THE ROLE OF ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS: FOSTERING INTEGRATION AND

MAKING CONNECTIONS IN CANADA AND BEYOND

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(Sociology)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

August 2018

The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for acceptance, the dissertation entitled:

The Role of Ethnic Organizations: Fostering Integration and Making Connections in Canada

and Beyond

submitted by   Mabel Ho   in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of   Doctor of Philosophy

in   Sociology

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Abstract

Individuals have the option to maintain ties to their ancestral country while settling into Canada. These connections are called transnational practices, the activities and attachments individuals have across nation states, such as celebrating festivals or engaging in business investments based in the ancestral country. I conducted 61 interviews and engaged in 85.5 hours of participant observations in four ethnically-based organizations in Toronto to examine the factors that shape an individual's participation in transnational practices, the meaning individuals give to their practices, and the identities that they develop. I draw attention to how organizations facilitate these practices, in part by lowering the cost to participating. Specifically, I demonstrate how organizations create the space for the development of social ties, which are critical for spreading information and building social pressure among group members. I compare political and cultural groups and find that political organizations were most explicit in connecting various types of transnational practices. As a result, individuals belonging to political organizations participated in a greater number and variety of transnational practices. I also examine the meaning individuals give to their engagement in transnational practices. I create a four-fold typology to categorize individuals' transnational practices as rooted, multiple, wavering, or romantic connections. I show how the language spoken at events and the activities hosted by organizations shape the meanings individuals attach to their practices. Last, I examine how individuals create and develop their identities within organizations. I argue that these organizations help foster particular ways of enacting the Canadian hyphen. Individuals can come to see their Canadian and ancestral country identities as connected in different ways, what I label as core, contextual, or composite identities. This dissertation highlights the critical role that

ethnic organizations can play for newcomers, established co-ethnic members, and larger society. Unpacking the role of these organizations gives insight into the complex ways that individuals integrate into Canada as a whole while maintaining connections beyond our borders and speaks to the larger issues of inclusion and integration in society.

Lay Summary

This dissertation examines how individuals can integrate into Canada while maintaining ties to an ancestral country. These connections can come in the form of transnational practices, such as celebrating cultural festivals or reading news about the ancestral country. I particularly focus on the role of ethnic organizations in facilitating these practices and helping make connections between new immigrants, established co-ethnic members, and larger Canadian society. I examine how organizations facilitate these connections, shape the meaning individuals' give to their practices, and develop their sense of identity in Canada. For this work, I interviewed 61 participants and conducted 85.5 hours of participant observations for four ethnically based organizations in Toronto. This research highlights the role of ethnic organizations as spaces that build bonds between co-ethnic members and also create bridges between ethnic minority groups and larger Canadian society.

Preface

This dissertation is the sole intellectual work of the author and all research was conducted independently. This research is covered by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board Certificate number NMREB File # 103136 and has been approved by the research committees at Western University.

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List of Abbreviations

Bayan   Bayan-Toronto

JCCC   Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre

KCCA   Korean Canadian Cultural Association

PDF   Pakistan Development Fund

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many individuals who have facilitated my personal and professional growth during this academic journey. I have benefited from the insights, generosity, and mentorship of Dr. Catherine Corrigall-Brown. She has consistently encouraged me to think more critically about sociology, provided opportunities to cultivate my research and teaching skills, and created a collaborative space to develop my scholarly identity. My committee members, Dr. Wendy Roth and Dr. Rima Wilkes, have shared with me new perspectives and directions that elevated the framing and communication of my work and ideas. The people I have met have throughout my studies have motivated and inspired me: the faculty, staff, and graduate students in the Department of Sociology at the University of British Columbia and Western University; the Graduate Facilitator Team at Centre for Teaching and Learning; and the faculty and graduate students in the Migration and Ethnic Relations Program at Western University. I thank all the friends I made along this journey for their laughter, care, and thoughtfulness. My participants graciously shared with me their time and experiences, and I carry their voices with me throughout this work. Above all, I express my gratitude towards my family: Chuck Ho, Winnie Lau, and Janet Ho. None of this would have been possible without them.

Dedication

For my parents, Chuck Ho and Winnie Lau, for their unwavering strength, love, and support.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Canadian cities are filled with the sights and sounds of cultural diversity. This diversity is obvious when one walks around Chinatown, hears multiple languages when taking the transit, or goes out for ramen or Korean barbeque. This diversity is related to larger processes of transnationalism, the feeling of connection individuals have to their ancestral country while integrating into a new society (Goldring & Krishamurti, 2007; Satzewich & Wong, 2006). Studies have examined how individuals experience these transnational connections both at the individual level and at the larger national level. However, still missing is an examination of how organizations facilitate individuals' connections to both a homeland and a new country of residence (Portes, 2015).

Ethnic organizations are based on a common cultural background among members (Fennema, 2004; Jenkins, 1988; Radecki, 1979). These organizations can fulfill many functions. First, ethnic organizations can provide development aid and resources to the ancestral country (Escobar, 2015; Itzigsohn, 2017). Escobar (2015) showed how Colombian and Dominican organizations in New York worked to provide aid and relief funds for natural disasters (i.e., the earthquake of 1999 in Colombia and Hurricane Georges in the Dominican Republic in 1998). Second, ethnic organizations can help to provide resources to the new country (Babis, 2006; Guo & Guo, 2011; Moya, 2005). Owusu (2000), for instance, discussed how Ghanaian associations in Toronto helped members find jobs and housing. Finally, these organizations can help individuals to preserve the cultural heritage of their ethnic group. Owusu's (2000) work on Ghanaians in Toronto illustrated how organizations help new immigrants to maintain traditional

customs such as having child-naming and christening ceremonies. Scholars have found that individuals who are part of ethnic organizations filter their experiences through these organizations (Levitt et al., 2011; Louie, 2006; McAuliffe, 2008). Individuals participating in ethnic organizations are also more likely to engage in transnational practices (Kasinitz et al., 2008). However, the processes and relationships whereby organizational involvement facilitates these practices, and the resulting feelings of identity and belonging they can engender, remains unclear. Unpacking these processes is one objectives of this dissertation.

My short narratives of Thomas and Cecilia,[1] both of whom were interviewed for this project, illustrate the role of organizations. Thomas is a man in his 80s who was born in Canada (second generation). He has been part of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC) since its inception in 1963. Thomas's family was part of the group that was "on the ground floor planning" the JCCC and he remembers seeing Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson at the opening of the cultural centre in Toronto, Canada. Ever since that day, Thomas has frequently attended various functions, heritage days, and special dances at the JCCC.

Cecilia is a member of an ethnically based organization called Bayan-Toronto (Bayan), a Filipino political organization. She is a woman in her early 20s and has lived in Canada for four years (first generation). She was part of Bayan in the Philippines, and when she and her family migrated to Canada, they looked for this organization in Toronto. Both of her parents are involved in Bayan and encouraged her involvement as well. She keeps in touch with her family and friends in the Philippines through a variety of methods such as "snail mail," phone,

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[1] These narratives are from the interviews that form the basis of this study. More details about the data collection, as well as a list of the interview participants and demographic characteristics, can be found in the Appendix.

Facebook, and Viber (a free mobile application). At Bayan, Cecilia participates in May Day

rallies and has held placards during marches.

During their interviews, Thomas and Cecilia draw attention to how organizations create

connections to their ancestral country and Canada. Despite their age and gender differences,

both are part of organizations, which help facilitate their connections to both their ancestral

country and Canada. For Thomas, JCCC gives a space where he can celebrate Japanese cultural

events, while for Cecilia, Bayan organizes marches were she can draw attention to labour

practices in Canada and the Philippines. In this dissertation, I examine the implications of

participating in ethnically based organizations for shaping an individual's ties to his or her

ancestral country and identity.

1.1   Transnationalism and Multiculturalism

The process of settlement can take many different paths (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Scholarly increasingly look at connections individuals have to their ancestral country to

understand the processes involved in integrating into Canada. The transnational framework

captures the experience of maintaining country ties while integrating into larger society (e.g.,

Goldring & Krishamurti, 2007; Satzewich & Wong, 2006). This feeling of connection to

different regions of the world is part of the daily routine of many Canadians. I follow Levitt

(2001) in defining transnational practices as the activities and attachments that individuals

engage in across nation states, which can be political, economic, social, or cultural (Levitt, 2001;

Ley, 2013). In essence, they are the practices that tie individuals to a new country post-

migration and a country of origin pre-migration. Such activities might include sending money to

the ancestral country or keeping in touch with family and friends there (see Table 1 for examples). The divisions between socio-cultural, political, religious, and economic transnational practices are created for analytical purposes, as categories potentially overlap each other. For example, an individual may talk on the phone with loved ones from the ancestral country about an upcoming political election.

Table 1 Type of Transnational Practices

Type of Transnational Practice	Example
Sociocultural	Reading/watching/listening to media reports about the ancestral country Celebrating festivals from the ancestral country Visiting/keeping ties with family/friends from the ancestral country
Religious	Celebrating religious traditions associated with the ancestral country Attending religious events associated with the ancestral country
Economic	Engaging in business investments in the ancestral country Sending remittances to individuals in the ancestral country Owning property in ancestral country
Political	Fundraising in political organizations related to the ancestral country Voting in political elections in the ancestral country Belonging to political affiliations in the ancestral country

Noted: Adapted from Hiebert and Ley (2006) and Vertovec (2009)

Transnational practices have important implications for individuals. They can shape individuals' identity and their sense of belonging to both their country of residence and their ancestral country. Canadian multiculturalism recognizes that individuals can integrate into Canadian society while maintaining ties to their ancestral country (Satzewich & Wong, 2006). As a result, transnational practices are particularly relevant to Canadian integration.

Canada presents a theoretically interesting case study because of the larger context of

Canadan multiculturalism, which supports the concept of individuals maintaining ties outside of

Canada and having multiple, hyphenated identities (Satzewich & Wong, 2006). In Canada,

multiculturalism is a government policy, an ideology, and a demographic fact (Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, 2012). As a government policy, multiculturalism champions the rights of

minorities to maintain their cultural ties and for governments to recognize these rights (Reitz,

2009). Initiated by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau in 1971, multiculturalism became an

official policy in 1988 and entitles individuals to preserve their cultural heritage while

participating in Canadian society (Simmons & Plaza, 2006). As a result, the policy of

multiculturalism influences immigration and incorporation into Canadian society (Bloemraad,

2006). Canadian immigration policy and multicultural approach have shaped the distinctive

migration and settlement experience in Canada (Reitz, 2012). Overall, proper implementation of

multiculturalism can promote integration (Ng & Bloemraad, 2015).

Multiculturalism is an ideology and a demographic fact in Canada. Nationally, there are

high levels of support for multicultural ideology (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014; Reitz, 2014;

Wilkes et al., 2008; Wilkes & Corrigall-Brown, 2011). Diversity is seen in a positive way and

multiculturalism becomes an aspiration, "the Canadian Dream" (Adams, 2007, p. 41). In

essence, multiculturalism is a core part of Canadian identity (Bloemraad & Wright, 2014; Soroka

& Roberton, 2010). Demographically, 7.7 million individuals are categorized in the visible-

minority group, and in 2016, more than 250 ethnic origins and ancestries were reported

(Statistics Canada, 2016a).[2] Racialized individuals represent more than one fifth (22.3%) of

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[2] The term *visible minority* is used when discussing official government statistics. Otherwise, I use the word
racialized, which encompasses Indigenous population in Canada, to capture the complicated process involved in
constructing categories.

Canada's population and it is projected that this percentage will increase to 34.4 by the year 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2016a). Canada is demographically diverse and one of the main reasons is because of past and current immigration policies.

Multiculturalism structures how individuals in Canada interact. Canada was the first country in the world to implement multiculturalism as an official policy, in 1971. This policy encourages individuals to take pride in their ancestry and to view differences as a source of strength (Government of Canada, 2018). While there are debates arguing whether multiculturalism leads to civic integration or ethnic isolation in countries around the world, research demonstrates that in the Canadian case, multiculturalism promotes integration and citizenship (Kymlicka, 2010). In Canada, there are funds that support the integration of individuals and communities in building a cohesive society. For example, there is the Inter-Action: Multiculturalism Funding Program, which provides funding to community-based organizations that foster civic pride and engagement projects (Government of Canada, 2018). There also exists a number of national and provincial organizations that work towards building educational resources and commemorating important events and people (Government of Canada, 2018).

1.2   Research Questions

This study has three key questions, and I focus on the role of the ethnic organizations in this dissertation. I examine individual (micro), organizational (meso), and socio-political (macro) level factors that influence an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices and the types of practices in which he or she participates. Next, I explore the meaning individuals give to their transnational practices and how organizations can facilitate their

practices. I follow by investigating identity development and how organizational involvement

shapes the types of hyphenated identities individuals develop. My three main questions are:

1. What factors (individual, organizational, and structural) shape an individual's

    transnational practices? What is the role of the ethnic organization in facilitating

    individuals' engagement in transnational practices? How does this participation

    differ in amount number and type?

2. How does an individual make sense of his or her transnational practices and the

    connections created? How do organizations foster these connections?

3. How do individuals navigate and negotiate their multiple identities? How does

    participation in ethnic organizations shape this identity development?

1.3   Data and Method

This study is based on interviews (N = 61) and participant observation (N = 85.5 hours)

of individuals engaged in four ethnically based organizations in Toronto, Canada. This study

employs a comparative research design (see Table 2). There have been a wide variety of studies

on immigrant incorporation to Canada. Large quantitative surveys are able to examine all ethnic

groups when assessing immigrant incorporation. Using Statistics Canada's national surveys,

such as Ethnic Diversity Survey and the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (Ley,

2013), researchers have examined the social integration of "visible minorities" compared to

"Whites" (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007), perceived discrimination across Canadian gateway cities

(Ray & Preston, 2009), and educational outcomes of the children of immigrants (Abada &

Tenkorang, 2009; Abada et al., 2009; Boyd, 2009; Boyd & Tian, 2016). While these studies are

able to examine rates and compare across ethnic groups, they are not able to capture the

individuals' lived experiences and the meanings attached to them.

Table 2 Dimensional Sampling Framework

		Foci	
		Cultural	**Political**
Degree of Settlement	**Longer**	**Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre** N = 15 interviews Average length = 76 minutes Observation hours = 32	**Pakistan Development Fund** N = 15 interviews Average length = 76 minutes Observation hours = 10
	Newer	**Korean Canadian Cultural Association** N = 15 interviews Average length = 50 minutes Observation hours = 24	**Bayan** N = 15 interviews Average length = 81 minutes Observation hours = 19.5

Ethnographic studies are able to examine the *process* of incorporation. However,

qualitative research is often focused on only one ethnic group at a time. Examples include

studies of Filipino youth's educational and employment routes (Kelly, 2014); the transnational

practices and civic participation of Hong Kong immigrants (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005; Preston,

Kobayashi, & Man, 2006); and the changing family dynamics of Korean mothers who stay with

their children while the fathers are in Korea as breadwinners (Jeong & Belanger, 2012). These

studies provide rich examples and thematic analysis of how individuals experience immigration.

However, these studies make it difficult to assess what is unique about a certain context or group

compared to what can be generalized across different ethnic groups.[3] The present study is based

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[3] There are a number of studies that use innovative methods in studying the immigration and settlement process in Canada (i.e., Hiebert & Ley, 2006; Siemiatycki & Preston, 2007; Wilson-Forsberg, 2012). For example, Smith and Ley (2008) used mixed methods to categorize census tracts that have high levels of poverty and immigrant settlement using Statistics Canada data and working with umbrella settlement agencies in Vancouver and Toronto to run focus groups. There exists comparative work within Canada (Ghosh, 2007; Kelly, 2014; Wilson-Forsberg,

on multiple types of qualitative data collected on four different ethnic groups. By comparing across ethnic groups, I am able to focus on the commonalities found across racialized groups in Canada while distinguishing what makes the experiences of individuals in each group unique.

Interviews and participant observations are complementary. Through the interviews, I was able to discuss with participants their transnational practices, identity, and involvement with the organizations. I also attended events, festivals, and marches where I observed how people engaged and participated in these four organizations. As a result, I was able to see social interaction as it took place, contextualize the participation of individuals, and get a sense of the life of the organization (Lofland et al., 2006).

I compare four groups that differ in their foci, cultural or political, and also capture different Canadian immigration histories and settlement patterns. I selected the four groups using a dimensional sampling technique. Dimensional sampling involves identifying an area of interest, isolating relevant dimensions of theoretical interest, and selecting cases (Arnold, 1970). This technique is particularly useful when studying a small number of cases (e.g., Corrigall-Brown, 2012; Kornhauser, 1962). I chose a dimensional sample of four organizations that represent four different ethnic groups. The two dimensions upon which I sampled are: (a) organization foci (whether it is a cultural or political group), and (b) degree of settlement in Canada. The four ethnic groups chosen for the larger study were selected based on their period of immigration, education, and employment characteristics. From the four ethnic groups, I categorized the Japanese and Pakistani groups as more settled based on the percentage of

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2012) and outside Canada (Bloemraad, 2006; Landolt, 2007, 2008) that details what makes the Canadian settlement experience distinctive by ethnic group, city, and political landscape.

Canadian born, average income, and level of education compared to the Korean and Filipino groups (Table 3).

Table 3 Ethnic Group Comparison

Ethnic Group	Percentage of Ethnic Group			Percentage of Canadian Population	Average Income	Bachelor's or Higher Education
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation			
Japanese	37.1	31.0	31.9	0.3	66,489	43.74
Korean	79.3	18.9	1.8	0.5	49,905	55.50
Pakistani	68.6	29.9	1.5	0.5	51,598	47.62
Filipino	74.3	23.3	2.4	2.0	45,324	41.10
Average Canadian	23.9	17.7	58.4		58, 129	25.87

Note: Canadian Census (2016) and National Household Survey (2011).

I will outline the four ethnic groups and their context of immigration and settlement in Canada. Japanese Canadians have the highest percentage of Canadian born from the four ethnic groups chosen, and the first documented individual of Japanese ancestry arrived in Canada in 1877 (Pon et al., 2017). The average income and level of education for Japanese Canadians are not only higher than those of the other ethnic groups listed in Table 1.3, but also are higher than the Canadian average. Pakistani Canadians have the second highest percentage of Canadian born of the four ethnic groups chosen, and the immigration pattern increased after the beginning of the 20th century. The average income and level of education for Pakistani Canadians are also high. I categorized the Korean and Filipino groups as less settled based on the percentage Canadian born, average income, and level of education. Of the four ethnic groups in this study, Korean Canadians have the lowest percentage Canadian born. The average income of Korean Canadian is low despite relatively high education levels. The Filipino Canadians have the third highest percentage of Canadian born from the ethnic groups studied. Filipino immigration to Canada has been increasing, and since 2009, it has been one of the top three source countries to Canada. The

average income and level of education for Filipino Canadians are low compared to the Canadian average.

For each of these organizations, I interviewed 15 participants[4] and attended different events hosted by the organization, such as protests, discussion forums, and cultural celebrations.[5] I transcribed my interviews and participant observation memos and imported them into NVivo to systematically code my data (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). By calculating the proportional agreement percentage, I demonstrate coherence of the data analysis and the conformability of my interpretation. Throughout the analysis, I made a storyboard to think about claims I could make with the data while being cognizant of similarities and differences. By thinking about claims, I was able to examine the relationships between themes (Massengill, 2012; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). I read isolated sections to develop retroductive codes to stay close to emergent themes (Ragin, 1994). The retroduction technique is the interplay between induction and deduction and allows for a conversation between the research theory and gathered evidence (Ragin, 1994; Sæther, 1999). In my analysis, I also reflected on missing data and alternative explanations (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). To aid my coding, I constructed a thematic network to organize my themes and deduce global themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). By creating a visual network of basic themes, organizational themes, and global themes, I was able to abstract and interpret patterns that emerged from the data. I retroductively coded my data after identifying larger categories when assessing their relative importance. As a result, I was able to flesh out my categories and themes while thinking about alternative explanations and outliers (Miles & Huberman, 1994;

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[4] My recruitment and data selection strategy are discussed in the Appendix.
[5] I interviewed 15 individuals from the JCCC, PDF, and Bayan. I interviewed 16 individuals from Korean Canadian Cultural Association, resulting in a total interview sample of 61.

Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Coding is an iterative process and these steps overlapped as I focused

my analysis, categorized information, identified patterns, and interpreted the data (Miles &

Huberman, 1994).

1.4   Organizational Case Studies

I compared four ethnically based organizations in Toronto, Canada. In 2016, 7.5 million

Canadians were foreign-born, representing more than one in five persons in Canada (Statistics

Canada, 2016a). There also exists diversity among the individuals who are born in Canada. The

Indigenous population (First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples) makes up 4.9% of the total

Canadian population. The children of immigrants also represent a growing percentage of the

population, and the majority, 74%, of these individuals have ancestry in Asia, Africa, the

Caribbean and Bermuda, and Central and South America. In fact, there are more than 250 ethnic

origins reported in the Census (Statistics Canada, 2016a). The diversity in Canada is highest in

Toronto, where more than half of the population, 51.5%, identified as belonging to a visible

minority population (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

The four organizations are the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (cultural, longer),

Pakistan Development Fund (political, longer), Korean Canadian Cultural Association (cultural,

newer), and Bayan (political, newer). Through interviews and participant observations, I

assessed how engaging in these kinds of organizations facilitate individuals' transnational

practices and help shape an individual's identity.

The Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC) is a not-for-profit organization that

promotes and celebrates Japanese culture and Japanese Canadian heritage. Founded in 1963, the

JCCC offers Japanese traditional and contemporary programs (i.e., martial arts classes, Sumi-e,

J-Cinema); annual events and festivals (i.e., Road to Asia, bazaar, spring festival); and other special art exhibitions and performances showcasing the Nikkei (people of Japanese descent) experience in Canada. The JCCC's motto is "friendship through culture" and "represents the fulfillment of a long held community vision; celebrating the unique culture, history, and legacy of Japanese Canadians for the benefit of all Canadians" (Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre)

The Korean Canadian Cultural Association (KCCA) is a not-for-profit organization established in 1965. It has a far-reaching mandate that consists of "instill[ing] a sense of pride in Korea, Korean culture, and the KCCA in upcoming generations" while offering services to KCCA members, such as providing senior, settlement, and women's services (Korean Canadian Cultural Association). A number of annual activities occur at the KCCA; examples include the Korean Traditional Lunar New Year Event, the Peace Marathon, and the Year End Party. In addition, there are more than 30 classes offered at the KCCA, such as children's Korean classes, smartphone classes, and Pilates.

The Pakistan Development Fund (PDF) is an advocacy organization consisting of both students and professionals. This group was established in 2010 at the University of Toronto and has grown to include chapters at the University of Toronto (St. George Campus and Mississauga) and McMaster University, including the core executive team in Toronto. The main mandate of the group is "to assist Pakistan's most marginalized individuals and communities by highlighting injustices and recommending subsequent courses of action, all while promoting safe uncensored dialogue" (Pakistan Development Fund). Events held at PDF consist of public discussion forums, distinguished guest speakers, film screenings, and fundraising for Pakistani grassroots non-governmental organizations.

Bayan was founded in 2008 and is a political organization that works towards "advancing the Filipino people's movement for national liberation and democracy" (Bayan). As an umbrella group, there are a number of affiliated organizations in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec. In Ontario, the allied organizations are Anakbayan (youth); Gabriela (women); and Migrante (foreign workers—i.e., Philippine Advocacy Through the Arts and Culture; Filipino Migrant Workers Movement; IWW; etc.).

1.5   Brief Context of Immigration and Settlement in Canada

With the exception of the Indigenous population, the story of Canada is one of immigration.[6] While each individual story is unique, the experiences of individuals in each of the four ethnic group I study are, in part, shaped by the history and patterns of settlement of the ethnic group as a whole. In this section, I describe the demographic profile, socioeconomic characteristics, and context in Canada of each of the ethnic groups in this study: Japanese, Pakistani, Korean, and Filipino. The study of Asian Canadians as an area of focus is beginning to attract increased attention from academics (Pon et al., 2017).

The number of permanent residents from each of the four ethnic groups varies greatly. Figure 1.1 shows the difference in the number of permanent residents in Canada based on ethnic group.[7] For example, there are six times as many people of Filipino ancestry than of Japanese ancestry in Canada (Table 3). Besides differences in the number of permanent residents in Canada by country, these ethnic groups vary in terms of where they settle, the percentage that are

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[6] Fleras (2015), Kelly and Trebilcock (1998), and Simmons (2010) provide detailed accounts of Canadian immigration history and the changing policies.
[7] The demographic and socioeconomic analysis of the following section is based on the 2011 National Household Survey.

foreign born, their incomes, and their levels of education. In addition, notable events impact the four ethnic groups in particular ways based on their settlement history in Canada and the route through which they entered the country. After examining the immigration context of each of the groups, I give a description of the cultural or political group that I examined for this project.

Figure 1 Generational Status, by Ethnic Group
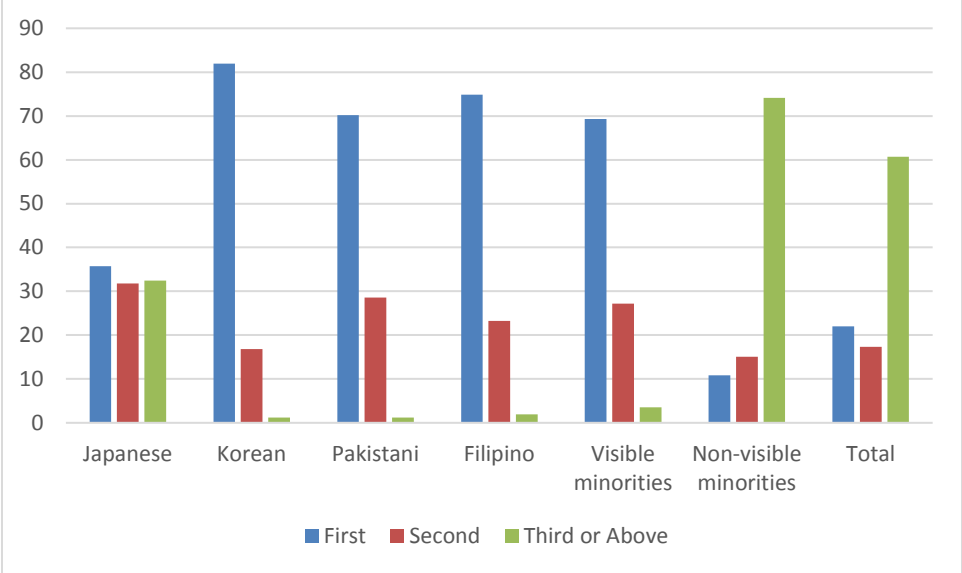
Note: National Household Survey, 2011.

1.5.1.1 Japanese Canadians

The history of Japanese people in Canada has been more than 135 years in the making. Even with this long history, the ethnic community is quite small, as Table 3 illustrates. There are 109,740 Canadians with Japanese ancestry, representing 0.3% of the total Canadian population. Within this group, half indicated Japanese ancestry as a single origin, while the other half indicated Japanese in combination with other ethnic origin(s). The majority of individuals with Japanese origins are Canadian born (66%).

I want to draw attention to three aspects of the composition of this ethnic group. First, individuals who report Japanese ethnic origins are the most likely to report multiple ethnic origins among the groups in this study. Second, as Figure 1 shows, individuals in this group are most likely to be second or third generation. The majority of this ethnic group are Canadian-born, while the other three ethnic groups are more likely to be immigrants (Figure 1). Third, at least 10% of Japanese immigrants arrived in Canada before 1971. This is a significant number, because the other three ethnic groups have fewer than 2% of individuals who arrived prior to 1971 (Figure 2). There are clear differences based on the period of migration for the Japanese in Canada, and as a result, there are generational terms capturing the experiences of each time period.[8]

Figure 2 Period of Immigration, by Ethnic Group
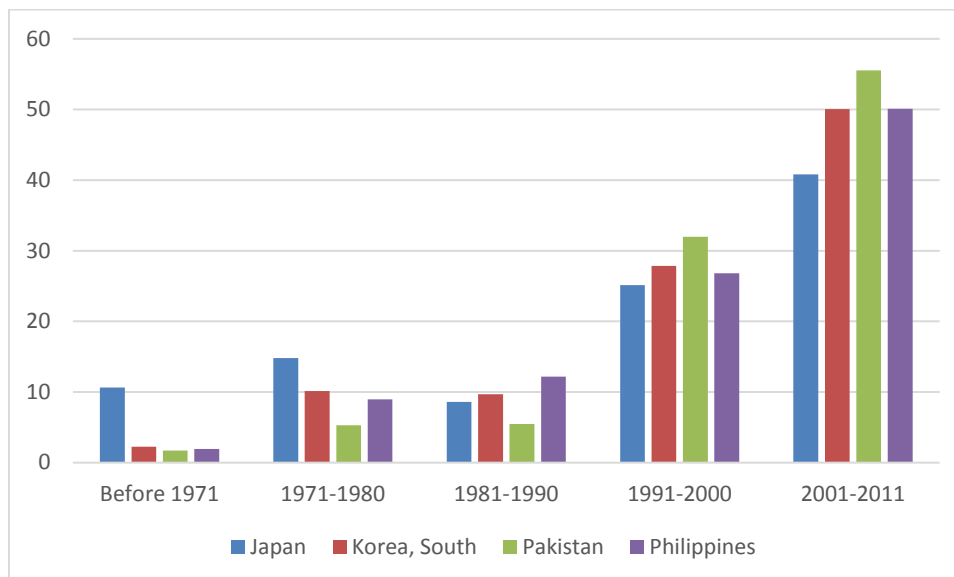
Note: National Household Survey, 2011

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[8] Individuals with Japanese ancestry born in Canada are differentiated by the generation in which they are born. The first generation is Issei (pre-WWII immigration), the second generation is Nisei (children of the Issei), Sansei marks the third generation (born to Nisei parents), Yonsei are the fourth generation (born to Sansei parents), and Gosei are the fifth generation (born to Yonsei parents). Japanese immigrants who arrived after WWII are called shin-ijusha. The term nikkei represents all Japanese immigrants living abroad.

Japanese Canadians as a group have a high level of education. When comparing completion of university degree, Japanese Canadians (48%) far exceed the national average (28%). Japanese Canadians also have a relatively high average income. As a group, this ethnic group exhibits middle class standards of being well educated and obtaining higher than average income.

One of the key events shaping the formation of the Japanese Canadian community is the exclusionary practices and dispersal tactics employed by the government during and after the Second World War (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2000; Miki, 2004). There existed anti-Asian sentiment prior to World War II, which included discriminatory practices and disfranchisement that became worse after the Pearl Harbor bombing in 1941 (Makabe, 1998). The War Measures Act and subsequent wartime restrictions resulted in internment and forced dispersal of this ethnic group. It is important to note that in 1941, 60% of the Japanese in Canada had been born in Canada. For this ethnic group, the internment was a huge devastation resulting in the loss of homes, business, land, communities, personal property, and freedom. Post-World War II, Prime Minister Mackenzie King called for individuals with Japanese ancestry to disperse themselves as widely as possible and this dispersion "was synonymous with assimilation" (Makabe, 1998, p. 23). During the years from 1949 to 1965 this ethnic group was geographically dispersed and individuals were mindful to not draw attention to themselves, such as consciously not living in close proximity to each other (Makabe, 1998, p. 27). As a result, third generation Japanese Canadians, mostly born after 1945, have "grown up without a cultural community" (Sugiman, 2006; p. 67). The forced internment and dispersal of Japanese Canadians is a critical part of Canada's history.

Figure 3 Permanent Residents in Top 5 Source Countries, South Korea, and Japan, 2014
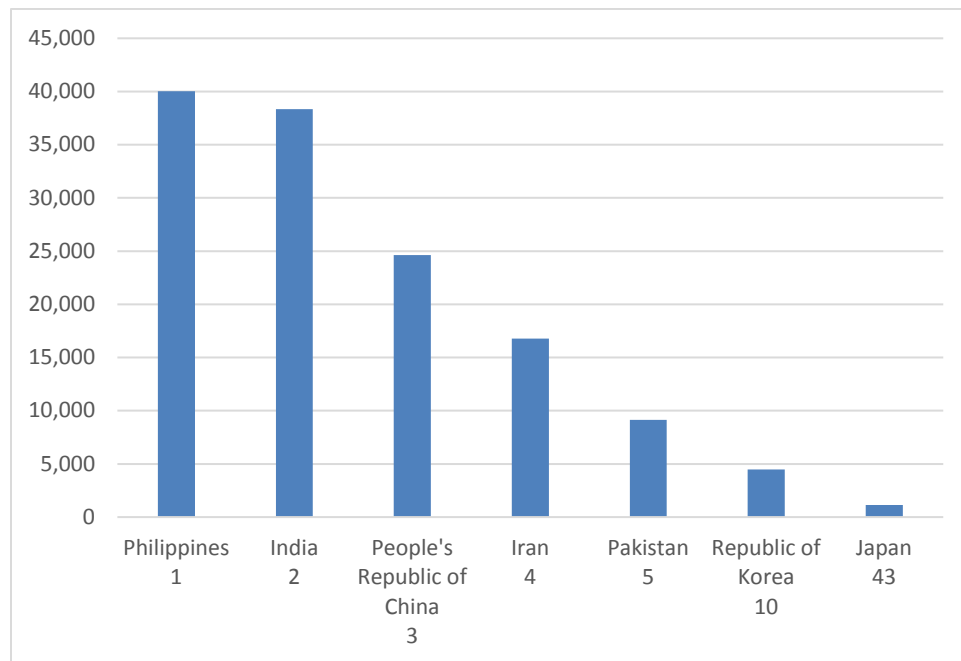
Note: Citizenship and Immigration Canada Facts and Figures, 2014

1.5.1.2   Korean Canadians[9]

The settlement of Korean Canadians began a half a century ago (Kim et al., 2012; Park, 2012), when Korean immigrants came to Canada as missionary students. As Figure 1.1 shows, the number of permanent residents of Korean ethnic origin was very low until 1984 but has noticeably increased since 1990s. In 2014, Korea was one of the top 10 source countries for

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[9] The focus is on South Koreas (Republic of Korea)

immigrants to Canada (Figure 3). Today, there are 168,890 people with Korean ethnic origin in

Canada, representing 0.5% of Canada's total population. This community is comprised mainly

of immigrants (69%) and almost all individuals indicate Korean as a single ethnic origin (91%).

Compared to the other ethnic groups I examine in this study, the Koreans have the smallest

proportion of Canada born and the highest percentage of Korean ancestry as a single origin. A

majority of Koreans are first generation. Of these first generation immigrants, 50% immigrated

to Canada after 2001. This demographic profile of Korean Canadians shows that this is a

growing community (Darden, 2004; Kim et al., 2012; Park, 2012).

The socioeconomic characteristics of people of Korean origin in Canada show low

income despite relatively high levels of education (Park, 2012). More than half of the people

with Korean origins have a university degree, but the average income of this group is $8,000 less

than the Canadian average (Table 3). Higher rates of self-employment, entrepreneurship, and

work in family-owned small businesses may partly explain this discrepancy (Chan & Fong,

2012; Park, 2012). The prevalence of low income in this ethnic group is also more than double

the Canadian average (Table 4).

Table 4 Education and Employment Characteristics, by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Labor Force Participation (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Prevalence of Low Income (%)
Japanese	81	5.8	12.5
Korean	71	8.5	30.8
Pakistani	73	10.5	24.0
Filipino	90	4.6	11.8
Visible minority	75.6	9.9	14.9
Non-visible minority	83.2	7.3	13.3
Aboriginal	67.5	11.0	
Canadian	86	6.2	11.0

There are different approaches to categorizing Korean immigration to Canada and I focus on two key factors that shape the number and type of Korean immigrants over time (Kim et al., 2012; Kwak, 2004; Yoon, 2012). First, prior to the 1960s, Koreans face restrictions on emigration from Korea and Canadian immigration policy. Immigrant flows were mainly through Korean religious missionaries coming to Canada (Kim et al., 2012). As Figure 2 shows, before the 1960s there were only small numbers of Korean immigrants to Canada.

The relationship between the two countries changed after the 1960s. In 1963, Korea opened a mission in Ottawa and 10 years later there was a Canadian Embassy in Seoul (Kim et al., 2012). In addition, Canada's immigration policy changed with the institution of the points system in 1967 (Kelly & Trebilcock, 2010). Both of these changes demonstrate how the linkages between Korea and Canada intensified, prompting increased migration to Canada. There was a limited number of Korean immigrants in the 1960s because of racial barriers. However, this changed in the 1970s when the point system was implemented, which reduced racial discrimination in the immigration process. These changes had important implications for the number of Korean immigrants coming to Canada and facilitated increased migration between the two countries.

Second, there has been a shift in the socio-economic profile of Korean immigration to Canada. In the 1970s, Korea was faced with poor economic conditions and a military dictatorship. However, the 1980s was a time of strong economic growth in Korea. The Canadian government introduced the business class of immigration in 1978 to target individuals

with substantive financial capital and business success (Kim et al., 2012; Simmons, 2010).

Korean immigrants are now among the top two or three source countries for business-class

immigrants to Canada (Kim et al., 2012).

The Korean Canadian ethnic group has grown rapidly in the past 20 years (Kim et al.,

2012). Overall, contemporary Korean immigrants are more likely to be wealthy, highly educated,

and from the professional class (Kim et al., 2012).[10] The story of Korean migration to Canada

shows a gradual increase in the number of immigrants and a newer immigration flow than those

of the other ethnic groups in this study.

Table 5 Permanent Residents Entry to Canada, by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Economic (%)	Family Class (%)	Refugees (%)	Others (%)
Japanese	52	44		4
Korean	83	15		
Pakistani	58	28	12	
Filipino	68	31		
All	62	25	9	3

Note. The category Others represents a number of immigrants, such as post-determination refugee claims in Canada, temporary resident permit holders, and sponsored humanitarian and compassionate cases outside the family class. See Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014b) glossary for complete list. Facts and Figures (2012).

1.5.1.3 Pakistani Canadians

Pakistanis migrated to Canada starting at the beginning of the 20th century, and since the

1990s, the number of permanent residents of Pakistani background has steady increased (See

Figure 1). In 2014, Pakistan was one of the top five source countries for immigrants to Canada.

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[10] Another immigration policy that facilitates the increase of Koreans immigrants is the Canadian Provincial Nominee Program. Through this program's aim to disperse immigrants across Canada, the Korean Canadian population has grown in the Atlantic region and has increased visibility in Saint John, Moncton, Fredericton, Halifax, and Charlottetown (Kim et al., 2012; Kim & Belkhodja, 2012).

There are 155,310 individuals in Canada indicating Pakistani ethnic origin, making up 0.5% of

Canada's total population. More than half of Pakistani Canadians reported Pakistani as their

single ethnic origin (71%). While the majority are immigrants to Canada (68%), a sizable

number is Canadian born (33%). Unlike the other ethnic groups I studied, a small minority of

this group are from the refugee class (12%; Table 5). For example, in 2014, Pakistan was one of

the top two countries of refugee claimants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014a).

Individuals with Pakistani ethnic origin have high average income and education levels.

Almost half of people of Pakistani ethnic origin have a bachelor's degree or higher, almost

double the rate of the Canadian population as a whole. Their average income is $18,000 higher

than the average income of visible minorities in Canada as a whole. However, it is also notable

that this ethnic group shows a high unemployment rate at 10.5%, which is higher than both the

visible minority and Canadian populations. The prevalence of low income is also high at 24.0%

(Table 4).

There are two key features of Pakistani immigration to Canada. First, the composition of

Pakistani immigrants changed because of Canada's immigration policy. Prior to the 1960s, the

number of Pakistani immigrants to Canada was limited due to discriminatory immigration

policies. The end of quotas practices in 1967 and the emphasis on education and skills in

selecting migrants had important implications for the composition of immigrants coming to

Canada (Li, 2003; Simmons, 2010). Pakistanis began immigrating to Canada at the beginning of

the 20th century. The state which is now recognized as Pakistan had limited immigrants who

arrived in British Columbia in the early 1900s to work in the sawmill industry.[11] The numbers

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[11] In 1947, Pakistani gained independence from the United Kingdom and the partitioning of India.

were low because of immigration quotas restricting Pakistani immigrants, allowing only 100

people from Pakistan to immigrate each year (Brown, 2012). This changed in the late 1960s,

when Canada abolished national origin as a criterion for immigration and replaced it with a

points system that rewarded immigrants for their education and skills (Kelly & Trebilcock, 2010;

Simmons, 2010). As a result, the composition of immigrants to Canada began to change and the

emphasis on education and skills created conditions whereby the small numbers of Pakistani

immigrants who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s were educated and skilled (Qureshi & Qureshi,

1993; Zaman, 2010). As Figure 1 shows, there was an increase of Pakistani immigrants to

Canada in the 1970s. There was also an increase in the 1990s, which is attributed to Canada's

links to the Commonwealth and the country sharing roots with the British Empire (Simmons,

2010). In the 1980s and 1990s, Pakistani ethnic origin immigrants coming to Canada

represented a range of immigration categories, such as those considered highly skilled

professionals, as well as those coming in under family reunification and refugee status

(Chaudhary & Guarnizo, 2016).

Second, Muslims around are the world are perceived differently since the events of

September 11, 2001 and the general modern focus on terrorism (Arat-Koc, 2006; Kazemipur,

2014). In Canada, many argue that Arab and Muslim Canadians live in an environment of

hostility based on the shadow and scrutiny of September 11 and Islamophobia (Arat-Koc, 2006).

The majority of Pakistani Canadians are Muslim (91%).

A wide body of research illustrates how Arab and Muslim Canadians are treated and

targeted in different settings (Kzaemipur, 2014; Hennebry & Amery, 2013; Isin & Siemiatycki,

2002). A survey by the Environics Institute (2016) showed that 30% of Muslims Canadians had

experienced discrimination because of their religion, ethnicity, or culture. Here are two

examples that show discrimination this group experiences in the workplace and media. In the

settlement sector, there is stigma directed towards Pakistani immigrant women who attend

government-funded settlement workshops when instructing them how to dress and smell in the

labor force (Ameeriar, 2012). In the broader public, research shows that Canadian newspapers

use racist rhetoric to frame the entire Arab and Muslim population through animal metaphors,

vermin imagery, and disease discourse (Steuter & Wills, 2009). Both of these examples

illustrate how Pakistanis are cast as outsiders.

1.5.1.4   Filipino Canadians

Filipino migration to Canada has been relatively small historically. However, since 2009,

the Philippines has been in the top three source countries for immigration to Canada (Kelly,

2006; Kelly, 2014). As Figure 1 shows, the number of Filipinos settling in Canada has been

consistently higher than the populations from the other ethnic groups in this study. There are

662,605 Canadians with Filipino ancestry, representing 2% of Canada's total population. The

majority of individuals with Filipino ancestry indicate single ethnic origin (76%). Canada's

Filipino community is comprised mostly of recent immigrants (68%), with 50% arriving after

2001 (Table 3).

Labor force participation among Filipinos is exceptionally high, as shown in Table 4

(Kelly, 2006). Ninety percent of Filipinos are working, well above the Canadian average.

Individuals with Filipino ethnic origin also have a very low unemployment rate (4.6%),

compared to the visible minority population (9.9%) and the Canadian average (6.2%). However,

the average income of this group is $12,805 lower than the Canadian average, and the prevalence

of low income is 0.8% higher than the Canadian average. This is despite the fact that a greater

number of Filipinos in Canada have obtained bachelor's degrees or higher (Table 3). The reason

for this is, in part, that Filipinos tend to have low-paying jobs and work in areas such as health

care, hospitality, and manufacturing (Kelly, 2006; Kelly et al., 2012).

Filipino migration to Canada highlights the importance of immigration category and how

the category under which you migrate to Canada shapes your experiences. There are three main

immigration categories in Canada: economic class, family class, and refugee. These categories

illustrate the Canadian government's interest in attracting highly skilled and educated workers

for the labor force, commitment to reuniting families, and humanitarian obligation to protecting

refugees (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014b; Simmons, 2010).

The Canadian government includes programs under individuals can enter the country.

One is the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP; 1993-present), which replaced the Foreign

Domestic Movement Program (1980-1992). The LCP involves individuals working in the

homes of their employers and later applying for permanent residency. Applicants must perform

live-in care work for children, elderly individuals, and persons with disabilities for a set period of

time in order to earn the possibility of permanent residency. These programs are fundamentally

different from other immigration categories to Canada. Individuals are specifically tied to one

employer and, as a result, can be in a precarious situation. Research, news stories, and

community-based organizations document the exploitative nature of this program and the effects

it has on individuals, their families, and the community (Arat-Koc, 1989, 1997; Davidson, 2012;

England & Stiell, 1997; Pratt, 1997; Tungohan, 2012). The implementation of this program and

others like it (e.g., Canadian Experience Class, Provincial Nominee Program, Seasonal

Agricultural Workers Program) reflects a trend towards two-step immigration whereby

individuals are granted permission to conditionally live and work in Canada as a probationary step towards possible citizenship (Goldring & Landolt, 2012).

The LCP is important to consider when examining the experiences of Filipinos in Canada for two main reasons. First, the LCP contains an overwhelming majority of Filipinos. In 2009, the country of birth of LCP principal applicants were 89% Filipino. Between the years of 1993 and 2009, the Philippines was the top country of birth in this program and Filipinos represented 83% of the total. Second, the gender composition of this program is highly skewed, as the overwhelming majority of participants are women (95%; Kelly et al., 2011). As a result, within the Filipino community in Canada, women are the initiators of the route to Canada. The image of the Filipino woman caregiver has become the face of Filipinos in the eyes of many of the Canadian public (McElhinney et al., 2012). However, Filipinos also enter Canada through other categories. From 1980 to2009, the majority of Filipino migrants entered Canada through the family class (35.0%) and the skilled worker class (31.7%), whereas only 23.9% entered through the LCP (Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative, 2011).

The socio-political situation in the Philippines is also an important factor for understanding the experiences of Filipino migrants to Canada. The increased numbers of Filipinos to Canada in the late 1980s and 1990s corresponds to the political instability in the Philippines at the end of the Marcos dictatorship (1986) and the Corazon Aquino administration from 1986 to 1992 (Kelly, 2014). There was also a lack of economic opportunity in the Philippines, both underemployment and unemployment (McElhinney et al., 2012). The Philippine government has been sending its citizens outside the country to work and has created a labor exporting country (Ball, 2004). The migration story of Filipinos is intertwined with the politics and economy of the Philippines (McElhinney et al., 2012).

Each individual has a unique immigration experience. However, these stories mirror larger global history and migration trends. Canadian immigration policies decree who can enter the country and under what conditions. These policies exist alongside larger global discussions about economic interests and security (Bauder, 2006; Dhamoon, 2009; Thobani, 2007). One contributing intervening factor is an individual's ethnicity, which shapes his or her immigration and settlement experience. As this brief account illustrates, the timing of when immigration occurs, under what category, and the experiences that transpire differ based on the individual's ethnic group. The economy of the home country may compel individuals to immigrate, and Canada's immigration policy can entice individuals further. The introduction of the Business Immigration Class and the LCP illustrates how Koreans and Filipinos may enter Canada and how labor market conditions facilitate the movement. National security affects integration, as demonstrated by the perceived threats of Japanese Canadians during World War II and Islamophobia for Pakistanis in contemporary times. Understanding the conditions and circumstances of the four ethnic groups frames the context of how individuals immigrate and settle in Canada. Integration is not a simple and seamless process; it is a multidimensional issue.

1.6   Overview of the Dissertation

Ethnic organizations serve multiple functions. There are costs and benefits to participating in ethnic organizations for individuals, the ethnic community, and Canadian society as a whole. In Chapter 2, I examine the individual (micro), organizational (meso), and socio-political (macro) level factors that shape an individual's decision to engage in transnational practices and the number and type of practices in which they engage. I find that organizations

channel individuals to certain types of transnational practices and help to give meaning to individuals' participation. Chapter 3 develops a framework of connections to capture the different kinds of ties individuals maintain with their ancestral country and how these different types of ties can help explain an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices. I pay specific attention to how organizations facilitate the different types of transnational practices by influencing individuals' social ties and perception of home. In Chapter 4, I assess how individuals make sense of their hyphenated identities. My findings demonstrate the importance of the context of arrival, the presence of racialized individuals, the co-ethnic community, and pivotal events shaping the development and enactment of hyphenated identities. Finally, I conclude by discussing how ethnic organizations bring about new possibilities and pathways for individuals and communities and the evolving meaning of Canadian identity.

Chapter 2: Factors Shaping Individuals' Participation in Transnational Practices

David and Jonathan embody different relationships to an ancestral country. David is in his 30s and is married with two young children. He is part of Bayan (the Filipino political organization) and is fluent in both Tagalog and English, which he learned after coming to Canada from the Philippines eight years ago. David engages in a high number (20) of transnational practices,[12] such as staying in contact with family and friends in the Philippines through Skype and Facebook, reading newspaper articles about what is happening in the Philippines, and sending remittances to family members. While David's immediate family is in Canada, his mother and all his brothers and sisters are "back home."

Jonathan is in his 40s and is married with two young daughters. He came to Canada with his family in the 1960s and is part of the Korean Canadian Cultural Association. He remembers seeing very few Koreans when he was growing up compared to the high number of Korean individuals he observes now in Toronto. Jonathan engages in few and infrequent transnational practices (3). For example, he reads news about South Korea when big events occur, but does not follow the day-to-day politics of the country. He also does not have family members in South Korea or "close ties" there.

In this chapter, I examine the factors that shape an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices. As the biographical sketches of David and Jonathan illustrate, there are

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[12] The list of transnational practices is found in the Appendix.

Individual factors that shape a person's decision to engage in practices, such as having family and friends in the ancestral country.[13] The transnational framework has attracted the attention of academics across disciplines, including sociology, political science, geography, and history (Dunn, 2005; Műgge, 2016). Researchers have predominately focused on individual level factors, such as the individual and family contexts, that shape participation in transnational practices. Social-political factors, such as reception at the country of destination and national policies at the ancestral country and destination, also affect individuals' engagement in transnational practices (Portes & Zhou, 2012). What is less clear, however, is the role of organizations in shaping transnational practices. Ethnically based organizations play a critical role in providing development in the ancestral country and integration for individuals in the country of destination (Itzigsohn, 2017). This subject is the focus of this study.

I argue that, in order to understand the transnational practices of individuals, we must see how these practices are shaped by factors at the individual, organizational, and structural levels. I begin at the individual level and examine how an individual's generational status and family context influence his or her engagement in transnational practices. At the organizational level, I assess the foci of the organization and how that shapes the type of transnational engagement in which members participate. At the level of sociopolitical context, I outline how economic, social, and political contexts influence an individual's transnational practices. The individual, organizational, and sociopolitical factors interact with one another in fostering participation in transnational practices.

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[13] Where an individual's ancestors/family history is located.

2.1 Unpacking Engagement

The process of immigration and settlement is complex. As individuals move into a new country, they often retain connections to their ancestral country that may be passed down to their children and grandchildren. The transnational perspective emphasizes how immigrants often retain networks and relationships from their country of origin when integrating into a new country (Basch et al., 1994; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Vertovec, 2009). Transnationalism, both the concept and term, has existed since the mid-19th century but gained attention in the 1990s when anthropologists focused on how transnationalism is applicable to migration studies (Műgge, 2016; Waldinger, 2013). Scholars increasingly use the transnational framework to understand immigration and integration in Canada because it captures the immigrant experience of maintaining country ties while settling into a new country (e.g., Goldring & Krishamurti, 2007; Satzewich & Wong, 2006).

Transnationalism occurs in multiple spaces. In North America, there are two approaches to studying transnationalism (Goldring & Krishamurti, 2007). The differences in how transnationalism is studied shape the measurement and the assessment of the durability of individuals' transnational practices. The first approach introduces the idea of a transnational social field which is "a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1009). This definition includes both individuals who move and those who stay in the ancestral country (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). For example, a family in India from which one child moves to Canada, another moves to the United States, and a third stays in India is linked across all three countries.

Transnationalism emphasizes that integration is simultaneous and multidirectional. Remittances are an example of the multidirectional nature of transnationalism. These can be either social remittances—such as ideas, lifestyle, culture, identities, and social capital—that are exchanged between countries (Levitt, 1998), or political remittances—the advocacy and activism for democratic social change and mobilization across countries (Piper, 2009). As Piper stressed, the transnational social field widens the myopic viewpoint that the flow of ideas is unidirectional (moving from the country of destination to the country of origin) instead of occurring at "both ends of the migration chain" (2009, p. 237). Take, for example, a business owner who sells products from his country of origin to people in the country of destination. The transnational social field expands the definition of who is involved in transnational practices to include those who are *selling* the products as well as those who are *buying* the products. If the business owner is selling spices or ingredients to make particular dishes for special festivals, then individuals buying these items and later making food for people to share expands who is involved in transnationalism. Third, using *transnational practices* captures how participation exists in a continuum, from individuals who engage with high degrees of frequency and intensity to those who engage with low degrees of frequency and intensity (Levitt, 2001; Waldinger, 2013). As such, the transnational lens extends beyond action and activities, allows scholars to examine those who stay at the country of origin and those who leave, and includes an assessment of the emotional components involved.

The second approach to transnationalism works to differentiate individuals who engage in transnational practices from those who do not. From this perspective, transnationalism is defined as the "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). From this definition, the transnational

practice is measured by the regularity of the sociocultural, political, or economic occupation or activity. For example, a business owner who consistently goes to her country of origin to buy products to sell in her country of destination is defined as involved in transnationalism. However, an individual who occasionally phones her family and friends in the country of origin is not defined as involved in a transnational practice. This approach draws attention to the regularity and formality of the activity.

Some researchers have argued that limiting what is counted as transnationalism is critical for the field of migration studies. By focusing solely on cases where individuals are engaging in transnational practices, researchers have been sampling on the dependent variable and overemphasizing the prominence of transnationalism (Portes et al., 2002). This line of research finds a more limited number of individuals were engaged in transnationalism, such as sociocultural transnationalism occurred much more frequently than economic and political transnationalism (Guarnizo, 2003; Guarnizo et. al, 2003; Landolt, 2001; Portes et al., 2002).

In sketching the concept of transnationalism, there are differences in the ways it is counted and defined (Portes, 2001). First, scholars argue about the relevance of the term and whether it is a "new" phenomenon. Past immigrants have maintained transnational connections (Foner, 2002; Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). While it might not be new, it is important to note that transnational practices in contemporary times differ in the scale, speed, and intensity of the connections between individuals and institutions across countries because of technological advances through cheap phone calls, instantaneous emails, smartphone apps, and inexpensive satellite media (Vertovec, 2004). Another important criticism of past work focuses on how transnationalism does not account for the strength of national borders (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). The state continues to play an important and powerful role in shaping the lives of

individuals and institutions (Goldring, 2002). In addition, the state can even drive and encourage transnational practices. For example, India created a cabinet-level Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs in 2005 (Agarwala, 2015). The state has a financial interest and stake in how the overseas population connects to the ancestral country. According to the *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, global remittances exceed $441 billion (U.S.).

As indicated in the introduction, I define transnationalism as the multiple ties individuals have across national borders. Transnational practices have both a visible and an invisible dimension. The visible dimensions are concrete actions, such as flying to the ancestral country. The invisible dimensions include individuals' emotional connection to and feelings individuals about their ancestral country, such as having a sense of attachment (Wolf, 2002). Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) differentiated between *ways of being* and *ways of belonging*. *Ways of being* are the specific transnational practices engaged in, while *ways of belonging* involve transnational identity (linking the action to the identity). This is an important distinction because individuals give meaning to their actions: transnational practices do not necessarily equate with transnational identification nor does transnational belonging require transnational action, and vice versa (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In the context of transnational practices in organizations, this separation between *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* is significant. Different participants might be performing similar actions (e.g., donating money to the country of origin), but they could derive different meanings from these same practices. An individual might be fully invested and firmly believe s/he is an active agent of social change through monetary donation, whereas another individual might see a similar donation as only a tax deduction.

In this chapter, I focus on the number and types of transnational practices in which interview participants engaged. Research has shown there are a variety of factors influencing an individual's participation in these practices. At the individual level, factors such as gender, social class, and migration history are related to engagement. At the structural level, the state's policies (in the country of origin and the country of destination), its citizenship policy, and the local community (place of destination) all play a role in shaping transnational practices (Levitt, 2000; Portes, 2015). I am adding the organizational level to demonstrate how the organization's foci also play a pivotal role in shaping the number and type of transnational practice in which an individual engages, because of how activities are channeled and framed.

2.2   Individual Factors

2.2.1   Generational Status

Time, as the adage goes, is the great equalizer. Generational status is significant because individuals who are closer to the direct immigration experience are more likely to be able to envision a physical place and have experience in that space, whereas individuals who are further removed are less likely to have spent time in the place their parents or grandparents are from. Research on the second generation shows low engagement in transnational practices in all forms (Kasinitz et al., 2002; Rumbaut, 2002). Scholars are in agreement in using the transnational lens when studying the lives of the first generation (Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Waters, 2002).[14]   If we

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[14] First generation refers to foreign-born individuals who arrived in the country of destination (i.e., Canada) as adults. The 1.5 generation is made up of individuals who arrived in the country of destination before adolescence. Second generation refers to individuals who are born at the country of destination but have at least one parent who is foreign born. Third generation refers to those individuals, along with both sets of parents, who are born in the country of destination.

think of transnational practices as activities that require regular and sustained involvement, Portes (2001, p. 190) argued that it is a "one-generation phenomenon" in the United States but acknowledged the possibility of ripple effects to the second generation based on parental influence. Studies have found that the first generation is more actively engaged in transnational practices compared to the second generation (Alba & Nee, 2003; Kasinitz et al., 2008). For example, Kasinitz's work on the second generation in New York finds that individuals were more likely to engage in selective and sporadic transnational practices than newer immigrants (Kasinitz et al., 2002).

Instead of focusing on the actions of the second generation (i.e., their regular and sustained transnational practices), some scholars have examined the transnational social fields these individuals are occupying. When looking at an individual's life course, living in a transnational social field potentially shapes the ties individuals have to their ancestral country (Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Waters, 2002). From this perspective, researchers have found that members of the second generation have an emotional and symbolic attachment to the parental ancestral country (Espiritu & Tran, 2002; Waite & Cook, 2011; Wolf, 2002). As Levitt described the second generation experience, "[E]ven if they rarely visit their ancestral homes or are not fluent in its language, they are often raised in settings that reference the country ideologically, materially and affectively each day" (2009, p. 1231). Living in a transnational social field opens up the possibility for the second generation to engage in transnational practices, dependent on their life stage and societal context (Levitt, 2002; Smith, 2002). This work highlights the emotional aspects of transnationalism beyond tangible ties.

In Canada, research illustrates the applicability of using the transnational lens when examining the lives of the second generation. Here, I want to highlight two studies that explore

the second generation experience in Canada. Somerville's (2008) work on second generation Indo-Canadian youth finds that these individuals have both a physical and an emotional connection to India, despite growing up in Canada. This is manifested in a variety of ways, such as making fashion choices that combine Indian and Western clothes, and keeping up to date about the latest styles in both countries (Somerville, 2008).

Interview participants who are part of the first or 1.5 generations engage in transnational practices at twice the rate of those who are part of the second, third, or later generations. Consistent with the literature, I found that there was a steady decrease in the number of transnational practices based on generational status (see Kasinitz et al., 2002; Rumbaut, 2002). This decrease shows a sharp decline for the first and second generations; however, the difference between the second and third generations is small.

2.2.2   Family Context

Transnational practices change family life (Vertovec, 2009). Families are increasingly reconfigured because of immigration (Moskal, 2011). Research shows the key role the family plays in socializing transnational practices (Christou, 2006; Somerville, 2008), such as the use of financial remittances being sent worldwide (Vertovec, 2002). In Canada, academics and news media have explored "parachute" children, foreign students who come to the United States or Canada to receive a North American elementary of high school education (Jeong & Belanger, 2012; Waters, 2002).

In general, the transnational practices of the second and subsequent generations are not as frequent compared to those of the first and 1.5 generations. However, this varies considerably across family contexts. I am going to discuss three family contexts to illustrate how the family

can influence an individual's participation in transnational practices. Mary is a married mother of two young children who has lived in Canada for 12 years (first generation). In our interview she spoke about giving her children Tagalog names because "I want them to be rooted, where we came from." Names can be an important symbolic attachment. Mary also provides concrete activities for her children to engage in Filipino culture. For example, she has Filipino music and movies around the house on tapes, CDs, and DVDs. Mary's daughter is "starting to learn the Filipino national anthem because she can already recite the Canadian anthem in French and English, so why not the Filipino national anthem too". Mary's narrative demonstrates the ways in which a family can set up a foundation for their children to engage in transnational practices as she actively establishes these opportunities.

Resham is in her 20s and engages in a high number of transnational practices. While Mary's interview shows the role the parent plays in maintaining transnational practices, Resham's interview demonstrates how those actions affect the children. Resham was born in Canada and spoke about how her parents got "scared" and "panicked" when she started to lose her Urdu communicative ability. She spoke about how her parents had "such a sense of urgency" and how her dad "made me learn like this intense [Urdu] poetry, and it completely went over my head because it is like equivalent of reading Shakespeare when you are two…I guess they kind of panicked when I started to lose my Urdu, so Urdu is actually my first language, but I lost it when I started going to school, so yeah, they panicked and were like, you have to learn this, do it, do it." Mary's interview highlights parents' intentions and the steps they take to encourage transnational practices, and Resham's interview illustrates how the children respond to the actions. As Resham continued in her reflection, "So [my parents] made me learn Urdu [small laugh], at home, which in hindsight is good even though I hated it." Conflict may

arise, but parents' active encouragement can help to sustain transnational practices. Parents have a role in shaping the transnational practices of their children.

Just as family context can encourage engagement in transnational practices, it can also make it less likely. Miki is in her 40s and is married with two children (second generation). When talking about her childhood in Scarborough (amalgamated with other districts in 1998 to become the new city of Toronto), she remembered speaking English at home even though her parents spoke different languages. In terms of transnational practices at home, she reflected that the "only thing really, our exposure is Japanese cooking." Today, Miki engages in three transnational practices, including having contact with family in Japan and celebrating cultural holidays.

The family can be a gateway to transnational practices. In Mary's case, she is actively setting up links for her children to engage in transnational practices through language and music. Resham credited her family in making sure she speaks the language. Miki's reflection on her childhood did not reveal such exposure. All three women are at different life stages and ages, Resham in her 20s (second generation), Mary in her 30s (first generation), and Miki in her 40s (second generation). Comparing Resham's and Miki's experiences demonstrates the role of the family in shaping an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices. Parents make deliberate decisions that plant the seeds for the next generation's propensity to engage in transnationalism. The generational status of the individual and the family context are individual factors that shape the number of transnational practices in which they engage.

2.3   Organizational Factors

Organizations can contribute to an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices. Individuals can fly to their ancestral country, but that involves substantial money and time. Going to ethnic organizations is an easier way that individuals can connect to their ancestral country. Through these organizations, individuals can enjoy cultural festivities, meet people with similar backgrounds, and learn about what is happening in their ancestral country. In this section, I focus on how organizations shape the number and types of individual transnational practices by lowering the cost of participating and by providing resources that foster engagement. They also work to channel individuals into particular types of transnational practices. This channeling process is related to characteristics of the organizations themselves, such as their foci, either cultural or political.

Ethnic organizations vary around the world (Babis, 2016; Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2013; Zhou & Lee, 2013). Organizations are influenced by the context of departure and reception, and the state policies of both the country of origin and the country of destination (Landolt, 2007; Portes, 2015; Portes & Zhou, 2012). Ethnic organizations are groups that provide a variety of services (i.e., economic, social, cultural, religious, and political) based on a common cultural background (Fennema, 2004; Jenkins, 1988; Radecki, 1979;). Immigrant ethnic organizations serve dual functions of providing resources to the new country and preserving the cultural heritage of the ethnic group (Babis, 2006; Guo & Guo, 2011; Moya, 2005). Organizations can be formed based on the process of immigration and settlement experiences (Moya, 2005). An organization can emerge from an ethnic group's limited opportunities in the job market (Reitz, 1980). Studying ethnic organizations is important because they reflect the strength of ethnic membership and cultural maintenance (Owusu, 2000).

Organizations become part of the transnational social field and can influence an individual's transnational practices by creating options for participation (Agarwala, 2016; Portes, 2015). While familial financial assistance and remittances may be performed by individuals and/or outside of groups, donations to public works and other constructions are mostly mediated by organizations (Zhou & Lee, 2015). Chinese-based organizations in the United States work to collect monetary donations towards local economic development, such as building public parks, improving road infrastructures, and constructing churches in China (Zhou & Lee, 2015). While it is clear that organizations shape an individual's transnational practices, it is less clear how they facilitate such engagement.

2.3.1   How Organizations Facilitate Transnational Practices

Organizations reduce the cost of engaging in transnational practices and provide resources that help individuals' engagement. JCCC offered different types of classes ranging from karate, to ikebana, to Japanese business and protocol training. In this section, I discuss how organizations lower the cost of participating in transnational practices and how this varies across organizations' foci.

Individuals can participate in a variety of transnational practices such as sociocultural, religious, economic, and political activities. The propensity to engage in these practices varies considerably across the four organizations I examined. Individuals in Bayan are twice as likely to engage in transnational practices compared to members of the JCCC (Figure 4). Individuals in Bayan had the highest average number of transnational practices, participating in 17 practices on average. Members of the JCCC engaged in an average of only 6.9 practices, with the other two organizations falling between these two poles.

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Figure 4 Average Number of Transnational Practices, by Organization
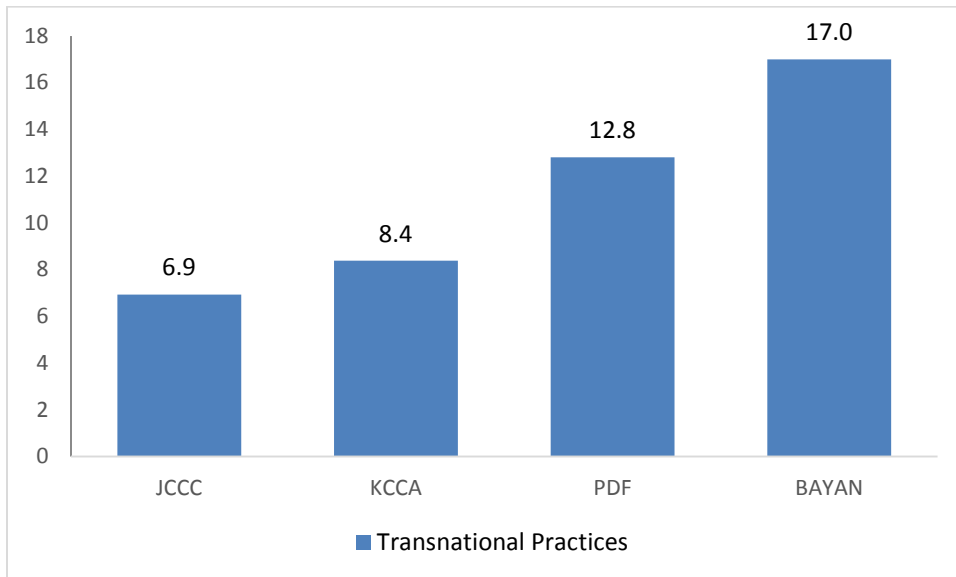
One way that organizations facilitate transnational practices is by lowering the cost of transnational engagement. They do this by making transnational practices easy and accessible for participants. All four organizations I studied attempted to make it easier for members to participate in transnational practices. For example, organizations posted signs for donations to the ancestral country at events or hosted movie nights that showcased documentaries about the ancestral country. However, the extent to which groups were able to, or interested in, lowering these costs varied across organizations.

Although JCCC interview participants engaged in a lower average number of transnational practices, the organization did work to make it easier for members to participate in these activities. Both JCCC and KCCC have a physical space to host events. The JCCC is in a beautiful modern building. As you enter it, you walk through a small garden before stepping inside the wide open lobby of the two-floor JCCC building. The lobby is filled with posters celebrating the history of Japanese Canadians and there are rooms off the central open area. One

room (Kobayashi Hall) is fully equipped with a stage and a sound system. There is also a martial arts room for practicing judo, aikido, and karate, as well as a Moriyama Nikkei Heritage Center. Having this space allows JCCC to host different events and serve as a gathering place for members.

Having a physical location helps reduce the costs involved in participating in transnational practices. The JCCC hosts annual cultural celebrations, such as Shinnen Kai (New Year's). In fact, all individuals I interviewed had attended at least one cultural celebration at the JCCC. Angela is a married woman in her early 30s with a young baby. She attended the JCCC's Hinamasuri (Doll's Day) celebration. She described seeing the dolls displayed at the Center and "feel[ing] like you don't have to buy dolls and put them at my own home because you could see them at [JCCC]." Because the Center caters these events, Angela can enjoy the "special food" without making it at home. She "remember[s] those [special] days but just because of the convenience I just feel like I don't have to go out of my way to do them." This "convenience" allowed individuals at the JCCC to participate in transnational practices, such as celebrating cultural holidays, at a low cost.

Although a physical space facilitates an individual's participation in transnational practices, social ties were the most important factor in leading to engagement in transnational practices for group members. I argue that the presence of resources, such as physical space, was not enough to encourage engagement. Both the JCCC and KCCA had buildings with a stage and space for organizing movie screenings and conference discussions. The political organizations I studied hosted events at various locations across Toronto, such as a discussion forum at Hart House at the University of Toronto or film screenings and artistic performances at the public library. Tight-knit groups that have strong social bonds create a social environment whereby

individuals can circulate information to each other and create social pressure to engage in transnational practices.[15]

Social ties help spread information throughout the organization and create social pressure between members. In my interviews, the majority of people in political organizations said they kept in touch with members outside events. The bonds that develop between members go beyond the nature of the political activity. Chelsea spoke about how she frequently keeps in touch with group members outside organizational events and how it is now "a circle of friends having a common interest." This sentiment was echoed by Karen, who spoke about how the Bayan community is "not just an organization, it is an extended family." These close bonds are evident at events hosted by Bayan that I attended, where people greeted each other warmly, such as through hugs, and quickly engaged in conversation. Members made a point to get to know others in the group on a personal level. This relationship between members helps to disseminate information through organizations. At Bayan, the majority of the participants spoke about using Facebook and text messaging to reach each other and share information about upcoming events. This personal touch creates an atmosphere that encourages individuals to attend events that are directly related to the ancestral country, whether it is a protest rally or celebrating a cultural holiday. As Mary humorously told me when I asked her whether her family or friends were involved in the organization, she said they bring them in "by hook or by crook [laughs]." Once individuals become members of the organization, they become part of an "extended family" that shares information about what is going on in the Philippines and where to participate. For example, individuals in Bayan engaged, on average, in a high number of all types of

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[15] I discuss the organization context in shaping social ties in more depth in Chapter 3.

transnational practices. Based on the nature of the relationships that form, the function of the organization works towards circulating information as well as creating social pressure to participate.

Figure 5 Average Type of Transnational Practices by Organization's Foci
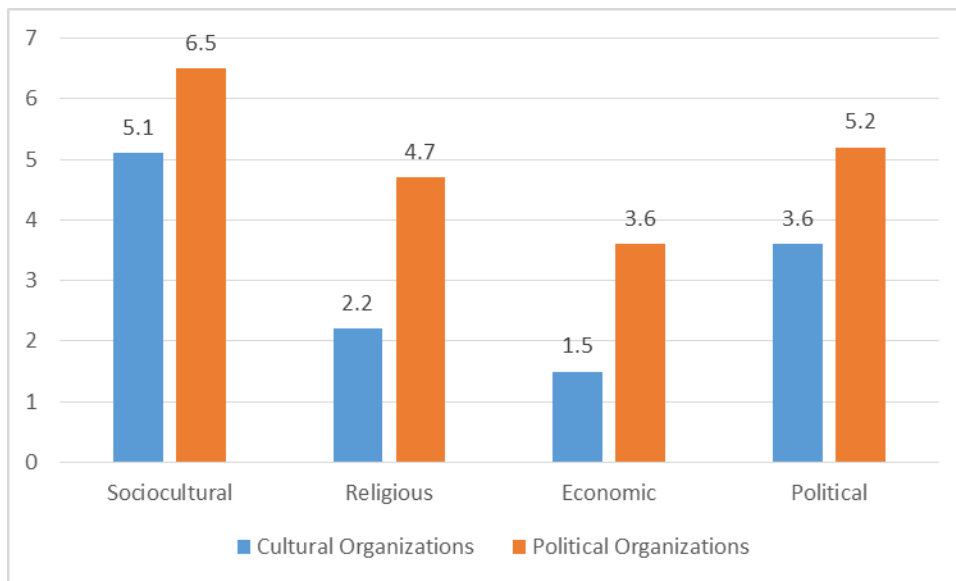
Organizations channel individuals into certain types of transnational practices. I want to highlight two findings (Figure 5). First, there is wide variation in the type of transnational practices in which individuals engage. In all groups, individuals are more likely to engage in sociocultural transnational practices than other types of transnational activities. And in all groups, individuals are least likely to participate in religious transnational practices through these organizations.

Second, engagement in transnational practices varies widely across organizations (Figure 5). Individuals in political organizations engage in more political transnational practices but they also engage in more of all types of transnational activities. For example, individuals in Bayan, on average, engage in many more transnational practices compared to individuals in the other

groups. In fact, they have the highest level of engagement across all four types of transnational activities. Members of PDF also have consistently higher levels of engagement than the two cultural groups. I argue that one of the main reasons for the higher number of practices in Bayan and PDF is because of the political nature of the organizations. Political organizations are able to direct their members to a variety of transnational practices.

Organizations have the power to frame how they communicate about their events. I witnessed how political organizations framed cultural activities in larger political or social contexts, but I did not see cultural organizations tie cultural events to political and social messages. I profile an event at Bayan (political) and KCCA (cultural) to demonstrate how organizations can frame events in ways that either do, or do not, make larger connections to social or political issues. Just as an apolitical event can be made political, a political event can be made apolitical. I argue that this is critical for channeling individuals into different types of transnational practices.

Anna is a married Catholic woman who has lived in Canada for 11 years. She speaks about how the Filipino Migrant Workers' Movement (FMWM), which is part of the Bayan alliance, connects religious celebrations to political messages. FMWM has an annual Easter egg hunt for children. Anna explains that this is not simply a fun and casual event. Instead, "[W]e try to associate the event with an event that that is going on in the Philippines." While celebrating Easter and having children hunt eggs appears to be a non-contentious activity, the political organization frames the event to include a political message. As Anna explains, "[W]hat we did was to commemorate the people who were killed, the human rights victims in the Philippines…because it's Easter, we should be thankful, God has risen again, after two days, but those people are dead." The organization overlays a political message on an occasion that

could be non-contentious. Anna's example of linking the Easter egg hunt to remembering Filipino human rights victims illustrates how members of some organizations can link religious and political activities. This description demonstrates how political organizations can connect different events, cultural or religious, to larger political frames. As a result, this organization made explicit connections between different types of transnational practices in addition to political activities, and this linkage increased the exposure and experience for participating individuals.

Cultural organizations can also potentially host political events. KCCA annually organizes a Peace Marathon to promote harmony and the hope for North and South Korea reunification. This event has an obvious political message and implication. However, KCCA works hard to make this an apolitical event. It is widely attended, with lively energy. Volunteers cheer for the runners and everyone finishes the event in the building's large gymnasium, where there are raffle prizes to be won. I interviewed Peter, who spoke about the goal of the Peace Marathon. He is in his 60s and has lived in Canada for 40 years (first generation); his involvement with the KCCA began two years ago. When discussing the Peace Marathon, Peter highlighted the "mental thing, to raise the issue, the peace of North and South, peace of the world… asking [people] to realize [this] is still unsolved [and] raising the issue, that alone, is a lot of achievement.". As the title of the marathon suggests, the theme is to bring awareness to the political situation in the peninsula. This can be a contentious and political issue. However, the political nature of the event is not reflected in the actual activities in which members engage. Individuals come together to walk or run but do not discuss, debate, or have a dialogue on the issue. The political message is not framed or presented at the event on signs, pamphlets, or posters. If participants want to know more, there is no pathway to accessing that information.

Instead, the political message or issue becomes an auxiliary and an almost peripheral part of the event.

The pair comparison between the Easter egg hunt and the Peace Marathon demonstrates how organizations tie (or do not tie) their cultural events to large political and social messages. I find that political organizations more actively connected cultural, social, and political activities and messages. While cultural organizations can also host political activities, the connections they made to these larger political and social issues was not as strong. Both organizations were bringing awareness to a political issue: human rights violations in the Philippines and North and South Korea reunification. However, how the message was framed is different. At Bayan, there was a clear link between Easter and the human rights victims, while at KCCA, there was limited information and connection between the concept of the marathon and the concrete situation in North and South Korea. This distinction influences the individuals' experience at the event and possible next steps to future participation. Political organizations worked more clearly in directly connecting events to different types of transnational practices.

Interview participants in political organizations engaged in more economic transnational practices than did participants in cultural organizations. Political organizations facilitate economic transnational practices in different ways. For example, there can be group discussions as to what projects to donate to, and how financial contributions are used. The events at the political organizations I attended made explicit connections to economic practices and reduced the cost of participating. Both political organizations, PDF and Bayan, direct and mobilize economic and political transnational practices.

The interview participants in political organizations engaged in a higher number of economic transnational practices, on average (Figure 5). Both PDF and Bayan facilitate political

and economic transnational practices by providing a pathway for individuals' participation. One activity that PDF is involved with is fundraising for a specific small-scale development project in Pakistan. This project partners with grassroots Pakistani non-governmental organizations (NGOs) selected through strict criteria, such as the need to be involved with the local community and having measurable impact. Specifically, the organization stresses the importance of making financial contributions to grassroots organizations that includes a capacity building component. The interviews I conducted and the events I attended echoed the importance of giving to a reputable and legitimate group. Farwa is in her 20s and has lived in Canada for 19 years (1.5 generation). In our interview, it was clear she critically evaluated which groups to give momentary donations to and chose PDF organizations because "[W]e [PDF members] scrutinize the organization that we are funding, and we go for the most sustainable, transparent, reliable organization. And two, is like you can't really be donating to everything, so because a lot of my time is consumed with PDF, so I just stick to that." By setting up criteria to evaluate which NGOs to fundraise for, members are confident their resources will be channeled directly to individuals and/or communities. Organizations such as PDF direct individuals to specific economic transnational participation by researching which Pakistani NGOs are credible and reliable.

Bayan facilitates individuals' economic practices by informing their members through fundraising activities. One such activity is the Sagip Migrante (Migrant Rescue), an organizational body within Bayan that focuses on Filipino migrants' response to disasters and calamities in the Philippines. The key component in donating through Sagip Migrante is how fundraising is accompanied with an educational component that can work to mobilize individuals. Daniel is in his early 20s and has been involved in Bayan for two years. He is a

lively individual who has lived in Canada for 13 years (1.5 generation). In times of natural disasters, individuals have a variety of options for which group to donate to for disaster relief, such as the Red Cross. However, for individuals like Daniel, the clear choice is to donate to Sagip Migrante rather than "mainstream" organizations. As he explained, "[Other groups] will ask you to give money but they will not tell you what is happening," whereas with Sagip Migrante, "they tell you, there is no national industrialization in the Philippines, the government is not allocating services through local development and therefore that is why typhoons easily kill like [a] million people every summer." This example illustrates how Bayan informs and educates members about the political environment and the development situation in the Philippines while raising money for typhoons and other calamities. This educational component of Bayan influences not only monetary donations but where donations are directed. As another Bayan member, Arthur, articulated the work of Sagip, "the first, the basic relief work, but we also make sure that we talk about the reasons behind it, the political reasons behind it as well." Political organizations play a key role in channeling where individuals' transnational practices are directed and have the ability to expand the types of practices engaged. With a program such as Sagip Migrate, a direct channel for funds is established and resource mobilization can occur when needed. Furthermore, the organization's philosophy and educational component are tied to the fundraising process.

All organizations lower the cost of participating in transnational practices, but the extent to which they do this differs. When comparing the four organizations, I find that individuals in political organizations engage in a higher number of transnational practices and in different types of participation than individuals in cultural organizations.

2.4 Sociopolitical Factors

Sociopolitical issues also affect the types of transnational practices in which individuals engage. Living in a globalized world means that actions and experiences in one area of the world can have ripple effects on the other side of the world. In other words, the geo-political and social well-being in the ancestral country can potentially affect the livelihood and experiences of people living in Canada and their propensity to engage in transnational practices. Immigrants enter Canada based on either the point system selection criteria of evaluating skills or specific conditions required for particular immigration programs, such as family reunification or refugee sponsorship (Simmons, 2010). In Vancouver, individuals who enter as live-in caregivers tend to sustain extensive transnational practices (i.e., regular communication with family and friends, sending remittances, and property ownership) compared to individuals entering from other immigration streams (Hiebert & Ley, 2006). Refugees who left under difficult conditions are less likely to travel to their country of origin or receive visitors but are more likely to send money (Hiebert & Ley, 2006).

Sociopolitical factors can be separated into two categories: (a) changes that affect all groups and (b) changes that affect specific groups. In this section, I will first examine changes that affect all groups. One change that is particularly important is technological advances. These changes in technology can increase opportunities for and ease of engaging in transnational practices. New technologies can affect transnational practices for all individuals, regardless of their ethnic origins or group affiliations.

There are also sociopolitical issues that affect only the participation of individuals in certain ethnic groups. For example, changes in the ancestral country, such as an economic boom or a natural disaster, can change an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices.

However, these events clearly are more likely to affect the practices of individuals in particular groups. In other words, international economic, social, and political changes can have domestic consequences for individuals living in Canada.

2.4.1 Technological Advancement (Changes that Affect All Groups)

Technological advancement accelerates the speed at which information can be spread and shared. This acceleration is aligned with the process of globalization, whereby individuals around the world are becoming closer (Vertovec, 1999, 2004). New technologies and telecommunication advances enable individuals to maintain ties to people and places around the world (Vertovec, 2004, 2009). Individuals who migrated 30 years ago may have written letters to their loved ones in the ancestral country, listened to music cassettes of their favorite songs, or saved money to call the country on special occasions. Today, people can text instantly on their smartphones, watch music videos on YouTube for free, or converse face-to-face via Skype. These advancements also open up new opportunities for connecting that were not possible in the past. For instance, Bollywood influences individuals outside India by facilitating language retention and identity (Gowricharn, 2009). These relatively accessible pathways allow individuals of different economic standing to engage in transnational practices because traveling back to the ancestral country may be financially difficult and challenging (Vertovec, 2009). Technological advancements reduce the cost and increase the ease of engaging in transnational practices for individuals (Burrell, 2003; Goldring & Krishnamurti, 2007; Gowricharn, 2009).

My focus will be on how individuals use this technology (i.e., emails, smartphone applications, or Skype) in facilitating their transnational connections. For example, Aarset (2015) examines the purpose behind Pakistani-Norwegian parents using Skype for their

children's Quran courses. The use of Skype allows families the option to have Quran lessons conducted by teachers in Pakistan, to strengthen their Urdu, and to create and/or reinforce social ties. At the same time, online courses allow families time to engage in Norwegian society. Individuals use technology so they can be simultaneously involved in their country of origin (Pakistan) and country of settlement (Norway; Aarset, 2015).

There is a qualitative change in the meaning individuals give to their transnational engagement because of advancement in technology. This shift is both temporal and spatial. Temporally, technological advancements make connection with the country instantaneous. For example, 50 years ago, a letter written to someone in the ancestral country may have taken months to arrive. In contemporary times, individuals can directly use their smartphones to text and receive messages from their loved ones across borders. There is no delay in getting updates from people who live elsewhere (Goldring & Krishnamurti, 2007). Individuals can now be consistently part of their loved ones' daily lives at a low cost. This also relates to a spatial change. The instantaneous connection enables individuals to feel closer. Individuals who migrated 50 years ago may have made the decision knowing there would be very little contact afterwards. With technology, individuals who live across the world now do not seem that far away at times. For example, individuals can use Skype to have conversations or share special moments, such as music recitals or dance performances. The emotional connection is different when comparing grandparents reading a letter about their grandchild's music recital to them watching a clip of their grandchild performing. The low cost, and often free service, of such communication is central in enabling individuals to directly have connections with their ancestral country (Vertovec, 2004, 2009). The lack of monetary cost allows individuals to engage in transnational practices more frequently.

Individuals can use a variety of technologies when participating in transnational practices. The ease of using telecommunication technologies is one common factor interviewees credited with providing the accessibility and affordability in sustaining ties with their ancestral country. The Internet and smartphones, in particular, have been instrumental in giving individuals the opportunity to be immersed in their country instantaneously in many ways (Waldinger, 2013). Social networking services, such as Facebook or Twitter, mobile instant message applications, like WhatsApp or KakaoTalk, and telecommunication applications, like Skype, allow individuals to maintain ties with their family and friends, regardless of geographical distance. For example, Fatima, who is in her early 20s, speaks about having a WhatsApp group for her family:

> [L]ike my dad['s] side of the family, so I have some aunts, some cousins, and, we have a family chat on WhatsApp, with like 16 people so, it gets a bit crazy but we keep in touch almost on a daily basis, I hear something from someone.

The invention of technology that is free, accessible, and convenient allows individuals to stay up to date with entertainment and political news in their ancestral country.

Individuals can be aware of what is happening in their country socially, culturally, and politically through the use of these technologies. Socially, interviewees discussed instances of using mobile instant message application or social networking services to keep in touch with family and friends.[16] Culturally, individuals have the opportunity to watch dramas from specialty channels in other languages or made in the ancestral country, or stream music and other cultural products. Politically, interviewees discussed setting up Google alerts or having Facebook feeds that keep them informed about the news and politics of their country. The array

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[16] I will discuss how having strong or weak ties effects an individual's transnational practices in the next chapter.

of technology reduces the costs involved in maintaining these types of ties to the ancestral country.

Technology brings people together and gives individuals the opportunity to engage in transnational practices on a daily basis. Victor, originally from the Philippines, is in his 50s and has been living in Canada for 24 years (first generation). He engages in 17 transnational practices, such as donating to causes relating to the Philippines, lobbying the Canadian government about issues relating to his ancestral country, and listening to music from the Philippines. He is actively engaged in Bayan and called the advancement of technology "magic":

> [T]here are live feeds coming from Twitter, Facebook, from cable channels. We have now two Filipino channels in Canada. So, that is what I watch more than anything else…. So aside from reading, update emails and websites on the Philippines, television and social media help me to be connected to them…. I see in front of my television set, or in front of my iPad. So that is why I think I call it magic because *you are there but not there* [laughs, italics mine].

As Victor demonstrates, technology enables him to be informed about what is happening in his ancestral country while living in Canada. The importance of technology is encapsulated by Victor's statement that "you are there but not there." Even though he is not physically in the Philippines, he can maintain mental and emotional connections through the use of technology.

2.4.2   Economic, Social, and Political Contexts

While technological advancement is a structural change that affects all groups, there also exist changes that affect one ethnic group specifically. The international context shifts how one country is perceived and can shape an individual's transnational practices. For example, some countries may be identified as "advanced" while other countries may be classified as "poverty-

stricken." These perceptions are the result of larger economic, social, and political events. I

outline three examples that occurred in the larger international context that directly impacted an

individual's transnational practices in certain groups: (a) economic changes (South Korea); (b)

natural disasters (the Philippines and Japan); and (c) political events (World War II—Japan).

These events influenced the lived experiences of individuals from these countries both in the

ancestral country and in Canada. As a result, this affects whether individuals engage in

transnational practices and how their actions are perceived.

2.4.2.1   Economic Changes (South Korea)

Within an increasingly globalized world, the flow of capital and ideas is multidirectional

(Levitt, 2001). The living conditions of one area of the world might compel individuals to

engage in economic trade, remittance, and development aid (Faist, 2008; Guarnizo, 2003;

Nyberg-Sørensen et al., 2002; Piper, 2009; Portes, 2015). The economic standing of a country

also influences how the country, and to an extent his or her ethnic group, is perceived. In the

case of South Korea, the state's economy has become stronger and this success has increased the

pride in their ancestral country that individuals of Korean heritage express. Jonathan, who is in

his 40s and married with two kids, recalls growing up hearing traditionally "bad news" about

South Korea in Toronto. Nowadays, there is more positive coverage, such as the rise of

Samsung. The reputation of the ancestral country may influence how individuals themselves,

and Canadian society, perceive the country. Whereas previously Jonathan had no interaction

with KCCA, he believes positive news coverage is the reason why some individuals have

become interested in attending KCCA events. For Jonathan, globalization and the desire to

know multiple languages are the reasons he started to bring his daughters to the association. The

economic boom in South Korea potentially shaped the number and types of transnational practices in which he engaged.

In conjunction with the economic boom in South Korea, there has been the expansion of high tech industries in that country. Many of the individuals I interviewed in the KCCA talked about the use of Korean technology in connecting them to their ancestral country. In particular, a number of participants highlighted KakaoTalk (KK), a free mobile instant messaging application founded in South Korea. There are a number of different applications individuals can use to communicate online, such as Skype, but KK is a Korean invention and only individuals at KCCA mentioned using this application. Nobody in the other ethnic groups I looked at mentioned using KK. Philip said, "I think every Korean would tell you [about] Kakao Talk," and he revealed attending a meeting where Kakao Talk "was actually on the slides" and was "the topic of conversation" as a particularly useful technology for linking people together, as a high number of people in South Korea use this application. KK is fostering an accessible means to communicate with people inside and outside South Korea.

2.4.2.2   Natural Disasters (Japan and the Philippines)

Coverage of natural disasters is heart wrenching. For people who have family and friends in the country where the disaster occurred, this coverage can be particularly hard to witness. They may feel immobilized by the gravity of the situation or find channels to assist the victims of the natural disaster. Migrant philanthropy and assistance may emerge during trying times (Soyer, 1997 as cited in Waldinger, 2013; Vertovec, 2009). For example, social disasters such as the earthquakes in Turkey in 1999 compelled individuals of Turkish descent to donate substantial financial aid and assistance (Vertovec, 2009).

Regardless of amount of time spent in Canada, many individuals feel a significant pull to help individuals in the country of their ancestors. Events such as natural disasters can compel individuals to donate their time and money to that country. I compare the Japanese tsunami in 2011 and the typhoons in the Philippines in 2012 to illustrate how organizations can mobilize individuals during natural disasters. These occurrences illustrate how current events, such as natural disasters, can influence an individual's transnational practices.

A few of the JCCC members with whom I spoke talked about the tsunami and their efforts in helping the relief fund. After the tsunami, the JCCC began selling buttons that contributed to the Japan Earthquake Relief Fund. These buttons cost two dollars each and raised at least $3,000 for this fund. The buttons were a small part of a much larger fundraising campaign by the JCCC. As of November 2012, the JCCC foundation had collected $1.5 million to help with rebuilding efforts in Japan. A large portion of this came from the 2011 Sakura Ball Gala, where the money raised was given to the tsunami fund. The gala is an annual event hosted at the JCCC that raises funds for the center's programming, exhibits, events, and facilities. The gala features a dinner, auctions, and entertainment. There is also an award ceremony that recognizes an exceptional individual contributing to promoting Japanese culture and awareness in Canada and abroad. Past honorees include the Right Honorable Brian Mulroney, Raymond Moriyama, David Suzuki, and Joy Kogawa. In 2016, individual tickets cost $500 each and a table for 10 guests cost $5,000 (CDN).

There has been much coverage of typhoons in the Philippines, as they are a common occurrence. In the interviews I conducted, 14 of the 15 participants in the Bayan talked about giving time, money, and supplies to typhoon relief funds. The occurrence of an external event, such as a natural disaster, makes it more likely that individuals in this group will engage in

transnational practices, regardless of other features of the individual or the group in which they are engaged. Pivotal events, such as natural disasters, in the ancestral country increase the propensity to transnational practices.

Natural disasters are especially stressful when one's loved ones are in the affected area. Valerie, whom we met earlier and has fond memories of her childhood in Davao City, in the Philippines, described the panic and worry entailed when searching for answers and loved ones during times of crisis:

> Especially when we had the Typhoon Pablo situation…I personally panicked because we do not have communication with them for a few days because the typhoon really destroyed everything…that was the exact place where it was hit, the typhoon was really bad, so yes, I was worried, I was worried to death really, I try to contact them, I couldn't because there is so signal in all that… [S]o, the only way is really to wait. That was the sad part, really scary and sad, waiting for, me waiting to be in touch with them because it is hard. You want to know what is going on but, you want to and help as well, you want to know exactly what is happening but it is horrible when you're in that situation.

Personal connections to the ancestral country can be heightened during times of crisis. Individuals like Valerie actively search for ways to communicate with their loved ones. Technological advancements enable individuals to access information in different ways during times of crisis. Individuals can watch the coverage on their television streams or YouTube clips, follow how the event is unfolding on Facebook, donate to relief organizations, or phone people in the ancestral country. The occurrence of natural disasters compels individuals to act. Organizations can channel individuals into different types of transnational practices, such as sociocultural (finding ways to reach family and friends), religious (going to places of worship to donate or pray), economic (giving to charities), or political (lobbying Canada to increase relief efforts). In times of natural disasters, the number and type of transnational practices often increase.

2.4.2.3   Political Changes (World War II – Japan)

International political events can impact individuals' transnational practices. Political participation in a country's politics can take on different forms, such as lobbying, protesting, or voting about what is going on in the ancestral country (Vertovec, 2009; Wayland, 2006). There are pivotal events that happen across the ocean that influence the practices of Canadians. For example, Croatian independence shaped the dynamics of how individuals viewed their identity and their relationship to their country of origin. In the Canadian Census, there was a rise in self-identification as Croatian after Croatia achieved independence (Winland, 2006).

World War II was a pivotal event that shaped the transnational practices of many Japanese Canadians. The internment of Japanese Canadians during wartime had long-lasting implications for many individuals in this group and their descendants. Individuals who immigrated postwar participate in transnational practices at twice the rate of those who migrated (or whose ancestors migrated) prewar. This is a significant shift and to understand the mechanism behind this difference I compare an interview participant who is part of the prewar group (Rachel) to one who is in the postwar group (Yasako).

Rachel is a fourth generation Japanese whose grandparents were forced to move to Toronto after internment. When she spoke about the effects of internment, it was clear that this experience directly affected her family's history and the Japanese Canadian community broadly. Specifically, the internment and forced relocation changed the family's context, reference point, and language retention.

> Because of the interment, I think it really helped shape some of our family history, or customs, and our values. That it really had a big impact on the community…had a big impact on the mindsets of my grandparents and, in turn, my parents. I mean, for example, language, after the war, being forced into internment or relocation, they were very hesitant to continue speaking Japanese

after that because they just want to assimilate. And they do not want to draw any more attention to the fact that they were Japanese because there were a lot of racism back in those times…. So, that really changed the mindsets of my grandparents in teaching my parents Japanese because they just really wanted them to be Canadian. Because they never wanted to draw any more attention to the fact that they were different and that they were Japanese. And they never wanted them [the children] to experience the same hardships that they experience during the war. So my parents have English names, you know, I have a Japanese middle name, but my dad is [English name], my grandparents wanted nothing to do with, do not want him to go through that, to put a target on his back so to speak. So it changed sort of the way they raise their kids, in the way we were raised. Whereas I think, I believe, if the war had never happened, and if that did not happen, we would have probably grown up preserving that language. Like so many other cultures, I mean, I know fourth generation Italians who still speak Italian because maybe they weren't as ostracized as Japanese people during the war or they immigrated after [the] war and it wasn't an issue.

Rachel's history illustrates the enduring impact the Canadian government's policies had on the Japanese Canadian community. The political climate, and the government's actions, led to the internment of Japanese Canadians during the war. This, in turn, shaped the reference point of the individuals in the prewar group. Rachel's narrative demonstrates the reasons why individuals who are part of the prewar group have less transnational practices because of fewer family connections, less language retention, and experiences of racism.[17]

Individuals who arrived in Canada after World War II (postwar group) have a higher propensity to engage in transnational practices. Yasuko is a married woman in her 60s and has lived in Canada for 32 years. As a postwar immigrant, she has family members in Japan and can speak Japanese fluently. Yasuko spoke about the differences between the prewar and postwar

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[17] Rachel engages in seven transnational practices, including listening to Japanese music and celebrating holidays. The average number for individuals in the prewar group is four, and Rachel's higher number of transnational practices is based on her own incentives, such as visiting Japan. This form of identity will be elaborated on in Chapter 4.

groups:

> Like the postwar immigrant people is doing this stuff because we like to have
> Japanese tradition, introduction to Japanese traditions because we like to have our
> children and their children inherit this value. In addition to Canadian culture. So
> we want them to keep it, because they were born and grown here, otherwise it is
> lost…. While prewar immigrants, and their children's children, they are doing
> because they like to, because they do not have it as their background, they were
> born, and it is lost because of the war and internment…they [family] had a really
> hard time, so they tend not to teach some culture, so some culture is lost during all
> the internment and move, so there are a lot of sansei [third generation] and yonsei
> [fourth generation], they do not know about Japanese culture.

Yasuko's description of the differences between pre- and postwar Japanese immigrants

illustrates why individuals in the postwar group engage in transnational practices compared to

the prewar group. The personal connections, such as family members and history, retained by

individuals who have more recently immigrated, increases the likelihood of their transnational

participation. If these connections are lost, such as when individuals do not have family ties to

the country, then the propensity to engage in transnational practices is decreased. Yasuko

participates in 10 transnational practices, and they are mainly sociocultural practices, such as

having contact with family and friends in Japan and traveling to the ancestral country.

Individuals like Yasuko in the postwar group have a higher propensity to participate in

transnational practices because they have direct experiences and memories of Japan. The

political climate for postwar individuals arriving in Canada is vastly different than the reception

of prewar individuals.

While the amount of time spent in Canada does partially account for the decrease in the

number of transnational practices in which individuals engage, my interviews from the JCCC

emphasize the significance of the Canadian government's actions during and after World War II

profoundly shaping their transnational practices. Rachel makes a direct comparison to fourth

generation Italian Canadians who speak Italian because World War II affected them differently. One of the responses that occurred with Japanese Canadians was to directly cut off ties to Japan and anything remotely Japanese.

What happened during World War II forms a different reference point for individuals who arrived in Canada prior to or after this event. While many of my Japanese Canadian interviewees' families had lived in Canada for multiple generations, their migration prior to or post-World War II was pivotal in explaining their engagement. Miki is in her 40s, and in our interview she spoke about how her mother's experience in Japan during and after World War II vastly differed from those individuals in Canada during the war. As her mother was only five years old at the end of the war, her memories of that time were of Americans coming and dropping tin cans of food, chocolate, and candy. Her memories of the war are linked to Japan, not Canada. Miki's mother arrived in Canada 50 years ago (after World War II), and Miki was born and raised in Canada.

Howard, however, had a distinctly Japanese Canadian experience of the war. He is in his 80s and remembers being surrounded by mountains with other Japanese Canadians in Tashme, one of British Columbia's internment camps. In his reflections about what happened after the war he mentioned how "the Japanese Canadians could not make the same mistake in Ontario after the war as they did before the war [by forming communities close to each other and speaking Japanese]." Howard's parents arrived in Canada after they finished secondary education (before World War II), and Howard was born and raised in Canada. He emphasizes the importance of not being seen as different. He distinctly remembers how his mother "wanted so badly to be Canadian, [the family] all spoke English around the house and that is why I never

even learned Japanese until I got older." Integration meant not drawing attention to oneself by not being different.

World War II was experienced differently by Japanese Canadians depending on whether they were in Japan or had already migrated to Canada. In this section, three of the four Japanese Canadians discussed—Rachel, Miki, and Howard—were born in Canada and have family members who have been in Canada for more than 60 years. Despite their similar lengths of time in Canada, their transnational engagement was pivotally shaped by whether they migrated pre- or postwar. Rachel's grandparents were interned in Canada and after the war they encouraged their children to emphasize their similarity to, not difference from, other Canadians. They did this through, for example, selecting non-Japanese names. Miki's mother immigrated to Canada after the war and, as a result, more concretely maintained Miki's links to Japan, such as her Japanese name. The most important factor explaining the transnational practices of the JCCC members with whom I spoke was time of arrival. This highlights the variations that exist within ethnic groups. There can be divisions within groups based on a variety of characteristics, such as time of arrival in the country of destination.

Sociopolitical factors shape an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices. Some of these factors, such as technological advancement, affect all groups. The lower cost, accessibility, and immediacy of contemporary technology can transform an individual's mental and emotional connection to his or her ancestral country. I outlined three examples to show how economic, social, and political contexts influence an individual's transnational practices: (a) economic changes in South Korea, (b) natural disasters in Japan and the Philippines, and (c) World War II.

2.5   Summary

Unpacking the individual, organizational, and larger sociopolitical contexts clearly helps account for individuals' propensity to engage in transnational practices, and the number and type of engagements. At the individual level, a person is more likely to engage in transnational practices based on his or her generational status and family context. Individuals who are part of the first or 1.5 generations are more likely to engage in transnational practices compared to individuals who are part of the second or above generations. Personal connections and memories increase an individual's propensity to participate in transnational practices.

I examined how organizations shape the number and type of transnational practices in which individuals engage. All organizations in this study worked to reduce costs for participants to engage in transnational practices. Reducing costs can take on different forms. While it may be expected that financial resources, such as having a central location, will be most advantageous, this was not what I found from my research. Instead, I found that social ties are a critical part of how organizations facilitate transnational practices. Close-knit organizations help to spread information and build social pressure among group members. This facilitates participation in transnational practices.

The organization's foci shape the opportunities for engagement and directs the activities of members. Organizations can create isolated events that connect political, cultural, economic, and social concerns. As a whole, the political groups that I studied were more explicit in connecting various types of transnational practices and, as a result, facilitated the engagement of their members in a diversity of activities. First, political organizations hosted events that were mainly political in nature, such as having a political discussion forum. As such, political groups give their members opportunities to engage in political activities, something that is not available

through the cultural organizations. As a result, individuals in cultural groups are less likely to

hear about a protest from the organization than individuals in political groups.

Second, political organizations framed all events, including cultural events, with

overarching political messages. This allows individual members to have more opportunities for

different types of activities, which increases the number of transnational practices engaged in.

When I observed participants in the cultural organizations going to cultural events, they were

explicitly cultural and non-political. However, the members of the political organizations

celebrated cultural events while also making direct connections to political, social, and economic

issues.

Organizations helped to direct members to specific types of activities. For example, both

PDF and Bayan are involved in fundraising activities as well having political discussion forums.

Organizations foster particular kinds of transnational practices, and for the political groups

examined, there were more channels to political and economic transnational engagement. These

economic transnational practices were aligned to the group's political objective. This helps

explain why members in political groups engage in more political and economic transnational

participation compared to members in cultural groups.

The sociopolitical level can shape an individual's propensity to engage in transnational

practices. Technological advancement affects all groups as the affordability, accessibility, and

immediacy of technology increase the opportunities and ease for all individuals to engage in

transnational practices. The economic, social, and political contexts also affect an individual's

transnational practices. Examples such as the economic reputation of a country, natural disasters

that occur there, and its political events illustrate how the number and type of transnational

practices can change dependent on international circumstances. At the sociopolitical level,

individuals' transnational participation can increase or decrease subject to time and circumstance.

In this chapter, I demonstrated the important role the individual, organizational, and sociopolitical levels play in shaping individuals' decisions to engage in these practices. In the next chapter, I examine the meaning individuals give to their transnational practices. Not only is there a difference in the number and types of transnational practices engaged in, there is also a difference in what meanings individuals attach to their participation.

Chapter 3: Rooted, Multiple, Wavering, and Romantic Connections

What does it mean to listen to Korean pop music when driving in your car when you are driving along Yonge Street[18], or to read the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* alongside the *Globe & Mail* every morning? Individuals attach different meanings to their engagement in transnational practices such as these. In this chapter, I propose a framework for understanding the different meanings that transnational practices can have for individuals. The profiles of Brian and Tony illustrate how engaging in transnational practices can have different meanings and hold varying levels of significance for individuals.

Brian is in his 30s and is fluent in both Korean and English. He is part of the first generation and has lived in Canada for 17 years. He attends the annual Korean holiday celebrations at the Korean Canadian Cultural Association. Brian participates in a number of transnational practices such as listening to Korean music, traveling to Korea at least once a year, and sending presents to family or friends in Korea. He spent his youth in Korea and talked about having a "balance" between his connections to Korea and Canada as "you can just drop me off anywhere, and I will be fine in both countries." Brian feels a sense of belonging to both Korea and Canada.

Tony, a member of Bayan, also engages in a number of different transnational practices. Tony is in his 40s and is fluent in both Tagalog and English. He is part of the first generation and has lived in Canada for 12 years. Tony participates in various transnational practices such as frequently contacting family and friends in the Philippines and keeping up to date with Filipino

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[18] One of the longest street in the Toronto.

political news. Tony explained that the Philippines is his home: "[T]hat is what we are trying to tell our fellow Filipinos here: although we are in Canada, we are actually still part of the Philippines, because our brothers and friends stay in the Philippines."

Both Brian and Tony are part of the first generation and are fluent in two languages. However, these short narratives show differences in how they understand their engagement in transnational practices. While both men engage in many transnational practices (11 for Brian, 18 for Tony), they have different perceptions of home, giving different meaning to these practices. Brian sees both his ancestral country (South Korea) and Canada as "home," whereas Tony locates home only in his ancestral country of the Philippines. In the previous chapter, I examined the individual, organizational, and socio-political factors that facilitate transnational practices. This chapter goes one-step further to explore the meanings individuals give to their engagement.

All individuals whom I interviewed for this project have connections to both Canada and their ancestral country but to different degrees and with differing levels of intensity. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which an individual perceives home (i.e., the ancestral country and/or Canada) and the strength of his or her ties (strong or weak) shapes his or her transnational practices. I create the conceptual categories of rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic connections to capture the nuances of why and how individuals engage in transnational practices and the meanings attached to their participation.

This chapter has three sections. First, I give a descriptive account of the fourfold typology (rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic connections). I categorize individuals based on where they perceive home and their ties to be. Next, I examine how generational status, time in Canada, and age shape the category into which an individual falls. I follow by examining the

role organizations play in facilitating both social ties and an individual's perception of home. Last, I explore the implications of each framework for understanding individuals' connections to both Canada and their ancestral country as well as their engagement in transnational practices.

3.1   Connecting the Dots: Making Sense of Transnational Practices

The concept of transnationalism has been introduced to bring attention to the fact that individuals engage in activities beyond the country of settlement. Transnationalism speaks to how individuals retain their connections to their country of origin and how these ties can be passed down to the next generation.

When studying individuals' transnational practices at the micro and macro levels, researchers have categorized the different ways in which individuals engage in transnational practices. This work demonstrated the difference in individuals' participation based on the number, predictability, type, scope, and meaning of engagement (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec, 2009). First, individuals vary in the *number* of transnational practices in which they engage. Some individuals engage in a high number of transnational practices, whereas others have lower numbers of participation. Second, there are differences based on the *predictability* of engagement. The literature illustrates how some individuals engage in transnational practices on a regular basis, while for other individuals this engagement is sporadic (Itzigsohn et al., 1999; Levitt, 2001). For example, one individual may contribute financial assistance at times of natural disasters while another individual may send financial contributions monthly. Third, individuals vary in the *types* of transnational engagement in which they participate. Some individuals participate in sociocultural transnational practices such as celebrating cultural holidays and keeping contact with family and friends in the ancestral

country. Others may participate in economic transnational practices, such as investing in property in the ancestral country and sending financial remittances. Finally, individuals have agency in choosing to participate in different types of transnational practices. These combinations make up the *scope* of participation (Levitt, 2001; Levitt et al., 2003).

Transnational practices also have an emotional quality. While individuals may participate in transnational practices infrequently and in low numbers, the meanings attached to their practices may be very important. Research within this area has focused on the emotional element of engagement and the meanings that individuals attach to their participation (Burrell, 2003; Kelly, 2014; Le Espiritu & Tran, 2002; Waite & Cook, 2011; Wolf, 2002). The *meanings* individuals give to their transnational practices can vary. The emotional connection is important because it can set the foundation for future engagement. In addition, emotions such as pride and shame can be passed down to the next generation. For example, Wolf (2002) coined the term *emotional transnationalism* to capture how individuals can have emotional connections to places they have never been. Wolf's term illuminates how individuals can feel attachment to their ancestral country even when they have low engagement in transnational practices. Existence of a symbolic hold to the ancestral country has real consequences (Huynh & Yiu, 2015; Kelly, 2015; Le Espiritu & Tran, 2002; Viruell-Fuentes, 2006).

There are different ways to categorize individuals' participation in transnational practices (number, predictability, type, scope, and meaning). As Faist and colleagues noted, categorizing transnationalism should be focused on a "continuum" compared to "binary distinctions" (Faist et al., 2013, p. 45). This calls for the acceptance of a wide continuum of transnational participation in terms of frequency and scope, and, more importantly, the need to explore the nuances in the

reasons why engagement occurs. One approach is to examine the role of organizations in fostering this participation.

3.2   The Role of Organizations

Ethnic organizations can mobilize individuals to donate to the ancestral country, provide resources for settlement in the country of destination, and act as gathering places for people to come together to celebrate their culture (Babis, 2006; Guo & Guo, 2011; Moya, 2005; Owusu, 2000). They can be spaces that provide information and spread ideas from the ancestral country to the destination country and vice versa (Agarwala, 2016; Levitt, 2001).

The focus of ethnic organizations can be directed towards the ancestral country, the country of settlement, or some combination of the two (Babis, 2006; Pries & Sezgin, 2012). First, organizations can encourage individuals to be involved with the ancestral country. This can be, for example, through engagement in charitable projects in the homeland (Agarwala, 2016; Portes, 2015; Zhou & Lee, 2015). Zhou and Lee (2015) found that Chinese organizations in the United States work to collect financial donations for local economic development in China, such as building public parks, improving road infrastructures, and improving churches. Second, ethnic organizations can be focused on what is occurring in the country of destination. When examining Ghanaian immigrant associations in Toronto, Owusu (2000) found organizations responding to members' needs for finding employment and housing. Many organizations are focused on both the homeland and the country of settlement. This dual role highlights how organizations can both facilitate engagement in transnational practices and help individuals to integrate in the country of destination (Portes et al., 2008). While it may appear that these are opposing demands for individuals, in actual fact, individuals who are involved in

political affairs in the country of destination also tend to be involved in political transnational practices (Pantoja, 2005).

The country focus of the organization is important because it can help explain where individuals locate their home. The concept of home is multidimensional; it is spatial, dynamic, and shapes action (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; King & Christou, 2010; Mallett, 2004; Wu & Wilkes, 2017). Home is spatial because it involves physical and symbolic spaces. Physically, home can be an individual's house, a community, or a nation (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Symbolically, home can be a process that individuals are working towards and a promise of what is to come (King & Christou, 2010; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011; Taylor, 2015). In other words, home becomes a guiding principle for individuals because it is a goal that they are working towards. Home is also dynamic. Individuals move from place to place, and their feelings associated with home can change over time (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002; Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Finally, where home is situated can shape an individual's actions. Research has shown that one of the reasons that immigrants and their descendants engage in transnational practices is because of the fact that home can exist in multiple places (Kobayachi & Preston, 2007; Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). For example, Wu and Wilkes's (2017) work on international students demonstrates how where home is imagined impacts individuals' postgraduate migration plans to move to their place of origin, to stay at the place of study, or to further migrate elsewhere.

Participating in an ethnic organization influences an individual's social ties. Granovetter (1973) defined the strength of a tie based on the combination of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity involved. Having a mixture of strong and weak ties increases access to information and fosters social inclusion (Granovetter, 1973; Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Portes, 1998). Social ties can be both a source of strength and a social support (Ehrkamp, 2005) and a

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source of social pressure and stress (Boccagni, 2015). Religious organizations can be locations where social ties and fellowship are fostered (Min, 1992) and is also where individuals can build social capital (Ley, 2008). And, these ties increase the probability of transnational entrepreneurship and political activities (Portes, 2003).

Examining the role of ethnic organizations is particularly important in a country like Canada because of both its policy and ideal of multiculturalism. The Canadian context presents a theoretically interesting case because there exists high levels of support for immigration and multiculturalism (Reitz, 2014; Reitz et al., 2009). The Canadian government espouses the rights of minorities to maintain their cultural ties and recognizes these as rights (Reitz, 2009, 2012). This, in theory, encourages individuals to maintain connections to a homeland away from Canada, but the influence is debated (Koopman et al., 2005; Satzewich, 2007).

Scholars increasingly use the transnational perspective in Canada because it captures the immigrant experience of maintaining homeland ties while immigrants settle into a new country (e.g., Goldring & Krishamurti, 2007; Satzewich & Wong, 2006). In short, Canadian multicultural ideology does not push immigrants to assimilate in the same way that some other countries do. Transnationalism can be seen as an extension of the official multiculturalism policy because there is an acceptance of individuals having multiple identities (Satzewich & Wong, 2006). This is particularly important in Canada because of the financial and symbolic support given by the government for these programs, such as through funding for multicultural radio and television programming (Bloemraad, 2005). However, Satzewich (2007) cautioned against crediting multiculturalism as the source of transnational practices in Canada, as that obscures the social, political, and economic forces. State-sponsored multiculturalism may encourage transnational practices (Akesson, 2011), but individuals' transnational practices

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appear to be more frequent in countries without official multiculturalism policies (Koopman et al., 2005). In the Canadian context, Chaudhary and Guarnizo (2016) found that state-sponsored multiculturalism is not associated with more transnational organizational spaces in Toronto, compared to New York City. This is because government funding is focused on issues and activities that are within the country compared to those that transcend national borders (Chaundhary & Guarnizo, 2016). Past research has shown that ethnic organizations play a critical role in facilitating individuals' transnational practices and integration in the country of destination. I build on this by examining the process of how organizations foster individuals' perception of home and their strength of ties to their ancestral country and Canada.

3.3   Framework of Connections

I argue that one's perception of home (the ancestral country and/or Canada) and the strength of ties to the ancestral country (strong or weak) are critical for how an individual feels connected to Canada, an ancestral country, or some combination of the two. I create a fourfold typology of attachments: rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic. These categories are ideal types, showing the diversity of ways in which individuals see their connection to Canada and an ancestral country.

Individuals with *rooted* connections perceive their ancestral country as home and have strong ties to that place. *Multiple* connections occur when individuals have strong and tangible ties to their ancestral country, yet perceive multiple homes in both Canada and their ancestral country. Individuals with *wavering connections* locate home in both their ancestral country and Canada but their ties to their ancestral country are fading. *Romantic* connections refers to individuals who have less tangible ties to the ancestral country and perceive Canada as their

home. Table 6 illustrates this typology. Below, I present four narratives to illustrate individuals in the rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic groups.

Table 6 Typology of Transnational Connections

	Rooted	**Multiple**	**Wavering**	**Romantic**[19]
Perception of Home	Ancestral country	Ancestral country and Canada	Ancestral country and Canada	Canada
Ties to Ancestral Country	Strong[20]	Strong	Weak but existent	Weak and conceptual

3.3.1   Rooted (Perceives ancestral country as home, strong ties to the ancestral country).

David was born in the Philippines and has lived in Canada for eight years (first generation). He is a Catholic, is married, and has two children. He and his wife are both involved in teaching their children Tagalog. David is in his 30s and the last time he traveled back to the Philippines was in 2008. When discussing the sociopolitical situation in the Philippines, he explained, "[F]or me, it is very, very important [that] Filipinos outside of Canada, outside of the Philippines, are connected, are rooted, into reality back home." David was last in the Philippines in 2008 but the country remains his primary home and he has very strong ties there because his mother and siblings are "back home.

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[19] I have chosen to use the term romantic based on the interview with Edward. His term romantic ties encapsulates the state of mind and feelings my interview participants were describing in their transnational connections.
[20] When differentiating the strength of ties to the ancestral country, I assessed the closeness of tie (i.e., comparing whether the tie is between family members/close friends vs. acquaintances/colleagues), and the frequency of the contact (i.e., regular vs. infrequent).

3.3.2 Multiple (Perceives both ancestral country and Canada as home, strong ties to the ancestral country).

Resham is in her 20s and is part of the second generation. She participates in the Pakistan Development Fund and donates her time and money to other ethnic organizations such as The Citizens Foundation (managing and building schools in Pakistan) and The Toronto Rape Crisis Center/Multicultural Women against Rape (focusing on Canada). She travels to Pakistan with her family every two years, depending on her schedule and events. She speaks both English and Urdu but admits her Urdu is not as strong as her English. Resham views both Pakistan and Canada as home and has strong ties to both countries, having family connections in both places.

3.3.3 Wavering (Perceives both ancestral country and Canada as home, weak ties to the ancestral country).

William is in his 50s and has lived in Canada for 37 years (1.5 generation). He is married and has been involved in the Korean Canadian Cultural Association for 30 years. He reflected on coming to Canada at 13 without speaking any English. He now speaks both English and Korean fluently. William has contact with his extended family and friends in Korea, while his immediate family members are in Canada or the United States. He sees himself "more tied to Canada...but I do accept the fact that I'm Korean by birth." In the past, William used to travel to Korea a couple of times a year but now he goes only once every two years. In our interview, he discussed how he watches Korean television shows "every other day with the marvel of the Internet [while] in the olden days, we used to rent videos." William sees both Korea and Canada as his home, but the strength of his ties to Korea are weakening.

3.3.4   Romantic (Perceives Canada as home, weak and conceptual ties to the ancestral country).

Alice has been involved in the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre for 49 years. She is in her 60s and is part of the second/third generation depending on which parental side. She described Canada as her home and says she "cannot relate to Japan." She remembered growing up with "very little experience with the Japanese group or communities" and the only people she knew of Japanese descent were members of her family. Alice joined the JCCC when she met a friend who invited her to volunteer, and later met her husband at the JCCC. She discussed how becoming more involved at the center helped her to "really understand the community." As time passed, she became less involved at the center, but after her husband passed away and she retired, she reengaged in activities at the JCCC.

3.4   The Prevalence of the Frameworks

These four profiles depict individuals who illustrate each of the frameworks. In the section that follows I develop the typologies based on the interview data. I also examine two factors that are associated with an individual's framework: generation status, amount of time spent in Canada, and age. Finally, I illustrate the significance of the framework by showing that how an individual understands his or her connection to the ancestral country and Canada has a direct impact on the average number of transnational practices in which he or she engages. In essence, the extent and intensity of transnational practices differs for individuals based on the framework by which they understand their connections to their ancestral country and to Canada.

Figure 6 Prevalence of Each Framework, Percentages
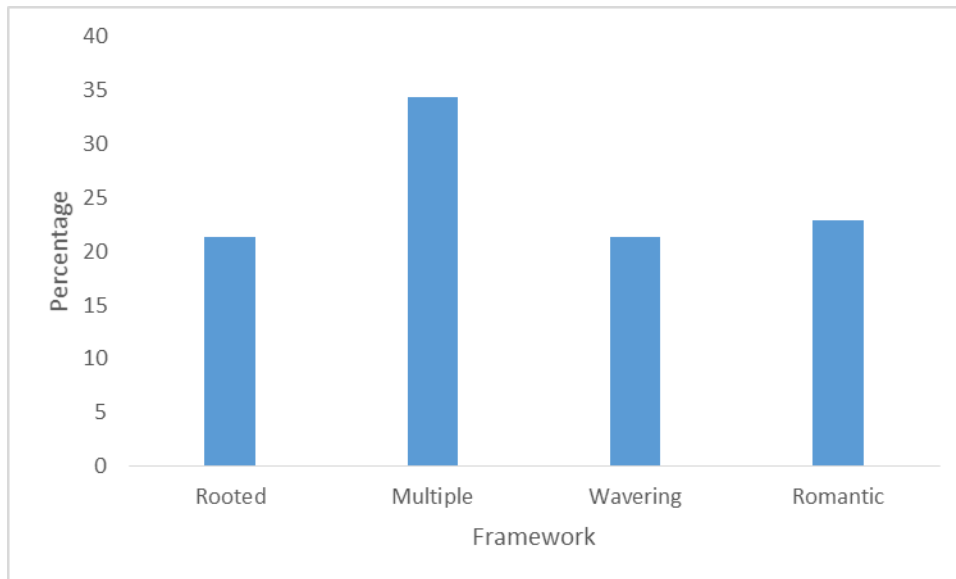
A little more than half of the individuals (34/61) in this study have reference points in both Canada and their ancestral country (Figure 6). However, the extent of this attachment, and the person's perception of home, varies along a continuum. Within this category, there are differences in connections to the ancestral country. The reasons for this will be further explained in this chapter when discussing an individual's generational status, amount of time in Canada, and age.

People are motivated to engage in transnational practices for different reasons. One factor shaping transnational participation is the individual's perception of his or her ancestral country. Individuals in the romantic ties group locate Canada as their home. Edward is in his 50s, well-educated, and third generation Japanese Canadian. As Edward explained, he feels a romantic attachment to the country of his family:

> I would say, after some thought, I'll say, I see Japan as being a place where I have ties to it through my grandparents who are dead and so those are *romantic ties*. And when I say romantic, I mean there are ties based on stories that are 50 years old. Or experiences that are 50 years old. So I still think I have ties there, at the

same time, I think that, when I think of, when someone asked me in another part of the world what are you, I explain I am Canadian [italics mine].

By splitting his answer, Edward revealed how transnational practices are influenced by where an individual perceives his home and his type of tie to an ancestral country. For individuals like Edward, Canada is their home. The ancestral country exists as a place to which they may have connections, but that is not formed by an individual's own experience. This perspective shapes an individual's motivation to engage in transnational practices. An individual with rooted ties may be more inclined to transnational participation because he or she sees direct connection to the ancestral country and perceives that place as "home." An individual with romantic ties may be less inclined to transnational engagement because he or she sees the ancestral country as a foreign place and perceives Canada as home.

3.4.1   Perception of Home

Virtually all of my participants perceived their ancestral country (Japan, Korea, Pakistan, and the Philippines) as one of their homes. However, this did differ somewhat by group. For the people involved in the JCCC, four participants saw Canada as their only home. This also occurred in KCCA, where two interviewees saw only Canada as home. In PDF and Bayan, no interviewees saw Canada as their only home. Where individuals perceive their home to be affects their relationship to their ancestral country and to Canada. This, in turn, can shape their engagement in transnational practices and the number and types of practices in which they participate.

Figure 7 Types of Transnational Practices by Where Individuals Perceive Home
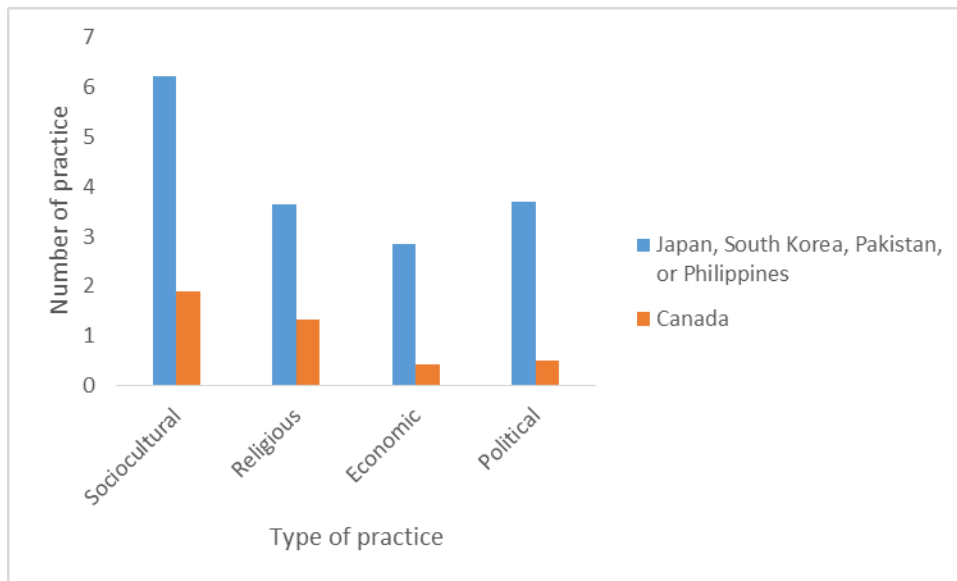
Less than 10% (six out of 61) of participants did not see the ancestral country as home (Figure 7). Even though this is a small group, it is clear that seeing Canada as their only home influences individuals' transnational practices. Individuals who do not perceive their ancestral country as home engage in, on average, four times fewer transnational practices than individuals who perceive their ancestral country as one of their homes. I compare Mark's and Valerie's responses to illustrate that where one perceives home to be matters.

Mark is a recently married man in his mid-20s. He was born in Canada[21] and grew up in a predominantly White neighborhood in Toronto. He was introduced to the JCCC by his mother, who has been involved in the organization for many years. Mark described how he thinks of Canada as one of his homes: "I will consider myself Canadian since I was young, very very, young child…I would know that Canada is my ancestral home." He engages in few

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[21] Mark is second generation Japanese through his mother and third generation Japanese though his father.

transnational practices, most of which are sociocultural. The four types of transnational practices he engages in include having contact with family in Japan, celebrating holidays, attending religious events, and donating to charities based in Japan. Mark's story is similar to those of the other interview respondents who perceive only Canada as home.

The majority of individuals interviewed for this project perceive their ancestral country as one of their homes (Figure 7). These individuals, on average, engage in far more transnational practices than individuals who only perceive Canada as home. Valerie is in her late 20s and is an active member of the Bayan umbrella organization groups. She has lived in Canada for seven years and is interested in knowing about current events in the Philippines and engaging in discussions and analysis to gain a deeper understanding of what is going on there. She emphasized how important the Philippines is to her and located a specific geographical area. This localized area was illustrated when she talked about her childhood and growing up: "I grew up there, I really grew up in Davos City…while Philippines is big, with 7,000 islands…. My ancestral home is really Davos City." In this example, Valerie traces her lineage and personal connection to a specific place and this affects her image of her ancestral country. Valerie, and others who reflect localized contexts when they think of their ancestral country, tend to engage in a high number of transnational practices. Valerie engages in 16 transnational practices, most of which are political and sociocultural. Some examples include listening to music, raising money for development projects, and being informed about the ancestral country. Figure 7 is also consistent with the literature that finds that the majority of transnational practices are sociocultural (see Snel et al., 2006).

3.5   Developing the Framework: Generational Status, Time in Canada, and Age

Time and experience in Canada can change how people make sense of their settlement experience. Length of time in the place of settlement, generation status, and age are important factors shaping attachment and integration (Reitz, 2009). In this section, I examine the main factors that influence an individual's participation in transnational practices.

3.5.1   Generational Status

Figure 8 charts how generation status shapes the type of connections individuals have to their ancestral country. There are two main ways in which generation status affects an individual's framework. First, individuals who are in the first generation are more likely to be in the rooted, multiple, or wavering categories. In fact, individuals born in Canada are generally quite unlikely to be in any of these three categories. These categories (rooted, multiple, and wavering) share a common characteristic in that individuals with these frameworks perceive their ancestral country as one home. Individuals who are part of the first generation have direct experiences in the ancestral country because they personally lived in the country as adults. This accounts for their strong ties to their ancestral country. Individuals who were born in Canada may not have such direct experience of the country. The generally lower level of firsthand experience with the ancestral country is associated with a lower propensity to perceive the place as home.

Figure 8 Generation Status by Framework
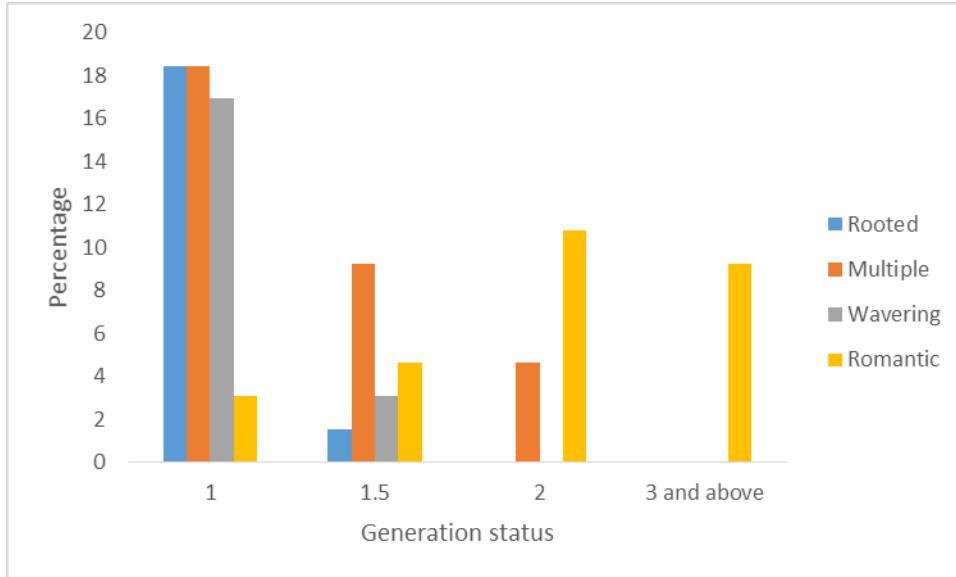
Second, interview participants who have lived in Canada for two or more generations tend have romantic connections to their country. For these individuals, their socialization and experiences are in Canada. Furthermore, they may have little or no direct memory of their ancestral country. Stephanie is in her early 30s and is part of the second generation. She visited Japan once when she was 10 and then more recently for the winter holidays. She described her experience seeing other members of her family: "[T]hey are kind of mythical relatives. I know that they exist out there but when you never see them, and almost never talk to them, I guess, the way that you are aware that there are other planets in the universe but you don't really think *about them being part of your universe*" [emphasis mine]. This encapsulates how generation status can affect where one perceives home to be. Stephanie was born in Canada and has only intermittent and brief personal experience in Japan, seeing her relatives as "mythical." Azeem is another interview participant born in Canada. Unlike Stephanie, he has strong ties to both Pakistan and Canada. Azeem has regular contact with his "whole gamut of extended family" in

Pakistan and keeps in touch with them through phone, email, and Facebook. He discussed

visiting Pakistan once or every two years. Individuals like Azeem have strong ties to Pakistan

and remain politically informed about current events happening there. Even though individuals

who are part of the first generation and 1.5 generation can have these types of romantic

connections, it is more likely that individuals who have lived in Canada for two or more

generations have these types of connection and ties.

3.5.2   Time in Canada

Time in Canada influences whether an individual has rooted, multiple, wavering, or

romantic connections to his or her ancestral country. I separate individuals who are part of the

first generation based on how long they have lived in Canada: the initial stage (0-5 years), when

individuals are adjusting to the new country; the settlement stage (6-15 years), when individuals

have built networks in the country and feel a sense of familiarity with the place; and the

established stage (16 years plus), when individuals have cemented their bonds to the country.

There are three main findings (Figure 9). First, individuals who have lived in Canada

fewer than five years tend to have rooted or multiple connections to their country. The key

commonality between these two categories is that individuals in both these frameworks perceive

their ancestral country as one of their homes. For individuals in these categories, they have

recent memories and experiences of their ancestral country and may still be in the transition

period of adjusting to Canadian society. Since they have lived in Canada for fewer than five

years, individuals are more likely to have maintained strong ties to their ancestral country, as that

may be where the majority of their family and friends reside. Shabana is in her 40s and

immigrated to Canada the year before I interviewed her.[22] When reflecting on her time in

Pakistan, she noted that she has lived most of her life there and that is where most of her family

is now. She succinctly says, "I'm just sort of starting it here." For individuals who have lived in

Canada for fewer than five years, they are starting fresh when making friendships in Canada,

while their relationships in their ancestral country are generally more established.

Figure 9 Time in Canada for the First Generation by Framework
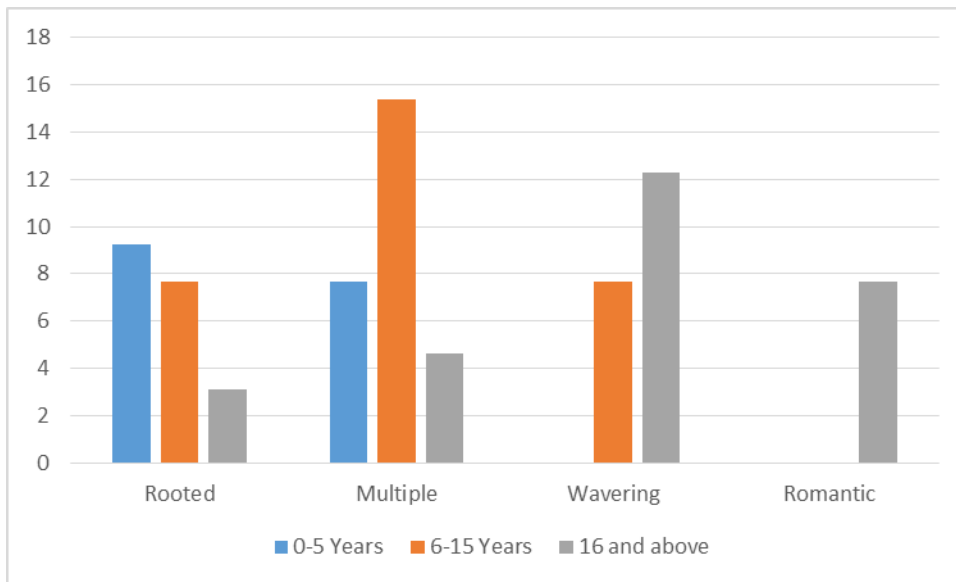
Second, immigrants who have lived in Canada six or more years are the ones who have

wavering or multiple connections. Individuals in these categories perceive both their ancestral

country and Canada as home, but individuals in the wavering category have weak ties to the

ancestral country. As individuals gain more experience in Canada, their attachments to and

familiarity with Canada increases and, sometimes, their attention shifts from their ancestral

country to Canada. For example, many individuals who have lived in Canada for 16 years or

longer are in the wavering category. These individuals have spent most of their adult lives in

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[22] Shabana previously lived in Canada for a period of six years.

Canada. Matthew is in his 80s and has been living in Canada for more than 30 years. When he spoke about his ties to South Korea and Canada, it was clear that his home is Canada: "I have more connections here [Canada] because all my children are grown up, family is extending, and I have more friends since I moved. So, of course, *my base of life is here*" [emphasis mine]

As mentioned above, individuals who have lived in Canada since birth (the second generation and higher) generally have romantic connections to the ancestral country (see Figure 3.4). However, some first generation immigrants also feel romantic connections. This occurs only for first generation migrants who have lived in Canada 16 years or longer. The five immigrants who are categorized as having romantic attachments to their ancestral country all have lived in Canada for more than 30 years. Even though these immigrants do have firsthand experience in their ancestral country, those memories are distant. Their "base of life" is primarily in Canada and this is where they perceive home to be. This is partly because of the personal relationships they have made in Canada over the long period they have lived there, through family, work, and other interactions. The ancestral country is a place where they may have experiences (talking with family or visiting), but their attention is directed towards Canada because of their day-to-day interactions there.

3.5.3   Age

While both generation status and time in Canada affect an individual's perception of home and ties to his or her ancestral country, an individual's age is also associated with the framework used to understand connections to the ancestral country. I separated the individuals interviewed in this study into three categories based on age: (a) 18-30; (b) 31-50; and (c) 51-

90.[23]   Figure 10 charts the relationship between age and the fourfold typology. There are two

main findings.

Figure 10 Age by Framework
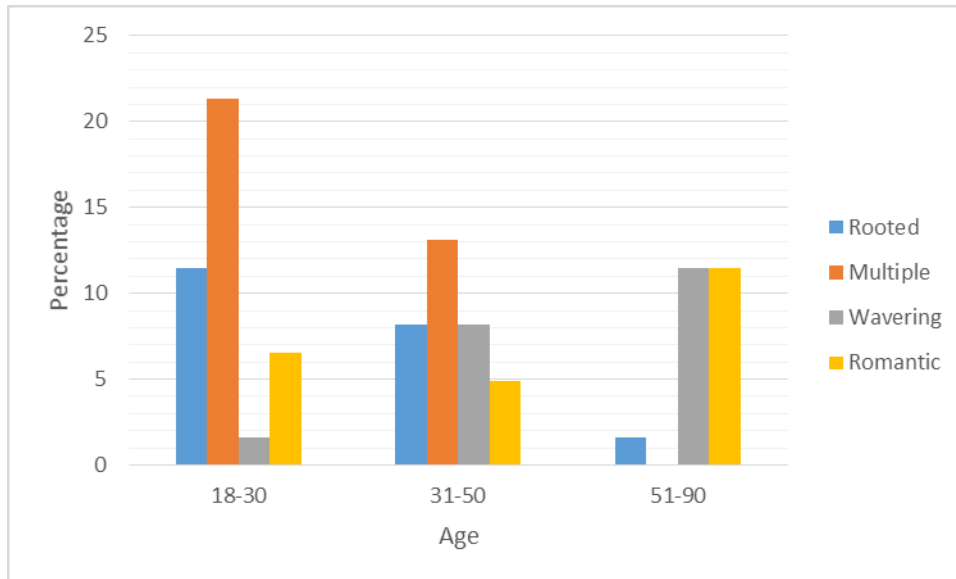
First, individuals in the youngest category (between the ages of 18 and 30) are most

likely to have multiple connections. This may be because individuals at this age are more likely

to have family members or close relatives in the ancestral country regardless of generation status.

Farwa is in her 20s and said that "a lot of my extended, almost all my extended family is in

[Pakistan]. I just have my immediate family, like my sisters and parents here…there are a lot of

people that love and care for me that are just overseas." These close family relationships ground

her strong connection to her ancestral country. However, her immediate family connections in

Canada create strong ties to Canada, illustrating the multiple connections she experiences.

Farwa switches where "home" is dependent on place: "[W]hen I'm here [Canada], back home is

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[23] These are analytical separations of individuals based on age: (a) 18-30 tend to be identified as millennial, (b) 31-
50 as Generation X, and (c) 51 and older captures the boomer and silent generations.

Pakistan. When I'm there [Pakistan], back home is Canada." Individuals like Farwa perceive both Canada and the ancestral country as home.

Second, individuals who are in the middle and older age groups (over 31 years of age) are more likely to have wavering connections. The wavering category is for individuals who perceive both their ancestral country and Canada as home while having weak ties to their ancestral country. Yasuko is in her 60s and has lived in Canada for 32 years. She is in the wavering category. She explained how age shapes her transnational practices: "[W]hen we were younger and raising kids we did not have time. We were raising and we were working at the same time, and then Japan is far away." For individuals like Yasuko, her priorities were focused on raising her children, but now that her children are grown and out of the house, she has more time to engage in transnational practices. Yasuko illustrates the ways in which changing life stages can impact transnational engagement.

Age and generation status are linked in the population interviewed for this study because the older immigrants interviewed tended to have migrated to Canada in their late 20s and early 30s. As a result, the older individuals in this study tend to have been in Canada longer. Of the 61 interviewed participants, 12 individuals were born in Canada (second or later generation). The remaining 49 are immigrants who are part of the first and 1.5 generations. In general, those who are older have lived in Canada for a longer period, in part because most people tend to migrate in their 20s and 30s. While the interviewees between the ages of 18 and 30 have lived in Canada for an average of seven years, those between ages 31 and 50 have lived in Canada for an average of 16 years, and those over 50 have lived in Canada for an average of 33 years. As previously discussed, individuals who have not lived in the ancestral country for many years and have established personal relationships in Canada tend to have wavering connections.

In the previous chapter, I illustrated how the advances and accessibility of technology facilitate transnational connections. This technological advancement was not present for individuals who immigrated earlier. Peter is in his 60s and spoke about how "the first 30 years, I haven't had a chance to listen to any Korean song. When Napster came out, that was the first time I started to listen to old Korean songs. Napster, that was 1997, 1998, from 1973—25 years." This experience is completely different that of from Veronica, who is in her 20s and has frequent contact with her family and friends in the Philippines: "[A]ll the time… it is mostly like cyberspace, Internet, Facebook, calling." The comparison between Peter and Veronica draws out how even though now all individuals can use technology to keep in touch, there existed a long period of time when that was not possible. This gap of time could account for some lost connections, such as, in Peter's case, Korean music.

In this section, I examined the main factors that predict the framework an individual will use to understand his or her attachments to Canada and the ancestral country. The four frameworks (rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic) differentiate between where individuals perceive home to be and the extent of their social ties in Canada and their ancestral country. First, individuals who are in the first generation are more likely to see both their ancestral country and Canada as points of reference. This is why most first generation immigrants have rooted, multiple, and wavering frameworks. Individuals who have lived in Canada for two or more generations are more likely to have romantic connections to their country because the majority of their socialization and experiences have been in Canada.

Second, when examining people who are part of the first generation in more detail, it becomes clear that first generation immigrants and their experiences are different, depending on the amount of time they have spent in Canada. For example, individuals who have lived in

Canada fewer than five years tend to have rooted or multiple connections to their ancestral country, while individuals who have lived in Canada for six or more years are more likely to have multiple or wavering connections because they have ties to both their ancestral country and Canada.

Third, an individual's age also shapes the perception of home and ancestral country ties. Individuals who are younger (between the ages of 18 and 30) are more likely to see both their ancestral country and Canada as their homes, and feel strong ties to both places (multiple connections). This is compared to individuals who are in the middle and older age groups (between 31-50 and 51-90), who also perceive their ancestral country and Canada as their homes yet feel weak but existing ties to their ancestral country (wavering category).

3.6   The Influence of Ethnic Organizations

In this section I examine how ethnic organizations facilitate the perception of home and foster ties to the ancestral country and Canada. I show that the type of activity the organization hosts and the language spoken at the events are critical in shaping how an individual develops and maintains social ties and perception of home. The organizations I studied differ in the type of activities they host, from cooking classes to political forums. These organizations also communicate in a variety of languages and use a combination of the official languages or dialects from their ancestral country and English.

Babis (2016) argued that an ethnic organization's activities shape whether the focus is on preserving the cultural heritage or integration into larger society. There is a continuum in how organizations respond to these dual functions and each organization studied combined integration and preservation in different ways. In this section I examine how ethnic

organizations facilitate the perception of home and foster ties to the ancestral country and

Canada. I show that the type of activities the organization hosts and the language spoken at the

events are critical in shaping how an individual develops and maintains social ties and perception

of home. The organizations I studied differ in the type of activities they host, from cooking

classes to political forums. These organizations also communicate in a variety of languages and

use a combination of the official languages or dialects from their ancestral country and English.

Ethnic organizations bring people together by providing a space for individuals to gather,

offering programs and events, and acting as a hub for information and resources (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Model of how Organizations Facilitate Transnational Practices and Integration
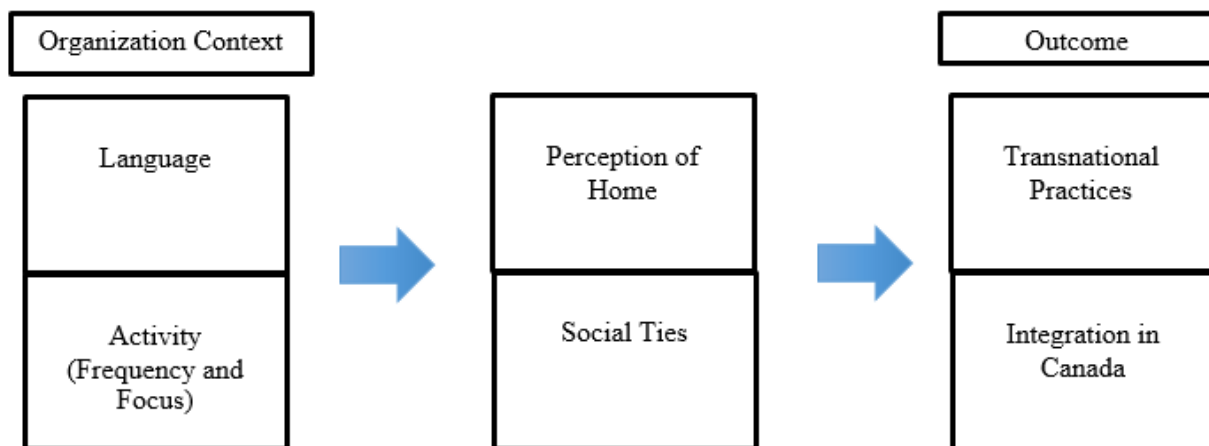
3.6.1   Organizations as a Gathering Place

The organization becomes a space where members can meet and discuss their concerns

and share strategies with each other. Some organizations have a physical location while others

do not. Nonetheless, what happens in organizations is that individuals can network with each

other and become acquaintances or even lifelong friends. For example, interview participants from all four organizations told me they often met with fellow members after the organization's events, going to dinner or planning future outings.

The organization becomes a gathering place for individuals. This is because organizations create a space where individuals can come together. Organizations that lack a physical space often have to be more creative in order to perform this function. For instance, Anna, a member of Bayan, which did not have a physical space, told me that their organization has classes at different members' homes for financial reasons: "[W]e don't want to pay, because if we rent a function room, it is at least $22 per hour, and the actual session could last three hours because it is interactive." Finances are an important concern for organizations. Farwa shared similar sentiments about renting spaces: "[T]he reality of the world is that unless you have money, you can't have event spaces."

For organizations that have a physical space, such as the JCCC and the KCCA, the locale can be a place to meet. Kenji reflected on why he chooses to participate in the JCCC and explained that he knows it is a place to meet co-ethnics. Andrew also described how the JCCC is "basically the central point for all Japanese Canadians who have interest in connecting with other Japanese Canadians. They come here as a central hub to connect." Organizations create a setting where individuals can interact with each other. This creates opportunities for future interactions.

3.6.2 The Role of Language in Organizations

Imagine going to an event where you cannot read the signs on the walls or understand what people are saying. While everyone can point to this feeling of uncertainty, it becomes a different experience when the event is intended for your participation. Language allows us to

communicate with each other and transmit norms and different ways of thinking and processing information (Heritage & Stivers, 2013). The four organizations I studied had the option of hosting their events in English, in their ethnic group's dialect or language, or in a combination of the two. This decision shapes the profile of who attends, the feelings that attendance engenders, and the accessibility of the event for the ethnic community and general population.

In the context of organizations, language can serve to integrate individuals and/or preserve the culture of the group. For all organizations there was a mixture of English and other languages spoken, but the degree and frequency differed across groups. There exists a continuum of what language was spoken and visible in the organizations.

Events can be conducted in the dialectic of the ancestral country. At the Peace Marathon[24] volunteer meeting at the KCCA I sat with Korean high school students who were all speaking in English. As we got to know each other, the people sitting around the table thought I was Korean because everyone else at the table was Korean. When one of the lead organizers got on stage the first question he asked was whether anyone present did not understand Korean. I raised my hand. Interestingly enough, the people around me also did not speak Korean, except for one woman who was translating for everyone. While hosting this event in Korean can bond people who speak Korean, it also excluded people who did not speak the language. This becomes even more pronounced if people make the assumption that everyone at the event will be able to speak the same language. At the KCCA there was an assumption that everyone spoke Korean as all instructions at the volunteering session were given in Korean. The focus was on

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[24] This is an annual event at the KCCA where they raise money to promote peace and harmony in the Korean community.

preserving the Korean culture, as witnessed by the amount of Korean spoken. People who were younger bowed to individuals who were older as a sign of respect. In events such as these, individuals who are fluent in Korean can easily converse and develop close-knit ties to each other.

Events were also sometimes conducted in English. At PDF, I spoke with Farwa about how the decision was made for English be the primary language spoken at events. She told me that English was selected to create a "safe space" because "if someone does not know proper Urdu, there may be stumbling and other people might laugh, and then we are just not having any learning being done." In addition to conducting events in English, they also have everything in Urdu translated to English. The purpose of speaking English was to attract individuals from within their ethnic community and beyond. As a result, English is used to unite all members and create an inclusive environment within the group.

Organizations can hold events in multiple languages, including dialects of their homeland, English, or some combination of the two. Suki explained that she is a "liaison" at JCCC because she speaks both Japanese and English. She explained that newcomers to Canada speak Japanese while individuals who are second or later generations mainly speak English. One of the events at the JCCC is Road to Asia, where different Asian countries, such as Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines, showcase their food, music, and dances. This is a lively event and around 3,000 people from different backgrounds and all ethnic groups gather and learn about each other's cultures. English and Japanese are spoken and participants create bonds within their ethnic community and bridge to non-co-ethnic members of society. The event promotes inclusivity in two ways. First, it features both Japanese and English so as to welcome all participants. Second, the event itself celebrates Canadian multiculturalism whereby everyone

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comes together to learn about each other's cultures and diversity is celebrated. Inclusivity is the goal for individuals within the organization and is extended to larger Canadian society.

I argue that language can be used to create bonds and bridge ties between individuals. Individuals who do not speak the ancestral country's dialectic can feel awkward at events when it is the predominant language. When I was at the Peace Marathon volunteer meeting of the KCCA, I was the only person at the table who raised my hand when the MC asked whether anyone did not understand Korean. However, other individuals at the table also did not speak Korean, such as a high school student who said he was "embarrassed" about not being able to communicate in Korean. In this situation, the language became a hurdle to engagement and connection.

However, for individuals who do speak the dialectic of the ancestral country, having events in that language can foster closer ties and connections. Victor, a man in his 50s, spoke about why he "always speaks in my language, Tagalog, or the Filipino language. Although I have been here close to 25 years, when I'm in the company of my kakabayans [compatriots], or even the opportunity to address them, I speak in my language because I think that is a language they can understand better." This connection is about more than simply language. It is also related to a feeling of cultural connection that arises when two people share idioms or analogies from the ancestral home country. Victor explained how speaking in Tagalog "speaks to the heart." Which language is used can impact who attends events and the extent to which they feel welcomed.

While having everyone speak in English works to integrate into larger Canadian society, it also creates disadvantages for the full involvement of all members in organizations. As Yasuko described, "[W]e have to do everything in English" at the JCCC, and that can lead to

"disadvantage," "especially when there is a meeting, and I have to express opinions or debate. Like, we, I mean the new Japanese Canadian people, not very well, because English is our second language…sometimes it is hard to join in. You have an idea, you would like to say something, you have to construct something in your mind to say something in English, but you're ready, the conversation is over [laughs]. It is frustrating, really." This frustration stems from not being able to easily communicate one's ideas and thoughts. Language is thus a tool that can exclude individuals as well as bring individuals together.

Language can be used as a tool to preserve the ethnic community as well as to integrate into the larger society. For ethnic speakers, language is a mechanism that brings individuals together, and they can use their own expressions and sayings. At the same time, speaking the ethnic language potentially excludes individuals who are ethnically part of the group but cannot speak that language fluently. Non-ethnics are also excluded at the events because of their lack of language ability.

Organizations and leaders make decisions about which language is spoken at an organization's events and programs and is on display at headquarters. In all the organizations in this study, both English and the ethnic language are spoken. However, the proportion of use of each language differed across groups. In the JCCC, most participants spoke only English when involved in the group, with the remaining participants speaking a mix of English and Japanese. In the PDF, one third of participants spoke only English and the other two thirds spoke a combination of English and Urdu. This is a very different profile than the combination of languages spoken in the KCCA and Bayan. At both the KCCA and Bayan, about half of respondents said that they speak their ethnic language only when at the organization. The other half speaks a combination of English and the ethnic language. As a whole, the ethnic language

was more prevalent at the KCCA and Bayan. KCCA and Bayan also facilitated the participation

of individuals who wanted to engage only in their ethnic language. This did not occur among the

individuals I interviewed at the JCCA and the PDF.

Language also reflects the generation divide. Bayan and KCCA events were conducted

in different languages depending on the target generation of the event. Arthur discussed how the

majority of times Tagalog is spoken, "but [this] depends on who you are talking to." The second

generation speaks "English for the most part, because we are living in Toronto and we want to

open up to other people."

The different language skills across generations is also an issue at KCCA. At the KCCA,

events targeted at the older generation are more often conducted in Korean whereas events for

the younger generation are more often in English. For example, when I attended a National

Liberation Day celebration, the attendance was mainly older generation Korean Canadians who

were mostly speaking Korean. There was a very different atmosphere at a Super Wave Korea

event, where the attendance was made up of younger Korean Canadians and non-Korean

Canadians speaking mostly in English. The major elements of the two events were the same.

Korean food was served, and there were performances and songs. They were both a celebration

of Korean culture. However, the events differed because of the profile of the attendees. A

number of KCCA interviewees spoke about the distinction between the older first generation,

who are bilingual or speak only Korean, and the second generation, who are bilingual or do not

speak Korean. Philip is bilingual and speaks both Korean and English. He attended a retreat at

the KCCA where one of the discussions was about differences in language speaking ability

within the organization. Philip described this difference:

There is somewhat of a struggle between, we use the term cha-sae-dae, which means the younger generation in Korea. So what we were talking about cha-sae-dae, we are typically talking about, under 30, born and raised here, speaks English, when they think about Korean culture, they think K-pop, and the first generation, who are 40-plus, there seems to be this disconnect. Because in the greater philosophical sense, we are all part of the Korean community. But the way that the older generation views the Korean community is different than the way the K-pop followers view Korean community. If so, what is the Korean community to me [laughs], well, I think in reality, we talk about our members, Korean community at large in Toronto, we always had to qualify it in saying, this is the young generation of Korean community or Korean community, we qualify that all the time in our language…. Super Wave is a perfect example as well, we put on Super Wave, who is this going to attract? The Korean community, what Korean community? Is this going to attract the older Korean community or is this going to attract the younger Korean community? A lot of times they're very mutually exclusive, so we have to have two separate events.

Philip articulated the difference in the events based on which generation of the Korean community the organization hoped to attract. Separating the cha-sae-dae and the older generation marks how language is shaping the events and attendees. The two groups are attracted to KCCA for difference reasons and the organization caters specific events as a way to respond to the changing demographics of the community and to build bonds and bridges between individuals.

Language is a way for people to connect both to other ethnic group members and to larger Canadian society. The generational divide by language is also found at JCCC and PDF, but at these organizations, the majority of events are held in English. In our interview, Shabana told me that PDF events were all in English and "if somebody breaks, speaking Urdu, they make sure somebody translates." Nonetheless, the language issue based on an individual's age was present. As Shabana continued about having English spoken, "it was sort of a bit upsetting at first, it is Pakistani thing, and I grew up speaking Urdu. But then I realized a lot of children… they are not that comfortable, especially if we are going into politics, they don't even have the

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language for, so you lose a lot of people. So I sort of understood, that is why. Most of the discussion, unless you start chatting with someone, that is different, but almost all of the proceedings are in English." This communication ability of speaking freely echoes the feelings Yasuko spoke about when the dominant language is one with which she is not comfortable. Deciding which language to use shapes who attends and feels welcome at the event and the organization. At the JCCC and the PDF, Japanese and Urdu are present but to a lesser degree compared to English.

Language can also be used to create ties outside of the ethnic group. When English is used, there is the possibility that a wider group of people, including a variety of ethnicities and generations, will be able to participate. Andrew takes an art class in English at the JCCC, and described the diversity of the participants in the class. There are Japanese Canadians new to the country as well as second and third generation Japanese Canadians. In addition, there are individuals from other ethnic groups. This appears to be a deliberate decision made by the JCCC, as the center was founded after World War II and has an explicit ideology of sharing Japanese culture with the larger Canadian community. JCCC's slogan and mission statement of "friendship through culture" involves creating connections within the Japanese Canadian community, sharing Japanese culture with all Canadians, and promoting integration and tolerance for all members of society (Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre). Howard reinforced this characteristic of the JCCC when he spoke about the importance of having a space for all Canadians to come together and interact with one another. Having events in English works to invite members from outside the ethnic community to participate as well as to bridge members to the larger Canadian society.

There are costs and benefits in deciding which language is used at organizations. First, language influences what types of resources an individual has access to. Being able to speak multiple languages, especially having fluency in English, opens doors in Canada. In my interview with Peter, he discussed how he does not see the KCCA serving his children or grandchildren. In his point of view, the KCCA does not serve the second or third generation because service at the KCCA is primarily in Korean at the moment. If his children or grandchildren need a service, he sees them going to a Canadian organization. Peter is looking at the future of KCCA, and based on the changing demographics and population the question becomes, "[W]hat is the role of the KCCA within Korean community, after 10 years, after 30 years later?" Speaking multiple languages becomes an asset for individual members and the organization. Philip discussed how he is a "complete hybrid" because he is fluent in both Korean and English. He was not "trying to blow my own horn," but he made the analogy of being "Swiss in Canada" because he can speak both languages. He described how he can speak to both generations at the KCCA (the cha-sae-dae and older) and this role puts him in an "ideal" position in the organization. In short, he is the "unification between the young and older generation." Language is not tied only not resources but also, in many ways, to the identity of the group.

Second, language can be used to create bonds between co-ethnics as well as integrate into larger Canadian society. At the four organizations I examined, there are different ways language is used to bond members. In terms of preserving the cultural heritage, the ethnic language is important to share ideas and gain a sense of camaraderie between members. At the same time, language is a mechanism to create bonds to greater Canadian society. Events could attract non-ethnics to the organization and expand membership. Saki estimated that 50% of the members at

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the JCCC are non-Japanese and this is approximation reflects what I saw at JCCC events. Angela illustrated this ethnic makeup of the group when she explained that some of the JCCC board members are "not even Japanese, like ethnically Japanese at all." As she elaborated, the reasoning stems from "the center's purpose, one of our missions, is not to provide Japanese people with the link to culture but to introduce Japanese culture to whoever is interested, to a wider Canadian audience." This is possible because many of the programs and activities are conducted in English.

Organizations are not static. Their decisions about what events to host and audiences to target changes over time have implications for how the organization preserves the cultural heritage of the community or integrates into larger society. The language used at the organization shapes where individuals perceive their home to be. Speaking the dialect of the homeland orients individuals to their ancestral country. Events that are conducted in Japanese, Korean, Urdu, or Filipino allow individuals to build bonds with other people from their ethnic group who are also fluent. The use of a homeland language also evokes feelings about a particular place and is related to the transmission of culture.

3.6.3   Activities at the Organizations

Individuals can attend different types of events at organizations. Organizations host events where individuals can learn about their ancestral country's history or celebrate their ethnic culture. I attended programming at the four organizations and the events and programs ranged from going to marches to discussion forums, cultural celebrations, and art and sport classes for children and adults. These events serve the dual function of preserving the ethnic culture and integrating the organization into wider Canadian society. One of the discussion forums I went to

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at PDF started with a reminder for participants to be respectful of each other's opinions in the space. The first few minutes were dedicated to an open discussion of current events in Pakistan and all participants were welcome to talk. Before the forum ended, everyone was asked to say one thing they had learned from the talk. Events such as these encourage participants to be engaged in contemporary politics. Organizations varied in the emphasis they put on engaging with the ancestral country or Canada.

I argue that ethnic organization activities influence members in three main ways. First, the different events hosted at the organization shapes where individuals perceive home to be. Organizations can hold events that are focused on the homeland, Canada, or a combination of the two. For instance, the KCCA hosted a National Liberation Day celebration (focused on Korea), the JCCA featured a Japanese Canadian Post War Experience Conference (focused on Canada), and Bayan organized a Kamalayan (awareness of consciousness) series on being Filipino in Canada (combination).

The ways in which organizations direct attention to activities on the homeland, Canada, or a combination of the two is critical for shaping where their members perceive home to be. Ethnic organizations can host a variety of programing and events, such as movie nights, English language classes, and cultural celebrations. Activities can be focused on Canada, the ancestral country, or a combination of both places. An example of an event that connected individuals to a homeland are the political forums at PDF. PDF hosts political discussion forums on current events in Pakistan. These monthly forums begin by asking participants about current events occurring in Pakistan. Activities such as these encourage members to keep up with what is happening in the homeland, whether it is by reading the news, listening to podcasts, or following social media focused on the homeland. There are also a variety of activities to help individuals

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connect to Canada. For example, at the KCCA, individuals can sign up for English language

classes. Learning how to communicate in one of the official languages of Canada can give

individuals opportunities to interact with fellow Canadians at work and in their leisure time.

Programming can also direct individuals' attention to both Canada and the ancestral country

simultaneously. For instance, Bayan celebrates Diwa ng Kasarinlan (Spirit of Independence) to

promote Filipino pride as well as highlight issues affecting the Filipino community in Canada,

such as the deskilling of work. Events such as these draw attention to the history of the

Philippines to promote Filipino pride while at the same time they examine the living conditions

of Filipinos in Canada.

Events centered on the history and politics of the ancestral country facilitate a sense of

focus on and connection to the ancestral country. Discussion forums hosted at organizations

provide a space to learn and share ideas. Hassan described his "basic motive to go to PDF is to

listen to some of the speakers…every time I go out learning something, and since my first

reaction was very good, it has continued to be pretty much the same, I have always been

impressed." The learning aspect cultivates genuine interest in the ancestral country and may

propel additional questions. Miguel illustrated the important role organization plays in

answering these issues:

> We had this, what would you call this, tree of life, or, river of life. So you start from
> the Philippines, how you get here, so we listed everything, obstacles we had to go
> through so, it was eye opening for me. Because I do not know what was going on
> with me—why do I have to be here, why did we have to leave the Philippines? Now,
> from my understanding, because lack of good jobs and proper pay. Those kind of
> stuff as well.

Miguel credited attending different events hosted by Bayan in shaping his understanding of his

family's immigration pathway and sense of place. His narrative illustrates organizations'

influence in giving individuals space to think about their history and a forum to discuss and connect with others.

Hosting programs that critically examine the history and politics of the ancestral country shape an individual's relationship with this country and the ties maintained. Forums such as these directly connect an individual to the ancestral country and foster a broader understanding of the relationship between Canada and the ancestral country. This encourages seeing the ancestral country as home. Ibrahim spoke about how forums bring together people who are new to the topic with others who read about contemporary politics "on [their] personal time." These connections can be leveraged to foster new ideas and critical reflection about current events. Organizations can facilitate spaces where individuals learn about their ancestral country, make connection between the country and Canadian politics, and foster a desire to sustain interest in and engagement with the ancestral country.

The organizations offer a range of classes and events for different age groups. Cultural classes can work towards preserving the ethnic culture of the group through learning language and different artistic expression, such as origami. The KCCA's National Liberation Day celebration I attended was mainly in Korean. I sat at a table with an 80-year-old Korean woman who has lived in Canada for 30 years, and she explained to me what was happening. One of musical performances included a song about the battle between Korea and Japan, and a video clip showed various historical events in Korea. While watching these videos, the woman sitting next to me explained that she was "very proud" of where Korea is today.

Organizations also integrate ethnic members into Canadian society. For example, KCCA hosts English as a Second Language classes, while Bayan organizes tax sessions for its members. One of the marches I attended was the Women's Day March, where I walked under the Bayan

flag. While marching along Yonge Street, everyone loudly chanted, "Educate and organize, all the women mobilize." Members of Bayan were warmly greeted with smiles and hugs from members of other organizations. In addition, individuals from Bayan invited friends outside the organization to join the march. Valerie described the event as being about "show[ing] that the issues that Filipino people are facing are not only in the Philippines but also in Canada." Engaging in protest was novel for many Bayan supporters, who were reluctant to engage in this type of action in the Philippines. For instance, Mary described how her family in the Philippines was nervous about how she brings her two children to protests with her, something that would be seen as too risky in the Philippines. Anna shared a similar story about reading a statement on the megaphone at the Filipino Consulate with her son. Bayan helped these women to learn and embrace different, and potentially more "Canadian," forms of engagement.

Organizations also integrate non-ethnic members into the ethnic culture. In all the groups I studied, all events are open to the public and can be attended by individuals from the ethnic group as well as other Canadians. However, the ethnic mix of attendees differed greatly across groups. For example, the JCCC hosts a variety of recreation classes for children and adults, and as Mark noted about JCCC's membership, "different cultures involve themselves here." This was evident as I sat in the waiting room where martial arts was taking place, as I heard languages other than English or Japanese spoken. In addition, at events I attended I met individuals from various backgrounds. As my interview with Mark continued, he said that "JCCC is open to all people, different types of people, that's how I feel Canada is." This relates to how the organization can shape an individual's integration into Canada. By having a diverse membership that includes non-ethnically Japanese individuals, the JCCC encourages the multicultural view of Canada being home to all individuals.

Classes are offered for members and can spark interest as well as renew appreciation for the ethnic culture. Miki discussed how her mother signed up for an e-tegami (picture letter) workshop with three generations of women in her family (Miki, Miki's mother, and Miki's daughter, who is seven years old). Workshops like these introduce Japanese culture to members. At the same time, members may already know of these activities. Saki was born in Japan and has lived in Canada for 24 years. She is already familiar with the ethnic culture and is fluent in Japanese. In our interview she discussed how "[JCCC] really appreciate tradition and culture….I appreciate tradition more than ever." She said that at JCCC she had "rediscovered the charms" of traditional Japanese culture and gave a concrete example of taking classes at the center as one of the reasons. Saki reflected on how her appreciation of Japanese culture would have been different if she stayed in Japan:

> Japanese people in Tokyo, very modern, they are changing, things are changing so quickly. Here, [JCCC] stay…they appreciate the tradition and culture more. The tea ceremony, the flower arrangement, Japanese young people in Japan, who cares, [laughs], right? Every culture is the same way. But here, calligraphy, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, those Japanese stuff, people appreciate. I learned sumi-e [brush painting] after I came here. I did calligraphy as a kid, up to high school, but I stopped doing it. And now I'm doing calligraphy, if I was in Japan, if I stayed in Japan, I'm probably won't, but since I was away from Japan, I am more interested in the culture.

Saki's reflection about culture touches on a number of different factors. First, the discussion is on gaining a greater appreciation for the ethnic culture. The organization works to preserve the ethnic culture as it introduces traditions to members as well as provides a pathway for people to rediscover their culture.

Second, while it may seem that ethnic culture is stagnant, this is not the case. Ethnic culture is constantly changing and involves a mix of the traditional and contemporary. As with

KCCA working towards bringing in the younger generation with events such as Super Wave Korea, Saki's reflection points to a delicate balance of involving both older and newer cultural elements. As she later elaborated, there are "tradition and modern ideas…so we have to do both, two pillars, it used to be only tradition and culture, we have to bring some new pillars."

Organizations are preserving the ethnic culture but also need to be in touch with the modern ethnic culture. This accomplishes two objectives. First, it paints a more complete picture of the vibrant ethnic culture. No culture is monolithic and the different dimensions made available to participants give them more options to engage with the traditions, norms, and culture of the ethnic group. Second, hosting a variety of events that appeal to traditional and contemporary culture can be a means to attract and retain the younger and older generations. For instance, both JCCC and KCCA host events that celebrate traditional performances as well as being open to contemporary popular culture. The organization is able to re-invent itself as it takes on the dual role of preserving ethnic traditions and being open to contemporary ideas.

Second, the regularity of the event shapes individuals' interactions with each other. When activities encourage regular interactions, friendships can develop between members. This is important because individuals create informal expectations and pressure for one another. Attending monthly political discussion forums compels attendees to stay informed about news from the homeland. Ethnic organizations that have events that promote regular interactions between members create a space where individuals not only share information with each other, but also act as informal checks on one another, encouraging additional engagement. Regular events also encourage the development of ties between group members.

Events hosted at the ethnic organizations can be sporadic or regular and the frequency shapes the bonds between members. This is important because social interactions between

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members can influence the strength of ties individuals have to their ancestral country. One of the infrequent events I went to was at KCCA. Each year the organization hosts a National Liberation Day Celebration, a holiday celebrated on August 15 to commemorate victory over Japan that ended WWII. There are no additional events in between celebrations that focus on this commemoration. At the event I attended, dinner was served as we watched musical and dance performances, video clips, and the unveiling of new artwork. The event took place in the organization's auditorium, which was filled with tables of eight or more people, most of them elderly Koreans. I sat at a table where individuals did not know each other and this become apparent when they introduced themselves and exchanged business cards. These introductions, and the sharing of business cards, seemed to be very formal. Events such as these are infrequent and individuals who meet may not be creating strong bonds.

Members at organizations can also meet on a regular basis. For example, the JCCC hosts a number of weekly classes, such as cooking or art classes, for both children and adults. I met Kenji at an adult sporting class. For this class, members met for two hours and there was a sense that it was a social gathering as members encouraged and laughed with one another. Kenji drove an hour each week to attend this class; he also attends "outside social events." These events include meeting with his fellow group members, such as inviting people over for dinner, or having dinner at a Chinese restaurant after their weekly class. These "outside social events" illustrate the bond that is created between the members. As Kenji elaborates, "[W]herever there is a chance I can invite or be invited, I will probably go and would not say no." This camaraderie is fostered through regular interactions at the organization as members have more opportunities to develop strong ties that extend beyond the activities in which they were created.

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Last, the depth of interaction influences the bonds individuals develop with one another. Organizational events can encourage individuals to reveal personal information about themselves, depending on the activity. Activities that facilitate emotional connections between individuals can foster strong ties between members. For example, having a panel discussion about facing discrimination in the labor market sets the stage for individuals to share personal experiences and reflection. This can become a deeply intimate space for individuals and increase the level of trust between members.

The depth of interaction also differs at events. Activities such as sporting, cooking, or art classes do not require individuals to reveal personal details about themselves. In these types of activities, the interaction between individuals can exist on a surface level, where individuals exchange pleasantries and small talk. For example, the Peace Marathon at the KCCA is an annual event that welcomes individuals from the ethnic community and beyond to walk or run to promote peace and harmony in the Korean community. As a volunteer at this event, I saw individuals engaged in small talk, but the nature of the event did not encourage attendees to share personal details about their lives. While individuals may walk or run together, they did this only when they already knew one another, and even so they were not able to talk in detail because of the activity and the crowd. After the marathon, individuals gathered in a crowded auditorium with vendors and prize raffles, such as airfare to South Korea and a flat screen television. There were no places to sit and the nature of the event did not encourage participants to share personal information about themselves.

3.7   The Meaning and Implications of the Framework

Individuals make sense of their connections to their ancestral country and Canada in different ways. The rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic framework differentiate the

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meanings individuals give to their connections to their ancestral country and Canada. The

meaning given is significant because it has direct implications for the number and intensity of

transnational practices in which the person engages. I organize this section in two parts. In the

first part, I examine the average number of transnational practices by framework. Next, I present

narratives to illustrate and unpack the implications of belonging to each framework for the

number of transnational activities in which an individual engages.

Figure 12 Average Number of Transnational Practices by Framework
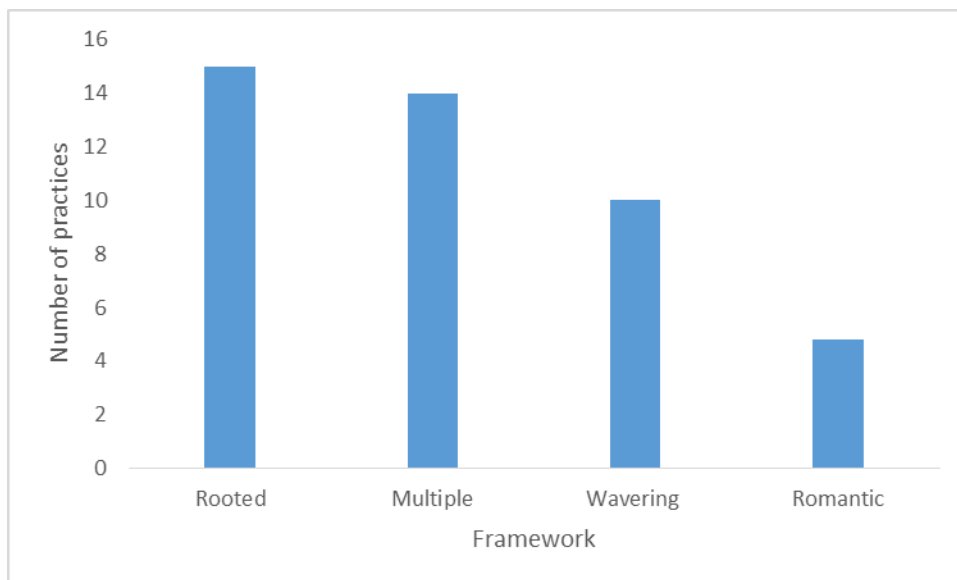
Figure 12 illustrates the average number of transnational practices by framework. Recall

that an individual's framework is based on the strength of his or her ties to the ancestral country

and where he or she perceives home to be. In this section, I assess each framework by paying

attention to the role of social ties and perception of home in predicting the number of practices in

which an individual engages.

First, interview participants who have strong ties to people in the ancestral country

engage in more transnational practices than individuals who have weak ties there. Individuals

who are part of the rooted and multiple categories have strong ties to their ancestral country and engage in many transnational practices (14-15 per person, on average). Individuals in the wavering and romantic categories have weaker ties and engage in far fewer transnational practices (an average of five and 10 per person, respectively). It is clear that, in general, strong ties with the country lead to more engagement in transnational practices.

The importance of ties is highlighted when comparing individuals in the multiple and wavering categories. Individuals in these two categories share the same places as home (both in their ancestral country and Canada). However, the type of ties they have are very different, which explains the much higher engagement in transnational practices among the multiple versus the wavering group (14 versus 10). Individuals in the multiple group have strong ties to their ancestral country while individuals in the wavering group have weak but existing ties to their ancestral country.

Second, perceiving the ancestral country as home leads to a higher propensity to engage in transnational practices. The significance of where an individual perceive home to be is clear when comparing the wavering and romantic groups. Individuals in the wavering group perceive both their ancestral country and Canada as home while individuals in the romantic group perceive only Canada as home. As a result, individuals in the wavering group participate in twice as many transnational practices, on average, as those in the romantic group (10 versus five).

The framework I created highlights the importance of where an individual perceives home to be and his or her social ties to the ancestral country. I will first compare Karen (multiple framework, engages in 15 transnational practices) and Sameer (wavering framework, engages in eight transnational practices), to illustrate the importance of social ties. They both perceive their

ancestral country and Canada as home but their strength of ties to their ancestral country differs. This difference explains why individuals, such as Karen, in the multiple category participate in more transnational practices, on average, than individuals, such as Sameer, in the wavering category (14 versus 10).

Karen is in her 30s and has lived in Canada for nine years (first generation). For Karen, both the Philippines and Canada are home: "I say Philippines will be like having a cottage up north [laughs]. Something, a place where you can relax, have fun with your family and being in touch with them, hugging them physically, I really miss you guys, something like that. But in reality, it is like, going to back to the city, this is my life now." This Canadian metaphor of a "cottage up north" captures her sense of home in both the Philippines and Canada. Karen maintains strong ties to the Philippines even though she sees Canada as "my life now." The strength of Karen's ties to the Philippines exists on multiple levels. Karen feels a connection and obligation to provide for her family, such as by funding her niece's schooling. She has constant connections to the Philippines through Facebook and talked about how she is part of a Facebook group from the city in which she grew up. In addition, Karen views her commitment to the Philippines as beyond a "blood relationship" and called it a "personal and political bond." When she discussed her relationship to the Philippines, she spoke about the "consciousness of being Filipino" and how that is "political and social" because the experiences she has in Canada are linked to her being Filipino. Individuals in the multiple category have strong ties to the ancestral country and participate in a variety of transnational practices.

While Karen has strong ties to the Philippines, Sameer's ties to Pakistan are weaker. Sameer is in his 60s and has lived in Canada for 36 years (first generation). Like Karen, Sameer sees both Canada and his ancestral country as home. He speaks fluent English and Urdu, enjoys

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Urdu music, and reads in both languages, particularly enjoying Urdu poetry. His immediate family lives in the Greater Toronto Area and he does not have any close relatives in Pakistan. While he occasionally hears from friends in Pakistan, the last time he visited Pakistan was in the 1980s. Sameer reflected, "Personally for me, I think that I am more connected to the Canadian society. I live here well over half of my life now, my job is here, my house, my wife, my daughter. So, then, the associations that go with that, daughter's friends, wife's friend, my own friends, work and otherwise, they're from here." While Sameer sees both Canada and Pakistan as home, his ties to Pakistan are weak. For instance, he talks about not having "ongoing contact" with individuals from Pakistan and rarely giving to charities in Pakistan unless there is a major flood or earthquake. Individuals in the wavering category, like Sameer, see multiple homes and weak ties to their ancestral country.

Second, perceiving Canada as one's only home is associated with less participation in transnational practices, as seen when comparing the wavering and romantic groups. Interview participants from the wavering group engage in, on average, twice the number of transnational practices as individuals in the romantic group (10 versus five). I will illustrate the importance of where an individual sees home shaping transnational practices by comparing the narratives of Jin-ho (wavering) and Alice (romantic).

Jin-ho is in his 50s and has lived in Canada for 35 years (first generation). He works in business and is a father of two. Jin-ho has business contacts in South Korea and his job requires him to travel there often. In the past, he flew to South Korea quite frequently, traveling 22 times in one year, but more recently he has been traveling to South Korea only twice per year. This traveling back and forth evokes a feeling of home in both places: "Well for me, I have business in Korea. So I still have lots of connections back home, but I said back home but, when I come

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back from Korea, plane is landing, look at Toronto, I feel like I am home so, I do not know."

Jin-ho described how when he looks out the airport window of the plane arriving to Pearson airport in Toronto, he feels a sense of coming home. Jin-ho considers both South Korea and Toronto as home and has a wavering framework. He engages in a variety of transnational practices. For example, he participates in socio-cultural practices, such as celebrating New Year's Day, and economic practices, such as having business relationships in South Korea. However, when giving charitable donations, he mostly donates to groups in Canada, such as the United Way. Individuals, like Jin-ho, in the wavering category see both their ancestral country and Canada as home and participate, on average, in a higher number of transnational practices than people who have Canada as their only "home," such as individuals in the romantic category.

Alice is in her 60s and is third-generation Japanese Canadian. Canada is where she defines her primary home. Alice remembered growing up with "very little experience with the Japanese group or communities" and the only people she knew of Japanese descent were her family members. According to Alice, "I can't relate to Japan. I have been to Japan three times and I don't feel that I belong there…I appreciate it and I enjoy it, but it is not me." She does not have any relatives in Japan and sees Canada as her homeland because she "lived all my life here." Alice participates in one transnational practice, and it is socio-cultural (celebrating holidays). Individuals in the romantic group, like Alice, see Canada as their primary home and tend to participate in a low number of transnational practices.

Individuals choose to participate in organizations and, once there, organizations reinforce and introduce new activities. I find that organizations facilitate individuals' engagement in transnational practices and integration into Canada. Organizations foster different perceptions of home and social ties through the activities hosted. First, the frequency of the activities shape the

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bonds individuals have to other members. For events that are regular, there is a higher possibility that individuals will become friends. In addition, the intensity of the activity influences the bonds individuals have. Activities that create a space where individuals talk about personal struggles and successes can foster closer ties between members. Second, the language spoken at the event can facilitate integration into Canada and encourage ties to the ancestral country. Through classes in the ancestral country's language, individuals can be introduced to other activities, such as watching movies, listening to music, or reading the news. Last, the focus of the event directs individuals' attention towards Canada, the ancestral country, or a combination of both. By influencing individuals' social ties and perception of home, organizations are playing a critical role in encouraging transnationalism and integration.

Figure 13 illustrates the configuration of transnational practices in which individuals in each of the frameworks engage. Remember that the frameworks are based on the strength of the individual's ties to his or her ancestral country and perception of home. It is clear from the figure that individuals with different frameworks participate in very different profiles of transnational practices. While the previous section examined the *number* of transnational practices engaged in, this section explores the *type* of transnational practices in which an individual engages.

Figure 13 Average Type of Transnational Practices by Framework
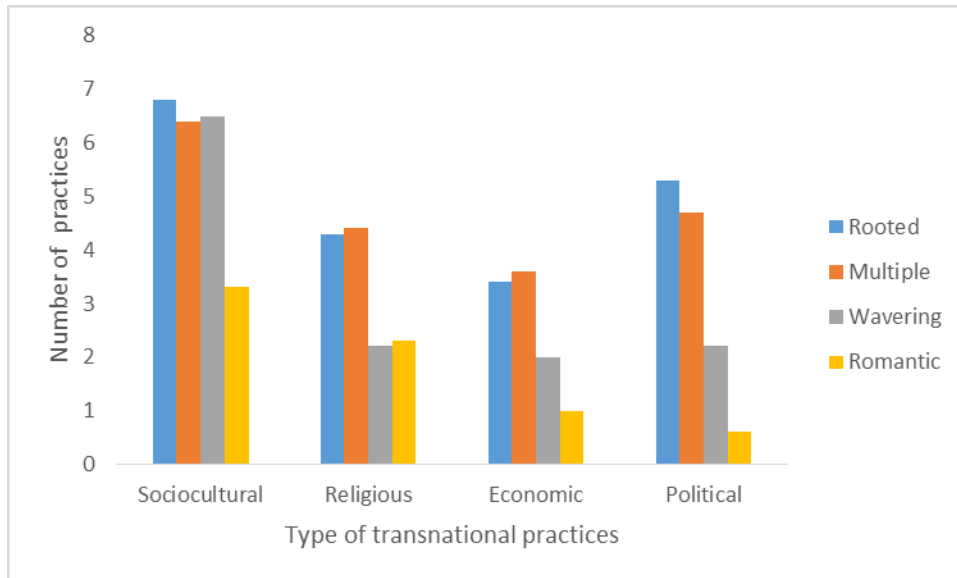
First, all interview participants are more likely to be engaged in socio-cultural transnational practices than any of the other types of practices. However, there is a difference in the number of socio-cultural transnational practice engaged in based on an individual's framework. Individuals who are in the rooted, multiple, and wavering categories (individuals who see their ancestral country as one of their homes) engage in, on average, twice the number of sociocultural transnational practices than those who are in the romantic category, individuals who see Canada as their home. In general, perceiving the ancestral country as home is associated with more engagement in sociocultural transnational practices.

Second, the biggest difference in the type of transnational practices engaged in across frameworks is political participation. Political transnational practices show both the important role played by individuals' strength of ties and where they perceive home to be. The strength of ties helps explains why individuals in the rooted and multiple categories engage in more political transnational practices. Individuals who have strong ties to their ancestral country engage in, on average, twice the amount of political practices than those who have weak ties. The perception

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of home reveals why individuals in the romantic category do not participate in political transnational practices. Individuals in this category, unlike the other three categories, see Canada as their only home. These findings show that where an individual sees their home shapes whether they engage in political transnational practices.

It is important to note that people can shift between categories and travel is one way that occurs. Traveling to the ancestral country becomes a pivotal moment for many in shaping or renewing an individual's connection to Canada or the ancestral country. For some individuals, traveling to the ancestral country re-establishes bonds, while for others, who might not have ties to re-establish, it is a renewal of interest. I compare the traveling experiences of three individuals: Joseph (rooted category), Fatima (multiple category), and Jennifer (romantic category) to illustrate how individuals have the agency to move between frameworks.

Joseph (rooted category) is in his 30s and has lived in Canada for 23 years (1.5 generation). His home is the Philippines and he has strong ties to his ancestral country. Joseph participates in 17 transnational practices such as traveling to the Philippines, financially assisting people in the Philippines, and raising funds for social movements in the Philippines. In discussing his travels to the Philippines, Joseph talked about going there for vacations or for family events, such as weddings. Here, Joseph discussed his time in the Philippines:

> It is overwhelming. I mean, the things that we study [in Bayan]…the issues back home, like the papers that we read, I see it. I witnessed everything. So, it is more clear to me now that, you know, it is overwhelming to learn, what is really going on back home. It is really bad, that is all I can say.

Joseph describes the sadness he feels when he sees the "poverty and privatization" occurring in the Philippines firsthand. Even though he does not directly link how his visits to the Philippines renew his commitments to his ancestral country, it is clear that he feels a pull. For individuals

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like Joseph, traveling to the ancestral country reinvigorates their connections to their ancestral country.

While some individuals can easily connect to their ancestral country, others need time and exposure to the place. Fatima is in her 20s and has lived in Canada for 10 years (1.5 generation). She discussed how she gradually became connected to Pakistan after repeated travels. The first trip was "not great" because she was "unfamiliar…I did not have, a. I couldn't go out all by myself, so I couldn't really discover anything by myself, and b. just not really knowing where things were." Fatima now perceives both Pakistan and Canada as home because of her subsequent trips to Pakistan. By her third trip, she started to feel comfortable because "[I]t felt more like I had a social circle and I was more familiar with the surroundings." By that time, Fatima had created bonds and networks in Pakistan and was able to socialize outside her immediate family. For individuals like Fatima, her connection to Pakistan was not instantaneous; rather, it took time to cultivate. As a result, traveling to the ancestral country helped strengthen her transnational practices.

Like Joseph (rooted category) and Fatima (multiple category), individuals in the romantic category also experience a change after traveling to their ancestral country. Jennifer is in her late 20s and was born in Canada. She is in the romantic category and participates in a higher number of transnational practices compared to many other people in this category because of her work experience in Japan. On average, an individual in the romantic category participates in five transnational practices. Jennifer participates in 12 transnational practices, such as listening to music, having contact with family and friends, and celebrating holidays associated with Japan. She spoke about the moment in Japan when she first felt a connection to her ancestral country and how "something kind of resonated with me." As such, being in Japan not only renewed her

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interest in Japan but also established new connections. However, at the same time, being in

Japan also created a deeper connection to Canada. As she explained, "I think it was much more

obvious to me when I was in Japan. The experiences that I had there made it very apparent to

me the parts that felt Canadian." For individuals like Jennifer, travelling to the ancestral country

energizes their connection to that country but also strengthens bonds to Canada.

I compare the travel experiences of Joseph (rooted category), Fatima (multiple category),

and Jennifer (romantic category) to demonstrate how an individual's perception of home and

type of tie to the ancestral country can be rekindled. This process is different depending on one's

framework. The three narratives reveal the different meanings that this traveling can have for

individuals from different frameworks. The experience of traveling and establishing connections

to the ancestral country is different for those who are re-establishing ties and for those who are

creating ties for the first time.

3.8   Summary

In this chapter, I propose a fourfold typology based on two dimensions: (a) where an

individual perceives his or her home to be (the ancestral country or Canada, either alone or

combined); and (b) the strength of the ties (strong or weak) he or she has to the ancestral country.

These two dimensions lead to ways in which individuals understand their connections to Canada

and their ancestral country: rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic. The activities engaged in

and language spoken at the ethnic organization facilitate the different types of connections

individuals have to their ancestral country.

By examining the meaning individuals give to their transnational practices, I add to the

discussion of why it is important to analytically differentiate between an individual's action and

the meaning given to that action. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) use the terms *ways of being* (the actions individuals are engaged in) and *ways of belonging* (how individuals connect their action to their identity) to separate action and meaning. The fourfold typology expands on this continuum. Individuals in the rooted category are more likely to be enacting *ways of belonging,* as their transnational practices are deliberately aligned to their identity. Individuals in the romantic category are more likely to be demonstrating *ways of being,* as their transnational practices are not aligned to an overarching identity that is aligned to their sense of self. The rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic categories can be useful conceptual tools to assess the meaning evoked in participating in transnational practices. Future research can use this framework to explain which factor is strongest (i.e., generation status, amount of time in Canada, or age) through surveys.

While in the previous chapter I demonstrated how the individual, organizational, and sociopolitical levels shape an individual's propensity to engage in transnational practices and the number and type of practices, here I revealed the meaning individuals attach to their transnational practices. Introducing the rooted, multiple, wavering, and romantic categories gives a framework to understanding how an individual makes sense of connections and how that relates to the number of transnational practices participated in. In the next chapter, I unpack how an individual's identity is navigated in a multicultural society.

Chapter 4: Developing the Canadian Hyphen

In 2015, *The Toronto Star*, one of Canada's widest circulation newspapers, ran a headline that read, "How Canadians celebrate their identity—it's all in the hyphen" (*Toronto Star*, 2015). What does the hyphen mean? As immigration increases in Canada and around the world, there is growing interest in studying individuals' multiple identities. What does it mean to self-identify as Indian Canadian, Indian in Canada, or Canadian?

Individuals have agency in the expression of their identity. One space in which individuals come to negotiate their identity is within ethnic organizations. Being involved in these organizations allows individuals to develop or reinforce their identities. People have different purposes for participating in ethnic organizations. All of the organizations in this study offer a variety of classes, such as learning about dance, politics, or cooking. These classes are a space where individuals can share their knowledge or refine their skills. For parents who take their children to classes, ethnic organizations act as one way to expose their children to their ethnic culture. Anna brings her son to protest activities, where he has learned the importance of being "politically conscious." Some individuals aim to change the current and future direction of the organization. Yasuko wanted the "voice" of post-war Japanese Canadians represented in the JCCC. Simon discussed wanting to increase the presence of the younger generation at the KCCA because he found it to be attended mostly by senior Korean Canadians. Individuals are active agents and have their own intentions in joining organizations and can shape what the organization can become.

Identities are the names individuals give to themselves and others through interactions to make sense of the social world and their place within it (Snow et al., 2004). The development of identities is a process whereby individuals explore possible identities and what these identity

labels mean to them. Research on racial and ethnic identity development highlights this interactive and exploratory element of identity, particularly during adolescence and young adulthood (Umana-Taylor et al., 2014). Context is important in the development of identities, as different identity components may be salient dependent on time and space. This is also evident as individuals move between different social spaces and can have implications for identities and their relative salience (Jenkins, 2008; Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Snow, 2001). The relational, fluid, dynamic, multiple, situational, and constructed nature of identity is made particularly salient when individuals migrate and settle in a new country (Deaux, 2008; Satzewich & Wong, 2006). Hyphenated identities, such as African-American or Indo-Canadian, are one way to understand how individuals make sense of these complex configurations of ethnic and national identities.

In this chapter, I examine the meaning of hyphenated identities. First, I ague that, while a hyphenated identity appears to be a unified expression, there is variance in how individuals combine different identities. How do individuals make sense of their hyphenated identity? What is the relationship between its two components? What are the implications of these identities for individuals and the societies in which they live?

I investigate how individuals perceive their hyphenated identities. I begin by giving a brief overview of the concepts of identity and hybridity.   I then examine the concepts of assimilation and transnationalism as they relate to the development of identities among individuals. Next, I discuss the larger Canadian context in which this research is situated. While previous research tends to focus on one or two ethnic groups, I depart from this design by comparing four ethnic groups in order to better illuminate the larger processes through which individuals create and constitute hyphenated identities. Drawing from mixed qualitative methods, I characterize three identities to capture how individuals make sense of their hyphen:

core (when one part of the identity is central); *contextual* (when multiple identities are separate but interrelated), and *composite* (when multiple identities are blended into one). Core, contextual, and composite identities illuminate the complexities involved in negotiating and navigating "the hyphen." I add to the literature by demonstrating how the context of arrival, the presence of racialized individuals, the co-ethnic community, and pivotal events shape the development and enactment of hyphenated identities. How individual make sense of their hybrid identities speaks to larger questions of social inclusion and what it means to live in a globalized world.

Individuals use identity labels to categorize themselves and others through social interactions. We do this to orient ourselves and others in the world (Jenkins, 2008; Snow, 2001; Snow et. al., 2004). Each individual has multiple identities and the salience of these identities changes over time, place, and context (Jenkins, 2008; Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Snow, 2001). Identities are relational (involving comparisons between people and situations), fluid (evolving), dynamic (subject to change), multiple (numerous), situational (dependent on a particular time and place), and constructed (created and recreated; Dhamoon, 2009; Jenkins, 2004).

4.1   Finding Identity

Individuals use identity labels to categorize themselves and others through social interactions. We do this to orient ourselves and others in the world (Jenkins, 2008; Snow, 2001; Snow et. al., 2004). Each individual has multiple identities and the salience of these identities changes over time, place, and context (Jenkins, 2008; Polleta & Jasper, 2001; Snow, 2001). Identities are relational (involving comparisons between people and situations), fluid (evolving),

dynamic (subject to change), multiple (numerous), situational (dependent on a particular time and place), and constructed (created and recreated; Dhamoon, 2009; Jenkins, 2004).

Collective identity refers to the affinity an individual feels towards a group, community, or institution (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Ethnicity is an example of a collective identity. The collective identity emerges when an individual feels an affinity towards and connection to the ethnic group (i.e., "I am part of the Polish Canadian community"). Waters (1990) argued that the ways in which individuals can express and celebrate their identities differs across groups. For example, some people have the option to present their ethnic identity symbolically and voluntarily, on their own terms. This symbolic ethnicity has no social cost for the individual and can be left unexplained, such as an individual of Irish descent wearing green on St. Patrick's Day and not having this label on any other day (Gans, 1979). However, racialized individuals do not have these same options and have less flexibility over how their identities are perceived by others and when to express them (Alba, 2005; Kibria, 2000).

Hybridity involves mixing and combining different identity markers. For example, individuals can combine their gender, religious, ethnic, or sexual identities. These markers can be combined to create hybrid identities, such as French Canadian or Turkish Muslim. However, this agency is constrained because other people can also label your identity (McLeod, 2000). In this article I examine how hybrid identities are configured and constrained. How do individuals create hybrid identities and how are they negotiated by different people?

4.2   Living in a Hyphenated World

One hyphenated identity is the relationship between an individual's ethnic and national culture. The idea of a singular culture (Bhabha, 1994) or a homogenous society (Faist, 2009) is

increasingly impossible in an interconnected world.[25] Various models have been created to explain the hyphenated identities formed through immigration and settlement (Rumbaut, 1994). Berry's (1992, 1995, 1997) model of acculturation is one way to unpack how individuals make sense of their ethnic and national identities. In this model, Berry highlighted the importance of examining the feelings an individual has towards his or her ethnic group and country of settlement in unpacking ethnic and national identity (Berry, 1992, 1995, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Cebotari, 2015; Hansen & Hesli, 2007; Phinney et al., 2001). These two dimensions result in four main ways individuals can come to identify with their ethnic and national identities. Separated identities are when an individual rejects the majority culture and identifies with the ethnic group only (separated or ethnic identity). Assimilated or civic identities emerge when an individual rejects the ethnic culture and identifies with the majority culture only (assimilated or civic identity). Hybrid or integrated identities are when individuals identify with both the ethnic and the majority culture (hybrid or integrated identity). Finally, marginalized identities emerge when an individual rejects both the ethnic and the majority culture (atomized or marginalized identity; Berry, 1992, 1997, 2005; Bourhis et al., 1997; Cebotari, 2015; Hansen & Hesli, 2007; Phinney et al., 2001).

Berry's model of acculturation is useful because it illustrates the individual and social processes involved in identity formation and development. Furthermore, the ideal types show variations in how individuals can make sense of the relationship between their national and ethnic identities. There exists potential strength and challenges when negotiating multiple

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[25] While my study does not directly measure economic status, I recognize the role class plays in influencing identity, ethnicity, and hybridity (Mensah & Williams, 2015).

identities. In New York, researchers found evidence of individuals creatively combining their ethnic and national identities into something new (Kasintiz et al., 2008). This research highlights the individual agency involved in responding to the social environment when creating a sense of identity. At the same time, there exist structural constraints. In Canada, the unusually low educational attainment of second generation Filipino Canadians is attributed to ethnic identity formation and development (Kelly, 2014, 2015). According to Kelly (2014), while there are some Filipino Canadian success stories, there is also considerable stigma based on parental deprofessionalization and public stereotyping that has created a negative "Filipino-ness." This image lowers self-esteem and aspirations of Filipino Canadians and demonstrates how intangible processes impact the structural constraints on identity development.

I build on this model by further unpacking the hybrid/integrated identity. There is an implicit assumption that the hybrid category is a unified whole, with the ethnic and national identities being equally important and salient for individuals. This is not always the case. Individuals vary in the importance or salience they place on each of these components. The model also does not account for the possibility that hybrid identities evolve over time and can create new variations of identity configurations. I address this gap by examining how these two components of hybrid identities are related to one another and the meaning individuals give to their hybrid identity.

4.3   The Canadian Case

Canada is the ideal place to study hyphenated identities because it is ethnically, linguistically, demographically, religiously, and culturally diverse (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2000; Statistics Canada, 2016). Canada presents a theoretically interesting case because ethnic

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organizations have the support of the state based on the policy of multiculturalism. Support for

immigration in Canada is relatively high and has increased since the 1980s, since it is tied to the

Canadian government's belief that immigration is economically beneficial (Wilkes et al., 2008;

Wilkes & Corrigall-Brown, 2011). The Canadian state and government policy has been critical

in creating and fostering diversity. Canadian immigration policy and multiculturalism rhetoric

have shaped the distinctive settlement experience in Canada (Reitz, 2012). The government

provides financial and symbolic support to individuals who maintain connections to their

ancestral country (Bloemraad, 2005; Bloemraad & Wright, 2014). For example, governments

fund cultural festivals, encourage educational practices that promote diversity, and feature

multicultural rhetoric in citizenship guides.

Pivotal events, such as the enactment of official multiculturalism policy in Canada, play

an important role in shaping the emergence and enactment of hyphenated identities. Under this

rhetoric, individuals have the option to preserve their cultural heritage while participating in

Canadian society (Simmons & Plaza, 2006). For example, multiculturalism can be credited for

immigrants' political participation and stronger sense of Canadian citizenship (Bloemraad,

2006). Research dispels the assumption that attachment to an ethnic group is associated with

weak attachments to Canada. Reitz (2009) found that attachment to an ethnic group does not

equate to weak attachments to Canada and, at the same time, that attachment to Canada does not

equate to weak attachments to an ethnic group. Multiculturalism supports the development and

continuation of multiple identities (Satzewich & Wong, 2006).

Despite the important role multiculturalism plays in Canada and the high levels of

diversity in the country, there are notable incidents of racism in Canadian history that shape the

experiences of its ethnic groups (Dhamoon & Abu-Laban, 2009). For example, the internment

of Japanese Canadians and the policy of dispersal after World War II illustrates how groups are constructed as dangerous paralleling the discourses of racialization, security, and nation building (Dhamoon, 2009; Thobani, 2007). This is a defining moment in Canadian history (Bangarth, 2008; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2000; Miki, 2004). Japanese Canadians are one of the racialized groups that express a higher sense of belonging to Canada than to their country of origin (Reitz, 2009; Reitz & Banerjee, 2009).

Substantial research recognizes that the promise of multiculturalism is not a reality for racialized individuals (Ghosh, 2013; Mahtani, 2002; Paragg, 2015). Researchers saw an increased response to "Canadian" as an ethnic origin in the 1990s and 2000s Canadian Censuses (Boyd & Norris, 2001; Lee & Edmonston, 2010). Both racialized and non-racialized individuals in Canada can self-identify as Canadian. However, perceived racism influences how individuals make sense of their Canadian identity. For example, 1.5 and second generation Caribbean Canadians often face stigmatization based on their physical appearance and choose a hybrid identity of Caribbean Canadian because they perceive the identity of "only Canadian" to be unattainable (Plaza, 2006). As a result, many racialized individuals are less likely to report "Canadian" as an ethnic origin in the census (Pendakur & Mata, 1998), and the frequency with which individuals feel a sense of belonging to Canada is higher for individuals with European origins compared to racialized individuals (Reitz & Banerjee, 2009).

I argue that hyphenated identities should be examined not as a unified whole but unraveled to see how individuals experience the combinations of multiple identities and make sense of these combined identities. Understanding the components within hyphenated identities casts a different light on social integration and national identity. I follow Somerville's (2008) argument that we should focus on unpacking the process of identity construction instead of the

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identity outcome. By hearing the voices of racialized individuals and how they navigate their

hyphenated identities, I investigate what the hyphen means and the conditions that shape its

emergence.

4.4   Results: Contextual, Core, and Composite Identities

Figure 14 Core, Contextual, and Composite Identities

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            ┌─────────────────────────┐
            │   Hyphenated Identity    │
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           /              |              \
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│  Contextual  │  │     Core     │  │  Composite   │
└──────────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────────────┘
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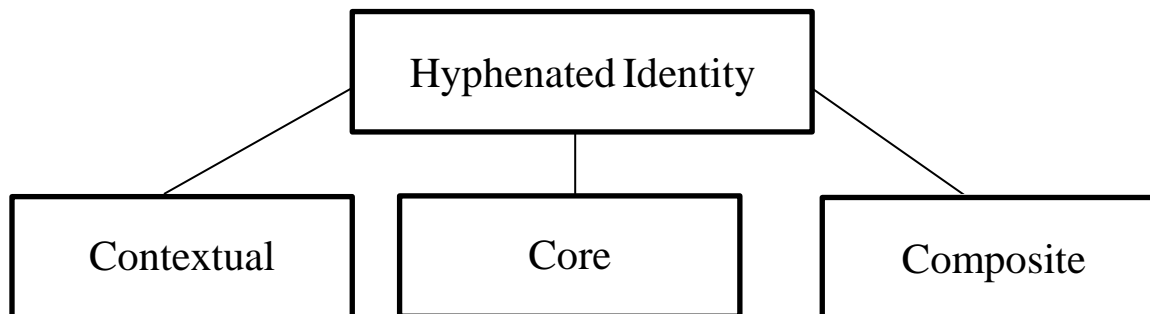
My typology delineates three types of hyphenated national-ethnic identities (Figure 14).

When categorizing my interview participants, I focus on two dimensions: (a) how individuals see

the connection between their national and ethnic identities (i.e., whether they are separate, if one

part is more central, or if they are combined); and (b) what happens to their national and ethnic

identity in different environments (i.e., whether their identities change across contexts). Table 7

outlines three types of hybrid identities that were expressed by individuals in this research.

Contextual identities occur when individuals see their multiple identities as separate and shift

between their identities depending on the environment. For example, an individual who

prioritizes his or her Indian identity when with Indian family but identifies as Canadian when

outside the home has a contextual identity. *Core* identities describe individuals who

predominantly see one part of their identity as central among their multiple identities. For

example, a Chinese Canadian who sees Canadian identity as the core of who he or she is has a core identity. *Composite* identities describe individuals who blend different aspects of their identities into one and see this as a unified whole. This type of identity is related to Berry's model as it represents the blending of cultures, which he found occurring among immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006). I extend this insight and apply it to adults and the process whereby this form of identity can be passed down to the next generation. In this case, these individuals blend the different parts of their ethnic identity regardless of the context and feel, for example, Vietnamese Canadian wherever they go. Breaking down the different variants of hyphenated national-ethnic identity illustrates the complexities in how individuals can experience and make sense of a multifaceted sense of self.[26]

Table 7 Core, Contextual, and Composite Identities

	Contextual	**Core**	**Composite**
How individuals see their multiple identities	Multiple identities are separated but interrelated	There is a central element to their multiple identities	Multiple identities are blended into one
What happens to their identities in different environments	Individuals shift their identities depending on the situation	Individuals mainly derive meaning from their central identity	Individuals see their identity as a unified whole
Box Figures			

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[26] There is the caveat that I'm exploring these hyphenated identities in the Canadian context. Identities are situational and the expression of core, contextual, and composite identities may take different forms when individuals are outside Canada.

Figure 15 Prevalence of Each Identity, Percentage
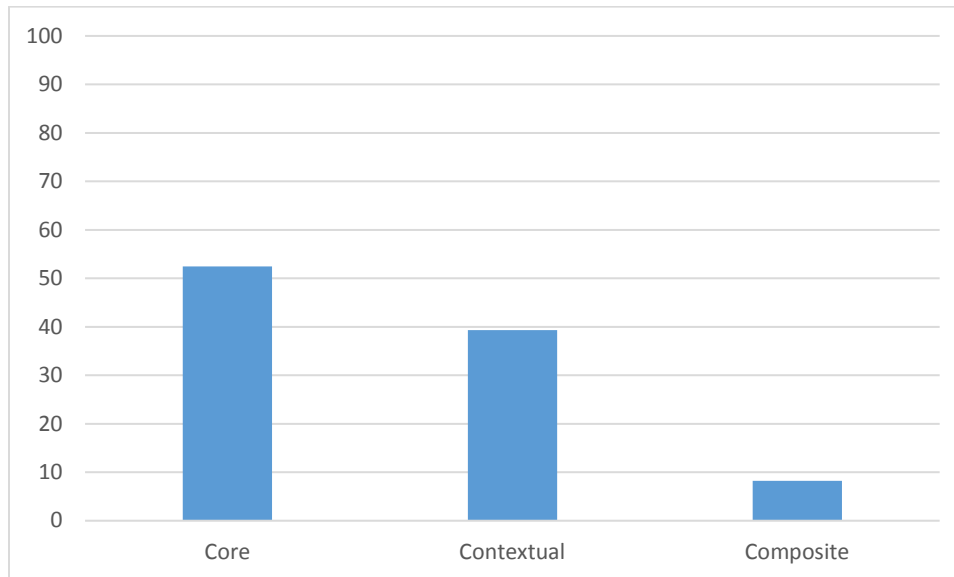
Figure 15 illustrates how interview participants are categorized into the identity

categories of core, contextual, and composite.[27] I find that the majority of the interviewees have

core identities.   More than half of the participants (32/61) feel a sense of core identity, seeing

one part of their identity as central.[28] For these individuals, a central part of their identity stays

with them across contexts. The second most prevalent group is contextual identities (24/61),

whereby individuals express different identities based on the social environment. These

individuals shift their identity dependent on the situation. A much smaller minority of the

participants have composite identities (5/61), whereby they blend their multiple identities into

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[27] My interview participants revealed a multifaceted sense of self. I constructed core, contextual, and composite identities to make sense of how individuals create hyphenated identities. Individuals are sorted into these three categories based on how they described themselves. There are three points to emphasize. First, no group (ethnic or national) is homogenous, and there are number of differences within groups. Second, the conception of a stable community is misleading, as it is dependent on the timing, context, and formation of groups. Last, my focus is on ethnic and national identities, but these identities intersect with other identity markers such as gender, religion, and sexuality.
[28] I break down the difference between ethnic core and Canadian core in Figure 17.

one. For these individuals, their different ethnic identities are merged with their national identity into one cohesive whole.[29]

4.4.1   Canadian Ethnic Landscape

The demographics in Canada affect how individuals perceive their identity. I present narratives of people who were born in Canada and those who arrived in Canada at different times to illustrate the effect that changing context can have on an individual and his or her sense of identity. I also highlight the critical role of being within a community of co-ethnics and racialized individuals in this process.

Many individuals who had moved to Canada before the 1990s talked about how their early Canadian experiences involved being around communities that were not very diverse. This experience of being one of only a few racialized individuals was critical to the development of ethnic identity among these interviewees as illustrated by Kenji and Resham. Kenji was born in Japan came to Canada in 1959 with his family when he was 12 years old. He has lived in Canada for more than 55 years and has resided in Toronto since the 1970s. He recalled growing up in Winnipeg in the early 1960s, when very few of its residents were of Japanese descent. Resham was born in Canada and grew up in Saskatchewan during the late 1980s. She spoke about being the "only racialized person there," saying there were "six Pakistani families, and we all knew each other." Kenji and Resham lived in smaller urban areas when they were younger and both spoke about being a very noticeable minority as a racialized person.

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[29] It is important to note that composite identities exist for only the Japanese-Canadians in this analysis.

Even those who lived in larger urban centers, such as Toronto, reflected on a past that was not very diverse. David is a Korean Canadian who came to Toronto as a child with his family in the 1960s and remembered not seeing many Asians in the community. John came to Toronto with his family in the early 1970s from Korea and also reflected on his experience not being exposed to the Korean Canadian community and how that changed when he went to university. Philip, a fellow Korean Canadian, recalled growing up in the 1990s and how he was surrounded by "stereotypical white TV Canadians." For individuals such as these, encounters with the Canadian general public were mostly with non-racialized individuals.

This experience drastically changes for individuals who came to Canada more recently, as the ethnic landscape of Canada has changed. Chris is in his mid-20s and came to Toronto from the Philippines in 2010. He spoke about Toronto being multicultural and "obviously" diverse. He pointed to the Bathurst and Wilson area, which is known as the hub of Toronto's Filipino community. This diversity is also mentioned by Karen, who came to Toronto from the Philippines in 2004 and spoke about going to different parts of Toronto such as Banga Town, the area around Victoria Park and Danforth, named because of its growing Bangladeshi community. Noor, who is in her early 20s and came to Toronto from Pakistan in 2007, specifically identifies the city as "multicultural and everyone has a place." For these individuals, the sense of being a minority was not present in this later immigration time period to Toronto.

The demographics of Canada have changed over time. In particular, there has been a change in the percentage of visible minorities in Canada, especially in Toronto. Arriving and settling in Canada pre-1980s or post-2000 can represent two very different experiences. A racialized individual who settled in Canada before the 1980s would be distinctly seen as a member of the minority population, as the country's visible minority population in 1981 was

4.7%. In Toronto, more than 85% of individuals were of European descent in 1981. At that time, more than 50% of individuals who arrived in Canada were from Europe (Statistics Canada, 2016). Over the next 30 years, the demographic diversity of the country changed. By 2011, Canada's visible minority had risen to 19.1% and is projected to rise to 34.4% by 2036. Of individuals who arrived in Canada in 2011, only 31.4% were from Europe. As of 2016, Toronto's ethnic diversity was known worldwide, with the visible minority population at 51.5%, meaning that the racialized population is now the majority (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Figure 16 Contextual and Core Identities by Time
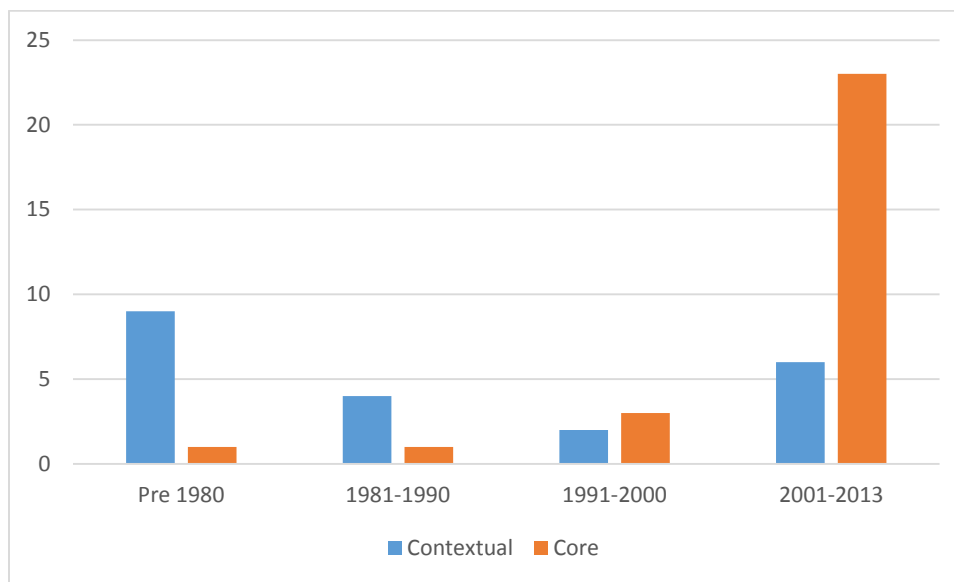
The demographic change in the racialized population can affect how individuals see themselves, as either the exception or part of the norm. I argue that the diversity found within the context of settlement shapes the type of hyphenated identity an individual develops. Figure 16 shows how individuals who arrived in Canada before 1990 are more likely to have contextual identity compared to individuals who arrived after 1990. One reason for this change is the increase of the racialized population and how it affects how individuals see their identity. The

percentage of the population who are visible minorities increased from 4.7% in 1981 to 22.3% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016). This is a substantial increase over 30 years and has changed the demographic makeup of Canada.

I argue that the percentage of visible minority in the community is a critical factor that sets the stage for how individuals come to develop their identity—whether individuals see themselves as being the exception or the norm in society. This context can affect whether individuals present their hyphenated identity as contextual or core.

The changing Canadian ethnic landscape may account for why individuals who came to Canada before the 1990s are more likely to have a contextual identity, compared to individuals who came after the 1990s. As the narratives above show, individuals who were in Canada before the 1990s often felt a sense of being a minority in the population. This rhetoric changed for many people who came to Canada later. Chris is in his 20s and has been living in Toronto for the last three years. He doesn't "see any problem in identifying as Filipino only, not necessarily as Filipino Canadian, because there is more acceptance on other people's part that I can identify myself as such." Individuals like Chris feel proud to express an ethnic identity and do not see any difficulties in doing this because of the belief that Canadians are accepting of this. This sentiment was echoed by Simon, a Korean Canadian man in his 30s who has been living in Canada for 14 years. He felt that "since I'm living in a multicultural country, why would you put Canadian, since it is obvious, you live in Canada, have a Canadian passport, why would you add that word?" Living in Toronto, Simon does not feel a need to emphasize his Canadian identity because, as he argued, it is a commonality shared by everyone. The ideas of "acceptance on other people's part" and "living in a multicultural country" shaped both Chris's and Simon's development of a core identity. The multicultural rhetoric celebrates an acceptance of difference

as being part of Canada. As such, for individuals like Chris and Simon, only their ethnic identity separates them from each other, because everyone is Canadian. At first glance, it may appear contradictory that individuals who claim an ethnic core identity do not feel a sense of Canadian identity. On the contrary, not saying "Canadian" demonstrates acceptance by greater society because individuals do not feel less Canadian when professing a core ethnic identity.

4.4.2   Canadian Core or Ethnic Core

About 80% of the respondents in this study identified their ethnic identity as their core identity while the remaining 20% saw being Canadian as their core identity (Figure 17). A core ethnic identity was much more common among interviewees from the recent groups. Valerie is her 20s and has been in Canada for seven years (first generation). She is passionate and interested in knowing about current events in her ancestral country, the Philippines, and reads the Filipino news daily. Her Filipino identity is an important part of how she sees herself: "Filipino in Canada, I will say that. Although I have the Canadian citizenship, I still say, I am Filipino because I am still. I am proud to be Filipino." Her statement emphasizes how important the Filipino identity is to her while acknowledging that being Canadian is part of her identity. However, at the core, Valerie sees herself as Filipino. Individuals' identity prioritization is related to the context at their time of arrival and their time in Canada.

Figure 17 Separating the Core Identity by Group Characteristics, Percentage
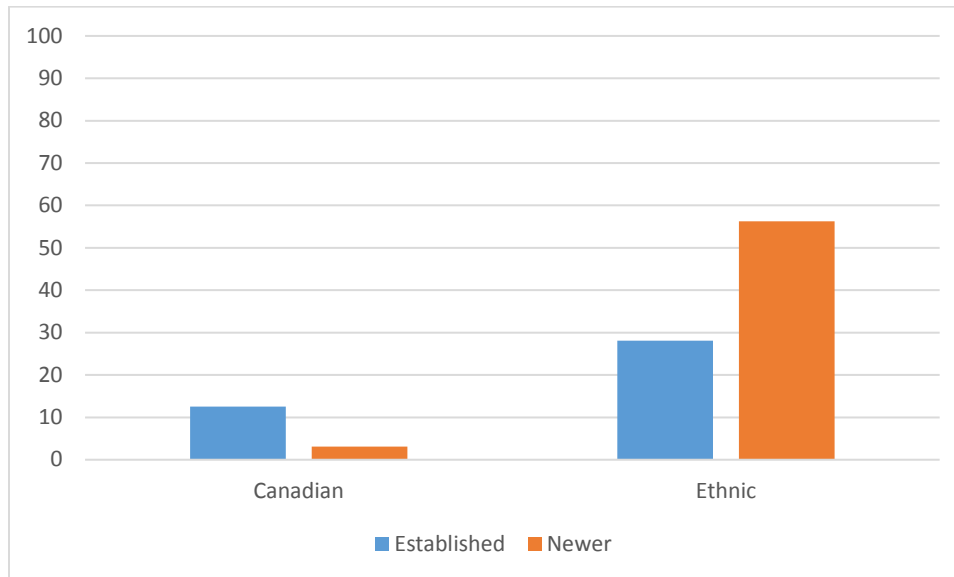
The expression of core Canadian identity is more common among individuals from established groups (Figure 17). Unlike Berry's assimilation identity category, I am caution in stating that individuals with a core identity discard their ethnic identity. While the Canadian core may be felt as strongly among many in this group, there is still a strong presence of an ethnic identity. Jennifer, who is in her 20s, was born and grew up in Canada (second/third generation). She has traveled and worked in Japan and used the word "kokoro" to discuss her Canadian core. Kokoro is translated as heart, but Jennifer explained that it is "not literally just your heart, but almost like the center of your being." Jennifer emphasized the Japanese understanding of heart to mean "the center of whatever you are." She said, "[M]y kokoro was Canadian" when she was in Japan.[30] For Jennifer, the Canadian identity is at the root of her sense of self. Jennifer's account of her heart emphasized her sense of being and the primary nature of her Canadian

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[30] As explored in Chapter 3, travel can heighten an individual's awareness and sense of self.

identity. While individuals may have core components, it is important that to emphasize that all are Canadian.

4.4.3   Composite Identities and Panethnic Identity

Figure 18 Identity by Organization, Percentage
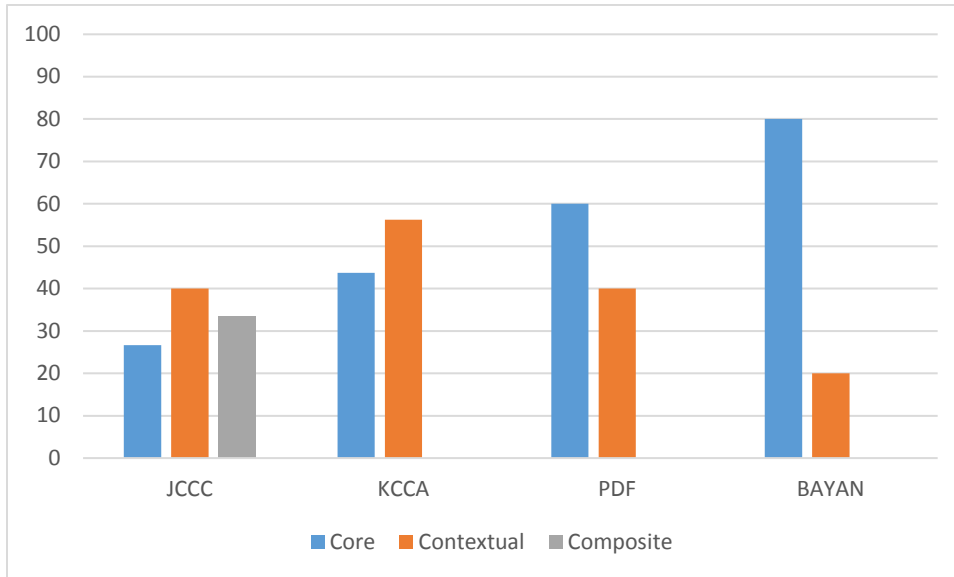
Composite identities were an important part of how many of the Japanese-Canadians in this study saw themselves. However, it is important to note that they were the only ethnic group in this analysis who had this type of identity (Figure 18). At the JCCC, the majority expressed contextual identities. Within this ethnic group, there are individuals whose family members were in Canada during World War II (prewar), and those whose family members arrived in Canada after World War II (postwar). This division is related to differences in the contexts of settlement and the subsequent bonding within a group. Of the 15 individuals I interviewed at the JCCC, seven had lived through the internment and/or had family members in Canada during

World War II. As Figure 19 shows, only individuals who are part of the prewar group have composite identities. To unpack this type of identity, I present Rachael's narrative.

Figure 19 Identity at JCCC
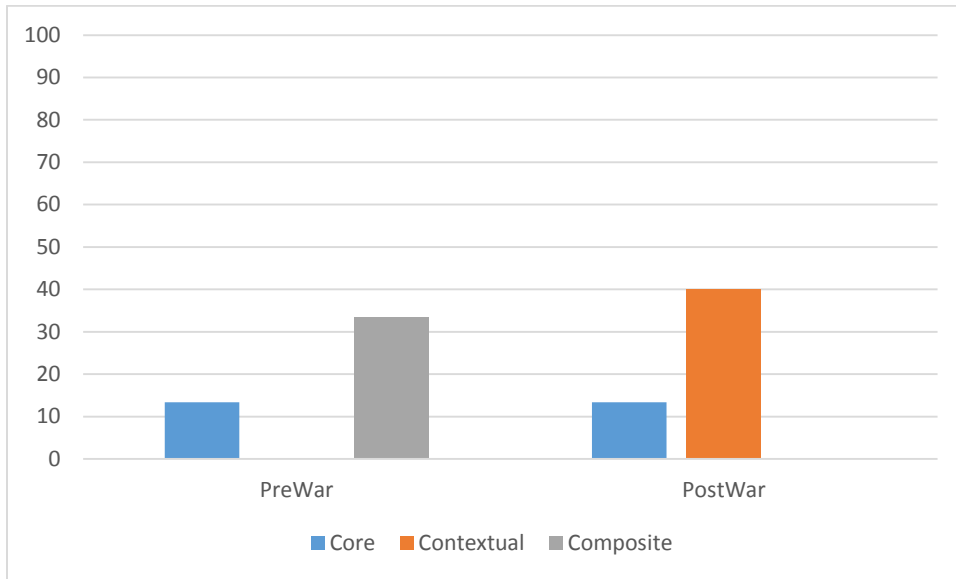
Rachel is a fourth generation Canadian in her late 20s. Her grandparents were forced to move to Toronto after being interned. Rachel described how the government's wartime and deportation policies influenced her Japanese-Canadian identity. Rachel discussed this distinctive identity, saying she "would never consider [herself] either Canadian or Japanese, I am always Japanese-Canadian through and through. And I think I take some of the best of both worlds, some of the cultures I was raised with were unique to Japanese-Canadians." For individuals like Rachel, composite identities are one way that their hyphenated identities can be integrated into one cohesive whole. A group's history can bond a community together and forge a new identity. Rachel described how her identity "is very closely tied to being part Japanese, part Canadian." Her words resonate with how the internment and forced relocation of Japanese-Canadians after World War II shaped the ethnic consciousness of individuals in this group and how they come to

understand who they are (Miki, 2004; Sevy & Torpey, 2004). For the individuals and their descendants who came to Canada before World War II, an ethnic consciousness was formed that bonds them together. Many of these individuals have composite identities and see themselves as Japanese dash Canadian (Japanese-Canadian). As the case of Japanese internment illustrates, pivotal moments of a group can anchor and change the course of both the individual and the group's identity.

When Japanese-Canadians who are part of the prewar group are interviewed, they will note their generation status by issei, nisei, sansei, yonsei, and gosei. This cohort distinction illustrates how the prewar group sees their histories intertwined based on the "suspension of civil liberties" during and after World War II. Edward is a third generation Canadian in his 50s. He talked about the "obligation" he feels towards upholding the JCCC based on the Japanese-Canadian "legacy." Like Rachel, he talked about how families after World War II were forced to disperse, and there existed "an attempt to assimilate simply by ensuring that you moved into a predominantly WASP neighborhood." His feeling of "obligation" to preserve the Japanese-Canadian legacy follows in the footsteps of his parents, who "believe it is the opportunity for my generation and the generation below me to ensure the ongoing operation of the cultural center because they have done a lot when they were younger." The Canadian government's actions were "unconscionable," and the legacy shapes how individuals see their Japanese-Canadian identity.

The Japanese-Canadian bond is illustrated when discussing the social interactions at the JCCC. I went to the Japanese Canadian Post War Experience Conference, where there was a round table discussion for Japanese Canadians to share their experiences during World War II. At lunch, I sat with a group of people who talked about their experiences. When a new woman

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came to our table and introduced herself, the others at the table quickly asked whether she was related to another person who shared her last name. In fact, the person mentioned was her uncle and the people at the table all laughed and said they remembered stories about him as a child during internment. When meeting people at the JCCC, people will note the relationship of their generational status. A connection was quickly formed between the people in the group, which was partly facilitated by their shared experience of internment. Andrew is a fourth generation Canadian in his late 20s. He spoke about meeting older Japanese-Canadians at the center and how they often ask him his last name. When they find out his last name, the older Japanese-Canadians ask him whether he knows certain individuals. A conversation will begin about how "[their] sister used to play whatever with my grandmother, and [their] brother played baseball with my grandfather back in the 40s [laughs]. So it is interesting to hear that, so there's definitely a connection that you could feel with that type of conversation." But for some individuals, like Stephanie, who is in her early 30s and second generation Canadian, this connection does not exist. When she says her last name, "[They] try to figure out how if they are connected. Do I know your aunt or uncle, or were we in this? But I am completely unconnected to anyone." Stephanie, whose family immigrated after World War II, does not have access to this point of reference and thus her Japanese Canadian hyphenated identity does not have the dash.

Miki, a member of JCCC, is part of the postwar group. She is a married mother of two in her 40s who was born in Canada (second generation). For Miki, her connection to Japan is through her mother, who was in Japan during World War II and immigrated to Canada after the war. When she interacts with individuals who migrated prewar, she said that "It feels like a different culture in some ways." She feels that individuals in the postwar group lack the ethnic consciousness that bonds the individuals in the prewar group. Miki sees herself as Japanese Canadian. But there is a

distinction to be made between Japanese (space) Canadian and Japanese (dash) Canadian. Even though both groups share the same elements (Japanese and Canadian), there is a historical divide between the groups that shapes how these categories are combined. In essence, Miki was speaking about a different identity for the prewar Japanese (dash) Canadians and the postwar Japanese (space) Canadians. I argue that a composite identity is developed based on the shared experiences of the prewar group. While both Miki (Japanese Canadian) and Rachel (Japanese-Canadian) are speaking about being Japanese Canadian, their experiences and history compose a unique composite identity for the latter.

A bond was fortified within the Japanese-Canadian group through internment. Thomas, who is in his 80s, lived in the Tashme internment camp and described the bond that developed within this camp. "[We] worked together, play together, go to church together… and by doing that, we met 2,600 to 3,000 wonderful people who had to grow up like one big family because you are surrounded by the mountains…we would not have met all these wonderful people if it wasn't the tragedy of the war." The horrific experience within the internment camps in Canada during World War II established a link between individuals. Thomas's "one big family" illustrates the bond individuals formed and forged together. This collective wartime experience has ripple effects to the next generation (Makabe, 1998). The enduring bond present for Japanese-Canadians is passed down from families who experienced World War II in Canada. As Thomas said, the traumatic experience expand the family unit. Even though different family members were forced to move to various parts of Canada after the war and "made concerted efforts to integrate themselves into the dominant society, largely by trying not to draw much attention to themselves" (Suigman, 2006, p. 67), there still existed the memory of that place and time. The friendships that were made though playing baseball and being neighbors during that

period of time did not diminish. When the older generation at JCCC asks about an individual's last name, they are remembering and making connections to the Japanese-Canadian composite identity.

The distinction between Japanese-Canadian and Japanese Canadian is an analytical one. Returning to Rachel (prewar), she spoke of the differences between these two identities stemming from settlement experiences and how it is "unfair to classify [individuals] in terms of prewar and postwar." She argued that individuals have chosen to settle in Canada and are all hyphenated Canadians, not which group is "more Canadian, Japanese-Canadian, then there are Japanese Canadian." Rachel's words illustrate how this arbitrary division is felt and known by both prewar and postwar groups. However, connections can arise between the prewar and postwar groups. Stephanie (postwar) spoke of how there "is an effort not to make those lines" and the ways bridges can be formed. The Japanese-Canadian internment history is part of Canada's history: "I am kind of out of sync with that, the Japanese evacuees, it is my history but it is not my history. No one that is related to me was involved in that but it is part of my identity as a Canadian." This statement demonstrates how all individuals in Canadian society inherit the legacy as virtue of being Canadian, because the government has apologized for its actions.

All individuals in this analysis who have composite identities are Canadian born. Composite identities, in this case, Japanese-Canadian, take time to create and constitute. The presented narratives demonstrate how the wartime experience formed and fortified a bond between individuals (Figure 20). This bond exists within the generation that experienced internment and can be accessed by subsequent generations. At the JCCC, the established bond is recognized by individuals within both the prewar Japanese (dash) Canadian and the postwar Japanese (space) Canadian groups. How long these composite identities last is another question.

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For example, a few of the Japanese-Canadians participant expressed concern that this form of identity may be declining (see Sevy & Torpey, 2004). Alice mentioned the high inter-marriage rates as one reason.

Figure 20 Comparing Identities of Japanese Canadians and Pakistani Canadians
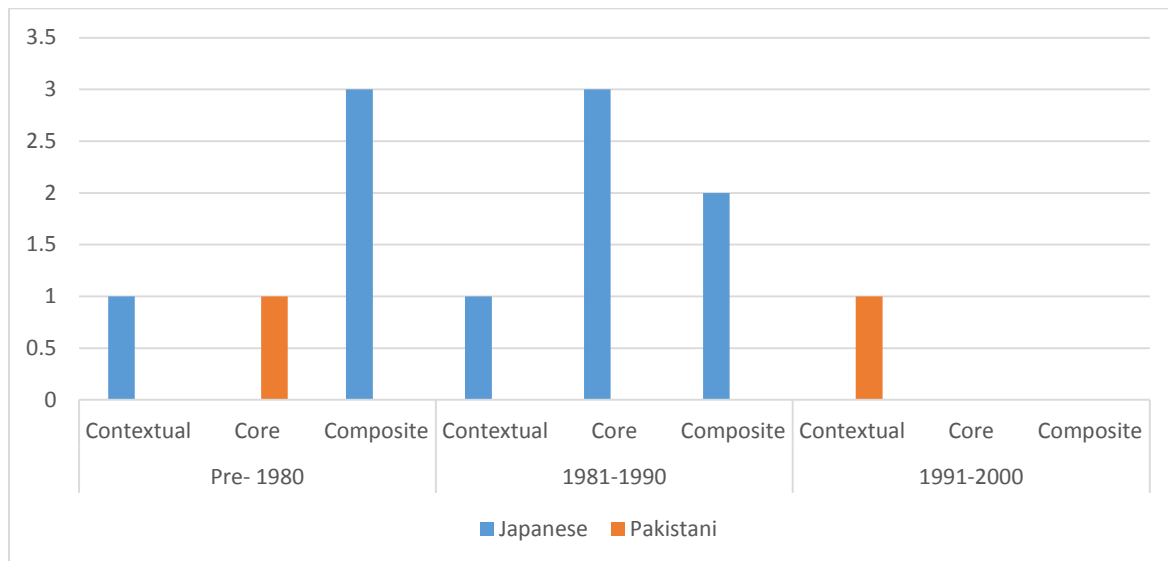
The Japanese-Canadian internment is one example of how pivotal events can draw members of the community together. Based on this bond, a composite identity can emerge. During World War II, Japanese Canadians were seen as different because of their ethnic background. In the narratives above, individuals highlighted how their Japanese ancestry was treated as different and the Canadian government's actions used this difference to enact internment. Attacks to national security and safety cause alarm and incite fear. In the case of September 11, the targeted difference was based on religion. While I have examined hyphenated identities in terms of ethnicity-nationality, it is important to highlight that hyphenated identities can draw on multiple factors. From the groups studied, the development of a composite identity may be based on pivotal events whereby the larger narrative dictates the cause of difference.

While xenophobia existed earlier, one recent pivotal event that changed how individuals are treated is the attacks of September 11. During World War II, the Canadian government suspended civil liberties, seized goods and assets, and forced internment of Japanese Canadians. While this did not occur for Muslims and Arab individuals after September 11, the media and researchers have documented deplorable depictions of and discriminatory practices against them. While ethnicity once was drawn as the boundary line, religion has gained prominence since September 11. The reaction from government and media was focused on religion, as the terrorist attacks was by an Islamic terrorist group.

There was no composite identity among the Pakistani Canadians interviewed for this study. However, there may be the possibility of the emergence of a panethnic identity centered on religion among this group. Panethnicity surfaces when ethnic, religious, or national groups come together and develop a sense of unity, often because the dominant society has grouped them together and treated them in the same, usually negative, manner (Okamoto & Mora, 2014). Roth (2009) demonstrated how Latino panethnic identity emerged based on a transnational social field through Spanish language media and interactions between individuals. In my interviews, the Muslim identity that was discussed among the members of PDF may point a new form of unity between individuals across national ethnic boundaries. As Abdul explained, he does not frequently attend mosque but will "very loosely" identify with being Muslim because of the cultural identity with which it is associated. This identity has "became more important to identify…[especially] after 9/11." This highlights how pivotal events can be the basis for the development of panethnic identities.

The feeling of being Muslim instead of being just Canadian shows how identities can develop in reaction to pivotal events, such as September 11. Azeem revealed that he feels a lack

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of acceptance from the greater Canadian society. Azeem is in his 40s and was born and raised in Canada (second generation). He stays informed about the political landscape in Canada and is critical about global governance and media coverage. Here, Azeem spoke about living in a post-September 11 world:

> I think we are not treated as Canadians in the true sense anymore. We are very much outsiders.… I think it [his Pakistani identity] was always there, but just felt like, okay, this is now the breaking point. This is the water that has struck the bridge. Things were moving into that direction, after 9/11. That was the breaking point, there was no turning going back. The world that I knew of before 9/11, my son would never know that world, my children will never know about that world. It changed. It was a seminal moment.

An individual's identity is a reflection of his or her perception and reception of others. Azeem's words resonate because they highlight how identity is political and contested (Anthais, 2006). Identity can be a source of tension when it reflects how individuals are excluded in broader society. As religious identities can be seen as the glue that holds a community together, this can expand ethnic lines. Hayat is practicing Muslim and claimed that her Muslim identity is "broader" whereas her Pakistani identity is "narrower". She makes this distinction because being Pakistani encompasses only "one particular set of cultural values," while being Muslim is "faith-based" and invites more individuals into the conversation. The negative stereotype found in the media about Muslims around the world may be constructing this panethnic identity.

4.5   Summary

Hyphenated identities allow us to think in more complex ways about the process involved in identity development and enactment. My findings highlight the importance of assessing hybrid identities not as the end product, but unpacking how and why people negotiate and navigate

their multiple identities. Core, contextual, and composite identities reveal the clear differences in how individuals make sense of their hyphens and the reasons why.

Individuals shape the organizations they are in, and at the same time, organizations influence individuals. Being in an organization can reinforce different parts of an individual's identity. Programming chosen by the group's host, such as classes and events, can encourage particular types of identities. The idea of a core ethnic identity is evident at Bayan events, as the message is continuously centered on being Filipino. An organization can also encourage different interpretations of hyphenated identities. For instance, the KCCA hosts a number of events aimed either at seniors or at the younger generation, which promotes a bifurcated identity whereby there is a mixture of core and contextual identities at the organization (Figure 4.5). Individuals may choose to participate in organizations to promote a particular identity. Upon their participation, the organizations can perpetuate a particular identity and this interpretation is reinforced.

Identity is intertwined with feelings of belonging. Individuals have agency in choosing in which communities to participate, but there also exist societal barriers. For the organizations I studied, the context of arrival and pivotal events influence how an individual interprets his or her hyphenated identities. Nonetheless, individuals consciously decide how they negotiate and navigate their identities. In talking about belonging, Yasuko used the metaphor of air to describe how individuals need to "put in some effort" because it is not "easy to catch." Air is difficult to "catch" and one can only "feel it through doing." While breathing in and out may be an unconscious act that is second nature, it still requires action. People need to work to feel that sense of belonging. This also describes identity, because as the interviews reveal, identity is constantly negotiated. This elusive quality captures how difficult it is to pinpoint how identities

are formed, transformed, and morphed based on different environments, interactions, and context.

The underlying question to this chapter is, "What does it means to be Canadian?" As Farwa, a 1.5 Pakistani Canadian explained, "[N]obody really knows, right, it is a hodgepodge," when talking about the Canadian identity. If being Canadian is a hodgepodge and the idea of a mosaic is that everyone comes together, there is a sense that all individuals make up the mosaic. However, this mosaic is not without constraints, as there is a hand choosing what belongs in the mosaic. As the Japanese internment and the attacks of September 11 show, people can be perceived and treated differently. In studying the Canadian hyphen, seeing where social boundaries are drawn helps to recognize where constraints happen and why.

What does it mean to have a hyphenated identity? Three themes stand out when thinking about core, contextual, and composite identities. First, identity construction reflects larger societal narratives of who is accepted and who is looked upon with suspicion. Social interactions mirror the political climate of the time. An individual's hybrid identity cannot be separated from what is occurring at the local, national, transnational, and global levels. This is demonstrated by the individuals in this study who are of Japanese and Pakistani ancestry describing how their identities were informed by pivotal events. Second, individuals have the ability to make sense of their different social situations and respond accordingly. For instance, individuals are active agents in going to organizations and, once there, particular identities are reinforced and/or introduced. Third, there are subtle differences within hyphenated identities in a group. The context of arrival, such as the presence of a co-ethnic community, and pivotal events affect the trajectories of how identities can form, fizzle, or fade. As this chapter demonstrates, unpacking hyphenated identities is one way to make sense of what it means to live in a globalized world.

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Chapter 5: Conclusion

Individuals come to Canada at different times and under different conditions. The Canadian government has a history of both welcoming and excluding immigrants because of changing immigration and settlement policies (Fleras, 2015; Kelley & Trebilcock, 2000; Simmons, 2010). Official public apologies have acknowledged past exclusionary practices and anti-immigrant policies such as the Komagata Maru incident, the Chinese head tax, the Japanese internment, and Indigenous residential schools (Government of Canada, 2018). Despite these incidents, Canada is presently celebrated as a multicultural country that promotes linguistic, cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity (Statistics Canada, 2013). This multicultural rhetoric informs how individuals interact with one another and the institutional contexts in which new immigrants come to Canada.

My dissertation examines how ethnic organizations facilitate transnational practices and integration in Canada, using interviews and participant observations. I focus on the meaning individuals give to their transnational practices and the development of their hyphenated identities through participation in organizations. By highlighting the role of ethnic organizations, I demonstrate how these spaces build bonds between co-ethnic members and create bridges between ethnic minority groups and larger Canadian society.

In Chapter two, I illustrated how the foci of an ethnic organization shapes the type of transnational engagement in which members participate. Organizations play a key role in channeling the engagement of their members. Individuals in political groups are exposed to a larger array of activities than those in cultural groups. And, as a consequence, this increases the number and diversity of their transnational practices. Individuals at PDF and Bayan, both

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political groups, were not only exposed to political transnational activities, but were also directed towards cultural and economic transnational practices. In addition to the diversity of information, the space encouraged individuals to make linkages between what was occurring in the political arena and their personal lives. By creating this space, the ethnic organization fostered individuals' critical thinking and engagement. The discussion forums at the political organizations encouraged individuals to think about ramifications and implications in both the ancestral country and Canada. Discussions such as these were less prevalent at cultural organizations. They can occur at cultural organizations, but the political discussion forums encouraged close ties and interaction.

In Chapter three, I examined how engagement in transnational practices shapes an individuals' social ties and where they locate home. I found that where one perceives "home" to shapes an individual's engagement in transnational practices. Individuals who saw an ancestral country as one of their homes engaged in, on average, double the number of transnational practices than people who saw only Canada as home. This feeling of connection is important because it creates a sense of responsibility to both Canada and an ancestral country. Instead of thinking of these two responsibilities as competing, the framing shifts to seeing the responsibilities as informing one another. Having a feeling of connection to multiple homes allows one to advocate on behalf of the ethnic community both in Canada and abroad. The concept of "rooted cosmopolitan" describes how individuals and groups in one country can make claims on behalf of others (Tarrow, 2005). When individuals have multiple homes, they have the opportunity to use both local and global resources to call attention to their causes, and this act of citizenship expands the definition of what it means to be Canadian.

In addition, the type of ties an individual has to an ancestral country outside of Canada influences the number of transnational practices in which he or she engages. Individuals with strong ties participate, on average, in more transnational practices compared to individuals with weaker ties. While ties are important, they have a smaller impact on transnational practices than where one perceives home to be. This is clear when comparing individuals with what I call multiple and wavering connections. These individuals see both Canada and an ancestral country as home. They differ only in the strength of their ties. And, while having stronger ties does lead to more practices, on average, the difference is relatively small (14 versus 10 practices). However, the difference between wavering (those who have weak but existent ties) compared to romantic (those who have weak and conceptual ties) is much larger (10 versus 5).

The last chapter examined the Canadian hyphen. There are many different ways in which people can integrate multiple identities. To make sense of these different identity outcomes, I draw attention to how identity is a process that is negotiated and navigated. The demographics of the Canadian ethnic landscape and pivotal events (such as the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II) are key factors in shaping identity development and enactment. Negative media stereotyping about Muslims after the attacks of September 11 may be contributing the emergence of a panethnic Muslim identity. Individuals choose to participate in ethnic organizations, and these organizations can work to reinforce certain components of their identity.

5.1   Ethnic Organizations: Bonding and Bridging Individuals Together

Ethnic organizations matter. They are places where people can come together to exchange ideas, share resources, and make friends. Whether individuals are newcomers to

Canada or Canadian-born, ethnic organizations are welcoming spaces where they can learn about themselves, their co-ethnic community, and Canadian society. As a result, ethnic organizations build bonds within, between, and beyond one's own ethnic community.

Individuals can learn about who they are and develop their sense of self in ethnic organizations. This has implications for both newcomers and individuals who were born and raised in Canada. For newcomers, ethnic organizations are a place where they can meet individuals and lessen the sometimes difficult experience of integrating into Canada. Laila spoke about seeing her parents and other older individuals immigrating to Canada, saying they "lose relationships, your social capital…you spent 50 years living in a particular community, or living in a particular social circle…. You feel like you're valued, you matter for someone, you are important for someone's life. And then you come to a different place, where you don't know anyone, you sort of question your own worth." This feeling can be lessened when ethnic organizations create a sense of community and a support system. As Laila went on to explain, individuals "feel like they are getting some of the social capital back" as they get a chance to connect on their shared experiences in moving. In addition to supporting newcomers in their homesickness, ethnic organizations provide resources for integrating into Canada. For example, there are tax workshops that teach newcomers about employment insurance and the filing system in Canada.

Ethnic organizations also support newcomers' integration into Canadian society. As Jin-ho described, the ethnic community can help individuals launch their integration into larger Canadian society: "[A]fter a certain time, you want to push [newcomers] out. So, rather than staying with the Korean Canadian Lawyer Association, we want to push them out to get involved with the Upper Canadian Law Society…get involved in the bigger world." One of the explicit

goals of ethnic organizations is to "attract newcomers into the community, to basically help them to settle better and faster in Canadian society." This goal illustrates how ethnic organizations are a resource for newcomers.

At the same time, individuals who have settled in Canada for a longer period of time and the Canadian-born also benefit from ethnic organizations. For first generation individuals who have settled in Canada, the ethnic organization can be a place where they reminisce about the past. For example, cultural celebrations such as National Liberation Day at KCCA is an opportunity for individuals to commemorate the past and also a time to catch up with friends. Ethnic organizations also serve Canadian-born individuals who are curious about their ethnic identity. For individuals who have lived in Canada for a longer period of time, ethnic organizations can be the place to explore one's culture. A majority of my participants talked about food and how it brings about memories and celebrates traditions. This opportunity to bond with a co-ethnic community can be facilitated in cooking classes, where individuals learn to cook the food their parents or grandparents made for them when they were younger. As such, ethnic organizations are places to explore the ethnic community's history.

Ethnic organizations also bridge to larger Canadian society, as they can be a place to learn about and explore another culture. This is particularly important in a multicultural society such as Canada, which emphasizes the importance of celebrating one's own culture and learning about diversity within our society. For example, events such as Movie Night or Road to Asia at the JCCC intentionally invite all Canadians. At the Road to Asia, not only is Japanese culture featured, but other Asian ethnic groups gather to present their cultures to the public. By creating a space that brings individuals together, organizations become a key site for fostering these sorts

of connections between groups which might not otherwise occur. In many ways, the multicultural spirit and rhetoric come alive through the work of ethnic organizations.

I found the acceptance and celebration of diversity as a recurring value present in all four of the ethnic organizations. Ethnic organizations are actively promoting intentional inclusion in the larger society. Organizations host a variety of events that foster genuine social bonds between individuals. For example, Bayan participants march alongside various other ethnic groups at the International Women's Day March. Marching with these other groups creates solidarity among different ethnic and cultural communities that share a common interest in fighting for social justice. KCCA's SuperWave celebration includes fundraising for people affected by the typhoon that occurred in the Philippines. There is an implicit understanding that acknowledges Canadians can have multiple homes and thus can be worried about the welfare of family and friends who live outside the national borders. This recognition of similar struggles can be used as a stepping stone to seeing others not as strangers, but as allies. The importance of intergroup contact has been well-documented in the literature as interaction between individuals reduces prejudices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Ethnic organizations are critical spaces where individuals learn not only to tolerate diversity but to see its vibrancy and the possibility of creating genuine allyship. In other words, to remove the notion of the "other." This sense of Canadian community found within ethnic organizations informs individuals' actions and values. Daniel echoed this spirit when he said that being part of Bayan "helped me in terms of my value as a Canadian citizen." Integration can occur at multiple levels and these are not isolated spaces. Each space informs and builds upon another because individuals can transfer the knowledge they learned in one space to another.

All four of the ethnic organizations were looking for ways to sustain their current membership and expand. There are multiple ways to recruit new members. First, organizations can seek new members among newcomers to Canada. Second, new members can also be the 1.5 and second generations that are already in Canada but not engaging in their ethnic organization. Third, groups can attract other ethnic groups to their organization. This final possibility may increase based on the ethnic group's intermarriage rates. This is especially relevant to the Japanese Canadian community where, as of 2011, 78.7% of couples were of mixed unions, compared to 21.3% non-mixed unions (Statistics Canada, 2011). Would this open up the possibility of panethnic organizations, such as an Asian cultural organization? The difference between panethnic and ethno-specific cultural organizations can mean variation in the resources shared and interactions between members. How the ethnic organization chooses to expand or sustain its membership will depend on the integration trajectories of their members, the socioeconomic standing of the group, and the number/frequency of newcomers. These options can lead to differences in how organizations facilitate individuals' participation in transnational practices, the meaning that is attached to that engagement, and the participants' sense of identity.

5.2   Temporality

Integration is a multidirectional and multigenerational process. Gordon (1964) proposes seven stages of assimilation starting from acculturation and ending with civic assimilation. My research demonstrates how integration occurs at multiple levels (i.e. structural, cultural, and receptional), spaces (i.e. local, national, global), and times (i.e. unidirectional and generational time). Time is a critical component of the process of integration and has been discussed throughout this dissertation. However, it is clear that time is not simply days, months, and years.

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At some points, time seems to move more quickly and individuals and groups can experience the process of integration faster than at other times. Sometimes major historical events occur that change the speed or process of integration. 'Eventful sociology' is one way to unpack temporality. In analyzing events, there is recognition that particular events disrupt patterns, structures, and processes and can transform social relations and societies (Sewell 1996; Kay and Ramos, 2017; Wood et al., 2017).

I contribute to the conversation of temporality by showing how exclusionary events can be important drivers in the settlement experience, identity formation, and belonging. While clock time, which is unidirectional and linear, is important, it is not the whole story. My research demonstrates how exclusionary events sets upon new paths, trajectories, and directionality. For example, September 11 for the Pakistani Canadians changed the pace and type of integration they experienced. While time in Canada shapes an individual's sense of identity and transnational practices, exclusionary events drastically changes how an individual is perceived and received before and after the event. My analysis of the four ethnic groups demonstrates why exclusionary events are key drivers to an individual's relationship at the country of destination, integration process, and identity formation.

5.3 Canadian Multiculturalism and Beyond

Multiculturalism is a defining characteristic of Canada. Unlike in other countries, support for multiculturalism is consistently high (Reitz, 2011; Wilkes et al., 2008). The ideology of multiculturalism is actively supported by the state and is related to larger practices of nation building (Bloemraad, 2012; Reitz, 2011). The Canadian imagined community is one that embraces diversity and this identity is reinforced through governmental multicultural ideology

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and policies (Anderson, 1983; Bloemraad, 2012). In Canada, the government often has actively

framed immigration as an economic benefit and this has shaped the positive perception

Canadians have towards immigrants (Reitz, 2011). In 2018, an Environics Institute survey

showed that 80% of Canadians agree that the "economic impact of immigration is positive"

(Environics Institute, 2018, p.3). In Canada, patriotism is associated with support for

immigration and multiculturalism, whereas in the United States, the relationship is in the

opposite direction (Citrin et al., 2012).

My research highlights multiculturalism in practice and how it is played out in ethnic

organizations. All four of the ethnic organizations studied had the implicit or explicit aspiration

of integrating into Canada and attracting other members of society. Even in the political

organizations, which are focused on political change in the ancestral country, there were events

focused on Canadian society, including tax classes and English language discussion groups.

Canadian multiculturalism drives this approach and philosophy for individuals and ethnic

organizations.

I argue that state-sponsored multiculturalism benefits Canadian society. The political

opportunity structure (i.e., government support) and characteristics of the immigrant community

(i.e., size of the community) influence the organization's activities (Schrover & Vermeulen,

2005). When comparing Canadian and American immigrant organizations, there exists a higher

number and greater variety of organizations in Toronto compared to Boston (Bloemraad, 2005).

But Canadian multiculturalism alone does not foster transnationalism (Chaudhary & Guarnizo,

2016; Satzewich, 2007). The relationship between the macro, meso, and micro levels captures

the nuances involved in facilitating transnationalism and integration (Guarnizo et al., 2017).

This is evident when unpacking how Canadian multiculturalism rhetoric appears to prominently

shape individuals' attitudes and behavior. As Stephanie, a second-generation Japanese Canadian in her 30s, remarked, "Going to the Taste of the Danforth[31] is a Canadian event as much as it is a Greek event." Cultural celebrations are not limited to an ethnic group. At these events, there is the promotion of the view that being Canadian means celebrating not only your heritage but also the heritage of others. The expansion of multicultural common spaces builds acceptance and a sense of belonging (Dib et al., 2008). Ethnic organizations serve not only individuals in the ethnic group but also act as bridges for other Canadians to learn about and experience the diversity found within Canadian culture. However, it is important to note that this celebratory nature is not possible for all groups and is dependent on time and political circumstances (Arat-Koc, 2006; Suigman, 2006). Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated how transnational practices can be constrained and how these practices can impact an individual's identity. This is most acutely seen by the experiences and aftermath of the prewar Japanese-Canadian group and the possible emergence of a panethnic Muslim identity for Pakistani Canadians. Canada's celebratory of cultural diversity cannot ignore the existence of discrimination and racism. Most Canadians identify Muslims and Indigenous people as being the targets of ongoing discrimination (Environics, 2018).

There are policy implications raised in this study. Both the Japanese Canadian Cultural Center and the Korean Canadian Cultural Association received substantial funding from governments in Canada. For example, the Ontario Trillium Foundation gave both of these organizations grants to renovate their buildings. Improvement to the physical space can allow

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[31] Taste of the Danforth is an annual celebratory event held in August in the Greektown area along the Danforth Avenue in Toronto, Ontario.

for an increase in membership and opportunities for events. Funding such as this supports the practice of multiculturalism because it gives space for individuals to celebrate their ethnic culture while integrating into Canada. For newcomers, ethnic organizations speed up the progress of integration because individuals can receive immediate support and resources. For established ethnic members, ethnic organizations can be a place to discover or rediscover their ethnic culture. For Canadian-born individuals, the ethnic organization is a place to learn about different cultures.

It is important to note that not all groups are equally likely to receive this type of funding. Groups that already have accumulated resources seem more likely to be able to attract governmental support and other funding. In the case of the renovations, applying for a grant is possible only if the organization already owns or operates a permanent physical place. Some groups, such as the Pakistan Development Fund in this study, did not have a physical space in which to host events and, as a result, may have been less likely to attract additional funding. Applying for funding requires knowledge about the types of funding available and how to write grants. Issues such as these illustrate how funding might advantage already established organizations.

I argue that it is in the interests of the Canadian federal government to support transnationalism. I highlight two main reasons. First, fostering transnationalism is aligned with Canadian multiculturalism. As my findings indicate, all individuals in this study had an implicit or explicit sense of belonging to Canada, as demonstrated in the chapter on identity (Chapter 4). Individuals who have a strong sense of ethnic identity and engage in transnational practices are not in conflict with Canadian ideals. In fact, my findings demonstrate how both of these identities inform one another. Second, individuals who participate in transnational practices can

act as ambassadors. These individuals are building linkages, and as the world becomes increasingly interconnected, their networks can attract future businesses, cultural connections, and other linkages. New forms of family arrangements, entrepreneurships, and political allegiances may emerge based on transnational connections and these networks can be leveraged in favor of Canadian interest.

The Canadian government has reduced funding for ethnocultural organizations (Couton, 2014). At the same time, the federal government has changed the rules for organizations that are deemed charitable and regulated that they must limit their spending on political activities to no more than 10% of their total spending (Couton, 2014). This limits the organization's scope and expression because advocacy cannot be pursued, at least not extensively. Both JCCC and KCCA received funding and reported no money spent on political activities in 2016 (Canada Revenue Agency, 2018). While we cannot know if they wanted to do these types of activities, the funding may have limited the types of events that they could host. For example, the Peace Marathon at the KCCA did not feature a discussion forum about the politics in North and South Korea.

This research focuses on the process of integrating and sustaining connections in the Canadian context. While it was beyond the scope of this study, future research should examine how other national contexts shape this process. For example, German Chancellor Angela Merkel said that multiculturalism in Germany is "a lie" and declared it a failure (*Washington Post,* 2015). How do ethnic organizations respond to members in assimilationist societies, and what process is involved in facilitating transnational practices and integration? In my work, I demonstrated how ethnic organizations can simultaneously bond individuals to their co-ethnic community and bridge individuals to the larger society. However, this option of being both inward-looking (bonding) and outward-facing (bridging) may change based on the politics of the

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country. Countries such as Canada have a policy of multiculturalism and celebrate ethno-cultural differences while integrating individuals into Canadian society. In countries that either have assimilationist policies or do not consider immigration central to their imagined community, we would expect there may be less emphasis on maintaining ties to the ancestral country and an increased focus on bridging individuals to larger society.

I demonstrate how ethnic organizations respond to and reflect larger society. As a result, these organizations evolve as they adapt based on the needs of the ethnic community and Canadian society. First, ethnic organizations often respond to the immediate needs and concerns of their members. Issues surrounding ethnic pride, typhoon relief, and the conditions of the Live-in Caregiver program are key concerns for the individuals in Bayan. Their events and programming directly respond to these issues by having forums that discuss Filipino identity, mobilizing fundraising activities during times of crisis, and having a hotline for individuals to call in about their concerns.

Second, ethnic organizations reflect larger Canadian ideals. The JCCC motto of "friendship through culture" stems from its members' vision of the place as serving both Japanese Canadians and all Canadians (Makabe, 1998). Their mission statement explicitly highlights the "importance of tolerance and acceptance of cultural diversity for the benefits of all Canadians" (JCCC). The formation of the JCCC illustrates how organizations can be aimed at ethnic community members and the larger public based on what has happened in Canadian history. This recognition emphasizes the vital role organizations occupy in preserving the past and as a reminder that ethnic organizations do not exist in isolation. These are places to learn not only about other cultures but also about Canadian culture and values. The history of Japanese

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Canadians serves as a reminder of and reflection on why acceptance of differences requires continuous vigilance and action on the part of all members of society.

Ethnic organizations have the potential to give meaning to larger Canadian identity. While it is true that that "ethnic organizations are among the most visible ways in which ethnic groups give form to their identity" (Hein, 1997, p. 283), my work demonstrates how the national identity is also involved in this process. Ethnic organizations are the visible expressions of both ethnic and national culture, as each informs and shapes what is occurring in the organization. All of the ethnic organizations in this study simultaneously worked to integrate their members into Canada while celebrating their ancestral culture. Pride in ethnic culture is part of the Canadian identity. While ethnic organizations are calling attention to traditional culture of the ancestral country, they are also drawing on contemporary culture. The KCCA celebrates current Korean pop music as well as the traditional lunar celebrations. Ethnic organizations are not static. Individuals' ethnic and national identities can be informed by interactions at ethnic organizations.

This dissertation contributes to the Canadian literature on transnationalism and how ethnic organizations reduce the costs involved in individuals' participation in transnational practices. I illustrated how organizations facilitate and channel an individual's participation in transnational practices. I found that political organizations generate more frequent and diverse types of transnational practices than do cultural organizations. This draws attention to how organizations facilitate particular types of transnational practices by providing opportunities, resources, and information. There are some questions raised from this research. As the focus on this work has been on the ethnic members of the organizations, I lack information on the non-ethnic attendees. Events at the cultural organizations, such as the SuperWave (KCCA) and the

Road to Asia (JCCC) attracted members outside the ethnic community. How did these individuals hear about the events and what was their purpose for attending? The winner of the Peace Marathon (KCCA) was a non-Korean Canadian, while all of the volunteers were Korean. At Hara Matsuri (JCCC), I spoke with two non-Japanese Canadian volunteers about their past experiences at JCCC and their intentions to participate in the future. While it was beyond the scope of this study, exploring the benefits non-ethnic members gain from ethnic organizations will contribute to how these spaces can work towards embodying the idea of integration being a two-way street.

Interviews were conducted in English, as I do not speak Japanese, Korean, Urdu, or Tagalog. I am an outsider from all of these groups, yet also share some commonalities with many of my respondents as I am a racialized Canadian.[32] This dual positionality may have shaped how the different communities and participants received me. I did not stand out at the cultural events, especially at the JCCC where there were many other non-Japanese Canadians present. At the same time, I stood out at events when the majority of participants were of the same ethnic background, such as in PDF and Bayan. I consistently went to events earlier to get a sense of what will happen (i.e. see how the tables were arranged) and this allowed me to plan where to sit. For non-English events, I intentionally sat next to individuals who were speaking in English so I can introduce myself and see whether they can translate for me.

In all of my interviews, I encouraged participants to use their own dialect and translate the meaning to me when needed; this was useful when individuals had their own idioms. This was particularly important when speaking to individuals who felt their English skills were not

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[32] See more in the Appendix.

strong. In these interviews, I worked to simplify the interview questions without losing the question's purpose and intent. Nonetheless, the length of the interview was shorter in these instances as seen in the average time of interviews at KCCA. Based on my participant observations and interviews at KCCA I was aware there were significant number of individuals who spoke primarily in Korean. As a result, I purposefully searched for interview participants who could more easily speak in English, even if they were not completely fluent to reflect KCCA's membership. As a result, my interviews at KCCA were shorter compared to the other organizations.

In the future, I would like to explore transnationalism and integration in three ways. First, I would like to examine ethnic organizations in countries with different attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism, such as Germany or Britain. From my findings, I would hypothesis that ethnic organizations will have different aims and objectives in countries where the rhetoric around integration does not highlight the importance of keeping ties to an ancestral country or developing a hyphenated identity. Another question this project raises is the presence of Canadians in the ancestral country. John told me about an Irish pub called "O'Kims" in Korea, which is attended by Canadians. This example illustrates how transnationalism occurs in both directions. Last, my research offers a glimpse into how some individuals access organizations. However, interview participants are not representatives of the ethnic groups as a whole. The creation and implementation of a large-scale survey of all Canadians will be useful in gauging who is engaging in organizations, what types, and why. As my research demonstrates, ethnic organizations are places for all Canadians and systematically comparing the activities at organizations can be useful in unpacking how multiculturalism exist in practice.

Research in these areas will expand on how organizations become spaces where bonds and bridges are created, nourished, and flourish.

As we live in a multicultural society, ethnic organizations become one space where individuals come together. Ethnic organizations have the potential to encourage new possibilities and dialogues for newcomers, established co-ethnic members, and larger society. Unpacking the role of ethnic organizations gives insight to what is occurring at the individual level of interactions, as well as societal responses to inclusion and integration. Changes in the shape and form of ethnic organizations is mirroring what is occurring in our interconnected world.

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Appendices

Appendix A Recruitment

For each of the organizations, I contacted the head office through e-mail whereby I introduced myself and the project. This initial contact was followed by a face-to-face meeting where I was given approval to attend public events sponsored by the organization and recruit people for interviews. From there, I engaged in participant observation, began my purposeful sampling at these events, took photos, and collected printed materials.

Interview participants were recruited by two main strategies. I used the maximum variation sampling as my sampling strategy. This strategy focuses on heterogeneity instead of homogeneity (Patton, 1990). In other words, the search is for variations among different dimensions or characteristics of participants (Lofland et al., 2006; Patton, 1990). When attending public events sponsored by the organizations, I purposefully recruited people who are diverse based on various dimensions of interest: a) age group; b) sex; c) immigrant generation status; d) levels of engagement. First, I looked for people who belong to different age group and sex. At events, I purposefully went to recruit people if I was missing a particular age group or sex based on my interviews so far. Second, I sought to interview people with diverse immigrant generation status. My participants consist of people categorized from the first generation to the fourth generation to represent the generational breakdown in each of the four groups. Last, the aim was to recruit people with different levels of engagement in the organization. As a result, people I interviewed varied between attending the organization's events for the first time to those who remember attending the events as children. The logic of selecting purposefully along these different dimensions is to focus on "common patterns that cut across variations" (Patton, 1990, 182) and to capture the diversity of experiences within each of the organizations.

I also used snowball sampling to expand my sample from the original people selected at organizational events. After each completed interview, I asked participants if they could refer me to someone they know that might be interested in being interviewed and passed my contact information telling them I am interested in interviewing people with different kinds of involvement experiences with the organization.

Appendix B   Data Selection

I selected the four organizations based on the key dimensions of the study. At these organizations, I interviewed individuals, attended events, and collected archival information when possible. Employing multiple methods helps to shed light on different aspects of the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 2002). As such, I employed triangulation by combining different methods to facilitate the study's validity. Using multiple methods allows for different tones and textures to appear as no single method can contextualize the complete richness and depth of a phenomenon (Patton, 2002; Lofland et. al, 2006). This research uses multiple sources of qualitative data: in-depth interviews, participant observations and archival information.

Interviews allow the researcher to build rapport with the participant as well as give the time and space needed for participants to elaborate on relevant issues (Miles et. al, 2014). A total of 61 semi-structured interviews were completed and they were approximately 73 minutes each, and ranged from 31to 140 minutes. Interviews were digitally recorded (except two) and were later transcribed verbatim. With a coding guide, I used NVivo and Excel to qualitatively and quantitatively code my interviews. Using NVivo allowed me to organize my emergent themes systematically and stay close to my data. The participation in the organization's activities and types of transnational practices engaged (or not) engaged in were coded quantitatively. This process allowed me to determine the frequency of the activity for comparative purposes. At the same time, I was open to emerging ideas and themes. I engaged in retoductive coding by reading isolated sections while I was brainstorming and exploring for patterns and alternative explanations (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Ragin, 1994). I made various charts during this exploration and this was a useful exercise when exploring the story of the project.

The interview guide consists of six sections. The first section begins with a discussion of how the participant became involved with the organization and the extent of their involvement. Next, the interview focused on the transnational practices in which individuals' engage (or do not engage in) and the meaning participants give to these practices. The third section examines issues of identity in relation to their communities in Canada and their ancestral home. Then I explore feelings of a sense of belonging among individuals. The fifth and sixth section of the interview examine issues of gender and immigrant generation status and how these may influence the transnational practices, identity, and sense of belonging people have. The interview concludes with questions about socio-demographics such as age, sex, place of birth, organizational involvement, and if appropriate, age of arrival and how long they have been in Canada.

I also conducted participant observations to complement the interviews. Participant observations allows the researcher to witness individuals in their natural setting, see social interaction as it take place, contextualize the participation of individuals, and get a sense of the life of the organization (Lofland et. al., 2006). I attended many different events, festivals, and marches and I observed how people engage and participate in these four organizations. These occasions also gave me the opportunity to recruit participants to interview and build rapport and familiarity with individuals and the organizations.

Table 8 Summary of Interviews and Participant Observations

Organization	Interview Average (Minutes)	Interview Range (Minutes)	Total Participant Observation (Hours)
Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre	76	35-140	32
Korean Canadian Cultural Association	60	31-88	24
Pakistan Development Fund	76	52-120	10
Bayan Canada	81	41-136	19.5

Appendix C Positionality

As a Chinese Canadian female working towards my doctoral degree my positionality can shape how my participant see me. Throughout this project, I have practiced reflexivity and engaged in reflective brainstorming and writing exercises. First, I am not a member of any of the four ethnic groups I'm studying and this allows me to be an 'outsider' but at the same time, I'm an insider for being 'Canadian'.

Before I begin my interviews, I let my participants know about my immigration story to Canada. I purposefully began the interview in this manner to establish trust and rapport. In one of my interviews at the JCCC, my participant will call me 'Canadian' like her son. Interestingly, her sons were born in Canada while I came as a young child with my family but it felt like it was her way of expressing how they are 'Canadians' who were raised and spent the majority of their life in Canada.   There were a number of interviews were individuals quickly refer me as 'Canadian' and this occurred mostly for individuals who were around my age and/or parents who had children that was around my age. This Canadian label established myself as an insider.

Appendix D Interview Guide

My name is Mabel Ho and I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Western Ontario. I immigrated to Canada at a young age with my family and from then on, I became interested in if and how people keep ties to different places and their immigration and settlement experience. I am working on my dissertation about organizations and practices that link people to their ancestral homeland. The ethics board of my university has approved this research and all of your responses will be anonymous and confidential.

Thank you for participating.

Organization
     a. Initial experience in this organization
- When did you first participate in this group? Can you remember what event it was?
- Can you please describe what happened during your first event?
- How did you hear about this event – i.e. flyer; newspaper; family/friends?
- What prompted you to join or take part in this organization?

I am going to list some group activities; do you participate in these activities or something similar? If you do participate, how often do you participate in these activities?

Event	Frequency	Experience of it
Attend group meetings		
Keep in touch with group members (apart from the organization's events)		
Receive group e-mails		
Attend classes through the group		
Volunteer for the organization		
Donate to causes related to your ancestral home		
Check the group's blog/website/newsletter		
Attend functions (e.g. annual parties, etc.) or special events (e.g. guest speaker, etc.)		

a. How did you decide to select this organization to be a part of instead of other groups also concerned with the same issues?
b. In what language do you interact with members of the organization?
c. Are your family/friends involved with this organization? How? The number of people?
d. What do your family/friends think about your involvement with this organization?

e. Are you affiliated or involved with other organizations (i.e. work associations; religious groups; alumni events, etc.)? What are they? What is your involvement with them?
f. What has been your experience with this organization as compared to others you are involved in?
g. Has your participation in this group changed over time? Do you spend more or less time with the group? Do you do different activities now then you did in the past? Why?

Transnational Practices
There are a lot of different ways that people can be tied to their ancestral homes, what do you consider to be your ancestral home? I am going to read a list of activities that some people engage in. Can you tell me if you do this activity (or something similar) and, if so, how often you do this? Why do you do this activity?

Type	Practice Example
Socio-cultural	Contact with family/friends in the ancestral home country
	Celebrate holidays associated with your homeland (e.g. national holidays, cultural holidays, feast days)
	Travel for family events (e.g. birthdays, funerals)
	Listen to the ancestral music or watching movies/television shows (e.g. the fashion, celebrity gossips, etc.)
	Receive visitors from the ancestral homes
Religious	Celebrate religious traditions associated with the ancestral home
	Attend religious events associated with the ancestral homes
Economic	Invest in property in the ancestral home
	Give money to charities based in the ancestral country
	Have a business in the ancestral country
	Financially assist people in the ancestral home country
	Following news about the ancestral home (newspaper, business reports, etc.)
	Send money or goods to family/friends
	Have a job that requires travel to the ancestral home
Political	Raise funds for political parties/social movements of the ancestral home (e.g. being involved in development projects)

Type	Practice Example
	Participate in protest or other political events
	Lobby Canada/United States regarding ancestral home issues
	Vote for members/political parties in the ancestral home country
	Read the newspaper/watching the news about the ancestral home's political activities (being informed)

How do you compare your involvement in these activities and practices with the practices of your family and/or friends?
- More or less? Different kinds of practices?
- What about other people in this organization?
- What do these practices mean to you?
- Are there any difficulties involved in doing these practices?
- How do you compare your relationship with the ancestral homeland/country of destination as compared to your family and friends?

Identity
Why do you take part in activities and groups of this/different communities?

What characteristics are needed to make a person a member of this community….specify…?

When you think about how you see yourself, do you feel more tied to Canada as a whole, the [Japanese-Canadian] community, or your community your ancestral home? Do you feel attached to a combination of these communities? Why and how?
- What practices are involved in this attachment?
- Is there a difference?
- In your experience, are the practices necessary for the identity?
- How did you come to think of yourself as a member of the community? Family? Friends? Organization? Experiences?
- Are there particular events that shape this identity?

Sense of Belonging
What does belonging mean to you? What contributes to a feeling of belonging to a community?

In your experience, where do you feel like you belong?
- In relation to the organization?
- In relation to Canada as a community?
- In relation to your ancestral home as a community?
- In relation to the [Japanese-Canadian] community in Canada? In the diaspora?
- Is there a difference?

- Are there particular events that shape these feelings of belonging?

Gender

When you think of traditional Japanese culture, do you think there are difference between males and females? Such as expectations?
- With that in mind, do you think there are differences at the community level for males and females?
- What about the family?
- What about this organization? Such as who is more likely to volunteer; types of volunteer work; classes being engaged in at the center?
- Do you think that, in general, men and women have different kinds of ties to their country of origin?
- For example, who makes decisions in the household about having ties to the ancestral home?
- Do you talk to your family and friends about the different gender roles and relations? Can you please provide some examples?
- Has traditional gender roles changes since being in Canada?

Do you think that this has any implications for men and women's feelings of belonging in Canada/United States?

Generation Status

In the organization, do you see any differences between the roles and practices of the first generation and second generation?
- In your community?

Do you have any memory of the ancestral home?
- How did you learn about your ancestral home? (E.g. family, friends, organization)

Have you travelled to your ancestral home?
- What was the purpose of the trip?
- What was your initial impression?
- What did you do there?
- What was your overall experience?
- Did this experience change how you think about yourself?

Do you communicate with other first/second generation individuals from your community? If so, how and about what?

Is there anything else you want to discuss and/or elaborate on?

Socio-demographic characteristics

Sociologists collect socio-demographic information to give context to the responses that we collect. You can skip any of these questions if you like.

To which age group do you belong?

i.	18-24	viii. 81-90
ii.	25-30	ix. 91-100
iii.	31-40	x. 101 and above
iv.	41-50	
v.	51-60	
vi.	61 -70	
vii.	71-80	

Sex

Where you born in Canada/United States?

- If you were born outside Canada/United States, how old were you when you arrived in Canada/United States?
  1. Less than 1 years old
  2. 1-5
  3. 6-10
  4. 11-15
  5. 16 or older
- Where did you grow up?
- How many years were you in Canada/United States?
- Were you parents born in Canada/United States?
- How long have they been part of the organization?
- Religion
- What is your highest education?
- Are you married? Do you have any children?
- What is your current occupation?
- In 2011, what was your personal income before taxes?
  - Less than $20,000
  - $20,001-$40,000
  - $40,000 - $50,000
  - $50,001 -$75,000
  - $75,001-$100,000
  - $100,001 and above

Thank you for participating in this interview. Is there anything else you want to add/discuss? Do you know of anyone in this organization that would be interested in participating in this interview? If so, here's my contact information for them.

Table 9 Participants

Participant	Age Group	Sex	Years in the Organization	Highest Education	Marital Status
JCCC01	41-50	F	40	College/University	Married
JCCC02	31-40	F	5	Post Graduate	Married
JCCC03	60-70	F	10	College/University	Married
JCCC04	31-40	F	3	Post Graduate	Single
JCCC05	25-30	F	1	College/University	Single
JCCC06	61-70	F	49	College/University	Widow
JCCC07	81-90	M	50	Post Graduate	Widow
JCCC08	25-30	F	20	College/University	Single
JCCC09	25-30	M	25	Some college/university	Single
JCCC10	60-70	M	42	Post Graduate	Married
JCCC11	51-60	F	24	College/University	Married
JCCC12	31-40	F	2	College/University	Married
JCCC13	25-30	M	20	College/University	Married
JCCC14	51-60	M	50	Post Graduate	Married
JCCC15	25-30	M	0.75	College/University	Married
KCCA01	25-30	F	1	College/University	Single
KCCA02	51-60	M	31	College/University	Separated
KCCA03	71-80	F	33	Post Graduate	Married
KCCA04	51-60	M	20	Post Graduate	Married
KCCA05	25-30	M	0.7	College/University	Married
KCCA06	41-50	M	0.08	Post Graduate	Married
KCCA07	51-60	F	1	College/University	Married
KCCA08	81-90	M	30	College/University	Married
KCCA09	18-24	F	0.17	Some college/university	Single
KCCA10	41-50	M	30	College/University	Married
KCCA11	25-30	M	0.25	Some college/university	Single
KCCA12	60-70	M	2	College/University	Widowed
KCCA13	31-40	M	0.17	College/University	Single
KCCA14	31-40	M	4	Post Graduate	Single
KCCA15	51-60	M	22	College/University	Married
KCCA16	31-40	M	3	College/University	Single
PDF01	18-24	F	3	College/University	Single
PDF02	18-24	F	1	College/University	Single
PDF03	61-70	M	3	Post Graduate	Married
PDF04	18-24	F	3	College/University	Single
PDF05	18-24	M	3	College/University	Single

Participant	Age Group	Sex	Years in the Organization	Highest Education	Marital Status
PDF06	25-30	M	2	College/University	Single
PDF07	18-24	F	3	Post Graduate	Single
PDF08	41-50	M	0.08	College/University	Married
PDF09	41-50	F	0.9	Post Graduate	Divorced
PDF10	25-30	M	3	College/University	Single
PDF11	31-40	M	0.5	College/University	Single
PDF12	25-30	F	0.08	Post Graduate	Single
PDF13	25-30	M	0.6	Post Graduate	Single
PDF14	18-24	M	1	Post Graduate	Single
PDF15	25-30	M	1	Post Graduate	Single
Bayan01	18-24	M	2	College/University	Single
Bayan02	31-40	M	8	College/University	Single
Bayan03	18-24	F	0.08	College/University	Single
Bayan04	25-30	M	2	College/University	Single
Bayan05	25-30	F	3	College/University	Single
Bayan06	51-60	M	4	Some College/University	Separated
Bayan07	31-40	M	7	College/University	Married
Bayan08	31-40	F	1	College/University	Widow
Bayan09	31-40	F	6	College/University	Married
Bayan10	31-40	F	1	College/University	Married
Bayan11	41-50	F	7	College/University	Married
Bayan12	31-40	M	4	High School	Married
Bayan13	41-50	M	3	College/University	Married
Bayan14	18-24	F	1	College/University	Single
Bayan15	31-40	F	5	College/University	Single

Table 10 Events Observed

Organization	Date	Event	Hours Observed
Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre	3-Nov-12	Road to Asia	5
	9-Dec-12	Winter Family Festival	6
	3-Mar-13	Haru Matsuri (Spring Festival)	6.5
	6-Apr-13	Japanese Canadian Post-War Experience Conference	9
	Multiple dates	Sports/cultural clubs/classes for children/adults/seniors	5.5
		Total	32
Korean Canadian Cultural Association	14-Aug-13	National Liberation Day Ceremony	3
	14-Sep-13	Korean Harvest Festival	2.5
	28-Sep-13	9th Annual Peace Marathon	7
	23-Nov-13	Super Wave Korea	10
	Multiple Dates	Sports/cultural clubs/classes for children/adults/seniors	1.5
		Total	24
Pakistan Development Fund	28-Jul-13	City by the People: Perween Rahman & Orangi Pilot Project	2.5
	6-Aug-13	Pakistan: Sate, Class and Politics	2.5
	13-Aug-13	Streets to Tweets: Post Structural Politics of Naya Pakistan	2.5
	23-Aug-13	Origins of Pakistan's Sectarian Violence	2.5
		Total	10
Bayan Canada	2-Mar-13	Orientation Session	2
	9-Mar-13	International Women's Day March	4
	16-Mar-13	Launch of Electoral Campaign in Toronto	3.5
	15-Jun-13	Philippines Independence Day	4
	27-Jul-13	Diwa ng Kasarinlan	6
		Total	19.5
		Total of all events observed	85.5