even considered going to Nigeria and living permanently there. She was doing research at the time of our conversation on the kind of business she could do and how to survive if she decided to go and live there. Therefore, the above excerpt supports the fact that some second-generation Africans do experience social-psychological transnationalism.

5.2.1.5 Psychological Transnationalism and Modes of Cultural Reproduction

A majority of the second-generation Africans I interviewed experienced psychological transnationalism. This took place in two forms: the first was when the youth would stay connected through the material aspects of the culture, such as through food, music, movies, and clothes. The second was when they would idealize their parents' countries and have fond memories. Second-generation Africans are most connected to the food and music aspects, and they have the least connection with aspects like movies and the traditional clothes.

African food/dishes

Another interesting aspect was that all the second-generation participants I spoke with connected with the food from their parents' countries. For the participant named Anonymous, he would eat food from Nigeria almost on a daily basis:

All our homemade food is pretty much [Nigerian], it is like the Nigerian version of everything right? Like rice is a universal food but you know. Out of 10, ok let's say I have 10 meals this week,

how much of that is Nigerian food, (pauses) ... everything we eat in the house really is and I don't eat out too much so 6 to 7, 7 maybe (Anonymous' interview).

All of the respondents that I spoke to still had strong connections with their parents' food. Some still would make this food themselves when they were older and not living with their parents anymore. Charity had this to say about the food from his parents' country:

I still make a lot of Ghanaian food like fufu. Ummm what else? Jollof rice is the big thing that I eat. Ummm you know pepper soup you know like goat meat, light soup, all of those foods I still make, yeah (Charity's interview).

For the majority of these second-generation youth, food from their parents' countries was one of the important aspects of their parents' heritage that they were wanting to pass on in the future to their own children. The interview data revealed that the second-generation participants I interviewed were strongly connected to the ethnic food more than any other culture traits of their parents' countries, which confirmed other research done on immigrants and their connections to their ethnic food (Tuomainen, 2009; Williams-Forsen, 2014). Tuomainen (2009) argued that ethnic food was one of the last cultural habits that changes in an immigrant's life and also one of the most significant cultural and symbolic attachments that immigrants have with their home countries. Thus, even if the second generation integrates in other aspects of the host society, the ethnic food from their home countries might probably be the last cultural item they let go of. Kalu's (2017) research on second-generation youth from West Africa corroborates the above analysis. Her research argues that African second-generation youth's connection to the food from their home countries influences them with regard to which identity they choose and that, for some of her participants, they identified more with their parents' home countries because of the food. The second-generation youth I interviewed admitted that the food was one of the strongest connections they had with their parents' countries.

African music/movies

Another strong tie that was found amongst my sample was their connection with the music. A majority of these participants listened to music from Africa more than music from the Western world. For most of these second-generation youth, music was a way of connecting with their parents' heritage:

I listen to the music; I don't listen to the Western music. I am always listening to twi and stuff like that. Even though my parents and I lived in Canada, we didn't follow the Western world, right? In the car it will always be twi gospel (Nelly's interview).

Once in the car, I connected my phone and like Nigerian music came out and they [Whitney's parents] just looked at each other and they were like what? You listen to Nigerian music now? Because it was like my dad will always play it in the car and I was like omg gosh I don't want to listen to that and now it's like I am playing it to them, I am showing it to them. I think they are surprised and happy as well because oh I am connecting with a part of it (Whitney's interview).

For me, I am very connected to the music. I have a lot of like hiplife and highlife music on my phone. I think it is something that I have tried to stay connected with because I personally really like enjoy music. So, I am having that connection with afrobeat in general. I think it is important, so I have like a play list on my phone that I listen to afrobeat all the time. Ummm, I just feel like when I listen to afrobeat it makes me feel more connected to Ghana than just like listening to regular music (Rita's interview).

Although a majority of the respondents had a connection with the music, they did not have a strong connection with the movies. This can sometimes be a result of the language used in the movies, the predictability of the movies, or the "voodoo-infused" nature of movies. These second-generation participants preferred to go to Netflix to watch mainstream movies over watching movies from their parents' countries.

I: If you want to watch a movie, would you watch Nigerian movies?

R: I would go to Netflix. I have never watched any Nigerian movies on my own (Whitney's interview).

We do produce movies yeah, not as big as Nollywood. The language is very different. Somali is like a very poetic language so like we don't really understand what they are saying. I feel bad for saying this, but they are usually low budget movies. My mum used to play them when we were kids and so I can recognize some actors and actresses (Ayan's interview).

The majority of these respondents would not watch African movies on their own. They either watched them with their parents or chose to watch Western movies. From my research findings, watching African movies was one of the aspects of their parents' cultural heritages that the second generation had the least ties with.

African traditional clothes

The African second-generation youth from my study did not have strong connections with their parents' traditional clothing, and this was as a result of the weather in Calgary. Most of their parents' traditional clothing, these second-generation participants argued, were good for summer weather only, and so some of the participants would wear these clothes during summer or during festive occasions such as weddings and Independence Day celebrations. But in general, the majority of them preferred wearing Western dress over wearing their parents' native wear. Ayan, for example, would wear Somalian clothing during the summer. When we had the interview, she was wearing a beautiful piece, which she was kind enough to get up and show me.

I: Do you still wear traditional clothes?

R: Ummm, yes. (gets up and shows me what she is wearing)

I: Is this from Somalia?

R: This is from ummm yeah, it's kinda like a deda [traditional wear]. Usually during the summer, I feel more connected when I wear traditional clothes.

I: So, you wear Somali clothes more than Western clothes?

R: Yes, during the summer, yes because it like airy, its flowy but during winter it's not really like feasible ummm but I feel comfortable wearing my culture clothes, I try to wear them (Ayan's interview).

Ayan asserted that one of the ways she was able to connect with her parents' country was through the clothes that she wore. Even though she would get negative reactions from people when she wore them, she felt like that was one of the best ways to be connected to her parents' country. These connections that these participants had with the material aspect of their parents' cultures describe what Vertovec (1999) termed the conceptualization of transnationalism as a mode of cultural reproduction. Immigrants' children who engage in the tangible aspects of their parents' origin culture in Canada are replicating their parents' culture in another part of the world.

Additionally, the second-generation Africans who have visited their parents' countries and would also want to go back there either to live temporarily or permanently do have fond memories.

I: And so, do you ever have plans of resettling in your parents' country of origin?

R: I have thought about it, yes, I have. Ummm, it's something that I am considering but I want to do more research and build more network before taking that step (Amanda's interview).

I: Do you have plans on go back soon?

R: Yeah, yeah. So, I graduate in 2020. I have four months off, so I essentially want to go for the entire four months (Nana Yaa's interview).

The above psychological transnationalism experienced by the second generation reinforces the scholarship that asserts that immigrants have fond memories of back home and dream of going back home one day, and also that they do connect with the food and other material aspects of their parents' cultures (Baffoe, 2010). The theory of transnationalism as a conceptualization of a type of consciousness can also be used to explain the psychological transnationalism that second-generation Africans experience.

Vertovec (1999) explains that another attribute of transnationalism as a type of consciousness includes the memories that people have of places and how these memories inform their identities and create a “transnational imagery” (p. 451), which can impact the way culture is duplicated. In this vein, transnationalism can occur even without travelling to their parents’ countries because this dual consciousness can happen through material artefacts and through one’s memories and idealization (Vertovec, 1999).

5.2.1.6 Religious Transnationalism

My respondents also engage in what Mensah (2008) terms religious transnationalism. Although religion is a key cultural factor, I will not include religious activities in sociocultural transnationalism. This is because the focus of this categorization is discussing the relationship the respondents have with their parents’ religions, especially if they brought their religions with them when they immigrated. Second-generation Africans still engage in the religions that their parents bring with them from their countries. Africans establish branches of the churches that they used to attend while back at home here in Canada to worship their creators. These churches form a sort of a diasporic association through which immigrants and the second generation meet each other to stay connected, help each other out, and socialize their children to learn their culture. As such, these religious diasporic groups serve as a medium and motivation for transnationalism (Levitt, 2009). Some of the participants from my study contended that they had built ties with their parents’ countries by attending these groups. Catherine had made most of her friends from church. These friends had their roots from Ghana as well, and they helped her to maintain her Ghana ties:

Because I go to church and some of my best friends that I have known since I came to Canada are still my best friends. I speak with them every single day and they are Ghanaians (Catherine’s interview).

For Catherine, having a connection with her parents' birth country was very important to her, and that was why she held onto the friends she had whose parents had also immigrated from Ghana. These friends she made from church, she asserted, helped her to stay connected with her roots. Hence, second-generation immigrants also engage in religious transnationalism by practicing the religions their parents exported with them. For Joy, the role she played in church helped with her speaking her parents' language.

I: Do you speak your parents' native language?

R: Yes, just because by leading praises and worship [in church] and trying to find like songs that the congregation can sing along to (Joy's interview).

As a first-generation researcher, I found it fascinating that the second generation did not only go to these religious diasporic associations to engage in the religion but also to learn other important aspects of their parents' heritage. Joy was engaging in religious transnationalism as well as learning and perfecting her parents' native language at the same time. Ayan also felt the same about her religious community. She contended that the religious group brought them together and that there were a lot of interactions amongst members that strengthened the connections they had built with their parents' roots.

We have Ramadan coming up too so that is where we form a closer connection because people go to the mosque, they interact and that is where we form a closer connection (Ayan's interview).

These religious diasporic groups also served as social solidarity tools by bringing people together, as can be seen in the excerpt above. Thus, as Vertovec (2009) argues, immigrants also bring with them their religion and faith that they partake in, and these impact on their identities in their host countries. The above confirms what Levitt (2009) argues, that religion serves as a motivation for transnationalism. Participants Catherine, Joy, and Ayan agreed that they did not only engage in religious transnationalism but also that their religion motivated them to engage in other transnational activities. Thus, the second-generation African youth I interviewed engaged in religious transnationalism.

5.2.1.7 Intellectual Transnationalism

Another type of transnationalism I found from my interviews is what I have termed “intellectual transnationalism.” Intellectual transnationalism means acquiring knowledge across borders as well as engaging in the non-material aspects of one’s heritage. Acquiring knowledge across borders can be best explained in two parts. Firstly, it means a situation whereby immigrants and the second generation want to learn or know more about their roots. Secondly, professionals, including professors, who travel to other countries to teach or impart knowledge can be termed as engaging in intellectual transnationalism. For example, visiting and exchange professors as well as international conference speakers would fall into this category. Some of the modes for intellectual transnationalism is through learning about one’s parents’ heritage and language, and through the internalization of values.

Learning About Parents’ Heritage

Some of my participants would read the news and read history books about their parents’ origin countries to gain intellectual knowledge of their roots. Some of them did not actively partake in transnational ties by sending money back home or talking to people on the phone. These participants read more about their parents’ cultures to understand and connect with their parents, as was the case for Whitney, who was interested to learn more about the government system in her parents’ country:

I wanted to get to learn more about it recently. I have interest in it and tried to learn more about it, about what is going on. Like the structure of the government I guess and who is in power and what that means for the people. But I haven’t really gotten there yet (Whitney’s interview).

Nana Yaa’s dad and granddad would also talk to her about their heritage; they wanted her to learn more and be educated about their roots and what influenced who they were as people.

He [Nana Yaa’s dad] will just tell me stories and my grand dad was very big on history and so he will send me books on Kwame Nkrumah that I will read (Nana Yaa’s interview).

The knowledge the second generation gains is evident when they grow up and they are connected to their parents' country in terms of the immaterial aspect of the culture. For most of my participants, they wanted to understand their ancestral culture more and why their parents would do the things they did. Some of them had strong ties with the cultural artifacts and the material culture of their parents' countries, but as they grew up, they wanted to understand the non-material culture more.

Language

Whether the second-generation African youth I spoke with would speak their parent's languages or not depended on the part of Africa their parents immigrated from and their parental training. Speaking their parents' languages was engaging with a non-material aspect of their cultures that also linked them to their roots. This section will briefly explore some of the conversations surrounding language that I had with my respondents. Some of the participants could not speak their parents' languages because their parents did not speak those languages with them at home

But in terms of the language I mean even in Nigeria, we spoke English, right? I don't speak any native language because my mother wanted us to really learn English and stuff, they didn't really teach us (Anonymous interview).

R: I speak really well. I can give a speech in Igbo

I: Do you still speak it at home?

R: Of course! In my family we are very proud of our heritage, so we speak our language not all the time at home. A lot of time we speak English, but we speak it once in a while (Ebuka's interview).

For the majority of the second-generation participants I interviewed, they were able to understand the dialect but could not speak it or hold a conversation in the language. This was a result of the fact that most of the second-generation African youth had integrated linguistically into Canadian society in the sense that they spoke fluent English rather than their parents' first language.

That's the funny thing, my parents don't. They speak more English, ummm, but they will communicate to us in Igbo, but they will speak English to us so that's why I only understand and can't speak (Amanda's interview).

In the excerpt above, Amanda's parents had spoken their first language to their children but predominantly spoke English at home, even amongst themselves. Many participants in my sample were motivated to integrate linguistically- in addition to being able to understand their parent's languages, even if they could not speak them. Thus, the second-generation youth I interviewed were less connected with their parents' languages and more integrated into speaking English. Another interesting finding from the interview data revealed that most of the second-generation participants from the western part of African pointed out that they used to speak their parents' languages when they were young, but they lost the ability as they grew up and went to school in Canada. This is what Shetin had to say:

When I was a child, I spoke twi [parents' dialect] fluently because right when I was two years old, I went back to Ghana to live with my grandma for a few years. And when I came back, I was fluent but then my mum just spoke to me in English and then she put me in a French school, so I just spoke English and French, so I lost twi completely (Shetin's interview).

At the time of our conversation, Shetin had been learning how to speak the language because of her position as the youth coordinator for the Ghanaian association in Calgary. Also, from the above, we can discern how parental influence played a role in how Shetin lost the language. If her mother had continued to speak her language to her at home, she might not have lost it. We can also better understand Shetin's loss of language from a multicultural perspective. Canada's multiculturalism encourages immigrants to celebrate their culture and uniqueness, and that is what Shetin was doing when she was a child by speaking her language. But when she grew up and had to go to school, which are Canadian institutions, lessons were taught in either English or French. Because Shetin was spending most of her time in school, she lost her mother tongue and integrated into the English language. Thus, although Canada

encourages immigrants to live out their cultures, Canadian institutions are not equipped to help maintain these cultures in the second generation. Hence, there is an interrelationship between the social institution (integration) and the immigrants' home culture (multiculturalism); for the most part, integration triumphs because the second generation spends the most active part of their days in these institutions of the host societies. One of the participants, Jessie, talked about how she, at an older age, now wanted to learn her parents' language:

So, I forced to learn the language. Before I didn't understand any twi and now I understand a bit, but I can't speak it (Jessie's interview).

Jessie would eat the food, a material aspect of the culture, from Ghana and had even learnt how to prepare it. When she became interested in learning the language, a non-material aspect, she could learn this too by asking her mother and her boyfriend to teach her.

Values: Respect

Another non-material aspect that the second generation engages with that can be termed as intellectual transnationalism is the learning and internalization of the values, norms, and beliefs of their parents' heritage. These are imbibed on their minds and intellects. Joy had this to say with regards to respect, which is a value she had been raised with:

The way I address my parents. There are certain things that I would never do in terms of respect or how I relate to people or how I address people. There is a huge cultural difference between people that are born here like the way I do things is different from how people who are born here would do things. It has just been engraved in me and taught to me at an early age like second nature. Whereas people who are born here will behave differently and such behavior would not be allowed in my household (Joy's interview).

For Joy, exhibiting the value of respect was a way to connect with her parents' country. I find that this is an interesting connection that one can have with their parents' culture. This type of transnationalism

that emerged from my data has added to the knowledge and literature of transnationalism. Intellectual transnationalism is different from transnationalism that is sociocultural, social-psychological, or psychological. Intellectual transnationalism focuses on immigrants wanting to know more and gaining more knowledge about a place that, for most of them, they have never been to before, or if they have, they may have been so young at the time that they are not able to recollect. It also has to do with engaging with the non-material aspects of their parents' heritage, such as the associated norms, values, and beliefs. In addition, intellectual transnationalism involves the acquisition of knowledge about one's ancestral roots and the engagement with the non-material aspect of culture. This new categorization is relevant because not many scholars have examined intellectual transnationalism, and thus, adding it makes my classifications distinct. Social-cultural transnationalism involves immigrants actively maintaining and connecting with relationships across borders. This could involve immigrants travelling back home. Social-psychological transnationalism focuses on the feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction when an immigrant compares their life in the host country to their life in their home country. Psychological transnationalism emphasizes fond memories and idealization of the home country, which usually happens when the immigrant has had the chance to travel back or has immigrated from back home.

Although this section has shown that participants have transnational engagements with their parents' home countries, they do also lean more towards a more Westernized way of life. The majority of them agreed that they have ties with Africa but that they are also becoming more Canadian than African (Rumbaut, 2002). The above analysis illustrates that the second-generation respondents I interviewed engage in transnational ties. My first research question asks if second-generation Africans are connected to their parents' birth countries, and these findings answer that they are indeed. As earlier noted, the objective of the phenomenological approach is to describe what the individuals experienced and how they experienced it. This section discussed what the second generation experienced and how they experienced

transnational connections with their parents' countries in line with the overall purpose of phenomenological study.

5.2.2 Conclusion

The above analysis answers my first research question, which asks: what are some of the transnational attachments that the African second generation engages in? There is scant but important research on second-generation transnationalism in Canada, but none of the research actually explored the different transnational attachments that second-generation Africans engage in. The above examined the different types of transnationalism that my participants engaged in, and the data revealed that they engaged in seven different types, which included social-cultural, economic, political, social-psychological, psychological, religious, and intellectual transnationalism. These typologies, as mentioned earlier, overlap, and to be able to achieve a level of mutual exclusivity, I clearly explained the reason why they classified in a particular category. I explored these different types of transnationalism in detail and have provided examples to support them. The above confirmed the findings of other research on second-generation transnationalism and has also filled the gaps in the literature concerning the second generation, transnationalism, and African youth. In terms of theory, I was able to explore one of the points above through a multicultural lens. Transnationalism was a very useful framework that gave me the space to be able to explore the transnational activities that the second-generation engaged in. I will move on and answer my second question in the next section.

5.3 Severance or Sustenance of Connections

My second research question wanted to explore how second-generation Africans sever or sustain transnational connections over a long time. The second research question was influenced by Rumbaut (2002), who questions whether attachments, either subjective or objective, to parents' countries are severed or sustained into early adulthood. I will discuss how some within the second generation sever these ties with their parents' home countries as a result of the idealization of Canada as a home and the

associations and friends that they keep. This will be followed by an examination of how others within the second generation sustain these transnational connections as a result of the realization that Canada will never be home and the associations and the friends that they keep. Also, an important finding that emerged from the data was that it was in high school that the second-generation youth decided to either sever or sustain the transnational ties that they had with their parents' countries of origin.

5.3.1 Severance

A couple of the second-generation participants that I spoke with had severed ties with their parents' connections. What I mean in this sense is that some of my respondents were not as engaged with their parents' source countries as they used to be when they were younger. For example, when they were younger, they would wear the traditional clothes because their parents would put it on them. They would eat the traditional food because that is what was at home. But as they grew up, they began swaying away from these ties. They still identified with their parents' countries, but they had limited ties as compared to when they were little. Thus, for some of these immigrants as they grew older, they were integrating more into Canadian society. For instance, the participant named 1Bcouver stated that he became more interested in Canadian life and culture when he was in high school. At the time of our interview, he said he was doing fewer things that were associated with his parents' country and was more connected to Canada.

Umm, I do them [transnational ties] is just not as frequent, so I wouldn't stop. I wouldn't stop wearing the clothes but it's not a part of my day to day life. It's more special occasions, when I am just at home or if I decide to go to a sort of celebration, a Ghanaian function that one I will wear it (1Bcouver's interview).

1Bcouver had this to say about why he had stopped engaging actively with his parents' source country:

So ok, so when you are a kid, and you live with your parents, they will just teach you. Everything is very new to you, so you will you know but as you get older and you get more immersed in the environment you are born into then you become more like that environment. And that environment just has to be in Calgary, Canada so I am more attached to that because that is where I grew up,

that is where I made my friends, that's where I learnt to speak. That's where basically all the influences came from. So, as I got older, I just immersed myself more into the environment that I was born into as opposed to trying to immerse myself into a culture that is more acceptable to my parents. Does that make sense? (1Bcouver's interview).

From the above extract, we see that 1Bcouver mentioned the influence of his parents on him engaging with his ancestral home. For 1Bcouver, he started having less of a connection with his parents' country because he saw Canada as home, and thus, he felt he needed to build a connection with Canada. 1Bcouver's life experience can best be explained using cultural integration. As earlier defined, cultural integration is the process through which there is the respect of the immigrants' beliefs and values, the internalization of the host country's values and beliefs, and changes in one's value system (Frideres, 2008). In 1Bcouver's scenario, his lived experience could also be best explained as differentiated integration because, although he saw himself more as integrating into the Canadian system, he still admitted that he had some connections with his parents' country. Therefore, we can see the interrelationship between integration and transnationalism in the life of 1Bcouver. Also, from the above, we can agree with Levitt and Waters (2002) who argue that transnationalism and assimilation can occur at the same time and should not be seen as opposite concepts.

Thus, as a result of seeing Canada as a home or their country of birth and from growing up here all their lives, the second generation wants to have more connections with the place they know. This assertion is in line with Rumbaut (2002), who argues that one of the subjective transnational indicators of attachment and detachment in the second generation in his study was the fact that the majority of his participants saw the United States as home. Most of my participants had that same attachment to Canada; they saw Canada as home because it was where they grew up.

Also, as pointed out earlier, the kind of friends one has influences the extent of their transnational ties. For 1Bcouver, he made friends with people who were not from his parents' country but were

Canadians, and therefore, it was easier for him to be more integrated than transnational. For those participants who had become less engaged with their parents' countries, this usually occurred in high school when they realized at that time their differences from other people, and then they started to blend in more. Charity had this to say:

I: From our conversation I can deduce that while you have grown these ties and connections with Ghana has reduced, at what point did you realize that you were becoming more Canadian and less Ghanaian?

R: I will probably say maybe high school or after high school. Because you know when you meet more people you are exposed to different things I will probably say around that time (Charity's interview).

Hence, for Charity, and for others who became less engaged with their parents' countries, it was usually in high school when the change started. The relationships that Charity and IBcouver had with friends that were Canadians could be explained as the second-generation African youth integrating socially into society. Second-generation African youth experience social integration when they engage with social institutions in Canada such clubs and associations, which tends to further push them into cultural integration by making them less connected with their parents' countries and more integrated into their host country. The two main factors that the data revealed regarding making the second-generation youth in my study sever transnational attachments with their parents' countries of origin were a) the idealization of Canada as a home and b) the associations and friends that they kept.

5.3.2 Sustenance

Not all participants severed some ties with their parents' countries; others strengthened the ties they had with their parents' birth countries instead. For some participants, the realization that Canada would never accept them, despite seeing it as their home, pushed them into sustaining the ties that they had with their parents' cultures.

Just because coming to Canada, I was quite young and as I got older, I noticed that this was obviously not my country. As far as different ethnicities, which was quite lovely, but I just thought that it will be quite nice to have a connection with my parents' country because everyone here is the same right, you speak English or French. So, me holding onto my Ghanaian roots will benefit me one day when I have children so that my children can say I am also Canadian, but I am also this and also speak another language other than English or French (Catherine's interview).

Some of the reasons why these participants sustained their ties with their parents' birth countries were due to the fact that they realized that there was no way Canada would ever fully accept them. For others, they realized in high school that everyone was different and there was the need to find out where they belonged. Rawya had this to say in that regard:

I think that ummm maybe high school or a little bit after it when ummm other people were so into their communities and will share what their culture are and these kinda things. And everybody belonged to somewhere, and so it's like you have to find somewhere to fit in. This is the time to find that out where you belong. And so yeah, I guess to find a place to fit in with our communities and so we decided to make a space (Rawya's interview).

In Rawya's case, because she went to an elementary school that had everyone like her or the same as her, she did not see the diversity in Canada until she had to go to high school. It was in high school that she realized that she was different, and this provoked the need for her to find out who she was and how she fit in. For others, such as Jamal30, it was the close association he formed with people from his community that made him sustain his ties. Therefore, here as well we see how important associations are with regards to having ties with their parents' countries.

I think what has sustained it [transnational ties], is being more conscious with the Sudanese community, like having more friends and wanting to do that together. Because there are some

Sudanese kids who rebel and just never show up anymore and they don't have any ties (Jamal's interview).

The interesting issue that I found was that for most of these second-generation participants, the point in their lives when they started engaging more or less with their parents was in high school. For some, it was in high school when they met people from other places who were so proud of their culture that it made them also want to know their culture. For others, it was in high school when they felt their parents' cultures had to be dropped, and they wanted to blend in and be like everyone else.

In conclusion, some of my participants did not entirely sever ties with their parents' cultures, but they engaged less, while others engaged more with their parents' cultures. For those who engaged less, these were some of the transnational connections they still partook in: memories of their parents' countries (psychological); connecting with family in their parents' countries (social-cultural); participating with their parents' religions (religious) and acquiring more knowledge about their parents' cultures (intellectual). Even for those who engaged more, these ties were basic and not deep compared to the strength of their parents' connections (Rumbaut, 2002). The decision for the second-generation Africans to sever or sustain their transnational connections into adulthood depended on two main factors, which were the friends/associations they would keep and how they viewed Canada as home. Also, from the above, we can see that the second-generation youth experienced some types of integration, including integration that was cultural and social. The next section will discuss my third research question.

5.4 Motivations for Second-Generation African Youth Transnationalism

My third research question sought to find out the motivation for transnationalism amongst the second-generation youth. From my data analysis, there were five main factors that motivated the second generation to have transnational ties with their parents' countries. The five main factors were: parent training, racism, identity, associations, and their parents' immigration streams / the regions of Africa they came from.

Parental training and transnational social field

The majority of the connections the second-generation youth I spoke with had with their parents' countries were a result of the training they received from their parents and the social spaces in which they grew up. Amanda had this to share:

I think the thing with my dad is if you have met my dad, he's very traditional like if you come to my house, people always say that they come to my house and they feel like they are in Nigeria. (both of us laugh) ... I think when I was like 8 years old, my parents put me in a Nigerian dance group. And eventually with time some of the other girls and I, we split up and formed our own group and we were performing those traditional and sort of modern dances around Calgary (Amanda's interview).

From Amanda's perspective, her connection with Nigeria had to do with her parents' training. She asserted that her house "looked like Nigeria" when growing up, and her parents put her in a Nigerian dance club so that she could learn Nigerian traditional dances. Her dad was very traditional and socialized her with the Nigerian culture. Nana Yaa agreed that even though there had been no pressure at home for her to be transnational, growing up in a transnational social field exposed her to having connections with her parents' roots. She had this to say:

I think like, it wasn't like pressure necessarily they spoke it at home and so you will just tune it and you will get it. They did make a point for us to go to an African church so that was a thing that my dad emphasized so even when we moved to the suburban areas, we still went to the same church to be connected to our community in that way. That was one of the things that he forced. He was like we are staying here but we are going to this church and I need you to be surrounded by this. People will bring something, and we watch Ghanaian movies. ... So, it was slowly there, it wasn't forced. It was very natural. It was a very natural process that it just happened. ... I think

like at the beginning there wasn't necessarily pressure to embrace it, growing up in that culture you are going to absorb some things (Nana Yaa's interview).

The above confirms earlier scholarship that indicated that parental training and the environment that the second generation grows up in can serve as a positive influence for their transnationalism (Portes, 1999; Perlmann, 2002). Sebila's parents are from East Africa, and she speaks Arabic, which is the common or general language in that area.

Well, each tribe has its own language right, and because I left so young, I never really learnt it right, my tribal language. But I do know the general language which is Arabic. When my parents realize oh, I was speaking too much English, they forced me, they will discipline me to speak Arabic at home. Even though I struggled, and I wanted to speak English at home, they refuse to let me speak English at home (Sebila's interview).

In my conversation with Sebila, she explained that at a certain point in her life, she wanted to stop speaking Arabic and only speak English, but her parents would discipline her for doing so and encourage her to speak Arabic. Thus, we notice how parental influence impacts on whether their children will speak the parents' language or not. My interviews reveal that parents of participants from the eastern part of Africa are known for wanting their children to keep their culture, especially their language and religion. Most of the families from this region are Muslim and speak Arabic, and they may want their children to speak the language because the Quran is written in Arabic and Arabic is usually spoken at the mosque. However, even in Christian families from the region, the children may also speak Arabic. Maha, for example, was from a Christian family, but she fluently spoke Arabic:

I learnt the [tribal] language and forgot the [tribal] language. Then I had [learnt] Arabic on top of it. Then I kinda had [learnt] English on top of it. Because I don't practice the [tribal] language as much it has just been put on the back burner. So, I speak Arabic mainly and English fluently. With

my [tribal] language I need to go back and learn it. (she laughs). That is just the fact, it's hard to practice it [tribal language] here (Maha's interview).

Maha also reiterated that one's ability to speak their local dialect fluently depended on the training one received from their parents. In our interview, Maha talked about how although she could speak Arabic, she had cousins who spoke it fluently before she started speaking it. Maha's parents wanted her to learn English before learning Arabic. After she had learnt English, they helped her polish her language abilities in Arabic. But her cousins' parents made their children speak Arabic as soon as they landed in Canada.

So, whenever we will ask can we get acquainted to be able to learn [their local dialect]. She [her mother] will be like oh go to your cousin's house and learn from there or something like that because they speak it. And they came here at the same times as us. It is just that their parents are stubborn, and they were like no you are going to learn the language. So, I guess it is the type of upbringing. The type of focus that your parents have (Maha's interview).

Ayan could speak her parents' dialect fluently, and she had this to say about why she spoke her parents' language well.

I am fluent in Somali. My dad, he made sure as children we only spoke Somali at home. But when it comes to my siblings we talk in English and he berates us when we speak English. Because he thinks that we are going to be losing our culture and our language, and that is something that I feel like connects me to my culture, to be able to speak the language (Ayan's interview).

From the above interview transcript, we can notice the influence of Ayan's father on her ability to be able to communicate eloquently in her parents' dialect. Hence, whether second-generation Africans speak their parents' languages depends on two main factors: the part of Africa their parents immigrated from and the parental influence or training they received from their parents. These interview excerpts illustrate how the second-generation participants differed in how fluently they could speak their parents' languages. In one household, they did not speak the parents' local dialect because the parents did not want

them to or never spoke it with them, and in the other household, the children could speak the local dialect fluently. We can see from these excerpts how parental training influences whether one can speak their parents' dialect or not. This confirms what Levitt (2009) argues with regard to how the household or the transnational social field in which a second-generation individual grows up impacts the transnational connections they will have to their parents' home country. The stronger the transnational connections in the transnational social field, the stronger the ties that the second generation will have; likewise, the weaker the transnational connections in the household, the weaker the ties that the second generation will have.

In summary, my respondents agreed that there was a relationship between their parents' training and the ties they had with their parents' countries. This finding corroborates other studies on how parents' transnational connections with their source countries influence their children (Levitt & Waters, 2002). Culture is explained as the internalization of behaviours, values, and norms of a group of people that are then passed down to subsequent generations (Guiso et al., 2006). The parents of the second generation are thus transferring their culture, values, and beliefs to their children. The second-generation immigrants are growing up in families where these transnational ties are taking place or are being done by their parents, and unconsciously, they absorb these ties (Levitt, 2009). Although the children might not actively engage in them at the time, exposure to these ties helps them to later engage or to find their identities while they live in the land of their birth (Perlmann, 2002). Jamal³⁰ talked about how his father continually talked about his source country which made him, and his siblings want to learn about their father's country and have a connection with it. He contended that it was not that his father pressured them but that, in his father's everyday life, he made them want to know about where he came from. Hence, my findings agree with other studies that argue that the transnational connections of the first generation have significant influence on the life experiences of the second generation (Levitt, 2009; Perlmann, 2002).

Racism

For some of these second-generation participants, the racism that they experienced in Canada pushed them into wanting to have ties with their parents' countries. According to Nana Yaa, the way she felt like an outsider because of her skin colour in Canada, her birth country, encouraged her to have connections with her parents' birth country instead. When she was younger, racism pushed her towards full integration, but as she grew up, she realized that she would never fit in; as such, she decided to have ties with her parents' country because that side of her life was more accommodating.

But I feel like for me though I was practically born here I would never be just Canadian, and you can't walk through the world because Canadians will never recognize you as Canadian. I won't be surprised when my child gets, "oh so where are you from from? Oh, I was born in Canada, no. where are you from from?" Like four generations and they still view you as different and you are an outsider. It seems as though that Canada will never fully accept you as Canadian though you are Canadian. So, for me, as far as I know I will always be considered the girl who came from somewhere to Canada and got citizenship here. You have citizenship, but you are not Canadian and that is the difference. But ideally cutting ties with your ties [with your parents' country] does not help you to have a particular sense of belonging and [so it is better to] just to strengthen your connection with your community and just to have ties to your culture (Nana Yaa's interview).

Hence, the second generation's experiences of racism do push them to have transnational connections with their parents' home countries. As we can deduce from the above excerpt, Nana Yaa had gone through some experiences that did not make her feel as Canadian, and thus, for her it was better to have stronger ties with Ghana, where her parents came from.

The above experience of Nana Yaa affirms what Schiller et al. (1995) argue in their work about how racism and discrimination push immigrants to have ties with their source country, and in this instance,

the parents' birth country. Racism encourages immigrants to engage in transnational ties (Foner, 2002; Schiller & Fouron, 2001).

Identity

How the second generation perceives themselves, as in, how they identify themselves, also motivates them to have connections with their parents' source countries. If they identify as Canadians, then there is a low chance of having ties with where their parents immigrated from, but if they identify with their parents' countries, then they are more willing to build ties with those countries instead. Thus, identity can be another way that prompts second-generation immigrants to build ties with their parents' source countries. Amanda reiterated this when she said:

I identify as Nigerian still and the way that I live my life I will say is more Nigerian. I mostly eat Nigerian food, I mostly cook Nigerian food, I listen more to Nigerian music than I do Western music. Like in my house on a day to day basis everything we do is like very Nigerian than Western. To me, I don't even know what it means to be Canadian. Like sometimes I have grown up here all my life and there is some like mannerisms or colloquialism that are supposed to be Canadian that I don't even understand because in my house we grew up just doing things that Nigerians will grow up doing so that is why I identify more as a Nigerian (Amanda's interview).

Based on the above, although Amanda was born in Canada, she lived her life as a Nigerian because she identified as such. Her identity influenced how she was living her life. This agrees with other scholarship that has researched the second generation (Nagra, 2017) and specifically the African second-generation (Kalu, 2017) in Canada. In summary, how the second generation identifies themselves can facilitate them having ties with their parents' countries.

Associations- close friends/relationships

The data also gave evidence to the fact that the associations that these second-generation participants kept could prompt them to have ties with their parents' countries. Some of these associations

included friendships and relationships. Jesse said she had not been interested in her parents' culture when she was growing up. She ate the food and wore the clothes because she had no choice, but she did not like her parents' culture, so she did not pay much attention to it. The turning point for her was when she got into a relationship with a gentleman from her parents' country. It was her boyfriend that encouraged her to want to have connections with her parents' country at that point. Jesse had this to say about how associations prompted her to become transnational:

R: So, I started dating a Ghanaian guy and he was pretty Ghanaian, like very much Ghanaian. He came to Canada when he was older, so he spoke twi [a Ghanaian language] with all his friends and I always wanted to know what they talked about, so I forced to learn the language. Before I didn't understand any twi and now I understand a bit, but I can't speak it.

I: So, the turning point for you was the relationship that you went into? Or the association that you had because if it wasn't for that then you wouldn't have wanted to know more.

R: Yes, exactly! (Jesse's interview).

Although Jesse had been engaged in social-cultural transnational ties such as talking to family back at home, she had not really been concerned about her parents' culture because, according to her, when she was a child, her parents' culture was forced on her.

I: But why were you not interested in the culture growing up?

R: Because I felt like it was more forced on me, it wasn't my choice. Yeah. I don't want to eat fufu every day, I don't want to eat jollof every day (laughs). But when you start eating potatoes and chicken every day, you miss your jollof. You figure out this was actually good food, let me learn how to do it. You know growing up your friends will say oh we had pizza last night. And you ask your parents if you can have pizza and they say no, there is jollof at home why do we need to eat pizza. And I was angry all the time and I was like I am so sick and tired of eating this food every day (Jesse's interview).

Ayan, similarly confirmed that she did not have a strong connection with Somalia, unlike her sister, and she attributed that to having had fewer associations with people from Somalia.

My sister and I, I feel like because she has lots more Somali friends than I do, and she is constantly interacting with them. Her ties to Somalia are strengthened but for me I think what is in my heart matters. I would like to have more Somali friends but it's hard on campus because not a lot of Somali people and people who are Black are in my program (Ayan's interview).

Ayan asserted that her sister's ties with Somalia were strengthened as a result of the associations she had with people from Somalia. Thus, Ayan believed she could have had more ties if she made more friends from Somalia but that it was hard to do. The above confirms what Portes (2003) points to in that the types of social networks one has can motivate them to either be transnational or not. This is clearly seen in the scenarios above. Jesse became transnational, learning her parents' language and being more curious about Ghana after she dated a man from there. The close association with her boyfriend led her to become transnational. Ayan, on the other hand, was not as invested in her community as a result of the fewer social networks with members in her community. She compared herself with her sister and expressed that her sister had more ties with Somalia because she had more friends from Somalia. Amanda made the same assertion; she argued that her older brothers were not very involved in Nigeria because of how, at the time that they grew up in Calgary, there were not many Nigerians living there, and so they were less influenced. Amanda partly attributed her involvement with Nigeria to the fact that she was born in an era that had a great number of people from her parents' birth country around who helped mold her to become transnational. Thus, social networks are an important contributor to whether or not the second generation engage in transnational ties. Levitt (2009) mentioned that social groups can influence and motivate transnationalism amongst the second generation.

Parents' region of origin" and immigration stream

My data revealed that the ties participants had with their parents' countries depended on, firstly, the region their parents immigrated from and, secondly, the immigration stream their parents used when coming to Canada. The second-generation immigrants whose parents came from the eastern part of Africa tended not to be interested in their parents' cultures when they were younger but became more interested and vested in them when they were older. This scenario was the opposite for those whose parents had immigrated from the western part of Africa. These second-generation participants were very vested in their parents' cultures when they were younger but not as much when they grew up. Hence, the majority of those who had their roots from the East Africa had more African ties with Africans than those whose roots were from West Africa.

The reason for this can be better understood when we discuss their immigration streams. The data also showed that the second generation whose parents came from the eastern part of Africa immigrated as refugees. Thus, their parents came from war-torn countries. Although their parents socialized them in their cultures, they also encouraged them to learn the English language so that they were better able to integrate into Canada. Al-Ali et al. (2001) maintain that refugees do not engage in transnationalism because the countries that they knew are no more as a result of wars, and as such, they have no plans of going back home. This argument explains why the second-generation participants of my study from the eastern part of Africa had less ties to their parents' countries when they were young. It could be argued that because their parents' countries had been destroyed by war, the possibility of them going back was slim. Thus, although these parents would have wanted to give their cultures to their children, they would have also wanted to ensure that they would be able to live fully in Canada even if they decided not to go back home.

Additionally, religion plays a role in why my respondents that had roots in the eastern part of Africa tended to reject their cultures when they were younger and hold on to their cultures when older. Most of the participants I spoke to whose parents immigrated from East Africa were Muslims, and they

asserted that people used to look down on them in Canada when they wore the hijab or associated with their parents' cultures which were infused with the Muslim religion. Thus, they preferred not to be seen as being Africans because of how they were treated. In addition, the majority of them just did not want to be associated with their parents' cultures when they were younger, and this majority was made up of participants whose parents came from the eastern part of Africa. This is interesting because, as noted earlier, Levitt (2009) argues that religion is an under-researched motivator for the second generation to engage in transnationalism, but here we see the total opposite, where religion is rather pushing them into integration so that they can avoid discrimination. There will be more exploration of how the second generation experiences Islamophobia in a forthcoming section.

The parents of the respondents from the western part of Africa had migrated to Canada through the economic class in most cases as they had moved from stable economies. As such, they taught their children their cultures and would also take their children back home to live for some time. The children of these parents were able to learn the culture and be a part of it when they were much younger. When the children grew up, they tended to stray away from the culture and lifestyle and adopt the lifestyle of Canada. Therefore, we can observe that the type of immigration stream one comes to Canada through has impacts on their children's transnationalism, and this is supported by the work of Hiebert and Ley (2006), who contend that the Canada immigration selection process encourages transnationalism.

There were a couple of second-generation participants with roots from the western part of Africa who did not connect with their parents' countries when they were younger. Therefore, this research finding corroborated studies that concluded that transnational behaviours vary significantly by their parents' country of origin (Jones-Correa, 2002). Overall, the factors that encouraged transnational behaviours amongst the second-generation Africans I interviewed support and contribute to the existing research on second-generation Africans. In order to move on and answer my next research question, which asks how the second generation's transnational connections are severed or sustained over a long time and into their

adult lives, it was imperative for me to analyze how second-generation Africans developed transnational ties.

In performing this analysis, I noticed another fascinating trend in the data with regards to language in that the participants of my sample with roots from the eastern part of Africa could speak their parents' general dialect and hold advanced conversation in it. What I mean by their parents' general dialect is that most people from the east of Africa that I interviewed spoke Arabic in addition to a tribal language. These second-generation participants were able to speak Arabic because that is what their parents spoke at home. On the other hand, the majority of those from the western part of Africa could not speak their parents' language. They understood it but most, with the exception of a few participants, could not speak it. However, all those from the eastern part of Africa spoke their parents' general dialect.

5.4.1 Conclusion

The above section discussed the five main factors that motivated the second-generation youth in my study to partake in transnationalism. The factors that were explored included parent training, racism, identity, associations, and their parents' immigration stream / the region of Africa they came from. Transnationalism provided a framework to examine the various motivations that encouraged the second-generation youth to have connections with their parents' home countries. Multiculturalism theory also provided an avenue for an exploration of the motivations. Almost all of the motivations are rooted in multiculturalism and, thus, can be understood through the lens of multiculturalism. Parents of the second generation are able to celebrate their cultures, express their differences, and hand down their cultures to their children because Canada has a multicultural policy that allows these practices. However, the celebration of differences through multiculturalism also breeds racism at the same time because people discriminate against differences. In addition, it was discussed that multiculturalism helps the second generation with their identity formation. The Multiculturalism Act in Canada promotes the idea that people should be able to engage in their cultures successfully, and whether or not second-generation youth engage

in multiculturalism may influence how they identify themselves. Multiculturalism brings out people's cultures, and people with the same cultures will tend to stick together, which has been proven by the abstracts above. Thus, these associations with others of the same culture will encourage each other to participate more in celebrating who they are culturally, through practicing multiculturalism, which in turn influences transnationalism; more of this will be discussed in later sections. Therefore, multiculturalism is a good framework through which one can understand the motivations for second-generation transnationalism in Canada.

5.5 Repercussions of the Connections

My fourth research question sought to find out the repercussions of the ties that the African second generation has with their parents' sending countries. All respondents argued that there were positive consequences for having attachments with their parents' countries and negative effects if they did not. Some of the positives included receiving support from the community, having an enriched life, gaining a sense of belonging, possessing cultural hybridity/multiple identities, and fitting into a diverse society. Experiencing alienation and a lack of family support, feeling lost and not fully Canadian, losing aspect of their identity, and losing socialization were the negative effects of not having connections with their parents' countries.

Ahmed contended that there were positive effects of having ties with one's parents' country. His argument was that when he and his parents moved to Canada, it was the community they had ties with that helped them settle in.

It was the community that supported us, it wasn't Canadians. Like an example will be someone will go and apply for housing and learn the system and share it with others and say, hey make sure, this is how you would fill it out, this is how you would meet the requirements. With Somalia, it is the refugees that came both to the US and here [Canada]. There was no policy like how the Syrians were brought in, there was none of them. They [the Syrians] had the churches and NGOs to help

them, we [Somalis] had none of that here, we basically just showed up and my parents just did that (Ahmed's interview).

According to Ahmed, if it had not been for his community, he and his parents would not have had it easy integrating into their new society. Transnationalism creates ethnic enclaves, which in my view is very beneficial to the second generation and to Canada as a whole because it helps with the integration of immigrant groups into Canadian society. Ethnic enclaves provide immigrants and the second generation with social capital, financial support, and connections, which help them adapt more quickly into their new society. When immigrants move to a new country, they are likely to live amongst settled immigrants who have previously come from the same source country and are able to help them adjust. If these new waves of immigrants to Canada do not speak English, other immigrants who have settled in Canada and who speak English can take them around town and also help them to acquire the necessary documents, such as their Social Insurance Number (SIN), which is needed for employment. Settled immigrants living in ethnic enclaves can also use their connections to help newcomers acquire jobs, which would be more difficult to obtain if this social capital was not available.

These ethnic enclaves make new immigrants feel at home and help them ease into the new system because of the familiarity they experience within these communities. Ethnic enclaves also provide temporary accommodation for new immigrants until they are able to afford or acquire their own. As such, support from one's community diaspora is a positive effect of the second generation having ties with their parents' countries. In addition, the second-generation immigrants from my study asserted that having ties with their parents' countries enriched their lives. Shetin had this to say:

Yeah, I think that there are positive effects because usually having an attachment to Ghana or knowledge of Ghana has definitely enriched a lot of my academic pursuits. So, I have a lot more to write about, a lot more diverse experiences to write about which I think has proven to be really

good for me. Umm, I always I think being a second-generation Ghanaian has really helped me in my academics (Shetin's interview).

Shetin maintained that she had a more enriched life because of her multiple ties. She had a broader worldview and was not just restricted to the life that she had in Canada because she had experiences from her parents' country too. The second generation has a broader world view as a result of these multiple ties that open up their knowledge. Anita also agreed that having multiple ties opened up her worldview.

I think it opens up my world view. Like it gives me another perspective to think about (Anita's interview).

Therefore, the second-generation youth in my study who had ties with their parents' countries did not have a myopic worldview. Rather, their worldviews were broader because of all the extra knowledge and experience they had acquired from their parents' birth countries. Those who can speak their native languages are versatile and flexible citizens. Also, they are able to understand complex cultural issues and make informed decisions since they are purview to more than one culture. Thirdly, cultural hybridity and multiple identities are the benefits of having transnational ties. Adwoa believed that having multiple cultures was definitely a positive aspect of transnationalism.

I think that there are definitely positive effects like I feel like Ghanaian culture is so big and so vast and so I think that it is definitely positive rather than only just the Canadian culture (Adwoa's interview).

Transnationalism produces different types of cultures, and this is seen through diverse fashion, dance, food, and media (Vertovec, 1999; 2009). Immigrants still use commodities from their home countries in their new countries to "symbolize their ongoing sense of double belonging" (Vertovec, 2004, p. 975). When this double culture is constructed, it becomes hard to let go for the those migrated, and it helps with the transformation of the lives of the people left in the home country; this, some authors have argued, can be dangerous for immigrants and their country of settlement. Others have argued otherwise.

Arabs and Muslims prior to the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center in the United States were already targets of racialization in Canada due their religion or nationality. But this was exacerbated after the September 11 attack; since that time, some cultural characteristics of Arabs and Muslims in Canada have been used in identifying them as security threats, and they are labelled as enemies within (Arat-Koc, 2006). Muslims and Arabs are perceived as terrorists from the way they dress, which has to do with their culture and their religion. As a result, it has been argued that there has been a significant decline in transnationalism amongst Arabs and Muslims that is a result of the fear among this group of people after the September 11 attack in the United States. Going back and forth to their countries could raise suspicion, especially when they are already seen as security threats. Thus, there has been a restriction of their ability to go back home, and also a restriction of moving from Canada to the United States. Arat-Koc argues that there is the need to distinguish between transnational identification and practical transnational ties when it comes to Arabs and Muslims in Canada. Arabs and Muslims in Canada have transnational identification but not practical transnational ties (Arat-Koc, 2006). Hence, we see how transnational activities can be dangerous for some cultural groups.

Also, the majority of these second-generation participants appreciated the fact that they had multiple identities. 1Bcouver had this to say:

Yeah, in terms of discovering or multiple identities. You remember when you asked like what's Canadian culture, I can't even define that a bit more, about what it is I participate in. I can't even describe the culture I participate in everyday, so I guess is just I have some more broader scope of what identity means (1Bcouver's interview).

Transnationalism can also be linked to dual citizenship. Initially, some nation states and scholars disliked the idea of dual citizenship and asserted that dual citizenship could hinder the integration of newcomers. Some of my respondents had dual citizenship with their parents' countries. Out of thirty respondents, only one had gone through the effort herself of obtaining dual citizenship to her parents'

country. The others who already had dual citizenship had it because they were born in those countries before needing to get a passport to travel to Canada. For those who were born in Canada, none of them were interested in obtaining dual citizenship with their parents' countries. Consequently, this underpins the evidence that the second generation is less likely to have dual citizenship (Jones-Correa, 2002).

Additionally, for a minority of the second-generation participants, having attachments to their parents' countries gave them a sense of belonging. Even if they were not fully accepted as Canadians, they still had another place to associate with. Nana Yaa added her voice to how transnational ties gave her a sense of belonging:

So, I feel it helps navigate that better because it shows you have a better sense of belonging because it seems as though that Canada will never fully accept you as Canadian though you are Canadian. So, for me, as far as I know I will always be considered the girl who came from somewhere to Canada and got citizenship here. You have citizenship but you are not Canadian and that is the difference (Nana Yaa's interview).

Thus, because the second generation participants I interviewed experienced discrimination and racism, transnational connections gave them an alternative or a sense of belonging. Finally, having cultural hybridity helped the second generation to live in a multicultural society like Canada. The fact that they were diverse themselves helped them to open up to other cultures and embrace the diversity that Canada offers. Eila had this to offer:

So, it has made me be open to other cultures and other people and just diversity as whole. And just knowing that my home country is different from Canada, knowing that other people from Canada are also experiencing that. Also, the other thing is like just being African and Black in general there is this kind of sense of pride of where people have come from and going through and we just seem to make our way up (Eila's interview).

Eila and others appreciated having dual cultures because it helped them to be flexible citizens. Flexible citizens in this sense means people who are exposed to other cultures and are able to live with people from diverse backgrounds because of their exposure to varied cultures and people. My research findings have confirmed and refuted some of the previous findings in regard to flexible citizens, dual citizenship, multiple identities and loss of some aspects of their identity in the literature.

The interview data reveal that there are four negative effects when one does not have ties with their parents' country and culture, and these include experiencing alienation and a lack of family support, feeling lost and not fully Canadian, losing aspect of their identity, and losing socialization. The second generation are alienated from their roots and lose their cultural and social support especially in terms of marriage if they have no connection to their parents' countries. 1Bcouver and other respondents had this to say to buttress this point:

Yeah, there are repercussions because when you get older and you decide to get married, what are you going to teach your kids? And I think that that is probably the biggest repercussion because your kids, how are they going to identify themselves? Who are they gonna feel like? How would they identify themselves? And I think that shapes who you are, your identity is who you think you are. If you have no connections to your parents' country, your uncles, your aunties, how would you relate to your extended family? So, it could actually cut you off from getting to know your family (1Bcouver's interview).

Feelings of alienation, you are not really around your people that much. There is not much Somalia that live in the area. Sometimes you feel like you are uprooted from your culture and your ties (Ayan's interview).

For things like marriage where the whole family wants to be involved and your parents wants to be involved. We need some traditional wedding things like that and if you have no ties with your parents' country, I don't think it will go so well. So, there are definitely effects. There are definitely

aspects of my life that would have not been the same. I love the culture and just being reminded of where you came from. When I look at my parents, they are a reminder of where I came from (Anonymous' interview).

From the above, we can see that one's family has their own customs and norms that are held and sustained by its members. Generally, respondents assert that having ties with one's ancestral roots will keep them connected with other family members who can support them culturally and socially when the need arises. Hence, in order for one not to feel that they have lost the support of their family or feel alienated, they need to have connections with their ancestral roots. Secondly, another negative consequence argued by my research participants is that those without ties to their parents' roots will be lost because they will never be fully Canadian. This is because Canada is multicultural, and everyone seems to have a cultural background; thus, if you have no cultural background, then you are unable to fit in. Below are interview extracts to support the above assertion:

I will say for sure negative effects just because I have lots of friends who are even mixed race who do not want anything to do with their culture and I can definitely see it is very hard for them to fit in. Because as a Black individual in Canada with a lot of diversity here, it could be hard to fit in. So if you don't know where you came from, you are just at a loss and I definitely felt that way and I told my mum that maybe learning about the background of my culture will help a bit more (Yaaya's interview).

You are losing tradition and part of who you are, part of your family, part of your destiny. And at the same time even though you are subscribing to Canadian culture, I don't think you can ever just be Canadian. You always be something else and Canadian. You are always going to be from somewhere for the most part, so I think you are losing yourself or stunting your development as a person

I: One cannot really be Canadian, what do you mean by that?

R: I think that just the idea that Canada has built on immigrants and you will never really just be from Canada. Even if your family and your family and your family lived here, they would have come from somewhere. So, you are most likely coming from somewhere to Canada and no matter how long you have been in Canada you are still from that place and I think losing a sense of that is losing your identity (Whitney's interview).

In conclusion, the perception by most respondents was that one might never feel fully Canadian, and thus, it was better for one to have ties with their parents' country so that they could have a support system in that regard. If they were to get rejected from mainstream society and have no attachments with their parents' countries, then they would be lost. The third argument is that individuals are influenced by their parents, their backgrounds, and where they were born. Hence, if someone is an African, it may appear on the outside that they are an African, but if they do not have ties with their parents' roots, they may be lost as a person. But if you do not have ties with your parents' roots, you are lost as a person. Some respondents stated that some of their friends knew nothing about their parents' cultures nor did they want anything to do with their parents' cultures. Such people, these respondents argued, had no identity because they had lost a major part of who they were.

I think not having ties with your parents' country is negative because like you don't really understand who you are as a person. I don't know there is just this kind of like emptiness that you have, and it can come with ignorance to. Because sometimes, like I know people who don't really understand Ghanaian culture so is like it's embarrassing that they trying to shy away from it or distant themselves. And I feel like it's very bad because it's like who you are as a person. I just feel like there is a level of ignorance that comes with not really being connected with your culture (Rita's interview).

Yeah, there are lots of negatives. Because you can't separate yourself from that, that's basically neglecting who you are because that is where your parents are from and that's where you are from.

Not speaking the language when you are in Ghana, you can't even speak to them because you can't understand what they are saying, and it is like separating yourself from your heritage (Ray's interview).

I think it is going to be negative because no matter what they do, its originally where they are from. So, like not having that culture I feel like its missing information about yourself because no matter where you go your last name shows that your origins are from Africa. There are certain things that you can't get away from because you are born from African. You have to be in touch with yourself and know yourself because whether you like it, or not other people are going to address as you as such. They are going to put you in a category and so do yourself a favor and know where you came from and who you are because your parents raised you and they are a part of you and a part of where you came from (Joy's interview).

The above participants agreed that not having ties with one's parents' culture leaves one with no identity, and as such, there was the need to be connected with their ancestral roots. Lastly, some of the participants felt that not being connected to one's parents' country would make socialization impossible. These respondents argued that it would be impossible for one to socialize their children if they themselves had no ties or connections with their parents. Hence, from this view, the second generation needs to stay connected to their parents' backgrounds, so they do not become uncultured.

I think the consequences of that is you become uncultured and your kids are definitely uncultured. They don't have any heritage to look back on unless they talk to their grandparents. And so that is what I thought about when I was younger and when I was older, I guess, and I should learn and try to be like that because my kids should know where they are from (Jamal30's interview).

I think negative because you have to know where you come from. I feel like that's who you truly are. You've only come here because of stuff that are happening in your country. That is the only reason why you are here and for school. So, if you forget about your culture, what are you going

to pass down to your kids? You know, they have to know where they came from also. Like where you came from and so on and so forth (Kui's interview).

In conclusion, the respondents essentially agreed that it was important to have ties with their parents' cultures, and that was the reason that they all had some sort of attachment with them. Overall, there are five positive consequences of having transnational behaviours and four negative repercussions of not having any transnational attachment as revealed by the interview data.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the interview data co-produced between the interviewer and the participants. It explored and presented an analysis of the different types of transnational connections that the research respondents had with their parents' countries. There was also a discussion of how these transnational connections are severed or sustained over time. The chapter also examined what motivated these second-generation participants to have these ties. Additionally, the chapter analyzed the severance or sustenance of these links that the participants had with their parents' heritage and the impact of these transnational ties on their lives as part of the second generation. Furthermore, the study revealed that the transnational relationships that the second generation had, provided them with some agency and a way to navigate their lived experiences, the barriers as well as the discrimination that they encounter in Canada. For each section, there was a discussion of how the analysis was connected to theory and literature. Through this chapter, there have been descriptions of what these second-generation Africans I interviewed experienced with regards to transnational ties and how they experienced these connections, which is exactly what phenomenological study seeks to do.

The data was also able to demonstrate that the second-generation youth in my study experienced multiculturalism, integration, and transnationalism. The data revealed that the participants experienced cultural, social, and differentiated integration. The fact that the second generation was engaged in some

dimensions of integration and not others also proved that the second generation experiences segmented integration as well.

Chapter Six: African Second-Generation Transnational Attachments and Their Lived Experiences

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into five parts. The first part analyzes the relationship between the second-generation Africans in my study and their birth order, which answers the last research question for the study. The next two sections discuss two themes—racism and identity—that emerged in the data. Although not part of my research questions, one of the questions on my interview guide asked how they, those of the second generation, identified themselves. This question was asked to examine if the second generation saw themselves more as belonging to their ancestral roots or as Canadians, and to also shed more light on second-generation transnational connections. Kalu (2017) asserts that racism and transnational ties inform how the second generation forms their identity. Other scholarship has made similar points (see Eid, 2007; Nagra, 2017). In my interview data, my participants were documented to have frequently raised the topic of the different types of racism they experienced and their identities as they explored their transnational attachments. They could not explain their ties to their parents' countries without referring to racism or their identities. Therefore, I realized that there was a link between racism, identity, and transnationalism. These three factors also reinforce and influence each other. One cannot examine one of these concepts without somehow alluding to the others, especially when studying a visible minority group. In that regard, I discuss the different types of racism that the African second generation experiences and trace out the link between it and transnationalism. Afterwards, I explore the experiences of identity and identity crises for second-generation Africans in the process of being transnational. The fourth section provides an analysis of whether second-generation Africans are multicultural or transnational, or whether they integrate. The fifth part will summarize the chapter.

6.2 Birth Order and Transnational Ties

For my fifth and final research question, I was interested in finding out if the birth order of a child, specifically for a child that is firstborn, plays a role in transnational connections. My findings indicate that birth order has an effect on second-generation transnationalism, but it interplays with other factors such as gender, age, transnational opportunities, and the environment/associations. Charity, who is a firstborn child, had this to say when she was asked if her birth order made her have more connections with her parents' country than her siblings.

I think so. I can't really speak for my brother but just from knowing him, he doesn't really speak the language that much. He's not really connected to the culture as I am. I just feel like when you are the younger one you kinda get away with a lot of things. You are the last one and the parents are like ok whatever. Unlike the first, you want to make sure you instill all these values they understand. And when they grow up, they know and they have all these tools, so I definitely feel like because I am the oldest, I stick with it more but the youngest wouldn't see the importance of it as much (Charity's interview).

The argument here is that firstborn children get the "perfect" transnational training from their parents, or that the parents attempt to do this if they want the firstborn child to be connected to their ethnic roots. As such, this point is linked with parental training. To provide a fuller explanation, because of obstacles such as racism, changing jobs, and survival jobs (jobs undertaken to survive), the transnational training they give to their children after their firstborn is different and gets diluted. Thus, the firstborn usually gets the unadulterated training from back home and is expected to pass it on to their younger siblings. This point is buttressed by what Catherine said:

Yeah, it's possible. I would say like for me and my siblings we were all raised differently. So, like that might be a possibility for why I think I am more connected than they are, but we were all raised pretty differently. And my younger siblings are significantly younger than I am so it's like

over time the culture dilute a little bit even if you are not trying to. When you are here it just kinda happens. I may have seen things that they haven't seen (Catherine's interview).

Hence, being the firstborn can influence the connection one has with one's parents' country. Just as I indicated earlier, birth order interreacts with other factors such as the environment one grows up in, the associations one keeps, the age one was before they immigrated, and finally, the gender of the siblings. Others did not agree that their birth order alone had any role to play in them having transnational ties. They asserted that even though they were the first child of their parents, the younger siblings who were females were more connected that they were. Ray argued that although he was the oldest of his parents' children, his younger sister had more ties with Ghana than he did. He argued that his sister had more connections because she was female and also because she was much closer to their mother; as a result, she learned more about the food, spoke the language better, and wanted to go back and live permanently in Ghana.

R: I think ummm, if anything my sister might be more. Yeah because she can speak twi much better than me actually. Umm, my mum tries to teach the cooking. Therefore, my sister knows how to do something. When my sister went back to Ghana, she wanted to stay you know? So, I think my sister is definitely more. She is very connected.

I: Do you think your birth order has something to do with your connections to your parents' birth country?

R: Nah. it's really just who happens to be more connected (Ray's interview).

Nana Yaa made a similar assertion to Ray. She argued that she was more transnational than her older brother, and she thought it was because she was female. She stated:

I think it has to do with gender. I think for me culture was always present in my mum than my dad. And as a female, you aspire to be like your mum, so there is pressure to be more African like my mum (Nana Yaa's interview).

In her argument, she said that if birth order on its own was a significant factor, her older brother would have been more transnational, and that in her case, she has more connections because she is female. Interestingly, my respondents who were male and firstborn children maintained that their younger siblings, who were female, had more connections with their parents' countries than they did. Additionally, seven of my respondents argued that the environment that one grows up in coupled with the associations that one keeps are what determines if a firstborn would have transnational connections or not. Ebuka supported this as the following exchange illustrates:

R: I think I am more connected. ... She's only lived in Nigeria for two years of her life.

I: But she was born in the Middle East? So, she wasn't even born in Nigeria.

R: Yeah, so she doesn't understand the joys of Nigerian. She doesn't understand the language. She has an Igbo app and she understand some small words in the language. She can't have even basic conversation, but she understands words. My brothers, they are very like Western. In Nigeria I had lots of experience. I went to boarding school, they didn't go to boarding school. I have plans of going back to Nigeria, I don't think they care about it. So, you now all these add up to me being more connected than my siblings.

Do you think your birth order has something to do with your connections to your parents' birth country?

R: I don't think it does, I think my past experiences there and my future plans that involve Nigeria that makes me more connected than my siblings.

I: So, you could have been the last born and it wouldn't matter whether you would have more connections.

R: Yes (Ebuka's interview).

Ebuka argued that it was his experience with where he was born that got him connected to Nigeria and not that he was the firstborn child. Ebuka did not see how he, being the firstborn child, was put in the

position of living in an entirely different environment. I argue that being a first child is an important factor, but not a significant factor. Catherine's response about birth order better buttresses my position. She contended that her younger brother's association influenced him to have less ties with Ghana, and that was only because he was the last born; as such, in that vein, birth order plays a role.

Because this my brother he didn't go to school in Ghana, so I don't think he made that friendship connection. I think that my mum was primarily his friend and probably the little kids in the area and neighborhood. So, he never went to school and did the stuff that we did. He just socialized with the White children and the Indian children and predominantly the language we were speaking was English. I think that was how he forgot how to speak twi and that is how the birth right influence these ties (Catherine's interview).

From the above, we can see that although birth order played a role, it interacted with the association that Catherine's brother had. He, being the last child, coupled with the fact the friends that he knew were not from Ghana, made him less connected. Furthermore, the age at which immigrants come into the country and the transnational opportunities available are some of the factors that interplay with birth order. When the 1.5 generation comes into a new country with their parents and they are much older, they are already immersed in their parents' cultures, and as such, birth order does not play a role. If the 1.5 generation moves to the host county at the age of 21, which is the legal age for immigrants to bring their children (Government of Canada, 2019), they would have already known the culture and the language of their parents. Thus, when they move, it is easier for them to engage in transnational ties regardless of birth order. The argument here is that age, and not necessarily birth order, influenced the transnational ties of some of the respondents. Also, some who were firstborn children stated that their younger siblings were more connected than them because their siblings had more transnational opportunities. These opportunities included the chance to travel back home or to take native language classes, and as such, they

became more connected. To conclude, birth order interplays with factors such as gender, age, transnational opportunities, and the environment/associations to impact transnational behaviours.

6.3 African Second-Generation: Racism and Islamophobia

This section discusses the different types of racism that the second-generation participants in my sample experienced and how it influenced their transnational connections. They experienced individual racism, institutional racism, democratic racism, and Islamophobia. Going into this research, I did not think the second generation would face racism and discrimination based on the colour of their skin or race because of the mere fact that they were Canadians by birth, or they came into the country when they were much younger. Thus, I did not go into the interviews asking about racism and discrimination. However, while we spoke, my respondents talked about the barriers and discrimination they experienced as the second generation regardless of the fact that they were Canadians. The data revealed that racism could either make the African youth become transnational or integrate.

Individual racism

Some of the acts that respondents termed as racism meted to them by individuals, strangers, coworkers, and schoolmates included being asked to go back to their countries, being called the “N” word, being assumed to be dumb because they were Black, and being ascribed with many other negative stereotypes. For my respondents who came here at a younger age or who were born here, 26 of the participants encountered discrimination and acts of hate at a very young age. As soon as they started school, their schoolmates would pick on them and make them know they were different. That, I might say, must have been very traumatic for these kids whose image of home had been Canada and nothing else. Adwoa was light skinned because she had a White mother and a Black African father. Adwoa was born in Canada and raised by her White mother, and as such, she was brought up in a typical White home. Thus, one would presume that she would have had mainly White mannerisms. Despite this, she had also

received her fair share of verbal and hateful attacks. She had been told to go back to her country, amongst other hateful comments. Below is an excerpt of our conversation:

R: Umm, I have had like people even though it is a little bit weird, but I have had people tell me you should go back to where you are from and something like that.

I: Really? Even though your mum is White? And that makes you have a lighter skin shade?

R: Yeah (laughs). And people call me half Black and all that stuff.

I: When you were alone or when you were with your mum?

R: When I was alone, and it actually happened one time when I was at work (Adwoa's interview).

She stated that interestingly she would never receive these hate comments when she was with her mom but rather only when she was alone. Another participant, Joy, shared an experience in which people felt she was non-intelligent because she had just moved to Canada from Africa. She took an intelligence test and did well, which surprised her teachers.

I remember when I took the intelligence test and I did so well, and they [her teachers] were surprised. And they said, oh you speak English so well. And I was like what do you mean I speak English so well? English is my first language, we were colonized by the British, so I speak English. They don't think you can be smart enough or know things. Sometimes you don't get invited to parties because people don't associate with you because you have been marked out (Joy's interview).

Individual racism is explained as the attitudes held by an individual and their overt behaviour as a result of these attitudes, which are based on one believing his or her race is superior to the person who is being shown the racist behaviour (Henry & Tator, 2010). From the above, we see how individual racism is displayed when people are overtly shown hurtful behaviour based on their skin colour or whatever else could be seen as an overt characteristic that could be judged. In Joy's case, her teachers thought she would be dumb because she had emigrated from Africa, and they were surprised. Why would they be surprised?

I explain this surprise as a result of the teachers thinking only White people could be smart or pass the intelligence test, and as such, they were shocked that a person from Africa did so well. If they had known or did not have the attitude that people from Africa were dumb, they would have perhaps not been so surprised at Joy's performance on the test.

Not only do they see African and Black people as dumb but also as thieves. Sebila shared an interesting issue that came up in her former place of work. She asserted that she was accused of stealing items whenever anything went missing. Even when she said she had not stolen the missing item in each case, the managers would have to go and review the cameras to be sure, but when her White colleagues said they had not done it, their word was taken at face value and the cameras were not reviewed. This is an excerpt of our interview:

I experience racism everywhere especially at work. My last work I actually quit because there was an incident that was going on, I was the only Black person working there and so they did treat me different. So, the boss had more eyes on me and whenever things go missing, they would come and ask me first [and assume] that I took it. They would come to me first and they don't believe me, so they will go review the camera and video tapes and stuff like that. So, they don't believe me but when there are other Whites who will come and say they didn't do it, she believes them. So, there is one incident when this gentleman is goofing around and not doing their work. I asked out loud and I said why are you guys hard at me when I do my work so well and they are standing there doing nothing, and you are watching them. Like they get no punishment, right? This young man said to me that because I am a privileged White male (Sebila's interview).

Sebila's manager assumed that she had to be the thief in her workplace because she was a Black person. The above are some of the examples that respondents have provided to illustrate the individual discrimination that the second generation experiences in Canada. These participants attested to how the aforementioned discrimination made them want to know more about their heritage.

Institutional racism

The second generation encounters racism in the workplace, at customs and border controls, as well as from the police service. Institutional racism is revealed through the policies, practices, and procedures of various institutions, which directly or indirectly may prompt, support, or establish differential dominance or privilege for people of certain races (Henry & Tator, 2010). Rita shared with me her experiences of racism and discrimination at her workplace. You could hear the sadness in her voice and see how drastically her demeanor changed when she started to talk about the difficulties she had experienced because she was Black despite being born in Canada. She actually asked me if I “had time,” because she had a lot to talk about. I asked if it was that bad, and she admitted it was. She had to send me voice notes later on when she had time to talk about her different experiences with racism as a second-generation individual.

I have experienced difficulties and I have experienced racism. I think that being a person of colour it is inevitable to umm experience these things. Because I mean we live in a society that praises White people that have standard of the European to live up to. You are only admired if you are White and you know the system especially is built for White people (Rita’s interview).

Rita talked about how the system in Canada had been set up to support White people and not people of other races, which resulted in her encountering discrimination. She argued that the system had been set up in a way that was harder for her as a Black person to get certain jobs. She narrated her experience of having worked 10 years at her workplace while going to school, only to end up facing difficulties getting a promotion after she had graduated and received her degree. Job opportunities would come up, she would apply, and her supervisors would pick a White person with no experience in the field and only a diploma to take the position each time, while she had already been with the company for 10 years. She also talked about how it was so difficult for her to look for jobs outside of her current job because of her African name (Oreopoulos, 2011).

I have been at the same hospital for 10 years and it's just a battle. I just know the ins and outs of my job, so a lot of the times supervisors find me as a threat. This is because I have this knowledge and because I am able to come up with different ways in which we can work more efficiently and effectively. And they don't like it and they see it as me challenging them and that's not the case at all right. It's very hard at my work and also because I am a recent graduate, I find it that it's difficult to look for jobs especially because of my last name its hyphenated and it's not like it's a Canadian last name. My first name is Canadian but when you look at my last name you know, those are the things that companies look for when they are hiring somebody. Instead of looking for the qualifications and other things you have done. For instance, I am trying to get into administration right now and a lot of the jobs right now they just require diploma, they are more likely to hire a person with less education than me and it's very frustrating. I see it happen so many times where White people in general will just have the privilege of getting away with things and getting things so easily and it's just in a way sometimes it's kinda frustrating. This is because it's kinda, you know I work so hard. I worked every single day and I had full time school; I was doing up to 6 classes before I graduated. 5 classes each semester, my last semester I did 6 and top of that I was working (Rita's interview).

Rita recounted in the above excerpt the struggles she went through as a young educated Black woman working in a field where she already had 10 years of experience. My own insider and outsider status, as well as my choice of research design as hermeneutic phenomenology, allows me to reflect on my past experiences while engaging with the data. Thus, from my knowledge of living in Canada for six years now, I know for a fact that situations like the one that Rita described do occur because I have applied for and worked in jobs where they asked me during the hiring process if I would be okay with working with someone who had more experience but less educational qualifications than me. Most of these companies were more focused on the experience of the job than the qualifications. Of course, there are

certain professions, such as for those who practice law or medicine, or teach at the university level, that strictly need you to have the required educational qualifications. But for most of the jobs out there, people are hired based on their experience and are promoted when they climb higher on the educational ladder. I have worked in places where my superiors had just six months or less of a certificate course but more experience than me. And even though I had an undergraduate or a master's degree at that point, experience was still the most important factor in the hiring process. I know friends who have experienced the same phenomenon. Thus, the shared knowledge amongst us with regards to the Canadian labour market is that one's experience of the job really counts. I was surprised, then, to hear that Rita, despite having 10 years of experience in a field, still found it difficult to get promoted after she received a university degree. The above excerpt gives support to the institutional racism that many Black people experience on a daily basis in Canada. Rita's story was not the only heartbreaking story that gave evidence to institutional racism. I should note here though that I have reflected upon how in this instance, by empathizing with what Rita has experienced, I have used her experience as evidence to support institutional racism. Sebila had a similar experience when she was refused a job on two separate occasions because of her skin colour. One of these instances was when she applied for a job at a tanning salon and the other was when she applied to work in a front office clerk position for a hotel.

Another incident was I was looking for a job, so I went for a job interview at a tanning salon. The lady clearly said you cannot work here because of the color of your skin, because you would not be able to promote our tanning products, so we can't hire you.

I: Really?

R: Don't be shocked. It happens to us all the time (Sebila's interview).

I was surprised because I had heard of Black people getting a tan, and so it did not make sense to me that someone would be refused a job because she was Black. This was clearly a policy of the tanning salon not to hire Black people, and situations like this go a long way towards exacerbating the

discrimination of people of colour or, in this particular case, specifically Black people. Note that Sebila was not rejected because she did not have the qualifications. To have been called in for an interview, she obviously did have the qualifications. She was declined specifically because of her skin colour. These are some of the institutional biases that Black African have to endure living in Canada, which claims to be a multicultural country. The second instance in which Sebila got rejected from a job because of her skin colour is described in the extract below:

R: I had a phone interview and they were like oh you are hired, and all so come in. I went in and they are like oh we can't hire you.

I: Really?

R: And I was like why? Yeah, I was like why? And they were like we thought you were White by the way you sounded on the phone. That literally happened. That is like the third incident.

I: [Shocked. With mouth opened] That happened?

R: That happened to me yeah.

I: Like no, no. I am shocked. I am surprised so what happened? They called you on phone for an interview, a phone interview?

R: (made a sound that she agrees with what I am saying) They did the interview on the phone and everything

I: Oh, so you got the job on the phone?

R: Because I was in a different city at the time, so I was in Lethbridge applying to work in Calgary right. So, I said I was available for phone interview, so they called me, and I was in Lethbridge and I did the phone interview and everything. And they were like ok we like the way that you answered our questions and you sound nice and all these things right and all these compliments and they said you are hired. They literally said you are hired on the phone. They said you are hired.

So, I came in first day of work for training and stuff and they are like, oh we didn't think you were Black.

I: What job was that?

R: It was ummm, it was for ummm what is that hotel. It was for a hotel actually. I have forgotten the name of the hotel, but it was to be a receptionist for the hotel so like booking people in, to stay and stuff like that.

I: So, it was like a front office clerk position? You will be the first point of contact for the hotel?

R: Yeah. I will be the first-person people see.

I: And because of your skin colour they told you...

R: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes

I: Wow that is really interesting (Sebila's interview).

Sebila's school was in Lethbridge but she lived in Calgary; thus, she usually would try to find summer jobs before moving back to Calgary for the summers. Hence, this was what happened in the instance above. She applied for a job and told them she was not able to come in person for the interview because she was in Lethbridge, so they had a phone interview with her. They hired her on the phone based on the interview, and she was asked to come in for training and to also complete the hiring process. But upon arrival, she was met with disappointment. She was bluntly told that they thought she was White because she sounded White on the phone and that they could not hire her because of her skin colour. Thus, my research reveals that Black Africans are refused employment because of their names and their skin colour.

Some participants did not just face discrimination at the workplace but also in having the police follow them around just because they were Black. Just like Rita, Ahmed asked me if I had the "whole day" when the topic of discrimination came up during our conversation. He had many stories to tell because he did not face troubles only for being Black but because he was Muslim as well. Ahmed made

similar remarks to Sebila regarding how his speech was interpreted. People would hear these second-generation youth speak on the phone and assume that they were White Canadians but then, once they saw them in person, realize they had been wrong.

I: Is that the only type of racism that you have experienced as a second-generation?

R: Do you have more time? There is so much racism.

I: But you speak like a “Canadian”?

R: I am telling you right now, people don’t hear your voice, they see your skin colour. That’s the first thing you noticed. So, if you walk into a room, you don’t say nothing, if you are driving a vehicle you don’t have to say nothing. Language doesn’t come into play and the way people respond to you before you even say anything is already like done (Ahmed’s interview).

Ahmed elaborated about the fact that although they could speak like Canadians, which could sometimes take them far, their skin colour always would bring them back. He described how when you enter a room full of people, people see you before they hear you speak. But should people charge others based on how they speak or how they look? Ahmed described an incident he had with the police that he initially thought was normal until he spoke with his friends and realized that it was not, and that it was possibly a racist act or done based on his skin colour. He chronicled the event that happened in the quote below:

R: I would be driving I will get looked at or followed. I was working at the federal halfway when I came into a light. There was a police vehicle two rows over, so I am in the one going left and he is in the second one closer to the curve and going straight. And right of the bat I looked over and nod my head. And in my head, I was like should I nod it, should have looked at my time, was I supposed to look at them and all of a sudden, all these stuff starts going through my head. And then I made a left-hand turn, he came from two lanes over to come into that third lane to make a left and followed me for like several blocks.

I: To see where you were going to?

R: To see where I was going or what I was doing, and I thought that was normal. I thought actually a lot of people experienced that, so I was just like, hey the police was just doing their job to ensure safety. Then I talked to a lot of my colleagues and I talked to a lot of my friends and they are like I have never once been pulled over or I have never once been followed or I have never had an issue with the police and I am like what? I thought everyone had the experience, right? These are the examples and you don't need to say anything, they just see you in a certain way (Ahmed's interview).

Ahmed had been surprised when he spoke with his colleagues and friends and found out that he had actually been the only one that had experienced the police following him or stopping him, even if he was driving the right speed limit. The above incident was a case of racial profiling, which also falls under the policies and practices that the police services use in their everyday work, thus making it institutional racism (Satzewich & Liidakis, 2017). All the respondents who experienced institutional racism agreed that it made them want to have transnational connections and know more about their ancestral roots. This is because racism made them feel unwanted and they wanted to belong somewhere.

Democratic racism

Another form of racism that the second-generation participants had undergone is termed democratic racism, or what is popularly known as subtle or smiling racism. The concept of democratic racism is defined as being committed to principles such as justice, equality, and fairness while, at the same time, demonstrating conflicting and coexisting attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment towards them, and discrimination against them. Democratic racism results from the holding of racist views and behaviours in a democratic society. Thus, people who exhibit democratic racist tendencies display confidence in the principles of an egalitarian society while at

the same time compromising those beliefs (Henry & Tator, 2010). Rawya related one of her experiences with people who have demonstrated subtle racism towards her:

Somebody actually said to me you speak like a Canadian. This is not too long ago. Just a couple of months ago. And I said I am a Canadian, and he said oh sorry and he was apologetic after that. And so, he doesn't think that I am Canadian because of my skin colour. So yeah, we experienced a lot of smiling and subtle racism (Rawya's interview).

Rawya describes how people smile and relate with her, but behind their smiles, she can detect racist undertones. If you point it out to them, they are apologetic because they do not want to sound or appear racist. The argument behind democratic racism is that people have racial tendencies, but because the laws of Canada do not support people being racist and hostile, people tend to exhibit racial attitudes and then quickly hide behind being nice and jovial, and making it seem as if they do not have such tendencies. Rawya said she has had to learn to live with such people. But one question I kept pondering while analyzing this theme was: why can't a Black person be Canadian? Are Canadians only White? You could hear more acts of racial discrimination when second-generation Africans talked about their identities and who they were as individuals. This will be explored in the next section on identity crisis amongst the second generation.

Islamophobia

Second-generation Africans not only have to experience racism because of their skin colour but also, for some of them, hate because of their religion. Islamophobia is explained as the fear and hate towards Muslims as a result of past and current events (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017). Second-generation Muslims encounter discrimination everywhere they go as a result of their religion, and this discrimination arises from aspects including the way they dress and also their names. Some shared with me their experiences at the airport with customs, and others have had similar experiences in stores. Out of the four Muslim participants that I spoke with, three contended that they received differential treatment when they

would wear the hijab compared to when they did not wear it, and this has made most of them stop wearing the hijab. In summary, the prejudice faced by some of these participants made them stop engaging in some aspects of their religion. This is interesting because the leaders of Canada continue to boost the idea at international levels that Canada is multicultural, and people are free to be themselves and live their lives. To an extent I agree, but then if in this same country, people are shying away from their religions and cultures, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done with regards to Canada's multiculturalism. Ayan recounted how she received different treatment when she wore her hijab versus when she did not wear it, and she echoed this point multiple times throughout our conversation:

Like people see that you are different, and they treat you differently. Like if I wear Western clothes and I don't have my hijab on then I get a very very different treatment versus when I am wearing an abaya or like a Somali dress. I get treated differently when I am wearing the hijab versus when I have my hair done straight, when I have my contacts on and when I have some make up done. It is actually funny, if we are going to get services and stuff done, my mum like her English is not good so I usually go with her to help with the paperwork and stuff and the translation. Before I even open my mouth, the way they treat me I can already tell that they are belittling me. As soon as I open my mouth and have the Canadian accent, then you know like things change, people start treating me differently and they are like warm and stuff. I get treated even better when I am dressed in a more Western style (Ayan's interview).

From the above, we once again hear about how participants gained favour by speaking in a Canadian accent. Ayan agreed that because of the prejudice she experienced as a result of her religion, she mostly preferred not to associate with her religion, which forms a greater part of her culture. Rawya and Ranya agreed with Ayan about not engaging in their cultural and religious dress as well because of how people perceived them when they wore it. When Rawya and Ranya were asked why they stopped wearing the hijab, they had this to say:

I didn't like the judgment that I was receiving. People assuming certain things about me like I don't understand things or that I am less. So, I just said you know it will be easier if I just stop. People assume you are oppressed or something like that. It comes with the assumption that this person doesn't even speak English. They automatically think that this is a newcomer (Rawya's interview).

I am just like just because I put this on [hijab], I am (sighs) it comes with the stereotype. So basically, you can't be able to express yourself when you wear hijab. So, I was just like ok, this is not me so maybe sometime in the future but for now no (Ranya's interview).

People perceived Rawya and Ranya as newcomers, or as people who could not speak English and who were oppressed, and pre-judged them just because they wore the hijab. Again, I ask the question here: can't a Muslim be Canadian? Rawya and Ranya had to stop celebrating certain aspects of their religion just so they would not have to endure people stereotyping them. I used culture and religion interchangeably in the above assertions because, for these respondents, their religion formed a greater portion of their culture. It was their religion to wear a hijab and wearing it was also a cultural process. This is because their culture is informed by their religion. Thus, when they stop practicing their religion because of the hate towards them, they stop practicing their culture. Hence, just as Kazemipur (2014) maintains, there is the issue of Islamophobia or hatred towards Muslims in Canada. Ayan and others faced these issues on a daily basis through which they were forced to stop associating with their culture because of how people treated them. In this instance, the data demonstrated how racism motivated the second generation youth to integrate instead of becoming transnational.

Ahmed also narrated his experiences with the border patrol personnel whenever he would travel. He asserted that he would get stopped every single time he travelled internationally because of where he was born, his religion, and his name.

I get stopped at every border, if I am coming into Canada I get stopped. If I am leaving Canada, I get stopped. So, I was in Brazil and I got stopped at a Canadian border. I also got stopped at the American border. So, when I got to Houston I got stopped there and when I got to Brazil, I got stopped there too. So, it's like all three countries will stop me. Ummm, and even when I was going out of Uganda, so I was going from Addis Abba. So, you go from Mthembe to Addis Abba and from Addis you fly direct to Toronto. And even there, there is only two flights that come out from Addis and even then, I was going in they stopped me. And I am like I don't understand right and while the guy is on the phone, I was like it's a direct flight from here to Canada, And I ask him like who are you calling and who is stopping me and he's like it is America traffic control. And I am like what do you mean I am not flying to U.S. And he's like, but you are flying over their airspace and so that is why they had to verify my identity and do all those stuffs. It cost me a lot of stress, it cost me a lot of apprehension because this is, I will basically wait two days before the next flight. Ummm, it's a huge plane, everyone is piling in and I am just standing there by myself, so I get frustrated and get agitated. And while I am standing there this White man sees that I am frustrated, and I am expressing my frustration to the person who is stopping me from going in. And he walks to up that person and says you are doing a great job, thank you and then he strolls into the airplane (Ahmed's interview).

In my examination of this theme, racism and Islamophobia, I was influenced by the statement that racism encourages immigrants to engage in transnational ties that has been made by Foner (2002) and Schiller and Fouron (2001). Considering that statement led me to a fascinating revelation, which is that when my respondents had been younger, racism made them want to fit in; however, when they grew older, it made them want to have transnational ties. For some of my respondents, experiencing racism and discrimination in elementary school made them want to fit and not stand out. When I asked Ebony if the

racism, she experienced had made her want to have transnational ties when she was younger, she had this to say:

To be honest, at that point, no, because my main focus was to fit in. So, what can I do to not have myself stick out and be the target of bullying? And so definitely at that time my main concern was not to learn more about my culture when my culture was what was being used against me (Ebony's interview).

She argued that it still happened now that she was an adult, but she saw these acts as ignorant and ignored people who engaged in them. Thus, some of the respondents just ignored the racist acts they were subjected to, just as Ebony did, or they had grown a "thick skin" with regards to racists and racism, meaning they attempted to not let these actions against them hurt them. For others, racism had pushed them to want to know more about their parents' cultures, but this happened when they were adults. Sebila stated:

That was the time that I knew that oh I am not actually Canadian, and I need to adapt to my Sudanese side more because no matter how hard you try you are not really gonna be a part of them. You can speak their language well, you cannot have an accent, everything but at the end of the day they will see that you are not part of them. Even if you were born here, my siblings that were born here, they are still gonna see them as that they are Sudanese. And if anything happens, they will be deported to Sudan, they are not going to leave you here. So, I was like yeah, I need to get in touch with my Sudanese side more, that is what encouraged me more. That was when I was like I can never be part of these people. No matter how hard I try because on phone when people call me, they will think I am White because I have no accent, no nothing right? But I know that I am not Canadian, I am not them. I have my own roots and my own place, and I have to embrace that more (Sebila's interview).

Earlier we heard the story of how Sebila had been refused a job on two separate occasions based on her skin colour. She explained that this racism did not make her feel like a Canadian and, as a result, had pushed her into having transnational connections with her parents' country. This substantiates research that argues that racism motivates immigrants to have transnational attachments with their parents' countries. But as I just stated, the discovery I made is that when they are children, racism motivates them to want to assimilate or fit in, but when they are older, they either ignore racism or grow a "thick skin" towards it, or it prompts them to want to have a relationship with their parents' birth countries.

In conclusion, second-generation immigrants experience racism, discrimination, and Islamophobia, even when Canada has a multicultural policy enshrined in its constitution (Guo & Wong, 2015). Multiculturalism encourages immigrants to be unique and celebrate their differences while admonishing others to respect those differences. However, it looks like this is not the case as multiculturalism has been criticized as being monoculturalism and does not in any way favour minorities (Barrett, 2013). Some multiculturalism scholars have labelled multiculturalism as a scam because they argue that the numerous multicultural policies deal superficially with the issues that minorities experience without tackling the main issues such as racism and discrimination. They further maintain that the inequalities and racism experienced by minorities need to be addressed in order to be able to achieve a multicultural society. Otherwise, minorities will continue to be discriminated against regardless of the fact multicultural policies exist in Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). Therefore, regardless of the fact that immigrants are able to express their transnational ties because of multiculturalism, this same policy that encourages them to do so also exposes them to racism. Earlier discussion in the literature review had argued that racism and discrimination motivated the second generation to become transnational (Foner, 2002). This corroborates Nagra (2017) with his analysis on Canadian Muslim youth and how they re-assert their identities due to racism. Therefore, this section is important to my research because it helps draw a link between racism and transnationalism. From the above analysis, it was determined that racism

encourages transnationalism and integration. Therefore, in order to examine the transnationalism of a visible minority group, there will be the need to examine if race plays a role.

6.4 Identity and Identity Crisis of Second-Generation Africans

All respondents identified with their African heritage for mainly two reasons. The first reason was that they had been forced into identifying with their heritage throughout their lives because people would ask them where they had come from. Those asking the question would not stop with that first question, even when the respondents would say that they were Canadians. They would continue to be asked where they were “really” from, as though Canadians could not be Black people. Below are excerpts of the interview data in which some of the respondents talked about their experiences of being asked where they were really from, even when they had been born in Canada.

I say I am Nigerian because every time and this is mostly with White people. If I meet a White person and I say, oh I am from Calgary, Canada. And the next thing they will ask me is “Oh where are your parents from or where is your country of origin?” So that is why I got used to just calling myself a Nigerian. Because I am tired of having to explain, oh well, yeah, my parents came here in the 1970s bla bla. I got tired, so I just say I am Nigerian now. But then it also gets awkward when you meet Nigerians from Nigeria and when you tell them you are Nigerian, and they ask Oh were you born here? And then I will say I was born here, and they will be like well, you are Canadian and not Nigerian (Amanda’s interview).

R: I usually say I am Ghanaian.

I: When people ask you, you say you are Ghanaian? Why do you say that?

R: I don’t know, I just do. ... I guess because even if I was to say I am Canadian, they will ask me where. Like where are you from?

(Anita’s interview)

I know when I was younger, and people will ask me where I was from and I will say Canadian and they will say where you are from from? So, I think it's getting used to having that answer and also having reconnected with the culture, I feel, I guess I am Nigerian. The other day someone asked me where I am from and I told them Nigeria. And they are like where you born there, and I was like I was born here. And so, they were like "oh, so you are Canadian?" And I said no, I am Nigerian. Yeah, I am still Nigerian even though I was born here. I think a part of me feels like it's a huge part of who I am, and I have come to be who I am today rather the Canadian culture (Whitney's interview).

I: When people ask you where you are from, how do you answer that question?

R: So, people ask me this question I will say that I was born in Canada, but my family is from Ghana.

I: You explain to them? You don't just say I am from Ghana or Canada?

R: Yes, because most people whenever they ask me, they always assume that I was not born here. When they look at me, they automatically assume I am not originally from here.

I: Do you think it is because of your colour?

R: Exactly, it is crazy. It is an excellent question; we are all wondering why especially those of us that were born here and have parents from Ghana. We don't know why they assume that, but they do.

I: That is interesting.

R: Yeah, it baffles me (Eugenia's interview).

Thus, because people wanted to know who the respondents were in terms of their skin colour, they would tell people they were from their parents' birth countries so that people would not look at them weirdly. Secondly, they identified as Africans because they contended that was who they were; their names and their upbringings were rooted in the African culture, and that summed up to make them who

they were as individuals. Regardless, they also associated with being Canadian. Although they identified with their African roots, they all agreed they had a Canadian lifestyle in their everyday lives and that Canada was their home.

I identify myself as both Canadian and Ghanaian especially when it comes to being around my own Black people. I am proudly and loud to say that I am Ghanaian. Although I may not do things that Ghanaians do, I still consider myself a Ghanaian woman. Because at the end of the day that is my heritage that was what I was born in and I am proud to say because at the end of the day I did not come from here. I may have grown up here, but my roots and family are elsewhere. I am still Ghanaian first and I am always thinking of myself Ghanaian first before Canadian (Ebony's interview).

I do right, ummm I feel like I identify with Ghana more than Canada. And even though I was born here, I appreciate being born here and all the opportunities and stuff. I just feel like being Ghanaian is more of an interesting side of myself in a way. So, I feel like Canadian is soo plain, but you know there is good stuff and benefits of being Canadian, but I definitely identify myself as Ghanaian. But I live more of a Canadian lifestyle for sure (Charity's interview).

Second-generation African youth experience identity crisis. For the purpose of my analysis, I explain identity crisis as the experience of an individual who does not know who they are because their parents come from another country and they are born in and/or are raised in a totally different country. These two cultures conflict and put the individual in a crisis as to who he or she really is. There were some respondents who argued that it was difficult identifying themselves when they were in the position of being from a second generation. They knew their parents could just say who they were easily, but for them, it had always been a battle. Anya had this to share:

Not necessarily part of either group. I don't feel fully integrated into the Canadian community nor do I feel completely integrated 100% into the Somali community. It's like I am in between both

worlds. Not identity crisis, like I know who I am. I am myself. But is just that other people don't know what to make of me, they want to put me in one box, Canadian girl or they want to put me in another box, Somalia girl. But I feel like I kinda have my foot in both and ummm, more so I guess the Somali than the Canadian. And that is how I choose to identify but people don't understand they feel like those two have to be mutually exclusive (Anya's interview).

I: Do you identify as a Canadian and/or the country that your parents immigrated from?

R: The second part I can't answer yet, because that is basically my entire dilemma that's in the last five years because that's literally trying to identify myself.

I: So, are you in identity crisis? You don't know who you are?

R: I know enough to know that I am Sudanese whenever somebody asks me. I am from Sudan, I am from Shilluk tribe but if somebody ask me details, I get ashamed because I don't know that much. That is the identity crisis, I don't know enough especially if the that's the first thing that I identify with. I don't identify with a lot of I guess Canadian.

I: Why? Is there a reason?

R: I don't know. It's a strange pride thing. It's like once I embrace it, there is going to be a little link that will swim me back in.

I: If you go to Sudan, do you think you will be accepted as a Sudanese?

R: Right now, I don't even feel like I am part of them, but I want to be part of them. I can learn the culture and be part of them. And sometimes when we go to gatherings I can't even speak to the ladies because Arabic is losing me too, I speak more English than Arabic.

I: Are you Sudanese because your parents inspired you or because of your interest in the culture?

R: I guess it's both. So, my identity is basically my parent's heritage even if I don't know much about it, I want to know about it (Maha's interview).

Like even having conversations with people and telling them oh I know how to cook Nigerian foods, there is always that surprise that comes. “How do you know how to cook our foods”, “how do you know our music” so it always makes me feel like Oh man. And I get this kinda identity crisis because I see myself as a Nigeria although I was born and raised in Canada. In Nigeria, they see me different and in Canada they see me different because of my colour which kinda creates confusion for me. You kinda feel that you are soo lost or have this identity crisis because no matter what, you are always going to be seen as a different. Even though they see you as different back home [Nigeria], the way they will treat is still better than how a White person here will treat you because you are Black, that’s the difference. But then you still get that sense of like feeling lost or confused (Amanda’s interview).

R: I think I have had identity crisis both here when I was in Toronto and I was in Ghana. In Toronto, that was the biggest one because I lived in suburban area and I was one of the very few Black girls at my school and a lot of time being a Black girl like you we were presented as the modern people. So, we don’t have diverse experiences, people dismiss my different experiences and I was labelled with all stereotypes. So, for me it was hard because everything I heard about my blackness was wrong. I only heard negative things about being Black. At one point I almost wished I didn’t have to deal with that. I just wanted to be just Canadian because being Black seems to be such a bad thing. And when I went back home to Ghana, walking different, talking different. Looking different people can just like get the vibe and they know you are not from there just by the way you say hi. Someone told me that the way you walk, you are from abrokyire [Someone who lives abroad]. And I am like oh really? So, things like that does not make you feel fully Ghanaian.

Both interviewer and respondent laughs

R: And that was what I was told, and I was like really how do I walk? So, I was like someone tell me how I should walk. So those things that remind you that you are not fully Ghanaian but at the

same time I still believe that Ghana is self-exchangeable. Ummm so there are more people who have travelled so there is more of a different community now than when I went back a couple of years ago. So, it is changing, things are changing. At the same time when I was in Ghana and I was strolling with my cousins you feel a little bit off but at the same time you know that it's a good thing to have. Like looking back now I know that it's a beautiful thing to have. To be able to have diverse experiences. But at that time, you are just ummm, I can't fit in anywhere to a point where it gets frustrating because you don't fit in here and you don't fit in back home either (Nana Yaa's interview).

Although these participants identified as Africans, as already indicated, they wished it would have been easier for them to have known their identities earlier. For some of them, it was still difficult because they saw themselves as Africans but did not really know about Africa in the way that they felt they should. Canada, the country that they had been born in and that they knew, did not accept them. When they would go back to Africa, people immediately could tell that they were not from there, from the way they walked, talked, and from their mannerisms. This, for many of them, was what caused them to have an identity crisis. This was because they were not wanted in a country that they knew so well and were born in, but they could not fit into the country, their parents' country, that was willing to accept them because they did not grow up there. They wished they could be African Canadian, but they knew society expected them to pick a side, and if they had to pick a side, then they would be picking the more welcoming side, which was being African.

The crisis they experienced was as a result of the struggle of choosing which country to identify with. One might think that this should be easy to choose since all of my respondents were Canadian citizens, with some being born here, and as a result, they would choose Canada. But, no, it is not an easy choice. Being Canadian actually makes it more difficult to choose. Their experiences of differences and people questioning where they really came from (even when they were born in Canada) confused them as

to who they were. It was during this stage of confusion that they experienced an identity crisis; when they came out of this crisis, they tended to associate with being African, even if they had never been to Africa. This identity and the associated identity crises encourage transnational ties, especially in terms of intellectual and psychological transnationalism. The African second generation identifies with their parents' roots and want to acquire more knowledge about them. Maha mentioned the need to know about her parents' country, for example. They also have fond memories of the warm reception they may have received when they visited their parents' countries, which was an experience echoed by Amanda. The above analysis gives evidence to the relationship between the identities and transnationalism of the African second-generation participants in my study. All of my respondents identified as Africans, and their identities were rooted in their transnational connections. Thus, I reiterate that it is important to understand the discrimination that the second generation experiences and their identity formation, and how their identity formation impacts their transnational attachments. In conclusion, a vast majority of my respondents, before they finally identified as Africans, had gone through a phase where they believed they were and primarily identified as Canadians. Then, they realized that being Canadian was just on paper and the reality on the ground was different.

So, for me, as far as I know I will always be considered the girl who came from somewhere to Canada and got citizenship here. You have citizenship but you are not Canadian and that is the difference (Nana Yaa's interview).

Ummm but again it has been mostly been very very subtle types of racism when you don't even think it is racism on the surface. But when you think deep down like yeah that was pretty bad. And like as I was saying earlier, a lot of that contribute to why I find it difficult to identify with being Canadian because you know these people always have a way of making you feel different and again you experience the same thing back at home. But it is different, you experience that because people think that you think you are better than them. Whereas people here think that you are

inferior and so that why they treat you that way and when they think you are inferior it's a different type of bullying that you experience (Amanda's interview).

What they experienced is a result of the fact that some Canadians are treated differently than others. The participants also realized that they were treated better when they were in their parents' communities/countries than in Canadian society, and thus, they tended to associate more with their parents' countries; this realization tended to happen when they were much older. This shift did not in any way mean that they did not have ties or loyalty to Canada. They actually did have strong attachment and loyalty to Canada because, in most of their cases, this was the home that they knew and had lived in for the better part of their lives. Their lifestyle and the way they spoke, for example, aligned with the Canadian way of doing things, and as I discussed earlier, although some wanted to go back home to their parents' countries in the near future, most of them would rather go and visit and come back to Canada because Canada was home for them (Rumbaut, 2002). Baffoe (2010) suggested that it would be interesting to find out through future research in which place the second generation reconstructed home because he was of the perception that immigrant children would not see their parents' home countries in the same way their parents envisaged those countries as home, and my research confirms that this is actually true. Although second-generation Africans identify with their parents' birth countries, they see Canada as home because, just as Baffoe (2010) contended, they do not have strong attachments to their parents' countries like their parents do. The above can be explained by the conceptualizing of transnationalism as a type of consciousness, through which immigrants have dual identities and identify with two places at the same time (Vertovec, 1999). Second-generation Africans identify as Africans and still see Canada as their homes, and so we can say that they identify with Canada as well if they also see it as home. Thus, those of the second generation whose heritage is from Africa have hybrid identities because they are involved with matters related to Canada as well as the culture of their parents' source countries.

The African second-generation's construction of what home is can be better explained using Vertovec's (1999) conceptualization of transnationalism as a reconstruction of place and locality. In this conceptualization, people create social fields that put them in more than one place. This is the best way to explain the crisis that these second-generation participants experience. Some have never been to their parents' countries or they have been there only a couple of times, but either way they have been able to create a virtual translocality through the media, through stories told to them by their families, and through advancement in technology, and this spatial place then means something to them even if they have never been there. This social field is able to place these second-generation Africans into two or more nations, and they are able to understand that this translocal and virtual place exists.

6.5 Integration, Multiculturalism, or Transnationalism

The question explored in this section is "Do the second generation become transnational, do they integrate, do they become multicultural, or do they do a mixture of all three?" Is it even possible for them to have a mixture of all three, or are the three mutually exclusive? The literature argues that transnationalism and integration can happen together (Faist, 2000). My data revealed that second-generation Africans do tend to assimilate or become transnational, and are multicultural as well, and thus, the three are not mutually exclusive.

Researchers have argued that assimilation (a term used in the US; Canada uses the similar term "integration") and transnationalism should not be seen as opposing because there are multiple ways that one can combine both and navigate their life experiences. Hence, we cannot talk about one without the other (Levitt & Waters, 2002). Some other authors agree and argue that one cannot observe the transnational experiences of immigrants without talking about their assimilation experiences (Schiller & Fouron, 2001). This was true for the respondents I spoke with, as all of them engaged in one transnational activity or another. Regardless, one of the ways they had integrated into Canada was through the language of the mainstream society. As earlier indicated, those participants who had their roots in the eastern part

of African could still speak their languages fluently and hold decent conversations in them. Regardless, all respondents spoke English very well without an accent. Therefore, in terms of language, these respondents were fully integrated into Canadian society.

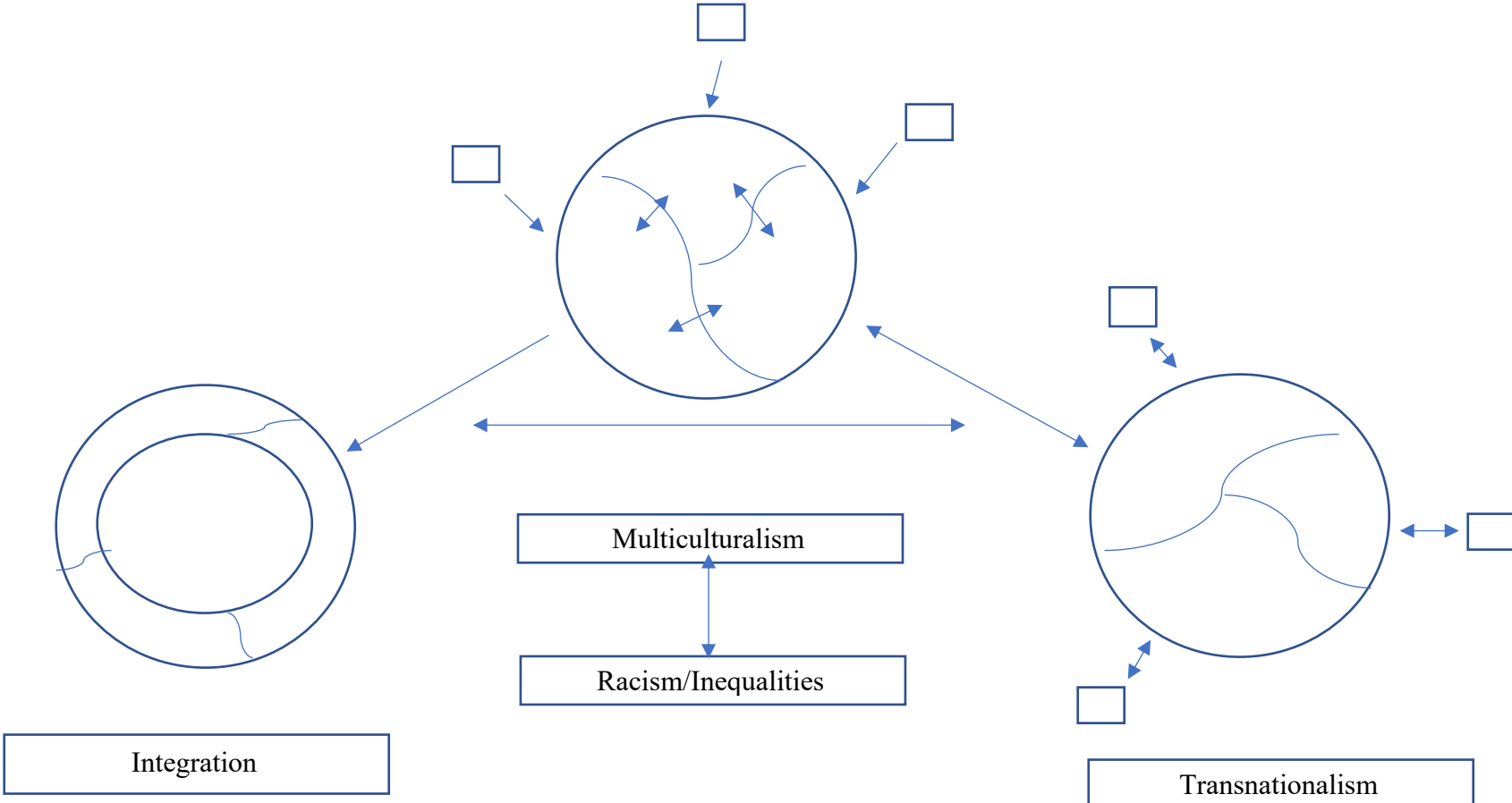
Additionally, one can see the cultural integration of these participants when you talk to them about their lifestyle and choices. All respondents agreed that although they identified as African, their lifestyles depicted that of Canadians. Hence, these respondents had adopted a Canadian way of life even though they could not explain what that meant. Their everyday activities and life choices were influenced by the Western side of the world, and this proved that these respondents had integrated in some ways into Canada as their country of birth or as the country in which they grew up. The type of integration that can best describe the lives of these second-generation participants is segmented integration (Kazemipur, 2014). African immigrant children integrate into some segments but not fully into the society. From my analysis, the data indicate that the respondents who had almost fully integrated into Canadian society did so as result of the barriers that they experienced. Also, those who had almost become transnational were that way as a result of the obstacles that they had to navigate living in Canada.

Multiculturalism was one of my theoretical frameworks, and so it is important to situate some of the evidence from my data in that frame and analyze it. The fact that all respondents were able to partake and celebrate one or another aspect of their parent's cultures with some actually mentioning how proud and important multiculturalism was for them showed that my participants were multicultural as well. Some appreciated that Canada had multiculturalism as it allowed them to be able to engage more freely with their parents' cultures. In other words, multiculturalism and the diversity in Canada made it possible for them to be able to be transnational and integrate as well. Thus, I have demonstrated that the experiences of the second generation can be explained with a multicultural framework.

6.5.1 The Relationship between Multiculturalism, Transnationalism, and Integration

The literature suggests that multiculturalism could be the link encouraging multiculturalism, transnationalism, and integration amongst second-generation Africans (Wong & Satzewich, 2006). Scholars have furthered argued that multiculturalism is an expansion of transnationalism and also influences the integration of the second generation in Canada. To explain how this is possible, I demonstrate below the relationship between integration, multiculturalism, and transnationalism with a conceptual model. I will also map out how the second generation could experience all three and the challenges involved in this tripartite relationship.

Figure 1: A Conceptual Model of the Relationship between Integration, Multiculturalism, and Transnationalism



Legend

- - Host countries representing (integration, multiculturalism, and transnationalism)
- - Immigrants' countries of origin

From the above conceptual model, we can see that multiculturalism is divided into groups (immigrants' cultural groups) that illustrate how multiculturalism promotes and celebrates differences. These differences are influenced and promoted by the immigrants' countries of origin, meaning that immigrants are able to showcase and celebrate their cultures because of where they immigrated from; this is why there is a one-sided arrow coming from the immigrant's country of origin to multiculturalism. In a multicultural setting, immigrants are able to celebrate their cultures but also have to interact with other institutions and other ethnic groups, which is a process that fuels integration. The engagement of immigrants with the host country's institutions as part of multiculturalism makes immigrants integrate. For example, just because immigrants are asked to be unique and celebrate their differences does not mean that they build their own elementary schools, high schools, and universities. Immigrants and their children will still attend the mainstream schools in which English or French will be the medium of communication. Thus, immigrants are integrated to learn English or French and also then are able to interact with those who are native born, which can make them integrate into the cultural and social aspects amongst others.

The arrow between multiculturalism and integration is one-sided because multiculturalism supports integration and not the other way around. In this sense, the second generation can integrate—culturally, socially, economically—while still being multicultural. The circle of integration has an inner circle, which stands for the integration of all people including immigrants and those who are native born, and the outer circle shows the differences that immigrants still get to celebrate. Multiculturalism as an ideology and as a practice can be used to explain the idea of the celebratory nature of multiculturalism. On July 1st each year on Canada Day, most ethnic and racial communities organize festivals and events in honour of their cultural backgrounds, and this is partly how multiculturalism is celebrated in practice. Ideologically, multiculturalism is celebrated through the practice of folklore (music). Some critics of multiculturalism argue that the celebratory nature of multiculturalism is on the surface. In other words, it is just a façade to hide the inequalities and racism in Canada.

Transnationalism has a double-sided arrow between it and the country of origin to demonstrate the cross-border connections between the host country and the receiving country. Multiculturalism celebrating diversity encourages transnationalism; immigrants are able to keep celebrating their difference because of the connections and support from their countries of origin, and this is how multiculturalism fuels transnationalism. Transnationalism can influence multiculturalism as well, and that is why there is a double-sided arrow between transnationalism and multiculturalism in Figure 1.

There is also a relationship between transnationalism and integration that is bridged by racism and inequalities. Based on my analysis, some of my respondents asserted that racism pushed them to either integrate or to become transnational. Some of them wanted nothing to do with their parents' cultures when they younger because of the racism they experienced. This made them want to integrate and to become more similar to the dominant culture. When they were much older and still faced discrimination, they decided to become transnational and learn more about their ancestral roots. Thus, racism was the link that created the relationship between integration and transnationalism. However, the second-generation youth I interviewed also engaged in folkloric multiculturalism (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2017), which is evident in the food they eat and how they engage in the material aspects of their parents' cultures.

Also, in Figure 1, there is a double-sided arrow between racism and multiculturalism that sheds more light on the critique of multiculturalism. It is double-sided because multiculturalism has been argued by some scholars to be divisive, which in turn encourages racism. Multiculturalism has been asserted by a few scholars and politicians to endorse stereotypes and create divisions. Some people in society hate difference, which then breeds racism. Multiculturalism has been critiqued as not favouring minorities and also not dealing with the root of racism and discrimination. Racism, on the other hand, discourages multiculturalism, and this was seen when the majority of the participants engaged less with the material aspect of their roots. From the above, we can also see how the second generation can be transnational and multicultural, and I have demonstrated how they can be multicultural and integrate as well. Therefore, the

second generation can be transnational (through engaging in sociocultural transnationalism), integrated (through linguistic integration), and multicultural (through celebrating their cultures' uniqueness and acknowledging the diversity in Canada).

The two main conceptualizations of multiculturalism that fit with the experiences of my respondents are multiculturalism as an empirical fact and as a practice. From talking with my respondents, I could see how diverse they were. They came from different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. I spoke with participants who were Christians and those who were Muslims. Some of the participants had their roots in the western part of Africa, others from the eastern part, and one from the southern part. This spoke to the diversity of the respondents and served as proof of the fact that Canada is multicultural and celebrates different cultures and religions. Also, the examination of my data affirmed multiculturalism as a practice. Fleras and Elliott (2002) maintain that multiculturalism is a practice when both the dominant and minority cultures use it to their advantage. In the case of my respondents, they were part of the minority, and I saw them use multiculturalism as a practice to their advantage. My participants were living out their parents' cultures regardless of the discrimination and racism that they had experienced. Even the Muslim participants who had stopped associating with some parts of their culture as a result of Islamophobia still appreciated that Canada had multiculturalism. Regardless of the discrimination that they experienced, they were still able to engage in some aspects of their culture, like speaking their language and eating their cultural food. My participants were appreciative of Canada's multiculturalism and believed that despite the difficulties that they faced, Canada having a multiculturalism policy gave them hope that it would get better and made them also attempt to celebrate their cultures. To conclude, I would have to agree that second-generation Africans are not assimilating into the host country's culture but rather into a "more hybrid, polyglot, cosmopolitan, or ethnic conception of the world" (Jones-Correa, 2002, p. 233).

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined if there was any correlation between birth order and transnational ties. There was also an exploration of the different forms of racism and discrimination that these participants experienced in Canada such as institutional, individual, and democratic racism, as well as Islamophobia. The issue of identity and identity crisis was touched on in this chapter, whereby participants all agreed that they identified with their parents' countries primarily because that was who they were, and with Canada as well, because they had Canadian citizenship and Canadian lifestyles. The question of whether immigrant children from Africa were assimilating or if they were transnational or multicultural was also answered in this chapter. In my analysis of this chapter, I linked how the experiences of these participants were connected to theory as well as how their experiences confirmed or refuted existing scholarship on the subject matter.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the major findings of my study, postulates what my research has added to existing literature and theory, proposes some recommendations, suggests directions for future research, and also addresses the study's limitations.

7.2 Major findings of the study

The major findings that emerged from my research include the following:

1. Three main types of transnationalism: Second-generation Africans engage in sociocultural, economic, and political transnationalism.
2. Other types of transnationalism: Second-generation Africans are also involved in other types of transnationalism such as social-psychological, psychological, religious, and intellectual transnationalism.
3. Intellectual transnationalism: Second-generation Africans yearn for more knowledge about their parents' cultures. As they grow up, they want to relate with the immaterial aspects of their parents' cultures and gain more knowledge rather than partake in the material aspects of their parents' heritage.
4. Severance or sustenance of transnational connections: Second-generation Africans hold on to some of their transnational ties into adult life, even if they engage less in these ties. Some of these connections that they sustain into adulthood include memories of their parents' countries (psychological), connecting with family in their parents' countries (social-cultural), engaging with their parents' religions (religious), and acquiring more knowledge about their parents' cultures (intellectual).

5. Repercussions of second-generation African transnationalism: There are positive consequences for the second generation from having attachments with their parents' countries and negative effects from not having ties with their parents' countries. The positives include having support from the community, an enriched life, a sense of belonging, cultural hybridity / multiple identities, and fitting in to a diverse society; the negative effects include experiencing alienation and a lack of family support, feeling lost and not fully Canadian, having a lost identity, and losing socialization.
6. Institutional, individual, and democratic racism: The second generation with roots from Africa experience these types of racism in their day-to-day lives.
7. Islamophobia: Not only do the second-generation African youth encounter different types of racism—some who are Muslim also face hate and discrimination based on their religion.
8. Birth order and transnational attachments: My research confirms that there is a relationship between birth order and transnationalism.
9. Identity crisis: Second-generation Africans experience identity crisis as they navigate life as part of the second generation residing in Calgary.
10. Integration, multiculturalism, and transnationalism: Second-generation Africans experience integration and transnationalism, and are multicultural as well because all three can be experienced at the same time.

The above gives support to the fact that second-generation Africans and their experiences need to be studied and taken more seriously, especially given that they face barriers and discrimination even though they were born in or grew up in Canada. The aforementioned findings gave answers to my research questions which were:

- 1) What are the transnational attachments that the African second generation engages in?

- 2) How are these transnational connections severed or sustained over a long time?
- 3) What motivates second-generation youth to have transnational ties?
- 4) Do transnational ties have any consequences for African youth?
- 5) Is there a relationship between the birth order of those within the African second generation and the transnational connections they possess?

Overall, my main research objective going into this study was to explore the transnational relationships between second-generation sub-Saharan Africans in Calgary and their parents' countries of origin, and I believe my major findings and my analysis have allowed me to achieve my research objective.

7.3 Contribution to Literature and Theory

Throughout my work, I have demonstrated how my research confirms other scholarship, how it refutes other research, and how it has added knowledge to academic work. I will summarize in this section the salient points on how these results were achieved. My study corroborated other research that contends that there is transnationalism amongst the second generation. For my work, I found out that second-generation Africans engage in several forms of transnationalism that include social-cultural, economic, political, psychological, social-psychological, religious, and intellectual transnationalism.

My thesis also gave evidence to support to the idea that there is integration amongst second-generation participants. My research showed that the second generation can be integrating, transnational, and multicultural at the same time without these three qualities conflicting. The various types of integration and multiculturalism that the second generation is involved in have been discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis under the discussion of the question "Does the second-generation become transnational, do they integrate, do they become multicultural, or do they do a mixture of all three?" This discussion refuted the fact that immigrants who come from war-torn countries do not usually have the desire to go back home. Some of my respondents' parents immigrated from war-torn countries and yet the respondents wanted to one day go back to these countries.

With regards to theory, my research was understood through the framework of transnationalism as a conceptualization of a type of consciousness, as a mode of culture reproduction, and finally, as a reconstruction of a place or locality. This framework allowed me to explain some of the experiences of the participants and how best we could explain these experiences from a sociological perspective. My study was also reviewed through the lens of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism as a theory was useful because there is a relationship between multiculturalism and transnationalism, in the sense that multiculturalism fuels transnationalism and transnationalism challenges multiculturalism. The literature argues that multiculturalism is an expansion of transnationalism and also influences the integration of the second generation (Wong & Satzewich, 2006). Therefore, I situated my work with a multiculturalism framework to help me further understand how multiculturalism binds all three concepts. Thus, I have demonstrated that the experiences of the second generation can be explained with a multicultural framework.

My thesis not only corroborated other research but also contributed and added knowledge to the existing literature. From my analysis, my data revealed another type of transnationalism, which I termed intellectual transnationalism, that the second generation engaged in. Intellectual transnationalism can best describe a situation whereby immigrants and the second generation want to learn or know more about their roots and where their parents immigrated from. Thus, they would read the news and read history books about their parents' origin countries or talk to people originally from these countries just to gain intellectual knowledge of their ancestral roots. This type of transnationalism is different from transnationalism that is socio-cultural, social-psychological, or psychological. Intellectual transnationalism focuses on immigrants wanting to know more and gaining more knowledge about places that many of them have never been to before, or if they have, they may have been so young when they went that they now cannot recollect. Adding intellectual transnationalism to the different transnational

categories makes my categories distinct because not many scholars have analyzed intellectual transnationalism.

Secondly, my study also discusses the effect of birth order on transnational connections, and I concluded that there was some evidence that birth order did have an impact on transnational ties but that it interacts with other factors such as gender, age, transnational opportunities, and the environment / associations. Therefore, my work has contributed to research by filling in gaps in the literature with regards to second-generation Africans and by adding knowledge to transnationalism theories.

7.4 Recommendations

In this section, I offer some recommendations based on my research, which are relevant for policy makers, the community, service provider, the parents of the second generation, African second generation and researchers.

7.4.1 Recommendation for Policy makers

Canada has a multicultural policy that encourages the celebration and tolerance of differences. There is the need for government to support multiculturalism amongst the second generation for two reasons. Firstly, the government should fund multicultural programs that promote cultural diversity so that multiculturalism is not just a policy, but it becomes a reality. My study revealed that the second-generation uses transnational ties to navigate some of the barriers they experience as children of immigrants. Additionally, this research has already established that multiculturalism fuels transnationalism; therefore, multiculturalism will motivate transnationalism amongst the second generation which has benefits and provide some form of agency for this demography. In addition, the government should fund programs such as anti-racism and bias projects that are geared at creating awareness of the issues that marginalized groups such as African second-generation experience and solutions and actions to mitigate these barriers. This can help reduce discrimination that is based on cultural differences.

Secondly, policy makers should ensure that the education in Canada is inclusive. What I mean is that the stories shared, role models provided, and examples illustrated in the school settings should not be from a Eurocentric or western point of view. If this happens, it excludes the African youth and made them feel that they don't matter. They also do not see role models or people like them who have succeeded to motivate them to succeed and feel part of the community. Additionally, there is the need for the educational curriculum to provide avenues for the youth to learn more about the histories and cultures of the diverse groups of people in Canada. There is the need to also teach them how to live with diverse people and the relevance of diversity and cultural competency.

Thirdly, there should be strict supervision of the employment equity acts and other policies aimed at ensuring fairness in the Canadian society because, based on the data from my study, it appears that people are still being discriminated against in the workplace based on their skin colour. There need to be some kind of measures aimed at ensuring that barriers that immigrants and the second-generation experience in the labour market and other areas of their social and political lives are addressed and mitigated.

7.4.2 Recommendation for the Community

The community or Canadians at large needs to support the African second-generation. They need to be curious to learn more about them instead of basing their judgements of them on negative stereotypes. They can learn more about them by attending community events and seminars creating awareness about issues that the African second-generation experience in Canada. Such forums could serve as an eye-opener for some people and imbibe in them some empathy. If this is done, it might create a supportive and non-judgemental environment where the second-generation can feel safe and part of the community they live in without second guessing themselves.

7.4.3 Recommendation for Service Providers

Service providers should organize culturally competent programs for the African second generation. What I mean by that is programs that respect their cultural backgrounds and incorporate their cultures in the planning of it. Also, programs should be made inclusive and measures should be put in place to ensure the people who access these events do not feel excluded when they attend. Additionally, service providers that develop and organize events for the African Second generation should ensure they are providing these programs in accountable spaces. Accountable spaces in the sense that there are guidelines that ensure that people respect those spaces and also take responsibility for their actions, words and intentions.

Furthermore, there is the need to develop accountable and safe mentor and mentee related programs for the second-generation. A mentor and mentee related programs whereby all mentors have African origins and are established in their fields. These mentors will serve as role models for the African second-generation and can also mentor and guide them as they navigate being an African second-generation in Canada.

7.4.4 Recommendations to the Parents of the Second-Generation

The parents of the second-generation needs to support and understand their children because they are going through a lot as a result of them being children of immigrants. There are positive parenting programs that provide strategies and tips for how parents of the African second-generation can use to support their children. This study has shown that the African-second generation benefits from being transnational, as such, I suggest that immigrant parents encourage positive transnationalism in their children. Additionally, they should guide them and support them with their transnational relationships.

7.4.5 Recommendations to the African Second-Generation

It is important for the second-generation to find accountable spaces to connect with people like themselves. Accountable spaces which provides them the opportunity to speak about the issues that they experience and find solutions together. These spaces are important for two reasons: firstly, they will understand that they are not the only ones going through those barriers and secondly, they will be able to air out their issues and feel free and okay. In addition, if there are no accountable spaces, they can create one for themselves and by themselves to support each other.

7.4.6 Recommendations for Researchers

There need to be more researchers telling the positive and resilient stories of the African second-generation. The negative stories of the African second generation in the literature outnumber the positive. The government should fund research on the resilient and positive stories of this demographic. These new narratives are important because it will help build a new image for the population and also serve as a positive encouragement for them as they navigate the varied obstacles and barriers that they experience. Therefore, there is the need to understand the African second generation in Canada better by examining all aspects of their lives.

7.5 Future Research

Although the majority of my respondents said they did not have strong transnational ties as compared to their parents, they wanted their children to be transnational and more engaged in their parents' cultures than them. For future research, it would be interesting to examine the connections that the third generation has with their grandparents' countries of origin in comparison to the transnational connections of their parents. Additionally, future research could do a comparative analysis of second-generation Africans living in big cities such as Toronto and Vancouver and analyze if cities have an effect on the transnational ties of the second generation. Furthermore, studies should be conducted on only the second

generation in the traditional sense who live in Calgary excluding the 1.5 and the 2.5 generations. The experiences of these different groups are unique and need to be examined individually. Time and money did not give me the leisure to exclusively talk to just the second generation as I had earlier intended. The majority of my respondents could not speak their parents' languages, and some agreed this made them feel odd when they were in their immigrant communities. I suggest that future research should explore the loss of the mother tongues of the African second generation and the impact of those losses on their transnational connections. My research established that associations of the second generation influence transnationalism, and thus, it is important to explore how the marriage choices of the second generation affect their transnationalism.

7.6 Limitations

Although this study adds knowledge to the existing literature on the transnationalism of the second generation, it has limitations. My research population was the sub-Saharan African second generation. With the sample not including respondents from the north of Africa, the study cannot be generalized to represent the experiences of all African youth living in Calgary. Regardless, having a sample size of 30 respondents provided a good number to give accounts of the transnational ties that the African youth had. Also, my respondents were African youth residing in Calgary. If I had the resources, I would have interviewed African youth in other Albertan cities such as Edmonton and Lethbridge to be able to understand the experiences of the second generation in Alberta and draw out some comparisons in relation to these cities. However, my research could serve as a comparative study if future research decides to explore African second-generation transnationalism in other Canadian cities.

7.7 Conclusion

The objective of my research was to understand the transnational experiences of the African second generation. In that regard, my analysis demonstrated that the second generation partakes in six types of

transnationalism—sociocultural, economic, political, social-psychological, psychological, and religious—as well as a seventh type, which I termed as “intellectual transnationalism.” Additionally, my research revealed that some of the second generation sustains transnational ties while others sever them into adulthood. But whether they sustained or severed their ties, the second generation had connections that were not as strong as those of their parents. For those who severed their ties, they were still engaged in some sort of transnationalism, even if these engagements were not regular and active. In addition, parent training and transnational social field, racism, identity, associations, and parents’ immigration stream / the region of Africa they came from were discussed as motivators for transnationalism in the second generation. This paper also demonstrated that there are both positive and negative consequences of transnationalism for the second generation. In this research, I established that one cannot discuss the transnational experiences of the second generation without understanding their integration and identity, and the discrimination that they experience. All of these lived experiences shape their transnational attachments and either encourage or impede them.

Additionally, my study established that there is a connection between the birth order of the second-generation and transnationalism, and that transnationalism and integration can co-exist together. A conceptual model of the relationship between integration, multiculturalism, and transnationalism was developed. Although there are scant data regarding statistics of second-generation Africans, I believe there is a substantial number of people in this category, if we are to go by their parents’ statistics. With that being said, it is important that we are taking a keen interest in issues affecting the second generation and their lived experiences. My research has demonstrated some of the challenges the second generation face and the need for policy makers to account for this population is the policies that they make. This study proves that the second generation is resilient and uses their transnational relationships to maneuver their challenges and to persevere in society. The discrimination they face does not stop them from seeing Canada as home because they are still loyal to the country in spite of everything. The African second

generation is here to stay, and just like their parents, they need resources to help them fully integrate into the economic, social, and political spheres of Canadian society.

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Appendix A: Letter of Initial Contact



How Are Second-Generation Canadian Connected to Their Parent's Birth Country? A Phenomenological Study of Second-Generation Africans Residing in Calgary

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi, a doctoral student studying Sociology at the University of Calgary. I am currently conducting a research which will explore the transnational relationships between second-generation Sub-Saharan African immigrants in Calgary and their parents' country of origin. I seek to understand immigrant children's acceptance or resistance of transnationalism and the consequences associated with their acceptance or resistance. I would like you to offer me the opportunity to talk to you about your experience as a second-generation immigrant and how you navigate these experiences.

If you agree to be interviewed, you will be asked questions about your parents' country of origin, your connection with your parent's birth country, if you still wear traditional clothes, what is your birth order and if you identify as a Canadian and/or the country that your parents immigrated from. You will also be asked to answer a number of questions about the ties you have with your parents' birth country, how you navigate these ties and how you learn to engage in the ties you have with your parents' birth country. The interview process will take about 45 minutes and it will be tape recorded. You have an option to choose whether you want to be tape recorded or not.

You may choose to remain anonymous or have your name published. Your real name will not appear in the final report if you choose to remain anonymous. Instead, you will be given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym you prefer which will appear in the final report. Otherwise, I'll choose a pseudonym for you. Your privacy is my top priority. Information and data collected from you will be seen only by me, thus confidentiality is assured. Information will be reported in aggregate form to preserve your identity if you do not want it known. Portions of the information collected from the interview will be cited in the final report.

There is an option to have a face to face interview with me or you can request a telephone interview. Please let me know by writing through my email aobengak@ucalgary.ca of which ever option you prefer. This research has been approved by the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board. If you have any further questions or want clarifications regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact me

through 403-220-3213 or aobengak@ucalgary.ca. Thank you for your consideration to partake in this research.

Yours Sincerely,
Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi

Appendix B: Consent form



Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi, Arts, Sociology, 403-220-3213, aobengak@ucalgary.ca

Supervisor:

Amal Madibbo, Arts, Sociology, 403-220-6512, amadibbo@ucalgary.ca

Title of Project:

How Are Second-Generation Canadian Connected to Their Parent's Birth Country? A

Phenomenological Study of Second-Generation Africans Residing in Calgary

Sponsor:

Not Applicable

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You are free to discontinue participation at any time during the study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to explore the transnational relationships between second-generation Sub-Saharan African immigrants in Calgary and their parents' country of origin.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

You will be asked to have an interview in which you will discuss and answer a number of questions about your parents' country of origin, your connection with your parent's birth country, if you still wear traditional clothes, what is your birth order and if you identify as a Canadian and/or the country that your parents immigrated from. You will also be asked to answer a number of questions about the ties you have with your parents' birth country, how you navigate these ties and how you learn to engage in the ties you have with your parents' birth country. The interview process will take about 45 minutes and it will be tape recorded. Tape recording is important because every single response from the participant is vital and need to be noted. Thus, the tape recording will note all the petty and important information during the interview process. You can as well opt not to have your interview tape recorded. If you do not agree to tape recording, I will take notes of the interview. Your participation is completely voluntary and you can refuse to participate altogether, refuse to participate in parts of the study, decline to answer any and all questions,

and withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty and, in that event, your information will not be used. A copy of this consent form will be given to you after signing if you partake in a face to face interview. If you are interviewed over the telephone then two copies of this consent will be sent to you by email. You will be required to read, sign, scan and return one copy of the consent form via email before the telephone interview.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your name, age, and your parents’ country of origin.

No one except the researcher will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers to the recordings of the interview tape. The interview tape recordings, notes and transcripts of the interview tapes will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher’s office, located on the 9th floor of the Social Science (SS), room SS 943, only accessible by the researcher and will never be shown in public.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some or none of them. Please put a check mark on the corresponding line(s) that grants me your permission to:

I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: ___ No: ___
You may quote me and use my name: Yes: ___ No: ___
Or, I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: Yes: ___ No: ___
The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

You will be asked about your connection with your parent’s birth country and how you navigate these connections. These questions would not be potentially upsetting. However, if they do cause any more distress than that of daily life, participants will be given the Calgary Distress Center hot line number 403-266-help (4357).

With regards to benefits, the study will provide you with the opportunity to talk about your experience as a second-generation immigrant and how you navigate these experiences. The study would also be beneficial because it will help shed light on immigrant children’s acceptance or resistance of transnationalism and the consequences associated with their acceptance or resistance.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

Parts of the information you provide during the face to face or telephone interview will be quoted or used in the final report; you will be referenced anonymously by the pseudonym you provide or as per the choices you have ticked in this consent form. Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You are free to discontinue participation at any time during the study and may withdraw from the study at any time without any penalty and your contribution and information to the study will be destroyed and will not be used. Participants, however, cannot withdraw their data once the research has been defended (PhD thesis defence). No one except the researcher will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers to the interview tape. The interview tape recordings, notes and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher’s office only accessible by the researcher. The anonymous data will be stored for five years on a computer disk, at which time, it will be permanently erased. Findings from this research will be used in a final report, scholarly publications and presentations.

“Would you like to receive a summary of the study’s results?” Yes: ___ No: ___

If yes, please provide your contact information (e-mail address, or phone number)”

“Are you interested in being contacted about a follow-up interview, with the understanding that you can always decline the request?” Yes: ___ No: ___

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time till the research is defended. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant’s Name: (please print) _____

Participant’s Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher’s Name: (please print) _____

Researcher’s Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Animwaa Obeng-Akrofi
Department Sociology, Faculty of Arts, University of Calgary
403-220-3213, aobengak@ucalgary.ca

Supervisor:

Amal Madibbo
Department Sociology, Faculty of Arts, University of Calgary
403-220-6512, amadibbo@ucalgary.ca

If you have any concerns about the way you’ve been treated as a participant, please contact the Research Ethics Analyst, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 220-6289/220-4283; email

cfreb@ucalgary.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix C: Interview Guide

How Are Second-Generation African Youth Connected to Their Parents' Birth Country? A Phenomenological Study of Second-Generation African Youth Residing in Calgary

Interview Protocol

Background questions

What's your parents' country of origin?

Tell me about how your parents immigrated from their country of origin to Canada?

Why did they decide to immigrate?

What did do when they got here?

Connections to Parents' Birth Country

How is your connection with your parent's birth country?

How was your childhood and upbringing like? Where did you grow up?

Do you still wear traditional clothes?

Do you eat food from your parent's birth country?

Do you listen to music or watch movies from your parent's birth country?

Do you speak your parents' native language? What language/s did you speak growing up?

Do you attend your parents' native festival and programs?

Have you been to your parents' country of origin before?

How many times have you been to your parent's country? When was the first time you visited your parents' birth country?

How did you learn to engage in these connections, if you do?

Severance or Sustenance of Connections

Are there any of the connections we discussed previously that you still engage in? If yes, which ones?

Why do you still do those things?

What have sustained those activities?

Do you feel attached to your parents' birth country? if yes, how so? If no, why did you stop engaging in those activities?

At what age or point in your life did you stop engaging in those activities?

Do you think you would ever do those activities again? What might motivate you to engage in those activities again?

Consequences of the Connections

Do you think there are any effects associated with you being connected to your parents' country of origin?

How is your parents' reaction to the ties you have with their country of origin?

Do you have plans of resettling in your parents' country of origin?

Would you want to hold a dual citizenship with Canada and your parents' birth country?

Do you think there are repercussions associated with not having ties with your parents' country of origin?

Do you parents' pressure you to have ties with their country of origin? If they do, in what ways do these pressure take shape?

How would like to socialize your children? Do you have plans of transferring some of your parents' heritage to your children? Are you interested in motivating them to have a connection with your parents' birth country?

Birth Order and Transnational Ties

What is your birth order?

As compared to your siblings, would say you are more connected to or less connected to your parents' birth country. Please explain why or why not?

Do you think your birth order has something to do with your connections to your parents' birth country?

Do you identify as a Canadian and/or the country that your parents' immigrated from?

Appendix D: Legend

... - few words, phrases or sentences deleted from the passage

Empty boxes in a table – No response from research participants with regards to that question

[] – added word or phrase by researcher for clarification or to demonstrate gestures or actions

R – Respondent

I - Interviewer

Glossary

Abrokyire – A term from the Akan language spoken in Ghana that means “abroad” or being from a foreign country outside Africa

Afrobeat – A genre of music that fuses West African music styles such as highlife with soul, jazz, and funk

Deda – A Somali traditional clothing

Fufu – A starchy food that is a staple of the Akans of Ghana made from pounding cooked cassava, yams, cocoyam, or plantain

Ghanaian – A person from Ghana in West Africa

Highlife – A genre of music that originated in Ghana in the late nineteenth century and is played with Western musical instruments, and comprises of the local Akan rhythms

Hiplife – A genre of music that mixes Ghanaian culture with hip hop

Igbo - The language spoken by the Igbos of Nigeria

Jollof – A spicy and stewed tomatoes rice dish that is popular in West Africa

Kinda – A slang saying that means “kind of”

Light soup – A spicy soup that is eaten by the people of Ghana and usually made with spices, tomatoes, habanero pepper, onions, garden eggs, and different kinds of protein, such as fish, chicken, and meat

Nigerian - A person from Nigeria, a country in West Africa

Pepper soup – A spicy soup that is a delicacy for Nigerians and is made usually with nutmeg, pepper, and onions

Ramadan – A period in the Muslim year when Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset

Somali – The name of an ethnic group in Somalia as well as a language spoken in the same country

Sudanese – A person from Sudan, a country in East Africa

Twi - A dialect spoken by the Akans in Ghana

Ummm – An interjection that is used to express hesitation, deliberation, or doubt