Ryerson University
Digital Commons @ Ryerson

Theses and dissertations

1-1-2008

Resilient Teens: Social Exclusion Of Parents And Impact On The Second Generation Eritrean Youth

Fatma Hassan
Ryerson University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/dissertations

Part of the Race and Ethnicity Commons

Recommended Citation
Hassan, Fatma, "Resilient Teens: Social Exclusion Of Parents And Impact On The Second Generation Eritrean Youth" (2008). *Theses and dissertations.* Paper 95.

This Major Research Paper is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ Ryerson. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ryerson. For more information, please contact bcameron@ryerson.ca.

RESILIENT TEENS: SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF PARENTS AND IMPACT ON THE SECOND GENERATION ERITREAN YOUTH

by

Fatma Hassan, Honours B.A., University of Toronto, 2006

A Major Research Paper

Presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Program of

Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2008

© Fatma Hassan 2008

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of major research paper.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this paper to other

institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

_____

Signature

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this paper by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

_____

Signature

RESILIENT TEENS: SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF PARENTS AND IMPACT ON THE SECOND GENERATION ERITREAN YOUTH

© Fatma Hassan 2008

Master of Arts

Immigration and Settlement Studies

Ryerson University

Abstract

This paper investigates the experiences of eight Eritrean youth between the ages of 19-28 living in Toronto, with the purpose of contributing to existing literature on factors affecting the successful integration of second generation racialized youth. Literature on the integration and overall success of second generation racialized youth is growing in Canada, but addressing the experiences of Eritrean youth has garnered no scholarly interest. This is largely a result of little to no information on who the Eritrean community is, how it is integrating in Canadian society, and what kinds of settlement patterns it has followed in Canada. This study opens avenues of research opportunity on this community and seeks to explore, albeit in a limited fashion how the parents' experiences with settlement and integration affects their children, if at all. My research suggests that the parents' experiences with social exclusion, in the form of socio-economic disadvantage have in fact important implications for their Canadian children.

Keywords

Second generation; Eritrean Youth ; Education; Integration; Racialized; Social Exclusion; Segmented Assimilation; Labour Market

Acknowledgements

The idea for this research crystallized into reality with the help of my supervisor, Professor Grace-Edwards Galabuzi, who encouraged and guided my interest in this personal research project.

To my second reader, Professor Vappu Tysskä, thank you for taking the time from a very busy schedule to discuss my ideas and provide me with insightful suggestions.

To my mother, the embodiment of resilience and perseverance, I thank you for all you have given up so that I can get to where I am.

To my sister and brother, thank you for all your patience and understanding during this busy year and most of all thank you for your support and continuous encouragement.

Dedication

To those youth whose stories are yet to be discovered.

Table of Contents

Author's Declaration ……..ii

Abstract ……. ……....iii

Acknowledgements ……....iv

Dedication ……..v

Table of Contents ……vi

List of Appendices…… viii

Introduction…….....1

Literature Review.....8

Integration.....11

Segmented Assimilation……..13

Social Exclusion.....15

Economic Factors……20

Educational Attainment……...24

Labour market integration of second generation…….29

Research Method- Sample & Recruitment.....33

Interview Findings

Educational attainment……38

Barriers to accessing education……39

Program of Study…….41

Perception of return from educational investment……...42

Choice of Institution…….43

Motivating factors for post-secondary attainment……44

Labour Market Participation

Employment Status……..44

Age of Entry into the labour market……45

Types of Employment…….46

Motivation for seeking employment……...46

Job security……..47

Current employment status compared to others in the same cohort & with similar educational background……..48

Perceptions of Integration

Visible minority status and its relation to attaining upward social mobility……48

Anticipation about future employment prospects……49

Familial Financial Situation

Parents' human capital……50

Stability of parents employment…….51

Occupation segregation and feelings of marginalization……51

Availability of social capital and ethnic networks…….....53

Findings

Education…….54

Labour market indicators…….63

Job security……..64

Intergenerational transfer of resources…….67

Importance of networks in seeking employment…….70

Perceptions of Integration……72

Concluding remarks …….…….....74

Limitations……..76

Appendix

Resilient Teens: social exclusion of parents and impact on the second generation Eritrean youth- Interview questions……77

References…….85

List of Appendices

1. Resilient Teens: social exclusion of parent and impact on the second generation Eritrean youth. Interview script

Introduction

'*We came here for our children*' this is one of many reasons often stated by immigrants when asked what prompted them to leave their homes and migrate to Canada. The desire to enhance their children's standard of living by offering them opportunities not available in the home country is common among many immigrant parents that have come to Canada within the last 20-30 years. In an immigrant based society like Canada, one cannot measure the successful integration of racialized immigrant groups without involving the experiences of their children (Reitz and Banerjee, 2005; Reitz and Somerville, 2004; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001).

For decades now, the literature and scholarship concerned with the well-being of immigrants in their receiving society have used economic integration as the standard yardstick of assessment. In Canada, the success of immigrant groups has historically been determined by their successful integration into the labour market (Shields, 2003; James, 2005; Elabor-Idemudia, 2005). Indicators such as employment status, occupational status, and earnings are scrutinized and offer a holistic understanding of the immigrants' social standing relative to the 'native' born population. Literature concerned with factors affecting immigrants' economic incorporation and/or isolation acknowledges that structural and institutional changes, and the reception of immigrants by the native population pave the way for successful integration into society (Shields, 2003). Economic integration is thus both cause and effect of overall integration. Using this conceptual definition of integration in the context of the second generation enables me to closely examine whether a link exists between immigrants integration and the effect on later cohorts. From this perspective, we can view integration as a multigenerational process that starts with the parents but continues with their Canadian children.

This generation based research will examine the two important elements that contribute to the overall well being, and thus subsequent success, and overall integration of second generation immigrants: educational attainment and labour market integration. I want to suggest that in evaluating successful integration, the experiences of the second generation[1] racialized immigrant youth are of significance, more so than their parents. Having grown up in Canada, attended Canadian schools, and acquired only Canadian experience and credentials, their experiences are arguably better indicators for the overall integration process of racialized immigrants. The relevant question my research seeks to answer is: *Does the documented social exclusion of first generation racialized immigrant parents have an impact on the success of their children?*

The answer to this question is understudied, as research has primarily focused on the immigrant parents' obstacles and later life mobility. This analysis is problematic because it neglects the reality that the process of immigration is not unique to the parents. Undoubtedly, the parents bare the physical aspects of the migration and the initial experience of immigration at a more nuanced level than their kids; however, the barriers and struggles which have become a common reality for the newly arrived racialized immigrants, inevitably affect the children; to what extent though this paper attempts to analyze.

[1]For purposes of this paper, the term 'second generation' will be used to refer to the children of immigrants, including both those that came to Canada at a young age and those who were born in Canada to two foreign born parents. It is also used by some to refer to those who were born in Canada but have two foreign born parents (Kao and Tienda, 1995), others use it to refer to those who were born in Canada and have at least one parent born in Canada (Boyd), while some use it to refer to the children of immigrants (Reitz and Banerjee, 2005; Reitz and Zhang, 2005; Zhou, 1997).

Focusing on the Eritrean[2] community, the purpose of this research is to examine the role of the parents' socio-economic profile (defined by their overall economic situation and resources available that can be transferred to children/youth to pursue their goals of post-secondary education, access to the labour market, and overall upward social mobility). Labour market participation and the ability to achieve desired educational attainment are arguably the most significant aspects of social inclusion[3]; as such I have chosen these two factors to be the key variables in this research. The outcomes based on the respondents' answers will allow for an assessment of the extent of the inclusion/exclusion in Canadian society of the selected group, and the extent to which this has to do with their parents' settlement and integration.

The Eritrean community - a racialized group whose experiences in the greater context of visible minority literature are virtually unknown - is an ethnic community whose relatively recent arrival and settlement in Canadian society renders it an ideal ethnic community for research that aims to uncover the relationship between the barriers faced by first generation immigrant parents and the effect of those barriers, if any, on subsequent cohorts. To date, the few

---

[2]The 30 years' war that ended in 1993 with Eritrea's independence from neighbouring Ethiopia led to an un-approximated large number of refugees that were dispersed in and around neighbouring African countries as well as in select Western European countries (Pool, 2001). The Eritrean community's arrival to Canada in the late 1980s and early 1990s is a result of a war-torn situation in the home country. However, most Eritreans did not come to Canada seeking asylum, but as permanent residents, as part of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees resettlement program, with Canada being the third country of residence and final settlement.

[3] Demuth indicated that "complete inclusion" of immigrants into society is the ideal type of integration (49). This total inclusion can also be referred to as social inclusion (Omidvar & Richmond 2003). They define social inclusion for newcomers to Canada as the "full and equal participation" in "the economic, social, cultural and political dimensions of life" (15).

studies undertaken to document the experiences of Eritreans in Canada note that whatever little research done on the community

is inferred from national data (Censuses) and research done on the Ethiopian community (Scott, 2001). Included as either "Ethiopian" or part of the larger "other African nations" (Ornstein, 2000) category, there is evidence that the socio-economic situation of Eritreans in Canada is below average, characterized by high rates of poverty, economic marginalization, and difficulty adjusting in Canadian society with little or no support from ethno-specific agencies to serve them (Scott, 2001).

Since the vast majority of Canadians rely on employment and the labour market as their source of income and well being, employment and income level trends will be used as one of the indicators of integration. The types of jobs and wages immigrants earn largely impact the kind of lives they lead and reflect the equality of opportunity in a given society (Jackson, 2005: 6-9). This is an important determinant factor for the opportunities and resources they provide to their children (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The demands for post-secondary educational attainment become increasingly significant for entrance into the labour market, backed by estimates suggesting that by 2004, more than 70 percent of all new jobs would have required some form of post-secondary education (Quell, 2002:7). Thus, the importance of post-secondary education is a pretext to one's position in the labour market. Education and employment are thus mutually constitutive determinants for the overall well being of individuals, and immigrants' integration in society can be assessed based on these two indicators.

The removal in the 1960s of explicit racial discrimination in immigration policy towards certain ethnic groups, and the introduction of a higher standard of entry based on the human capital model (the 1967 Point System), led to an increasingly diverse ethnic make-up in Canada, especially in the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) where many non-European immigrants settled (Stein et al, 2007; Shields, 2003; Kelley and Trebilcock, 1998). The increasing ethnic diversity and multicultural make up of Canadian society has contributed to its celebrated label as the 'number one multicultural country in the world' (James, 2005**)**. However, this claim to fame is a cause for celebration only if the removal of explicit racial discrimination for entry is also accompanied by the removal of implicit forms of racial discrimination in their path to integration. It is a well-documented fact that these recent groups of immigrants that have arrived to Canada within the last 20-30 years are experiencing difficulty in their economic integration into Canadian society (Aydemir and Skuterud, 2004; Reitz, 2003, 2001, 1998; Li, 2000, 2003; Boyd, 2002; Boyd and Grieco, 1998; Sassen, 1995; Harvey and Reil; Jackson, 2005; Galabuzi, 2006; Teelucksingh and Galabuzi, 2005; Pendakur, 2000; DeVortez, 1995; Shields, 2003; Kunz et al, 2000; Victoria et al, 2003). The aim of this research paper is to offer an understanding of how the Eritrean community, specifically the second generation, has integrated into Canadian society.

While indicators of good or bad economic performance for recently arrived immigrants have been studied in depth, little attention is paid to the impact the earnings decline of the parents has on their kids' later life success (Anisef and Phythian, 2007). To understand how the parents' settlement experience and context of reception influence the integration and adaptation outcomes of their children, the segmented assimilation model and the social exclusion theory will be used as the principal explanatory frameworks. The segmented assimilation model

introduced by Portes (Portes, 1995) is a concept that applies specifically to the second-generation. It implies that assimilation is neither a linear (a concept which will be explained later) nor a homogeneous process (Portes and Rumbaut, 45-6). Portes's theory is widely and readily cited and referred to by scholars to explain key factors that shape the experiences of visible minority youth who are the descendants of recent immigrants. Alternatively, the linear assimilation model which has been a central force for much of the North American understanding of immigrant's integration suggests that, with time, each generation of native-born descendants undergo further acculturation and raise its status vis-à-vis their parental group (Boyd, 1998:855). It proposes that after two or three generations of living in the receiving society, the descendants of the immigrants become indistinguishable from the rest of society in both their educational and occupational achievements (Boyd, 1998: 855). This view thus proposes that disadvantages are overcome by these subsequent generations.

However, the linear integration model's narrow interpretation of processes and assumed outcomes does not take into consideration social structures, i.e. discrimination and racism, which can have detrimental consequences for visible minority immigrants and their children. To understand the forces at play that affect immigrants' incorporation and integration into Canadian society, social exclusion theory will be used as the complementary explanatory framework. Social exclusion, defined by Galabuzi, refers to "the inability of certain groups or individuals to participate fully in Canadian life due to structural inequalities in access to social, economic, political, and cultural resources" (Galabuzi, 2006: 173). Accordingly, manifestations of social exclusion include, but are not limited to, high level of poverty, uneven access to employment, and income levels that are below the national average (Galabuzi, 2006).

Not surprisingly there were some limitations to my research. The Eritrean community is divided along nine different ethnicities and two major religious groups (Pool, 2001), of which one group (Tigrinya) has a larger population base and stronger communal organization in Toronto[4]. Of the two major religions that Eritreans ascribe to, Christianity and Islam, Christians are predominately Tigrinya and Muslims dispersed along the eight other ethnicities. As such, it was difficult to recruit a diverse sample size of Muslim Eritreans that is representative of their diversity within the Eritrean community. Consequently my research was limited by my (limited) access to willing participants from only two sub-ethnic community groups, which was a result of a random sampling research method.

It was difficult to gauge into a more comprehensive discussion about the current employment status of these youth because a sizeable number of those interviewed were still in the school-to-work transition or were in the early stages of cementing their position in the labour market. Offering a conclusive analysis about their labour market position would be too presumptuous and risks lending a negative assessment of their current labour market situation.

[4] This assertion is based on my conversations with members from two Toronto based Eritrean community organizations (Eritrean Community Centre and the Eritrean Canadian Association of Ontario) conversations with members from the Eritrean community in the GTA.

Literature Review

Does the documented social exclusion of the first generation racialized immigrant parents have an impact on the success of their children?

This brief literature review serves to capture the essence of the scholarly work and research that shapes our understanding of the societal factors influencing the experiences of second generation racialized youth as they grow up and enter the labour market in Canada. It has been demonstrated that in the face of poverty and difficult life circumstances, these youth have been able to persevere and succeed in important social determinants, such as educational attainment. However, relying on this indicator as a measure of their integration and incorporation in Canadian society offers a skewed picture. A majority of the Canadian literature attests to the success and integration of the second generation, however, as my research revealed, integration is measured using narrow and rigid indicators of educational achievement and labour market participation. Thus, they still face various forms of social exclusion. These contradictions suggest that the indicators used for measuring integration are not sufficient and lead to inconclusive findings. My research has revealed that these fixed indicators do not take into account the various facets in which exclusion can happen. Moreover, they do not account for it as an on-going process that affects the lives of these youth during or after educational achievement and labour market participation have been achieved. Some of the literature examined fails to acknowledge this fact clearly and focuses on either the successful completion of, or inability to attain, educational achievement as the markers of integration and well-being.

We cannot ignore the fact that the outcomes and social and economic trajectories of the second generation are in fact determined by experiences of their parents. The mode of

incorporation experienced by the immigrant parent reflects the barriers that impact the immigrant family's ability to integrate. The receiving society's reception, pre-existing ethnic community, and an equitable local labour market, are all important determinants that can offset the individual successes and achievements of the second generation. When the children's experiences of adulthood continue to be inextricably tied to the overall well-being of their family, it is difficult to measure their personal successes and achievements based on a narrow range of indicators, such as educational attainment. The process of integration for the second generation is in fact more complex than that experienced by their parents because they shoulder the responsibility of their parents' failed integration process that lead to situations of social exclusion.

Using both traditional and innovative integration models put forth by North American scholars (Ganz, 1992; Portes, 1995), lead me to conclude that Canada's racialized second generation youth have adapted to Canadian society according to a segmented assimilation model - but one that is not entirely similar to the experiences in the U.S -. The difference in the two country's history of race relations is a contributing factor for the divergent experiences. Also, the successes and achievements of the youth interviewed demonstrate their ability to break from a cycle of poverty and continued marginalization, elements of positive progression that this theory does not take into account. The similarity in experience that are in accordance with this model is an upbringing characterized by economic disadvantages that are commonly experienced by groups faced with various forms of social exclusion and exacerbated by membership in marginalized community groups that offer little or no resources (Portes, 1995; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Although the Canadian experience of 'segmentation' is not entirely similar to those experienced in the U.S., with evidence that racialized youth are in fact able to achieve some level of post-secondary success, it is not completely positive as Alba and Nee (1997)

suggest. Their findings that childhood circumstances do not affect later life progress is not without fault. They suggest that childhood circumstances and a disadvantaged upbringing have no impact on how the children progress in their lives as adolescents and adults.

My research findings suggest that the social and economic circumstances while growing up in Canada are of importance. Although these youth demonstrate certain levels of achievement and intergenerational success, their experiences are still markedly different from their non-racialized 'native' counterparts. The differences in opportunities in early life cannot be overlooked because they are indeed related to the opportunities available in adulthood. The resilience and ambition that drive racialized youth to overcome the barriers they experience, and their subsequent success (according to the narrow indicators of success), cannot skew the fact that their path towards achievement is markedly different from their non-racialized peers and is characterized by challenges and barriers that are unique to racialized members in society. Their ability to overcome structural and institutional barriers does not negate the fact that they are still affected by the social exclusion experienced by their parents, the impact of which has been transferred onto to them, especially the socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty levels. On the contrary, one can claim that the second generation is successful, if success is measured by the limited indicators of educational attainment and labour market participation. However, since the evaluation of these indicators is based on outcome (e.g educational achievement and securing a decent paying job) rather than process, those who use this limited definition of "success" are not taking into consideration the complexities involved in these youths' lives as they struggle to reach this final stage of success.

Integration, Segmented assimilation and Social exclusion

Integration

Integration is a two-step process whereby both immigrants and the mainstream population adapt to each other (Neuwirth 1999). Integration, according to Kymlicka (1998:28) represents "the extent to which immigrants and their descendants integrate into an existing societal culture and come to view their life-chances as tied up with participation in the range of social institutions based on a common language, which define that societal culture". In turn, the 'receiving' society ensures the rights and protections newcomers require to fully participate with their non-immigrant counterparts (Neuwirth, 1999). The two major components needed for this participation are economic integration and social integration.

Economic integration and social integration are interdependent in that the former facilitates one's capability to secure an income needed to sustain a livelihood, which then fosters social integration. Social integration can be defined as the ability of minority groups to be included and participate in the economic and social mainstream (Banting et al, 2007). In Canada, the policy of multiculturalism was designed to ensure the occurrence of such integration for immigrants and all cultural groups. Borne out of the realization that Canada is an immigrant based society composed of diverse peoples from various cultures, its adoption as a federal policy in 1971 was to offset the racist assimilationist approach that existed. It is a policy commitment that seeks to promote the inclusion of all Canadian cultural groups and remove the barriers that stand in the way of immigrants' full participation and integration in Canadian society (Kymlicka, 2007).

Canada's adoption (and implementation) of an official multiculturalism policy in 1988 meant that immigrants are to be treated with equality and dignity irrespective of one's race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Elabor-Idemudia, 2005: 58). These newly enshrined principles aimed at opposing segregation and marginalization, created an understanding that integration is the capacity to successfully incorporate immigrants into society and provide them with the means needed to attain an acceptable standard of living. For this to happen, immigrants need to be integrated in the social and economic fabric of society which is inextricably linked to their ability to participate fully and effectively in the economic, social and cultural activities of society (James, 2005: 12-14). While some scholars define integration by assessing feelings of belonging and ethnic identity retention as markers of successful integration, a readily used standard of assessment is the socioeconomic integration, occupational status, access to education, and income levels that are on par with the 'native' population. For these to be achieved, economic integration has assumed primacy as an indicator and outcome of successful integration. There is an important link between them; the link is pervasive (Phythian and Anisef, 2006).

With its claim to fame as one of the worlds' most multicultural countries and with Toronto ranked second place as the most 'diverse' city in the world (James, 2005), Canada is often celebrated for its ability to absorb and integrate its immigrant populations and make them feel right at 'home'. The reputation of harmonious living is the premise of these celebrations, begging the question: 'are all immigrant groups incorporated equally'? Current research among immigration scholars emphasizes the importance of the labour market and the associated structural changes as a result of neoliberal policies that push for a more flexible and deregulated market (Shields, 2003). The documented growing inequalities experienced by recent immigrant groups (disadvantages that are more pronounced for racialized immigrants) are a direct

consequence of the absence of stable and secure jobs; a consequence of the aggressive push towards 'flexible' labour markets and growing ethnic and racially motivated employment barriers (Harvey and Reil, 2000; Walters et al, 2006; Reitz[a], 2001).

The array of existing literature on the economic and social integration of visible minority immigrants is in agreement that immigrants from racialized communities face racially motivated barriers and obstacles in the Canadian labour market that confine them to inferior and precarious employment situations (Galabuzi, 2006; Pendakur, 2000; Ornstein2000; DeVoretz 1995). Using multiple Canadian Censuses (1981-2001), Aydemir and Skuterud (2004: 17) explain that the shift in source countries (to immigrants from 'non-traditional' source countries) and the resulting language differences have had a great influence on immigrants' incomes. In the backdrop of this existing literature, scholars (Reitz and Somerville 2004; Boyd 2000; Kunz et al 2000; Rumbaut and Portes 2001) have viewed the outcomes (educational attainment and labour market integration among other indicators) of second generation children as imperative to shaping our understanding of how immigrants are incorporated in their 'receiving' societies; their children are a better indicator for assessing integration. To understand the complex process of how the experiences of immigrant parents affect the future experiences of their children, Portes' (1995) segmented assimilation theory offers a theoretical framework to analyze this matter.

Segmented Assimilation

Segmented assimilation is a process whereby some immigrant groups are able to rapidly integrate in society and others are not. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) outline several structural conditions that intersect to produce a downward assimilation process. Their theory focuses on the assimilation process from both the immigrant parents' and their children's perspectives,

citing that the experiences of the former have detrimental social and economic consequences on the latter. A combination of factors (discussed below) ranging from internal family structure and cohesiveness to external factors in the mainstream society (ranging from government initiatives for integration, health of the economy in the place of settlement, extent of racism, and the existence of an ethnic community) impact how the youth will integrate. The extent of these factors determines how the second generation adapts to and integrates with the mainstream society.

The incorporation of youth, according to this model, reflects a hostile reception of the immigrant parents, whose experiences of marginality and discrimination affect the overall integration and adaptation of their children. The theory's prediction that the second generation will be incorporated into the 'underclass' segment of society, thus continuing the process of downward assimilation, is too deterministic and outlines an extreme outcome that is not necessarily true of the Canadian experiences.

According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001) there are four factors that lead to the second generation experience of segmented assimilation:

> "1. History of the immigrant first generation; 2. The pace of acculturation among parents and children and its bearing on normative integration; 3. The barriers, cultural and economic, confronted by second-generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; and 4. The family and community resources available for confronting these barriers" (44-6).

Using the overall foundational premise of segmented assimilation that theorizes the reasons behind the rapid integration of some immigrant groups but not others, I will apply this theory and extrapolate from it an explanation for the overall integration process of racialized second generation Eritrean youth. However, its relevance in a Canadian context is limited by several factors: its focus on specific ethnic groups in the U.S. (Mexican, Cuban, Haitian) whose experiences cannot be entirely linked to racialized ethnic groups in Canada and the difference in the two countries' policies of immigrant integration (multiculturalism vs. assimilation) which make conclusions based on the U.S experience inconclusive in a Canadian context (Boyd 2000, 2002). Finally, and arguably the most significant limitation, is its pessimistic future assessment that emphasizes the second generations' destiny into a world of poverty and marginal employment if the conditions of their upbringing satisfy the disadvantaged motif described in the model. Its applicability in a Canadian context lies in the fact that the conditions of disadvantage, poverty, marginalization and exclusion are consistent with those experienced by racialized groups in the U.S. Cautiously used, the theory does provide relevant insight to the processes that contribute to the marginalization experienced by these youth in Canada. Similarly concerned with the factors leading certain segments of the population to live on the margins of society, social exclusion seeks to explain the causes and effects of social, cultural, and economic factors that render integration a difficult process.

Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is defined as:

> "broadly describe [ing] both the structures and the dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society that, over time, structure access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce a

> complex of unequal outcomes" (Room, 1995; Byrne, 1999; Littlewood, 1999; Mandipour et al., 1998 in Galabuzi, 2006: 176).

This discussion on the processes that leads to social exclusion is a relevant introduction to the issues central to the experiences of racialized minorities in western societies, specifically Canada. *What does it mean to be socially excluded?*

Social exclusion theory was first introduced in Europe and used to explain, among others, the differential process of integration for: immigrants, ethnic minorities and the economically disadvantaged (Sheppard, 2006; Mitchell and Shillington, 2002; Room 1995; Madanipour et al, 1998,). It has been of great significance in exploring and understanding the disparity faced by immigrants and racialized communities in Canada (Gingrich, 2003;Omidvar and Richmond, 2003).

The theory has buttressed discussions and understanding of the marginalization of the racialized communities in general, and immigrants in particular. Since the focus of this research is on how the experiences of first generation immigrant parents influence that of their children, it is a relevant explanatory framework that will help shape our understanding of the various factors affecting the success and integration of this group. Moreover, its significance lies in its ability to explain how these structural barriers operate to exclude members of society from access to (economic) resources and opportunities; the means to sustenance and livelihood. Thus, they are confined to circumstances characterized by economic instability and "unequal access to normal forms of livelihood" (Galabuzi, 2006: 176).

Marginality and socio-economic exclusion have traditionally been linked to theories of poverty. Basic income and consumption are two aspects leading to sustenance and livelihood

and, their deprivation naturally leads to a situation of impoverishment. However, it is the multi-dimensional approach of social exclusion that renders it more useful than the traditional discourse on poverty which focuses on measures of basic income and consumption (Room, 2005). The need to broaden the definition to include social indicators such as: education, health, and social life (the less tangible and harder to measure aspects of marginality) contributed to the need for explaining such deprivations using a more conclusive and comprehensive approach (Byrne 2005: 62). This need is thus approached from the realization that poverty is a multi-dimensional and complex issue that arises from factors that go well beyond basic income and consumption levels (Byrne, 2005). Sen's definition of poverty has been widely used by scholars because of its inclusion of the "absence of capabilities" to describe situations of poverty (Sen, 2000; Room, 1995). According to Sen (2000), "an individual is socially excluded if he or she is geographically resident in a society but for reasons beyond his or her control cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and he or she would like to participate".

According to Castles and Davidson (2000), immigrants that become incorporated as part of the 'ethnic minority' internalize two definitions and understandings of the self within their 'host society'. The '*self definition'* of the ethnic group is developed along lines of "shared language, traditions, religion, history and experience" (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 62-3). The '*other definition'*, the one more relevant to the processes of social exclusion, "includes ideological processes of stereotyping, as well as discriminatory structures and practices in the legal, economic, social and political arenas" (Castles and Davidson, 2000: 62-3). Stereotypes of 'otherness' (process of racialization) by the dominant group are defined along phenotypical characteristics; primarily skin colour, and whatever else is thought to denote difference in race from the dominant mainstream white society **(**Anisef et al., 2000; Bolaria, 1983; Das Gupta,

1996; Li, 1989**)**. The '*other'* is there defined as different by virtue of their birthplace, race, language, and other "cultural idiosyncrasies" (Li, 2003).

It is from this initial conceptualization of 'otherness' that the processes of marginalization and exclusion are manifested and whereby the dominant group creates a power hierarchy that consequently places racialized *others* in an inferior social position, relegating them to a marginalized status. As Li (1990) explains "this inherent ranking of racial and ethnic groups along a scale of superiority and inferiority is the essence of racism" (pp.3). Another indicator of difference is the immigrant's country of origin; a marker that is directly linked to one's phenotypical characteristics, so those from African or Caribbean countries are differentiated both by their origin in developing countries and their physical difference (Castles and Davidson, 2000). These biological and cultural characteristics stand as the basis of categorizing people along ethnic and racial lines, with those vastly different from the dominant white majority being placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. In Canada, being black is often associated with being an immigrant – regardless of one's period of residence - , denoting blacks as foreigners and outsiders in a land that has, at the expense of the lives and history of Aboriginal people, become identified by its colonial white settler population.

Upon their arrival, immigrants are not competing on an equalized playing field where their education and previous work experience count (Shields, 2003; Ornstein, 2006). Rather, it is a number of contextual factors that shape the way in which they can put their skills to use. The factors affecting how immigrants and their subsequent generation are integrated are many; however for the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the timing of their arrival, and the context of their reception, as being important indicators for the situation they find themselves in. As an attempt to understand the situation visible minority immigrants and their descendants find

themselves in, the discussion will be based on the social exclusion theoretical approach to understand and analyze the importance of immigrants' context of reception as influencing the adaptation outcomes of future cohorts. Exclusion forces immigrants into a wholly underground and disadvantaged existence (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 46-7).

The usefulness of social exclusion theory stems from its focus on the dynamics (or processes) in society that lead to the marginalization of certain groups; those whose ties are 'broken' or 'damaged'. Even more important is its focus on how this 'marginalized' status effects people's ability to engage and feel part of the society that they live in; exclusion effects people's ability to participate in the ordinary aspects of social life (Sheppard, 2006: 9-15; Room, 1995:55).

As Reitz (2001) notes, the experiences of white immigrants are indeed different than those of visible minorities arriving to Canada from the 1980s onward. For non-white immigrants, race is a major barrier that blocks their way to successful integration and success in Canada. After learning an "unaccented" English (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 55) and adopting patterns of behaviour and physical appearance that are akin to those of the native population, a white immigrant's ancestral ethnic identity is no longer a marker of their difference from the native born. Ethnic identity becomes an option, but it is not an option that is available for ethnic visible minorities. This distinction based on racial differences and similarities can manifest itself in ways and processes that work to shut out (fully or partially) those who are *othered* from the social, economic and cultural systems that are integral and determine the social integration of people in society (Sheppard, 2006: 7-25). The mechanisms of marginalization in this process of *othering* are referred to as *institutional and structural* exclusion (Byrne 2005; Reitz and Somerville; 2004, Mitchell; 2002, Castles and Davidson 2000). Phenotypical 'differences' and

ethnic background in non-‘traditional’ source countries - namely the global south- become the markers leading to a marginalized status in society.

The classification of constituting an ‘ethnic minority’[5] is informed by the belief that its members, the immigrants, are distinctly (and negatively) different from the dominant group, thus their ‘otherness’ leads to their subsequent “racialization[6]”. Members from ‘racialized’ groups are defined by their difference, which is determined by the unequal power structures that divides citizens and residents along racial lines and hierarchies (Zhou and Lee 2008; James, 1996; Li, 1989). As Castles and Davidson (2000) argue, this process of ‘racialization’ leads to differences, marginalization, and finally exclusion of those deemed different from mainstream society. Through this unequal power relation, exclusion is felt in important spheres of life that in turn shape groups’ social location vis-a-vis the mainstream society. We can identify this type of exclusion as institutional and structural, whereby ethnic minorities are excluded from the social, economic and political spheres that shape their lives in the society which they live in (Castles and Davidson 2000; Allahar, 1998: 337; Room 1995; Reitz 1998).

Economic factors

“*Income inequality matters for social exclusion because income is both the basis of social participation through consumption and a reflection of the power of people in their economic roles*” (Bryne, 2005: 85).

---

[5] It is important to note that the ‘ethnic minority’ status works differently for white ‘ethnic’ groups, whereby their ‘difference’ does not necessarily garner negative treatment by the dominant group.

[6] Refers to the process whereby membership in a non-European ethnic group defines the social relationship and power relationship between the dominant white and the non-white population . Its emphasis is on the dominant and minority groups relations in terms of power differences. It is a process that places the non-white immigrant groups in inferior and marginalized social positions (Li, 1990, 2003). When people are racialized, they are outside the established system of society, and thus in an inferior position. The emphasis is on the dominant and minority group relations in terms of power differences.

A key indicator of success for this research is income; a decisive form of inclusion that determines access to resources which are obtained through stable and secure employment (Jackson, 2005; Harvey and Reil; 2000, Roberts 1995). Income is defined as the ability to generate money through employment (White and Glick; 2000, Reitz and Banerjee 2005; Kunz et al, 2000) rendering (gainful) employment, or lack thereof, to assume a central role when seeking to interpret and analyze how, if at all, parent's employment status is central to their children's. However, mere inclusion in the labour market will do nothing to address the exclusionary forces that deny real and meaningful integration (Mitchell, 2002: 17). Accordingly, sources of exclusion, therefore, are unemployment, underemployment, and precarious forms of employment (Galabuzi, 2006; Sassen, 1995; Shields, 2003). Moreover, how immigrants are economically incorporated in society is an important indicator for their overall situation in society (Castles and Davidson 2000: 74-5; Portes, 1995) and is a determining factor for the type of resources available for their children to draw upon for their educational aspirations and early career steps (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Yan, 2000; Canadian Youth Foundation 1995**)**. For immigrant groups from racialized communitiesg, the situation is even more pressing, as it has been revealed that visible minority immigrants and within this large category, specifically blacks, experience more pronounced downward trends in employment (Reitz[a], 2001: 579-613).

As mentioned above, a distinctive feature of immigrants arriving to Canada from the 1980's onwards has been their non-European origin, which has been, as of the 1980's, accompanied by another distinctive feature; a higher incidence of poverty and higher levels of income discrimination (Galabuzi, 2006: 184; Devoretz, 1995; Ornstein 2000; Pendakur 2000; Reitz[b], 1998; 2001). Their experiences have been markedly different from the 'usual' path of success and upward social mobility experienced by European immigrants after World War II.

Back then, the 'usual' path was defined by the understanding that it takes approximately ten years for immigrants to prosper and enjoy economic situations that were comparable to, or even better than the native population (Roberts, 1995; Reitz, 1998).

Immigrants that have arrived within the past 25 years have yet to experience the successes that accompanied the struggles of those European immigrants before them. Today's visible minority immigrants have not 'caught up' to the local population, even though they bring with them high educational attainments and experiences, as required by the points based system that is the basis for their admission (Galabuzi, 2006: 125-136; Jackson, 2005). Including the parents' income and employment status as a focus in the analysis is based on their direct impact on the life for the second-generation. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) state in their discussion about the relationship between parental income and second generation success, "income largely determined the extent to which immigrant families can guide the education of their children and open career opportunities to them" (76). As discussed earlier, Canada's shift towards an immigration system that is characterized by highly skilled and educated immigrants has not translated to equal opportunities for immigrants whose credentials and experience have been downgraded, discounted, and are virtually unrecognized (Stein et al, 2007; Teelucksingh and Galabuzi, 2005; Li, 2000).

Aggravating this dismal reality is a labour market that is segmented along racial lines (Galabuzi, 2006; Esses et al, 2003; Kunz et al, 2000; Shields, 2003; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002; Pendakur, 2000). It is important to clarify here that a segmented labour market does not strictly mean that racialized persons cannot find work; it also refers to the type of work that they occupy. If employment, in and of itself, can be understood as an element of inclusion, a less than truthful picture would be painted about the experiences of racialized immigrants. Moreover,

using income alone as a measure of the inclusion or exclusion of immigrants also falls short in offering a comprehensive understanding of the labour market challenges or experiences faced by immigrants. The mere fact that immigrants have paying jobs that allow for income generation and sustenance falls short in shedding light on their situation and incorporation in Canadian society. Rather, it is the quality of work that is important (Mitchell and Shillington, 2002: 14). Adopting a holistic approach - one inclusive of the type and quality of work, as well as the labour market sectors immigrants are most frequently employed in - to evaluating and assessing immigrants' socio-economic status is more useful because it allows for exclusion to be measured by looking at how many hours individuals have to work in order to generate a level sufficient for sustenance. Mitchell and Shillington (2002: 14-17) note that the number of people working long hours is increasing which in effect can actually impose barriers to their ability to engage and enjoy other aspects of life.

Recently arrived immigrants, most of whom are from non-European countries, have had a difficult time integrating in the Canadian labour market in a meaningful way that matches their pre-immigration educational levels, credentials and experiences. This has resulted in what Mitchell and Shillington (2002:17) label as *occupational segregation*, defined by an increase in employment in low skill level jobs, and increasingly precarious employment situations characterized by high rates of temporary, casual and part-time employment among racialized groups in the city of Toronto (Omidvar and Richmond, 2003; Galabuzi, 2006). Reitz and Somerville (2004) and Bryne **(**2005) attribute structural and institutional changes of capitalist economies as a cause to the higher incidence of unstable work conditions. In fact, 'flexibility' which denotes instability, is a "necessary" feature of "unequal post-industrial capitalism" (Bryne, 2005: 173) and accounts for the recent trends of earning inequalities among recently arrived

immigrants. Based on his analysis of the 2001 Census data, Reitz[a] (2001) deduced that an unstable economy characterized by fluctuating labour market trends, has made it difficult for immigrants to be incorporated in stable employment situations in the labour market. Many have been incorporated in inferior labour market positions, making it difficult for them to attain upward social mobility, and contributing to an unequal and disadvantaged starting point for their children (Castles and Davidson, 2000; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). While the foreign credentials immigrants bring with them are often discounted, Heibert (1997: 34) notes that for those who arrive knowing one of the official languages, their labour market participation and employment earnings are better than for those who arrive without such credentials. Even then, as Tolley notes, their economic integration pales in comparison to the native-born Canadians with comparable levels of education and experience (Tolley, 2002:3).

Educational Attainment

The importance of obtaining a post-secondary education has been amplified as Canada shifts towards a knowledge-based economy and educational attainment becomes increasingly linked to future economic success (Reitz, 2004[a]). Due to the vast array of competing literature and studies published on the educational attainment of visible minority youth, the following is a limited review that aims to capture the essence of the research on visible minority youth and educational achievements.

Understanding the overall performance of second generation visible minority youth must be contextualized within the structural and institutional changes of Canadian society that demand higher education for future progress in the labour market. Consequently, successful completion of post-secondary education is viewed as the only means for members from racialized groups

that have been marginalized to access secure, stable, and professional positions in the Canadian labour market (Livingstone, 1993: 89-102; Boyd, 2003; Kao and Tienda, 1995). For the racialized ethnic community, post-secondary education is seen as the essential necessary tool that elevates the social status of individuals and the community to which they belong (Simmons and Plaza, 1998). From an early age, post-secondary achievement is impressed upon the youth as the only means to upward social mobility, status and recognition within society. Thus, it can be argued that educational attainment serves two purposes: the door to upward social mobility; and community recognition. Education is regarded as a necessary path that will safeguard the youth from leading an impoverished life, similar to which their parents experience in Canada.

According to Simmons and Plaza (1998), groups struggling against discrimination in the labour market demonstrate an acute awareness of the importance of post-secondary attainment and view it as the way out of their disadvantaged situation. Post-secondary educational attainment and the expected returns are viewed as an important, if not the only, avenue for social mobility for individuals that belong to racialized communities. More importantly, for many immigrant parents, the move to Canada is closely linked with their desire to provide better educational opportunities for their children; a desire premised on the expectation that educational attainment will lead to prosperous, secure, and successful futures (Boyd, 2003; White and Glick, 671-80: 2000; Simmons and Plaza, 1998). It is important to contextualize these educational aspirations with consideration of the immigrant parents' employment status and the structure of opportunities within post-secondary institutions.

In light of the changing funding patterns in post-secondary institutions (Anisef et al, 1985: 72-80; Reitz and Somerville, 2004: 10) and the resulting tuition fee increases, it is important to explore the effects these have had on post secondary opportunities for visible

minority immigrant children. Tuition fees, an inseparable variant in this discussion, have risen substantially since the 1990s (Reitz and Somerville, 2004), posing a serious obstacle to both parents and their children. The effects of rising tuition fees must also be understood within the current life (economic and social standing) situation of racialized immigrants. For example, immigrants from non-traditional source countries are experiencing a high incidence of poverty and are confined to inferior labour market positions. This important correlation between poverty and educational attainment is given minimal to no relevance in most research focused on the second generation, but there are few studies that allow for this inference to be made. Siemiatycki's interviews with youth that dropped out of school revealed that for some adolescents, it was a combination of the parents' poor financial situation and filial obligation that contributed to them dropping out of school (Siemiatycki, 2001: 22). Although this is not a representative sample, it does demonstrate that the growing incidence of poverty among racialized immigrants does have a direct effect on their children's educational attainment. By terminating their education at a young age, it is a very real possibility that they will be confined to menial jobs that offer no career advancement, limited upward social mobility, and, thus, locking them in a situation similar to their parent's by enduring the cycle of poverty.

Another important challenge unique to visible minority youth is the documented evidence of high school teachers placing racialized students in the "basic" stream. This commonly cited problem leads to significant consequences in their adulthood (Dei, 1998; James, 1999). This ill conceived push effectively makes college education or vocational schools the only option for these youth, thereby limiting and restricting their future career prospects (Kao and Tienda, 1995: 2). Dei (1998) and James (1999) focus on the underachievement and underrepresentation of Blacks in post-secondary education. Their research is invaluable to

understanding the Black experience within the educational system and bears relevance to the experiences of visible minority immigrant youth. However, its limitation lies in the fact that it does not differentiate between the experiences of recent (the children of those arrived to Canada within the past 25-30) racialized immigrant youth from that of the native-born, non-immigrant Black population's experience in Canada; which has its own history of discrimination and racism. Moreover, this research focused on a history of discrimination that is beyond the 20-30 year period that is the focus and scope of this essay.

According to Davies and Guppy (1998) both secondary and post-secondary educational completion by native-born racialized youth is comparable to the native-born non-racialized group, or even higher. Boyd and Greico (1998) have also documented that second generation racialized youths have higher post-secondary achievement rates than their non-racialized non-immigrant counterparts. However, this "overachievement" (Boyd and Greico, 1998; Boyd, 2003) is partly attributed to the realities of a family life marked by financial hardships and instability. A plausible explanation that accounts for this 'overachievement' is couched in the youths' beliefs that higher education will eventually yield to income parity and social mobility status that is on par with their non-racialized counterparts. To ensure that they are not confined to a life situation defined by income inferiority, they are motivated to achieve what society deems as the 'means to the end' (necessary means to achieve culturally prescribed goals) (Reitz[b], 2004: 255). This perseverance and resiliency has been offered as an explanation for the successes of racialized youth from disadvantage socioeconomic positions but cannot be taken as a precedent or standard outcome for racialized youth in similar life situations. Offsetting these high aspirations are, among other things, racial and economic barriers that are related to the immigrant families' human capital. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explain, the resources (human capital) the parents

can offer “sets the stage” for the second generation. They suggest that parents with high level of resources are capable of supporting their children with their education and in the formative years of professional development. In turn, this places the children in a better economic position (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001). More important is their argument that parents’ who have been economically marginalized, with an unstable employment history, are not in a position to guide their children to opportunities and information in the labour market. Lastly, parents with high incomes can transfer “strategic goods” to their children, and help their kids ‘stand on their own’ in their early years of career development (Portes and Rumbaut cited in Ooka and Wellman, 2006: 199-204).

Although some studies reveal that second generation racialized youths have high educational aspirations demonstrated by their achievement, there is no scholarly agreement if theirs is indeed higher than for the native-born non-immigrant counterparts. If the indicator for ‘overachievement’ is based on an intergenerational increase in educational attainment, then it is arguable that they have surpassed their parents. However, the fact remains that theirs is not necessarily higher than that of their non-racialized, non-immigrant counterparts (Reitz and Somerville, 2004; Simmons and Plaza, 1998). Nevertheless, there is contesting literature that proposes the idea that the educational attainment and opportunities for native-born racialized youth in Canada are comparable to those of the native-born population (Boyd, 2002) and some even report that they have higher educational credentials (Livingston, 1993: 89-102). Although the ability to attain high educational achievements is an important indicator of integration, there is a missing component in this discussion, which is filled by Cheung (2005) and Pendakur and Pendakur’s (2002) studies measuring the income levels of racialized youth. Evaluating the return on educational investment allows for a comprehensive assessment to be made about the value of

the educational attainment because it outlines the ability of these 'overachieving' youth to maximize on their educational investments. Both the Cheung (2005) and Pendakur and Pendakur's (2002) findings contend that the earning level of racialized youth is lower than for their non-racialized counterparts, when education levels are controlled for. These findings pose a limitation to Boyd and Livingston's conclusions and highlight the misconception in considering educational achievements as an indicator of overall integration and as a predictor for future success.

Labour market integration of second generation racialized youth

Thus far, it has been established that immigrants from racialized ethnic communities are faced with distinct labour market challenges and discriminatory income distribution. Using statistical analysis, Galabuzi demonstrates that according to income and employment indicators "the significant employment, income, and occupational-status gap between racialized group members and the rest of the Canadian population render racialized groups increasingly vulnerable to poverty" (Galabuzi, 2006: 173). Moreover, the employment segregation that has confined immigrants to low wage jobs has contributed to an income gap between racialized groups and their non-racialized counterparts (Galabuzi, 2004: 184).

The prevalent income disparity encountered by immigrant parents has been legitimized by claiming the 'foreign' nature of their acquired skills and credentials that are not on par with Canadian 'standards' (Li, 2003: 121). This form of explicit social exclusion has allowed scholars to offer excuses for the high rates of poverty and low income levels of racialized immigrant families. Furthermore, income and employment status have been the primary measures of

equality and successful integration. However, using these two indicators to measure successful integration for the second generation youth is more challenging.

In a recent study conducted by Cheung (2005) for the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), it is evident that the earning levels of second generation visible 'minority' youth are lower than that of their non-visible 'minority' counterparts. When the children are educated in Canadian institutions and possess only Canadian work experience, determining the reasons for the difficulty they experience entering the labour market and their income disparities can only be attributed to their phenotypical difference. Pendakur and Pendakur's (2002: 491) study which measures both the earnings gap and employment gap reveals that it narrowed in the 1970s, stabilized through the 1980s and grew between 1991 and 1996. In addition to this, their study found that the net earning disadvantages of native-born racialized minorities (whose parents were recent immigrants) grew in size for both men and women from 1971 to 1996 (Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002: 489-512). Similarly, the CLC study shows that an employment gap of 15.5 percent exists for Canadian-born racialized minority youth between the ages of 15-24, compared to 14.8 percent for all immigrant youth, and 10.3 percent for youth who are neither immigrants or racialized 'minorities' (Cheung, 2005: 3). Since the first group was born and educated in Canada, the lack of Canadian credentials, experience and education, often cited as the reasons for their parents poor labour market success, cannot be used to explain these differences. Rather, this gap reflects their racial 'difference', as opposed to other impediments for their parents, as the leading cause. Pendakur and Pendakur's conclusion that "inequality is seen to be on the rise" (2002: 510), and that "the labour market may be neither colour blind nor moving toward employment equity" (2002: 510) is true. This is further corroborated by Reitz and Breton's (1994: 90-124) analysis of the 1986 Census which demonstrated that immigrants of European

origin reached an income parity with English Canadians (non-immigrants), after adjusting for education and other demographic factors. However, for non- European immigrant men and women, mainly Blacks and Asians, there was an apparent income disadvantage, when compared to the European immigrants (*ibid*). They attributed labour market needs for employees as a determining factor, revealing that when labour demands are controlled, blacks are indeed disadvantaged. Moreover Reitz and Zhang (2005) point out that urban contexts, concentration (of immigrant cities), and degree of attachment to one's ethnic community have consequences on the structure of opportunities available. Their successes and failures cannot be separated from levels of (high and low) educational attainment of the mainstream populations which determines the level of competition for jobs in the labour market (*ibid*). The context of the immigrants' city assumes an important role in the outcome of their successes and failures.

Other bodies of literature contend that, overall, "young people struggle to find full time permanent positions in Toronto, in comparison with their predecessors, before the mid-1990's" (de Wolff, 2006 in Rootham, 2008: 115). Another possible drawback that stands in the way of assessing and contextualizing the status of racialized youth and employment is their relatively young age which implies that they are just starting to make their initial attachments to the labour market (Boyd, 2003). Under such circumstances it is difficult to lay claims about their employment status, however, the struggles or lack thereof in entering are noteworthy, when compared to others in the same age group.

The role parents play in facilitating work opportunities is emphasized by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in their discussion of the importance of social networks and capital as significant resources when searching for employment opportunities. Similarly, Anisef and Kilbride (2003) also stress the importance of social networks in facilitating work opportunities.

However, the networks are only as beneficial as the opportunities they provide. For working-class immigrant communities, their resources are limited to the below-average occupations they are disproportionally represented in, and, therefore, to providing the youth with opportunities in low level jobs (Anderson 1974; Bates 1994; Waldinger 1994 referenced in Emi-Ooka, 2006). When neither the parents nor their ethnic community have been able to access the "the primary labour market", which as described by Brym and Li (2005) consists of the high paying and stable jobs, the only networks available to the children are jobs that lead to lower-paid positions, thus, extending the cycle of marginal existence, instability and poverty. Portes and Bach (1985) further support these inferences by claiming that for "advanced ethnic communities," - whose members are not composed of an entirely working-class background - with members in professional fields of employment, the opportunities provided for their youths allow for prosperous economic returns. Their usage of the term 'advanced ethnic community' is used to refer to non-racialized ethnic community groups, for whom the experiences of racism and marginalization are not barriers towards successful integration.

Methodology

This research was approached using a qualitative social research orientation in the form of one-on-one interviews. This method allowed for realizing the goal of accurately reflecting the lives of the Eritrean youth. A qualitative method was viewed as the best way to gauge the youth because, as Bryman (2001) explains, it allows the investigator to understand the "social world" as it is seen by the participants of the research. The main strength of this approach is its broadness which allows the investigator to use general ideas and themes to explore and interpret the information being studied (Neuman, 2006: 459-60). To gather the information and arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the issues being investigated, qualitative interviewing through structured and semi-structured interviews were the means used for the data collection (Bryman, 2001: 264-5).

Similar to other scholarly research focused on exploring and investigating specific social processes, one-on-one interviews were drafted in accordance to the important themes being explored in the research. Portes and Rumbaut's 2001 (Legacies) research on the experiences of second generation Vietnamese, Haitian, and Mexican youth in the form of interview questionnaires point to the importance of primary research. Similarly, Canadian studies which document the experiences of immigrant or newcomer youth (James, 1990; Siemiatycki, 2001; Anisef and Killbride, 2003) point to the importance and merits of conducting primary research, especially when focusing on specific populations. From their research, it is evident that including the human element to research focused on specific populations and/or demographic group, allows for the testing of existing academic theories and concepts relevant to the subject matter.

Interviews were a mix of structured and semi-structured questions (all interviewees were given the exact same questions, for the purpose of ensuring that the replies can be *comprehensive* which can be ensured if the responses are borne out of identical 'cues' or questions) (Bryman, 2001: 107). Semi-structured questions provided me with some latitude to ask general and open-ended questions that were guided by the interview script and were within the scope and essence of the research question (Bryman, 2001: 110). The responses were analyzed using secondary analysis of existing academic research and were used to complement and contrast the literature reviewed. As research on Eritrean youth and the Eritrean community is largely unexplored, secondary analysis was the interpretive tool for testing and challenging current contemporary literature, and offering new interpretations (Bryman, 2001: 196-9).

A mix of open-ended semi-structured and structured questions (see Appendix A) were useful and preferable for certain questions because they provided the investigator with direct answers or allowed the investigator to use probes to delve into certain issues in depth. Questions about parents' socio-economic status, family income and filial[7] obligation proved to be of a sensitive nature and discomfort to some respondents. The interview questions were based on their relation, directly and indirectly to the research question. The purpose behind the questions was to obtain information that can then be synthesized and analyzed in the context of the selected literature, themes and theories on social exclusion, integration, and factors affecting the lives of the second generation.

[7] Refers to adult children's sense of financial duty and commitment to their parents and family (Tyyskä, 2008).

Recruitment

A snow-ball sampling method was employed to select participants for the research. This was believed to be the best technique for recruitment because recruiting participants can occur through case-to-case referrals, community networks, and word-of-mouth. It begins with one or few cases and continues to spread through links, and before long, a number of people can be recruited for the research (Neuman, 2006:223). Initial contact was made through a recruitment e-mail that was circulated to Eritrean youth organizations, Eritrean community organizations, web-based social network groups, and community leaders upon approval from the Research Ethics Board. Ethics review was required to guarantee and uphold academic integrity of the research, and protect the rights and freedoms of participants. The recruitment e-mail circulated introduced the principal investigator, the objective of the study, the participation criteria and included a general introduction to the kind of questions that are going to be asked. Those interested were asked to send an e-mail to the principal investigator, at which point a date, time and place would be decided. Informed (written and verbal) consent was acquired from all participants before the start of any interview. The consent agreement outlined the purpose of the research, their role and purpose in the study, and explained confidentiality and anonymity as a means of protecting their privacy. Included was consent for audio taping, which all eight respondents were comfortable with and agreed to. Transcription of interviews was conducted in the month of August. As per the agreed upon confidentiality and anonymity agreement, the audio tapes will be destroyed by the end of September, 2008, upon completion of my Master's degree.

The age range of 18-34 was chosen as a result of my preliminary knowledge about the community. The community was believed to include a large number of both foreign-born and Canadian born Eritrean youth, allowing for comparisons to be made about the pace of

acculturation and integration between those born abroad and immigrating to Toronto as children or youths with those born in Canada. Due to the recent arrival of the Eritrean community to Canada predominately in the mid-late 1980s, this age range is best suitable for exploring factors affecting post-secondary education, as this is the age range with the highest proportion of individuals involved in post-secondary studies.

The investigator's initial research proposal included interviewing ten youth, but it proved difficult to recruit ten youth for the research in the allotted time for interviewing (July and first week of August). Only eight youth responded to the recruitment e-mail and showed an interest and willingness to participate in the study. The date, place and time of interviews were flexible and accommodative to both the investigator and interviewees. Due to the nature of the questions and subject matter sensitivity, seeking private and comfortable locations was necessary. Four interviews were conducted at the Ryerson library's study rooms that are booked for private group meetings, thus ensuring privacy in a public space. One interview was conducted at one of the student club offices at Ryerson University. One respondent chose her home as the interview location, and one chose a private office at her place of employment as the interview location. A consent form in English, was signed by all the informants. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy and limit the possibility of misrepresentation or false reporting on the part of the principal investigator.

The sample

Eight interviews (comprised of three females and five males, all referred to as E1-8 in the research) were conducted in the month of July, 2008. The respondents were all between the ages of 19-28, were either still enrolled in school, had recently graduated (1-2 years) or had enrolled

in a post-secondary institution at some point in their lives. Of the eight youth interviewed, only one was born in Canada, and the remaining seven were born overseas. Of those born overseas only two were born in Eritrea, and arrived to Canada as the third country of final resettlement. The remaining five were born outside of Eritrea, and arrived to Canada either as infants or adolescents. One respondent had arrived to Canada as an independent minor refugee claimant, at the age of 17. Although his age of arrival renders him an exception to a study focused on youth who have either been born in Canada or came here as young children, he was included in the sample based on his suitability to meet the criteria and indicators of success outlined for the research. Time spent in Canadian secondary and post-secondary institutions, employment status, English language proficiency, and parents' socio-economic status pre-and post- immigration, were attributes that mirrored that of the other participants, hence his relatively older age of arrival assumed less significance in the face of these other more telling and important factors. All but one of the respondents was living at their family home with their parent(s) at the time the interviews took place.

The information gathered from the interviews was extremely beneficial given the gap in the literature surrounding the experiences of Eritrean youth, as well as the experiences of second generation racialized youth in general. The primary research provided an exploration and in-depth account of the lived experiences of Eritrean youth as they grow up and transition into adult hood, while the secondary analysis was necessary for providing a context and interpretation of the processes that have shaped their lives.

Findings

Education

a. Education Attainment

Of the eight youth interviewed, two males were returning to a post-secondary institution in September 2008. Two males had completed their undergraduate degrees, and one had also completed his post-graduate professional degree in the summer of 2008. One male youth had not finished his post-secondary diploma; he dropped out of school one semester before graduating. Of the three females interviewed, all had completed their post-secondary education, and one was enrolled in a post-graduate degree. One female had completed a post-graduate diploma.

Generally, these youth's responses about their personal educational ambitions and future life ambitions were reflective of and directly related to their parents' socio-economic status and the struggles they face[d] in Canada. Each elaborated on their personal experiences and acknowledged that witnessing and living through the constant financial struggles, instability, uncertainty and general hardships of adapting to a new country were the prime reasons fuelling their ambition and desire to achieve higher education. Their desire was premised on the belief that educational attainment is the means necessary to enter stable careers that will provide financial stability, social security, facilitate upward social mobility and occupational success. Seeing how hard their parent's worked for whatever little money they made was a cause to not give up on educational opportunities, because its pursuit and successful completion are seen as the only way out of a disadvantaged income and social situation. One respondent illustrated in her response she feels that they have (her family) been living like "*second class citizens*" (E7).

b. Barriers to accessing education

The respondents reported income (cost of education), and for some, financial obligations to their family, as being the main barriers to attaining their desired educational achievements.

A majority of the respondents interviewed for this study had or have some government assistance to finance their education. The Ontario Student Assistant Program (OSAP) was the primary form of government assistance received. Two respondents took OSAP partially, and with the assistance of their parents and part-time jobs they were able to finance their undergraduate degrees. In total, seven worked in part-time jobs to supplement the OSAP funding or the financial assistance from their parents. One respondent worked multiple jobs during her undergraduate years, at times taking on full time jobs, because she did not want to cause any financial strains on her parents, who felt that it was their responsibility to finance her education. Inadequate assistance from OSAP and an unstable financial situation at home led one student to drop out from his post-secondary institution, one semester shy of graduation.

One respondent did bring up an issue with the usage of the word 'barrier' during the interview, stating that the word in itself denotes stoppage. Rather, the respondent whose objection to the word is reflective of others sampled, sees that the cost of education is an obstacle. This obstacle can be remedied by the availability of government funds, part time work and bank loans. All three methods, alone or in combination, have been used to finance educational attainment. Generally, access to education is unequal given that several respondents cited cost as being a challenge to achieving their desired educational attainment. One respondent said:

"Financial barrier to going to school for four to six years is the opportune loss of having a job, making money" (E4).

Parents' disadvantaged financial situation contributed to some youths having to assume financial responsibilities at a young age, which, for some, was viewed as challenging their educational attainment process. One student cited filial obligation as a reason for having stopped school prematurely; familial financial constraints inevitably conferred on to him much of the household financial responsibilities. Half of the respondents expressed interest in pursuing post-graduate studies in the future, but financial constrains and filial obligations were putting a stop on these ambitions. However, pursuing post-graduate studies was believed to be directly linked to their future career ambitions and as a means to advance in the work place. These ambitions were offset because of associated accumulation of further school-related debt, thus ruling it out as an option in the immediate future.

Stereotypes and prejudices that operate to stigmatize black youth and devalue or dismiss their scholastic abilities was a pressing problem for two respondents. Being a black male was cited as a barrier by two respondents who noted that as black males they felt that they "*have to work a little harder than everyone else to achieve the same level of success*"(E4). For some, maximizing on their education meant "*plugging into the right networks, such as extracurricular program and skill enhancing seminars"* so that they can "*get the right opportunities to enhance and showcase their skills*" (E2). Accessing these programs was blocked by financial constraints. One male respondent felt that racism within the school system was a major obstacle in his path towards post-secondary education. Despite having a high average in high school, he was advised that he should pursue a college diploma or some sort of vocational training.

Two male respondents felt that there were no barriers or any that they can think of that are standing in their way of post-secondary achievements. Government loans, bank loans and other means of assistance were considered the 'norm', therefore lack of income or insufficient income levels for tuition were not perceived as a barrier or challenge (E1, E6).

c. Program of Study-Table 1

The respondents were engaged in a number of educational programs

E1(Male)	Undergraduate degree in progress; Business degree
E2 (Male)	Professional degree complete ; Teaching Undergraduate degree; Health Science
E3 (Male)	College diploma incomplete; Engineering
E4 (Male)	Undergraduate degree complete; Social Science
E5 (Female)	Graduate degree in progress; Masters in Arts
E6 (Male)	Undergraduate degree in progress; Health Sciences
E7 (Female)	Undergraduate degree complete; Health Sciences
E8 (Female)	Post-graduate diploma (professional); Public Relation Undergraduate degree; Social Science

Anisef, Sweet and Frempong's (2003:7) study reveals that individuals carefully choose fields of study that "promises interesting work and remuneration" but selection is also subject to an individual's interest thus it is not only determined by labour market trends and expected returns. An analysis of these respondents' field of study selection will be offered in the 'analysis' section.

d. Perceptions of return from educational investment

Respondents' expected benefits from their educational achievements were a mix of both optimism and skepticism. Though optimistic about their expected returns many demonstrated their foresight of the difficulties they expect to encounter in the immediate future. Six of the respondents felt that the career path based on their field of study was difficult to get into, because of a hostile reception towards minorities in these specific fields (E1, E2, E4, E5, E6, E7). Two expressed the importance of "connections" and "networks" as a means of breaking the "*glass ceiling for racialized people"* (E1). They attributed stereotypical notions about minorities on the part of the employer to be a possible barrier. Comments such as "glass ceiling for racialized people" (E1) were used to express the obstacles in the labour market that they anticipate. There was an obvious trend amongst males and females in the social sciences. They felt that their presence in any community organization, community agency and the like was welcomed, so long as they were front line workers (service delivery/ service providers). They expressed that upward job mobility was a real and significant barrier, because their mere presence in these prominent positions of power was, in and of itself, a problem. These respondents explained that their presence denoted a specific 'different' way of thinking, it represented a politicized 'other' perspective that threatened the established status quo. Their work was appreciated to the extent that it did not interfere with the overall operation of established policies, standards and ways of service delivery.

Those in social service and development related careers felt that the pejorative attitudes of the '*old guard'* (E4) (referring to white middle class executives and managers) towards specific racialized communities and clients, serve as the premises for discriminatory (hiring) practices that operate to exclude them from getting promoted. Accessing top managerial positions and

other positions of influence were believed to be major obstacles in their paths of success and as posing serious challenges on their ability to maximize their acquired educational credentials.

There was a distinct trend amongst those who self-identified as being Muslim, citing that their easily distinguishable Muslim names were perceived to be a barrier in their future endeavours, more so than their being "dark skinned". Some felt that it may pose a barrier when finding a job in their field of study because their presence may be "*threatening*" (E6) to others in the workplace.

e. Choice of Institution

School selection, local vs. out-of- area, was directly related to knowledge of parents' financial situation and capabilities to supplement funding given by OSAP (E1, E5). Of the eight respondents interviewed, only two expressed that familial financial constraints figured prominently in their decision in selecting post-secondary institutions. One male student refined his school selection preference to an institution that was local so that he can resume living at home. One female student declined an offer from an out-of country institution for her post-graduate studies, a decision that was directly related to her filial responsibilities and an at-home financial situation that would have imposed financial difficulties on her and her family had she decided to accept this opportunity.

f. Motivating factors for post-secondary attainment

Overall, it was evident that the youths' decision to enroll in post-secondary institutions and achieving a university degree or college diploma has been guided by what they have witnessed

their parents go through on a day-to-day basis. The parents' expectation of their children and the youths' desire to not disappoint them is yet another significant reason. For some, achieving post-secondary education has nothing to do with the expected return from higher education but is thought of as the only way to "*defend ourselves from the broader discrimination in the workforce that they faced*" and as the only way to prepare and resist "*an inevitable situation in the workforce*"(E4).

Labour Market Participation

a. Employment Status

At the time the interviews were conducted all the respondents were employed. Of the five university graduates, three females held full time jobs, one male had a full time job, and another male worked two part-time jobs. Another male youth worked full time, and two respondents who were pursuing their undergraduate degrees worked in either part-time or temporary contract jobs.

Two respondents described their current job status as a career job, one as part-time employment, one as casual employment and another as an in-between of career and survival job. Those considering their current job status as careers revealed that they also have filial financial obligations and share in all aspects of the financial stability of the home (E1, E2, E3, E5, E7, E8) while others felt that it was a career job because it provided a stable and steady income which they needed for their future endeavours of post-graduate studies (E4).

b. Age of Entry into the labour market

Getting their first paid employment, which for many was at the age of 16, with the exception of one respondent who got her first job at the age of 11, was a decision motivated by their desire to 'ease the financial burden' (all respondents) on their parents. Even though their parents never made them feel that they were not capable of financially providing for them, they were all attuned to their family's circumstances from their early childhood years. Seeing how much and how hard their parents worked for their sake compelled the youth to seek out jobs so that they could provide for themselves. Part-time jobs during school were sought out so that they can refrain from asking their parents to buy them things; they wanted to cover their own expenses. They did not want to ask their parents for things beyond what was necessary, as one respondent stated "*we didn't even entertain the idea"*(E7).

Being aware of the fact that their parents were tirelessly working for their sake, while not enjoying any of the benefits of their own labour such as "*going out to eat, buying coffee from outside*" (E5) has in retrospect, instilled a strong desire for success and a goal of upward social mobility. The types of jobs their parents were forced to take was cited by two respondents (E5, E7) as leading them to continually work hard. The parents' occupation in fields that provide no real financial security, benefits, or safety net has lead to a cloud of economic insecurity, because, in the event that their parents become ill and are unable to work for a prolonged period of time, the family's income situation would drastically change for the worse. Their forward-looking thinking, combined with the real possibilities of unfortunate circumstances, has shaped the youths' own employment patterns and history.

c. <u>Type of Employment</u>

These youth occupied positions in: customer service; community development; computer technical support; marketing - both as professional career and as a casual entry level position - and in parks and recreation related work. Of the eight, five had jobs that can be classified as professional or career jobs, irrespective of their personal classification of their current job status (one respondent did not classify his current employment status as either professional or career job, but as a survival job, to demonstrate his dissatisfaction).

Those working in an environment that had a large number of racialized minorities were in either customer service (E1) or in organizations whose mandate was to serve racialized workers, thus leading to a large number of racialized employees (E2, E5). One respondent described his employment status as a result of "*tokenism*" (E4), and felt that his presence is needed for the sake of the organization's credibility, yet is threatening because of his perceived "outspoken" manner. He attributes their attitude towards him as a result of his known desire for transparency and accountability; he narrated this by saying he is interested in ensuring that the organization "*actually do what the organization should be doing and making them accountable for the people they serve*" (E4).

d. Motivation for seeking employment

All participants reiterated the fact that the reason for their current employment is independent of their parent's financial situation. However, the three female respondents and two of the males played a major role in the family's overall month-to-month financial situation. It was interesting to note that the respondents felt the need to make it clear that their financial contributions were not an obligation; rather, it is a responsibility that they willingly and voluntarily are undertaking. But when asked "should the voluntary assistance stop, would any sort of financial strain be

felt?", their response was an overwhelming "Yes". So although it is not an obligation, there is indeed a positive correlation between their current employment situation and the financial well-being of the family. Respondents were adamant in ensuring that this responsibility is not mistaken as an obligation, because as many had stated, their parent's do not require or ask of them to contribute financially. All of them expressed that in lieu of the struggles and hardships and the sacrifices the parents have made for the sake of the children, this is the least that they could and should do.

As one respondent said:

> *"There is a sense that I must help, but it's not a forceful one...it would almost be unethical to not do it....after all that! (referring to parents struggle in Canada), you know you have to contribute/help out" E.5*

e. Job Security

Those who felt the most secure at their current place of employment attributed it to working in an environment comprised of mainly racialized workers. One male respondent felt that his long standing employment with the same employer gives him a sense of stability and security; he felt that in the future there is potential for professional growth (E3). Another male respondent felt that although his job title is "*good*", the fact that his "*white*" (E4) colleagues who are less qualified, less educated and had fewer years of experience, yet were given more power, authority and autonomy in the work place, made him feel that he will not advance in his job (E4). He attributed this to being an "*outspoken black male*", inferring that he is more valued when he is quiet, as was stated by one female respondent regarding her own employment (E5). Probing into this matter revealed that for some of these youth racism in the work place was an expected feature of the job, but is implicit or subtle.

f. *Current employment status compared to others in the same cohort & with similar educational background*

Two respondents (E1, E6) expressed indifference to this question, citing that while attending university everyone has to have a part-time job, so their case is not different from their peers. Those who have completed some level of post-secondary education felt that their situation is much better when compared to their co-ethnics or black friends who come from low-income families. Two female respondents felt that in comparison to both racialized and non-racialized colleagues their employment situation was better; however they felt that advancing to higher positions of more power and authority within their respective sectors was going to be difficult. As second generation black females, they felt that their views and ideologies of social justice issues and practices render them as controversial and their presence as threatening to the existing power structures (E5, E7). In comparison to his non-racialized counterparts one respondent felt that his job situation is worse, citing the example from his own workplace and comparing it to his colleagues who are of lesser "*ability, capability, experience and educational level, but who otherwise fit the mainstream definition of who is 'Canadian'* " (E4)

Perceptions of Integration

a. *Visible minority status and its relation to attaining upward social mobility*

There was a variety of responses to the set of questions about 'perceptions of integration'. Some (E1, E2, E4) felt that their phenotypical differences matter only in so far as managers put a value judgement on the potential quality of work produced by racialized employees. For those working in an employment setting with a high number of racialized persons, being black was a positive identity marker. Interestingly, those with a university degree felt that being black and

educated will pose a challenge, especially since they are specialized in fields that have traditionally been dominated by non-racialized workers and within a power structure framework that has not been adequately accountable to the marginalized communities they serve.

Skin colour, and for some bearing an identifiable Muslim last name, were differences that put them outside of the mainstream conception and visualization of the so-called 'Canadian identity' (their idea of mainstream identity is: white, Christian, and European ancestry). Regardless of how long they have been in Canada, they felt that although premised on the principles of multiculturalism, Canada is still unwilling to include people of African descent, who are black in skin colour and Muslim in religious practice, as part of its identity. While some feel this rejection negatively impacts them, others saw it as just another challenge, and not necessarily a crippling one. For one female respondent, belonging to a marginalized community was a source of motivation to work hard towards assuming a high level position that will allow her to correct the wrongs that are perpetuated by a racist system towards marginalized communities and their members (E7). She said "*My skin colour and last name will always be with me and I know that it dictates a certain perception people have of me. However by working hard to create my own standards of success, the definitions of 'who I ought to be based on looks/religion' don't hold me back*"

b. *Anticipation about future employment prospects*

Generally, respondents were optimistic about their future employment prospects. They expressed an awareness of the real and possible difficulties they expect to encounter as racialized youth entering a labour market that is not yet willing to accept their presence, but is slowly being "*tolerant*" (E6) of it. For those in popular fields of study such as teaching, it was expressed that getting a teaching job was directly related to getting the "right opportunity" and "knowing the

right people" thus alluding to the importance of social networks (E2). The availability and equality of these opportunities, according to the majority of the respondents, is at least partly determined by the associated benefits of one's social status in society, which is differentiated along distinct racial lines.

Familial Financial Situation

a. Parents' human capital

Generally, a majority of the parents came to Canada with post-secondary education, alongside credentials and experience in a specialized field. The exception was a mother whose pre-immigration status was a 'home-maker'. One respondent's parents had come to Canada on student visas with the intention of continuing their education at a higher level and working in their specialized field of study. The employment experiences of all the parents, according to the youth, have been marked by blocked employment opportunities and precarious forms of employment. Given their pre-immigration status and occupations which ranged from professor, accountant, nurse, seamstress and engineer, seven respondents stated that at some point, if not at the present, their parents worked in low level-skill jobs in the service and/or manufacturing sector, and in low level positions in the public or private sector. At the time of the interview period, six respondents felt that at least one parent was currently employed in an occupational level below their acquired knowledge, skill level and experience (E1, E2, E4, E5, E6, E7).

> *"Given the skills that we [referring to siblings] know they had, they could have done so much more...but language is a barrier…the whole system of starting at the bottom… it kills your sense of hope [referring to parents]"* E7

b. Stability of parents employment

When asked to describe their financial situation while growing up in Canada, most of the respondents expressed that their parents had to work longer than average hours. For some that meant leaving at 7:30 a.m. and returning from work at 10:00p.m., others mentioned constantly changing shift schedules, and/or taking on various jobs in order to secure a normal life for the children. Despite this apparent lack of normalcy and stability, many felt that they led an 'average' life, which they attributed to their parents' enthusiasm and positive attitudes in even the most of unfortunate circumstances. Speaking about the hardships they faced in a light hearted manner was common amongst all those interviewed, one respondent jokingly asked "*is there an option of below average?"* (E3) when asked to select a category that best describes his family's situation growing up in Canada.

c. Occupational segregation and feelings of marginalization

All but one of these youth expressed their personal feelings regarding their parents' occupational status and situation in Canada, noting that they felt their parents were stuck in occupational ghettos that make it difficult, if not impossible to achieve upward socio-economic mobility. Since all of these youth revealed that their idea of success is not based on their own individual achievements and failures, but rather as a family collective, it was difficult to separate their own achievement and perceived social status from the marginal status of their parents. Their parents' unending struggle in a country that refuses to acknowledge their skills and credentials was described by one respondent as barring them entry to " '*normal' Canadian life*" (E5).

When asked to inform the interviewer of their parents' occupation, two male respondents did not disclose what their fathers do, and another male respondent, although aware of his mother's occupation, did not know what her job entails. "*We just don't talk about it"(E3)* was his response when asked by the interviewer, "so what does she actually do at her work?" Four respondents informed me that it is rare for them to have discussions with their parents about their job. "*This is a really sensitive topic of discussion and we don't talk about it. I don't want him to feel that he hasn't fulfilled his role as a father because he really [has] always done it" (E5).*

Even those who felt their parents were in good employment position, noted that it was accompanied by a history of being employed in odd, menial, low level and dehumanizing jobs that, according to the respondent, were a result of a racist labour market that sought to employ minorities in "*traditional occupational ghettos for blacks*" (E.4). A majority of the youth revealed that it was common for their parents to share stories about the struggles, obstacles, barriers, and blatant forms of racism they experienced in Canadian society. Witnessing and living through the challenges faced by their parents has been the leading cause for their awareness of the discrimination that pervades Canadian society, this is best captured by one male interviewee

> "*My dad used to tell me that at that time (late 1970s-early 1980s) when people heard his accent and saw the colour of his skin, and found out what part of the world he came from, you were either a cab driver, a parking lot attendant, or washing dishes at the Howard Johnson - so you can take your pick and call it freedom if you want" (E4).*

Availability of Social Capital and ethnic networks

The responses on these set of questions (refer to Appendix A) were almost identical. Most felt that because of the relative recency of the Eritrean community its resources pale in comparison to other ethnic community groups in the GTA. The youth only relied on their family or ethnic networks when looking for immediate jobs, which were mainly in the manufacturing (i.e. factory jobs) or in the service sector (i.e. fast food restaurants), but cannot rely on their families or ethnic community for jobs outside these sectors. They acknowledged that because they (Eritrean community) are few in number and are scattered all over the city, it contributes to the community's inability to build a cohesive social network that offers tangible resources that go beyond cultural remembrance and social gatherings. Except for one, all were of the view that their ethnic community has no resources, and is unable to offer employment resources and networks in any professional field. The respondents also stated that Eritreans are not highly represented in professional careers. When asked about the resources the community has to offer, one respondent said "*the resources we do have are ourselves*" (E5); her response captures the essence of all the other youths.

The difficulty the parents continue to experience in their attempt to interface with Canadian society was believed to be the primary reason for the community's inability to organize itself in ways that are meaningful and offer tangible benefits and resources. The everyday challenges, struggles and overall barriers that characterize their lives in Canada have led to a general feeling of frustration and oppression in the community. With luxury of time foreign to them and their small numbers rendering them to political insignificance, the structural barriers that have kept the community at a stagnant situation persist. Under such conditions, the youths expressed, it is hard if not impossible to try and integrate in Canadian society.

Findings

Education

Access & barriers to education

The indicators used to assess the level of integration based on factors associated with educational attainment and achievement reveal that a plausible argument can be put forward for the successful integration of these youth. Satisfying the requirement of the educational indicators; namely successful post-secondary achievement, is in itself a very rigid category that does not account for the associated hardships. The process of attaining education has been proven difficult for these youth due to factors that will be discussed later in this section. Whether they were enrolled in post-secondary institutions or possessed undergraduate degrees, these respondents demonstrated that their successes were borne out of fear of continued exclusion, driven by feelings of deprivation, and achieved with sceptical optimism for the future.

If one perceives the ability to achieve educational attainment and its successful completion as a measure of inclusion, then it can be claimed that, to a large degree, a majority of the youth interviewed are within the scope of inclusion in society. However, to critically assess and conceptualize their level of inclusion/exclusion in Canadian society, my analysis cannot isolate the exclusionary processes that shape their family life. The exclusion and marginalization experienced by their parents does in fact impact how these youth integrate in society, and influences their own perceptions of being included and/or excluded from the mainstream society. Given the increasing cost of tuition fees (Anisef et al 1985; Reitz[a], 2001) all of the respondents interviewed revealed that tuition fees were their greatest obstacle in financing their current and future education related aspirations. Although two respondents (E4, E7) were able to finance their undergraduate degrees through a combination of financial help from their parents and

working part-time or full-time jobs, it was a difficult task which contributed to their undergraduate experience being 'different than that of the other students' (E7). This 'difference,' for some, relates to their inability to: engage in regular social activities; participate and enroll in skill enhancement and development programs and workshops related to their specific field; and to the lack of some form of social security or social safety net that would allow them to continue schooling. While successful in their educational achievement, it is evident that the cost of tuition is creating significant challenges for youth from working class immigrant families, the majority of whom are still integrating in Canadian society with alot of difficulties (Scott, 2001).

> *Although I got OSAP it was just enough to pay for the tuition and books, I still had to help out at home, I had to get a part time job, it was just never ending, it felt like circulation after circulation, so I decided to stop at that time and go back later. (E3)*

The financial challenges raised by the youth are directly related to their parents' employment situation and overall adjustment into Canadian society. As the respondents illustrated, their parents' income levels, insecure employment situations, and overall financial difficulty have largely impacted their decision to attain a higher education. These difficulties range from stopping school prematurely, managing more than one job, or having financial obligations (imposed or voluntary) to help their younger siblings. Income inequality (Mitchell and Shillington, 2002) is one of the indicators measuring social exclusion and is linked to "equality of opportunity" (pp.3-5). The parents' deprivation (Mitchell and Shillington, 2002) can thus be determined by what their income and employment situation enable them to do. For example, one female respondent whose parents' goal was to finance her post-secondary education stated that her father would work more than 12hours/day. Being cognizant of the reality of his employment situation (and associated income) she felt the need to ease the financial

‘burden’ on him. Parents’ financial assistance was supplemented by having to work one or several part time jobs, and in some cases they worked full time jobs during school. Social exclusion, in these cases, is thus an outcome of income inequality, which has led post-secondary education to be a challenge. Moreover, the parents’ desire to financially contribute to their child’s education was hampered by a financial situation that determined the capacity they could participate in their children’s educational costs. As one respondent illustrated:

> *My father was my main support, I worked full time during some of the years. It was a challenge because I had to multitask while I was at work; sometimes I would do my school work at work. I did it this way because I didn’t want to be a burden on my parents, their sole purpose was to finance our (her and her siblings) schooling (E7).*

Faced with these challenges, and theses youths’ admirable sense of responsibility to not ‘burden their parents’, all of those interviewed demonstrated some level of post-secondary achievement or enrolment. Their achievements contest previous research (Anisef and Okihiro 1982; Anisef, 1975; Breton 1970) and proposed models (e.g. ‘status attainment’ in Li, 1988) that link parents’ ability to invest in their children’s schooling as a determining factor in their post-secondary accomplishment. Thus, my findings demonstrate that educational plans are not determined by the socio-economic background of students (as suggested by Li, 1988: 75). Being raised in an economically marginalized background has admittedly posed serious challenges, leading one youth to drop out of his post-secondary institution even though this individual was only one semester short of graduating. However, these findings are based on the small sample of Eritrean youth that took part in this study, and cannot be interpreted as definitive conclusions on the accessibility of education for all Eritrean youth, and other racialized youth that experience economic hardship and disadvantage growing up.

With the emphasis placed on education and its link to future employment prospects, the current structures that shape a student's ability to gain these credentials remain unequal to children from racialized immigrant (and working class) backgrounds (James and Wood, 2005). The educational needs and expectations of Toronto's diverse immigrant based student population are not met. It can thus be argued that the education system which was designed to serve the economic, social and cultural elites of society, specifically English-speaking, white, middle-class Canadians, remains to ensure that they are the most likely to succeed (James and Wood, 2005).

Racism as a barrier to educational attainment

The scholastic achievements of these Eritrean youth are in accordance with research studies claiming that immigrant youth are more motivated to succeed academically (Gibson, 1993 in Kao and Tienda, 1995: 2). This trend is often associated with having highly educated parents that stress the importance of scholastic achievement. Many of these U.S. based studies explain that educational success of immigrant youth (e.g. Punjabi youth) is primarily due to parents who communicate the importance of education and who are involved in monitoring the studying behaviour of their children (Rumbaut, 1990, Caplan et al 1992). However, as Waters (1991) notes, the experience of immigrant black youth is different because the context of their reception is within existing racist structures in society that are hostile to the native black population (Waters, 1991:19). Being incorporated in a societal setting that is already characterized by racial stigmatization towards blacks poses significant barriers. One Eritrean male youth said this:

> *Even when I had an 85% average and knew that I wanted to go to university at UofT, I was advised to go to college, vocational school or into skills-trade, which I have the*

utmost respect for, but should not have been suggested for someone in my position, and I think it was racially motivated. So definitely the racism has been a major factor and then the financial barrier. (E4)

As this youth's response illustrates, attempts to place students in the 'basic' academic stream arise in the backdrop of racist beliefs of the assumed capabilities and cognitive abilities of blacks.

Program of Study

Findings from the National Graduates Surveys (NGS) and research on the selection of field of study have found that racialized graduates were more likely enrolled in fields related to engineering, sciences, business and law, and were less inclined to be studying social sciences and humanities (Anisef et al, 2003). This preference is associated with the expected occupational opportunities, labour market need and rewards society is willing to offer people in these highly specialized fields. The field of study of the respondents for this research is not completely consistent with these predictions and trends, as 3 of 8 reported social science as their field of study. Furthermore, it is important to understand these findings in the context of current trends that point to the declining guarantee of education to employment transition (Anisef et al, 2003). From this vantage point these respondents' field of study should not necessarily denote a penalty on future earnings.

Of the eight youth interviewed only one (female) respondent expressed that her program of study selection was a result of seeking a discipline that sought to interpret the social world that has shapes her life.

I was initially in sciences.... immigrant parents feel that the sciences are safer and that there will be much more rewards, but they don't realize the social impact of taking the sciences... I found myself reading social science stuff, and realized that the sciences were just too detached from my every-day life so I didn't have a way of making them political, I didn't have a way to understand why my dad was a cab driver when he was an accountant. E5

Perceptions of return from educational investment

In Canada's knowledge-based economy, educational attainment is of utmost importance and serves as a requirement for stable and secure jobs in the labour market. Thus, a clear correlation is observed between school and later life success. Equally important is the capacity of individuals to achieve their potential and their perception of the factors affecting this capacity. One's 'capacity to achieve' their potential is an important theme that will be of relevance in this section. Including the youths' thoughts about their expected return from education are suggestive of their feelings of inclusion and exclusion from Canadian society. With the plethora of literature on social exclusion, employment (not just income) is viewed as an important determinant for exclusion. In this study, the interviewees' responses provide significant insight on this issue.

For youth, the delay in entering the labour market and associated unemployment or temporary "student poverty" (Gilroy and Peak, 1998:104) is a direct result of continuing education (Ibid). In turn, education is viewed as the only way to ensure upward social mobility, and a financially stable and secure life. Given that all of those surveyed had completed some level of post-secondary education or were in the process of completing their post-secondary education, a certain level of optimism was expected. Although most respondents expressed

general optimism about their expected return from their educational investment, this optimism was accompanied by an equal level of weariness of specific road blocks they anticipated to encounter. Whether it was: the "*glass ceiling for racialized people" (E1)*; their mere presence (as a racialized employee) being perceived as threatening and thus unwelcomed; or lack of meaningful and necessary "connections" and "networks" their concerns were directly related to the broader issues of racial discrimination in the workplace.

In demonstrating their acute awareness of the "glass ceiling" for racialized people, the youths believed that structural and institutional discrimination stand in their way to obtaining good jobs in their respective fields. For some, devising a coping mechanism or strategy to deal with their future anticipatory challenges in the labour market meant redefining their immediate expected returns from school and being conscious of the struggle that lied ahead. For those in the social sciences, breaking down these barriers was seen as the ultimate achievement and goal. Deconstructing these barriers was not motivated by the individual benefits they can yield, but was premised on the belief that it is the only way to meaningfully serve those marginalized groups in society they are meant to serve- as social workers, community workers, etc..

In summation, these youths' responses are indicative of their perception that race relations in Canada are getting worse. This was illustrated by their knowledge and preparedness of the inequalities they expect to encounter in the work force and the explicit forms of racism encountered in the educational system. These youth's racial consciousness is primarily grounded in their knowledge of the present-day racism faced by their parents; their own experiences with racism; and their awareness of the structural inequalities that pose barriers and challenges for members from racialized communities. Using Mitchell and Shillington's (2002) and Room's (1995) explanation of deprivation as a state measured not by what people possess but by what in

enables them to do, the youth demonstrated their anticipation of future deprivation. Possessing the necessary means for economic success (education) was believed to be offset by the effects of institutional and structural discriminatory forces that are beyond their control. Their ethnic origin and phenotypical features were believed to lead to exclusion and discrimination, thus barring them from fully maximizing from their educational investments. As such their responses suggest that education is an important tool needed for reducing discrimination, but not one eliminating it, this is elaborated by one respondent who said

It actually has nothing to do with the expected returns from higher education but more along the lines of knowing that someone like my father who had a university degree and was streamed into doing nothing, washing dishes and driving a cab, if that's going to happen to my father, then I better get myself prepared and work ten times harder than the next person, because I expect that whatever it is that I'll do, someone else will come and take 50 percent of it (E4).

High ambitions, and for some, low expectations (E4, E6, E8) are a result of their awareness of the structures inequalities and not a measure of their own capabilities. The following are excerpts from two respondents relating their feelings of perceived future difficulties in the careers of their choice.

Being Muslim and dark skinned is definitely going to cause a problem and it is a barrier, because for alot of the people living in Toronto, I think seeing us will be a problem. So knowing this has lead me to want to move away and practice abroad once I've completed my studies (E6)

The only thing I see as a problem is the perception that people on the hiring end would have. They look at me as a person of colour and they'd have perception on the quality of work I can produce, or my knowledge or my comprehension or my ability to adapt to the work ethic that exists..... That's the only thing that I can see happening and it's the small thing that's always at the back of my head. ...My utopia is that it's an equal playing field but the reality is that I will have to work harder or impress someone in order to get to where I need to get, compared to someone else who might not have to work as hard (E1).

The findings in this section are consistent with some of the literature focused on the educational achievements and attainment of second generation racialized youth (Reitz, 2004[b]).

All of the respondents narrated that their parents' socio-economic status has been a driving force behind their personal desires and ambitions for success (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Simmons and Plaza, 1998). Their reasons to pursue or not pursue higher education have been shaped and influenced by the struggles they have seen their parents endure. Having witnessed the types of jobs their parents have had to take has made the youth fear a similar economic fate. This positive correlation between parental economic disadvantages inflating the value of educational attainment is in line with Reitz and Somerville's (2004) finding but should be accepted with caution. For some youth, their family situation has made them realize that regardless of how hard they work, their future will be marked with uncertainty and disadvantage. The societal exclusion and economic suffering they witnessed and experienced have made them acutely aware of the processes and institutions that have contributed to their parents' marginal status. In their own lives, they are conscious of these mechanisms of exclusions and hence orient themselves toward the pursuit of educational attainment. The various responses that illustrate the close link between economic hardship while growing up and the youths' reasoning behind educational attainment, serve as evidence that their experiences are similar to what Portes (1995) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) labelled as segmented assimilation.

My findings pose a challenge to the body of literature contending the 'overachievement' of racialized youth (Boyd and Greico, 1998; Boyd, 2003). Solely assessing their enrolment and/or successful completion of post secondary education overlooks and neglects the important element of how the structures of opportunity and the structural barriers inherent in society pose detrimental consequences, for even those who make it (James, 1996). The difficulty of gaining access to the material means necessary for successful educational completion was a significant

challenge for many youth; and the successful attainment of education should not trump the existing reality of the difficult process in gaining access to it.

Labour Market Indicators

Motivation for Employment

The overwhelming response to the questions related to when they acquired their first job and the motivating factors for employment provided what almost was a unanimous answer: "*to lessen the burden from my parents*". As they have transitioned into adulthood the reasons for seeking employment are no longer linked to (common) notions of independence (becoming an adult and bearing one's own responsibility) or lessening the burden but are shaped by notions of filial obligation. With the respondents falling between the ages 19-28, they are in the formidable years of transitioning from school to work, "a period during which young people are perhaps most aware of their place in society and aspiration in life" (Kobayashi, 2008:5). Individually, some of the respondents lead the 'typical' life of post-secondary students and young professionals entering the work force, in so far that they are satisfied with the choices they made pertaining to their studies and to a limited degree, their careers and employment status. However, their successes and failures cannot be measured individually, as they are inextricably linked to their families. In the face of persistent financial pressures that come with the immigration and settlement experience (Tyyskä ,2008:79-82), their lives are not 'typical' but marked by this distinct difference. Filial obligation results in multigenerational interdependence (and may pose a great challenge which may demand limiting individual opportunities and aspirations, thus perpetuating forms of deprivation and exclusion).

It becomes clear that the persistence of disadvantages and barriers faced by their parents, become the shared challenges and barriers the youth deal with as they transition into adulthood. Their parents' stagnant and/or disadvantaged employment situations effects the youths' own progress, well being and feelings of inclusion and integration. Salvation for the marginalized immigrant parent is success of their children:

It was my parent's financial situation that signalled to me that I had to go to school in order to get out of the financial situation that my family and I were in. (E2)

Individually- I'm living the 'Canadian' life. I go on vacation, I watch hockey and I enjoy myself. But I want everyone else in my family to do well too, as a family, we're still getting there. (E3)

For some, the feelings of integration as a 'Canadian' are skewed by the realities of racism and continuously living through the hardships and struggles associated with their immigrant parents. For some youth this meant working multiple jobs so that they can provide for themselves and ensure that they've covered their share of expected financial assistance to their family.

Job Security

Discrimination in the workplace

Although there is no direct parent-child correlation regarding the youths' feelings of stability at their current place of employment, their responses offer a more nuanced reflection of the difficulties in integration that racialized immigrants face in general **(**Reitz and Somerville, 2004: 1). It is therefore important to analyse their responses because they are an indicator of intergenerational mobility, and whether the processes of exclusion endure with future cohorts of 'immigrant' children.

Covert discrimination and racism in the workplace were an issue of concern for one youth, whereas the sense of belonging for the others was closely related to a workplace environment that was disproportionately comprised of racialized workers. As stated by Kunz et al (2000:11) "occupational status is highly correlated to income level" and "occupation is sometimes viewed as the single best indicator of an individual's general stratification rank." Equipped with a degree from one of Canada's top universities, one respondent described his employment status as a result of "*tokenism"*

> *Because I don't have blue eyes, white skin, my name is not Jonathan but is a name that they have difficulty pronouncing. I'm actually the exotic backdrop and I'm a success story and they do want to put me on a poster so long as I don't cross the boundary and get too much authority to be threatening, or too much autonomy or speak my mind too much. Especially being someone who is outspoken and doesn't want to settle for that kind of success story, I don't see myself getting promotions thrown at me right, left and centre. I'm definitely there as tokenism (E4).*

Similarly, even those who felt secure at their current positions expressed that they were cognizant of the challenges they face in their future career advancements initiatives. They felt that their mere presence in positions of authority and power would threaten the established hierarchy of a predominately white majority (E1, E2, E5, E7, E8), thus effectively blocking their access to high level position, and in effect higher paying positions. This forward looking analysis reinforces the fact that the operational tactics of discrimination make higher-paid jobs less accessible. As Li (1988: 21) states "there is a general agreement among sociologists that occupational diversity and income variation in Canada are related to the ethnic origins of

Canadians. Confining racialized youth to specific positions within the occupational structure continues the discriminatory practices of confining racialized workers within specific income brackets and social status.

Four of those interviewed felt that their current employment situation was better than their racialized peers' and co-ethnics'. The responses became less uniform when asked if they felt their situation was similar to or better than their peers' who have a similar educational background. Those who felt it was similar or better attributed it to working in a predominately racialized environment, where their presence is not viewed as threatening, but welcomed. However, they expressed that upward mobility was a difficult goal to achieve because, as racialized workers, their place was in delivering the front line service work and not advancing beyond that. These responses denote a different type of occupational segregation. Whereas for racialized immigrants occupational segregation is characterized by working in low skill jobs, for their Canadian educated children, it manifests in the form of locking them in certain (low level) positions. Contextualizing these responses using the relational approach of social exclusion whereby social exclusion is based on "comparison with others" (Byrne, 2005), the responses of the youths are demonstrative of their sentiments of workplace discrimination (exclusion), if not at present, then in the future. Although ambitious and motivated, their answers reflect their knowledge of discriminatory forces in the labour market. Individual effort is there, but structural limitations work to offset expected social achievements. Their fears reflect research that reveals that the underemployment and unemployment of 2nd generation racialized youth is, in fact, higher than for the general population and is accompanied by lower incomes (Cheung, 2005; Yan 2000).

Inter-generational transfer of resources

Placing an emphasis on the modes of incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 49) experienced by the immigrant parents, segmented assimilation explains that the socioeconomic attainment of first generation parents is likely to affect and influence their family structure, which then directly affects the options available to and outcomes of their second-generation children. The responses from the youth echo the plethora of literature on the economic marginalization of racialized immigrant groups that have arrived since the 1980s. Their parents' socio-economic status exemplifies incorporation in a racialized society where high-paying and high-skill level jobs are affected and organized based on racial and ethnic origin (Li, 1988). As members of the larger black community, Eritreans are incorporated into one of the most racially disadvantaged groups that are confined to low-paying jobs. The parents of the youth in this study have been incorporated in a Canadian society that has stripped them of their professional titles, discredited their credentials, and relegated them to lives characterized by precarious employment situations and/or menial jobs. Their incorporation as the racialized "other" further exacerbates their marginalization and exclusion. Faced with the reality of living in economic poverty, finding financially stable employment assumes primary importance for immigrant parents, leaving all other issues of integration and adaptation to be of marginal importance.

Although a majority of those interviewed indicated that their parents were employed, it is important to distinguish between employment and the quality of employment. Parents who work an average of 12 hours per day, have unstable shift work, and are employed in the manufacturing industry, hold little or few prospects for financially stable and secure futures, for themselves or their kids. Furthermore, as Paugam (1995:55) states, "precariousness in employment can be accompanied by a noticeable reduction in the intensity of social life". One respondent said:

My dad has never been on a vacation, he's never gone anywhere because he'd be scared to fall behind on rent or miss a down payment on something. My mom would never eat out, she never buys coffee outside, she makes everything at home, she's very organic. I think that's one impact based on their situation, yet they were never short on money with us (E5)

The reluctance of two respondents to discuss their father's current occupational status – opting to discuss their father's occupational status pre-immigration instead - was telling of their discomfort. This discomfort is of significance because it suggests that their father's employment situation in Canada are reminders of the menial employment status he has been forced into; discomfort with the father's ascribed social status; and the respondents' rejection of a status that is associated with economic inferiority. The link between employment, income, and location in the social hierarchy is perhaps what lead these youth to show signs of discomfort. In concealing their father's current employment status and only discussing their pre-immigration professional careers (engineer and professor) the youth are in essence demonstrating their desire to preserve their fathers' value and esteem in the social hierarchy. Furthermore, it demonstrates their rejection of the current value and label that may be attached to their father's current employment status.

Discussing their parents' socio-economic situation, either during the first 10 years of immigration, or now, was difficult and a source of discomfort for some youth. They did not want to portray their parent's financial capabilities in ways that connote their 'inability' thus by extension taking away from the significance of their role as parents that provided sufficiently for their kids. As many of the respondents elaborated, their parents' sole purpose - once their credentials and experiences had been devalued and discounted in Canada - was to provide adequately for their kids. The parents never wanted to disclose or discuss to their children the

family's economic situation. However, the youth, even as kids, were very aware of their economic situation and conditioned themselves to not ask for things beyond what was necessary, as one respondents informed in our conversation about asking one's parent's to buy miscellaneous things or expensive things:

"*We didn't even entertain the idea"*.(E7)

It was not her parents that did not entertain the idea, but her and her siblings. This was the acute level of the youths' awareness as they grew up in Canada.

A set of questions relating to parents' income was asked during the interviewing process was deemed important because of its perceived direct impact on the life of the second-generation. As Portes and Rumbaut, (2001) and Rumbaut and Portes (2001), explain, parental income largely determines the extent to which they can guide the education of their children, or open career opportunities to them. Based on the interviews, parental income determines much more than capacity and ability for material consumption. Their parents' employment situation and associated income contributed to these youths' shared feelings of alienation and exclusion (relative deprivation) from mainstream society (Sheppard, 2006). The lived experiences of marginalization and deprivation contributed to the youths' pessimistic expectation that they too will be met with economic hardship and marginalization. This raises the pressing issue of feelings of alienation and lack of entitlement that many racialized immigrants experience as a result of their exclusion, and is a cause for alarm. The incessant fear of continued marginality contributed to the prominence of educational aspiration and attainment (Reitz and Somerville 2004: 21). This correlation must be examined with caution, for it is not to claim that deprivation necessitates a drive for success, even if this may be the case for these youth.

Importance of networks in seeking employment and their relevance to understanding inequality

The youths' responses in this section were unanimous on the fact that the Eritrean community lacks the necessary resources and networks needed to guide, aid and direct the youths towards meaningful career opportunities and help with the overall integration process in Canada. As one respondent said:

The resources we do have are ourselves. (E5)

Family and ethnic networks, resources, which are defined as their social capital, are, as Portes and Rumbaut (2001) explain, significant in shaping the modes of incorporation[8] for both the immigrant parent and their children. For the parents, plugging into an established ethnic network, defined by its 'institutional completeness', can ease the impact of being in a foreign country, by way of facilitating job assistance, and other essential aspects of settlement and integration. However, if the ethnic community is suffering from occupational segmentation, whereby its members are predominately found in low-skill jobs, the help offered by the ethnic community to the youth, are few, if any. Accordingly, even for those immigrants who arrive with considerable human capital, their inability to channel them to professional careers and being constrained to occupation levels below their own credentials, render their forms of capital useless.

[8] Modes of incorporation into the host society are the determinant for the type of integration the immigrant parents and their children experience. They are influenced by the native population's reception of the immigrant group, the existence and cohesiveness of the ethnic community and the receiving government policies towards newcomers. These features of the host society are important aspects that shape immigrants' adaptation to a new society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

Anisef and Phythian (2007), Li (1988), Portes (1995) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) emphasize that parents with higher levels of human capital are capable of supporting their kids in the formidable years of labour market entrance. These parents are equipped with knowledge about opportunities in the labour market which they can relay to their children, and their stable and average-high income allows them to transfer and access good to their children. However, when the parents themselves are marginalized in the labour market and occupy low level jobs, and those who are successful, reached such levels after numerous years of labour market discrimination and discounting of their skills, there is not much to be offered for the kids. The youth are forced to rely on themselves as resources, and learn to build networks and connections individually, as one respondent said

"We just do things on our own...our parents are not in a position where they can hook us up – many drive cabs, we're not going to drive cabs - so we don't even go to them." (E7)

The importance of social capital is grounded on the belief that the ethnic network will be the resource used in dealing with the struggles and obstacles related to successful integration (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). It allows us to examine the link, if indeed there is one, between the advantages and disadvantages of these networks and resources for the immigrant family in the job-seeking and networking process.

The Eritrean community has been successful in mobilizing around issues of culture and tradition as the main resource offered to its members. Although important for cultural preservation, and in instilling in the youth a strong sense of pride and identity in what many have described as a racially segmented society, these resources are very limited. Furthermore, cultural richness and passing on of the tradition, thought admittedly of value, do not offer the much needed resources that can facilitate integration and inclusion in a new society that is known for

its marginal treatment of racialized immigrants. If social capital and ethnic networks are in fact of significant importance (Portes, 1995) for finding good jobs, then, based on this sample of youth, we can deduce that the Eritrean youth population is at a great disadvantage.

Perceptions of Integration

A central foundation of social exclusion lies in its multi-dimensional approach that allows for linkages to be made between poverty, income inequality and relative deprivation. More importantly is how these processes operate to create situations of marginalization which lead to feelings of exclusion that implicate a disadvantaged level of integration and feelings of belonging. The feelings of youth documented in this section show that the majority have embraced the ideas and notions of diversity and multiculturalism that set the tone for Canadian nationalism. That being said, it also appears that for many, their racial and religious (Muslim) differences from the mainstream white majority contribute to an ambiguous sense of belonging in Canada, wherein many are weary of the reality that racism is a constant part of everyday life. The experiences of these youth with marginalization, job discrimination and feelings of deprivation pose a challenge for their sense of belonging. Moreover it presents both a similarity and difference to the experiences of their parents. Their similarity arises from the reality that whether they are born here, grew up here or speak the language fluently, they, like their parents are viewed as the 'other'. The difference is in relation to their sense of belonging. For these youth, there is no 'back home' reference point of nostalgia or an endearing hope of return that may be utilized as a coping mechanism by their parents. In my discussion with these youth it was interesting to learn how they saw themselves as fitting the Canadian mould; for them Canada was home. Canada's fragile and all encompassing national identity was embraced by those who

felt it allowed them to carve a place for themselves in the Canadian ethnic mosaic. But for those who saw beyond the rhetoric of multiculturalism, the issues of race is far from being a thing of the past, despite efforts at *selling the illusion*[9] of a tolerant diverse nation. In response to the question "Do you feel economically and socially integrated in Canadian society?" (question no.65) one respondent said the following:

I don't feel socially comfortable in a country that I've lived in my whole life, so no, I don't feel socially integrated. But my take is that I don't want to feel socially integrated, because it comes at a high expense. Being a visible minority, black person, I don't feel that I fit the 'template' for the Canadian nationhood; being white or Anglo. I don't want to match that and I don't match that. People used to laugh when I said I used to say I was Canadian when I was younger, so people make it impossible, society makes it impossible. You can be 15 years removed from Poland and have just arrived to Canada and you will be more Canadian than I am, because I am Black, so I don't want to be Canadian, I've rejected it. E4

[9] "Selling Illusions" is the title of Neil Bissoondath's 1994 book that takes a critical look at Canada's multiculturalism project.

Concluding remarks

The purpose of this research project was to explore the factors affecting integration through the perspective and experiences of second generation racialized youth. My findings highlight that the experiences of second generation Eritrean youth provide vital information suggesting that the process of integration is an intergenerational process. An obvious link exists between the first generation parents' struggles with integration and the overall successful integration of their second generation children. The experiences of these youth are more useful than those of their parents because they help in assessing the long-term prospects of the settlement and integration process, something imperative for a country that is based, sustained and prides itself on being a multicultural immigrant society.

A majority of the academic research on Canadian immigration has focused on the immigrant parents' experience and the difficulties of adaptation and integration they face, but overlooks the detrimental consequences these negative experiences may pose on future cohorts. This research was conducted in the spirit of recognizing the importance of generation as a key distinguishing factor in these youth's experiences of belonging and exclusion. Their experiences are often overlooked because of the perceived and presumed faster pace of adaptability of children and youth to a new society than for adults, thus assuming that they do not experience difficulties. Admittedly their difficulties are unique because of the duality of feeling as a 'native[10]' to the country but continually being perceived as an 'immigrant' by society. These competing identity markers render the issue of 'fitting' in and integration as different from those faced by their immigrant parents, but nevertheless of equal importance.

[10] The term 'native' is used to denote long term residence in Canada which result in one becoming a naturalized citizen. For many youth who have either been born in Canada or grew up in Canada it has been the only home they know of and one that shapes the contours of their lives.

According to the objective standards of success accepted by society; namely high educational achievement which pave the way for labour market success, these youth demonstrate stories of success, and are assumed to achieve upward mobility denoting smooth integration into mainstream society. The two indicators used in this research (labour market participation and educational attachment) and the additional exploration of feelings of integration were investigative methods whose exploration was meant to offer answers to the proposed research question. Instead, what emanated from the interviews was the inability of these indicators to fully capture the complexities of the lives of these youth. The results produced from this research attest to the idea that there isn't one path towards integration and that their lives are not necessarily determined by the situations of exclusion that produce it. The questions asked in the interviews illuminate the need for further research and different indicators when seeking to explain the factors contributing to the successes or failures of racialized youth from immigrant parent background.

Assessing the levels of integration and exclusion cannot continue by looking at how the children of immigrants are doing right now. Research on the second generation should be more attentive to the family context and factors that continue to shape the lives of these youth. Doing so will reveal a complex story that suggests a differential trajectory does indeed exist, but in ways other than what is suggested by segmented assimilation, linear integration or glorified by the ideas of 'overachievement'.

Limitations

This research project does not present itself as capturing the essence of the experiences of Eritrean youth in Toronto. Rather, it is an investigative research that attempts to understand some of the conditions that shape the experiences of a small sample of Eritrean youth, and how these youth make sense of the social world that they live in. It can, however, be used as a reference for future research on this community, for it is plausible to contend that the factors contributing to their lived experiences are shared by others in the Eritrean community.

The interviews produced responses, although valuable and informative, that fell outside the scope of the research question, and beyond the explanatory power of the indicators chosen. During the course of this research it was realized that filling in the gaps for understanding the experiences of racialized youth was a complex investigative process for which several approaches and indicators must overlap to provide a concise explanation. This research opened the door for future research on this subject matter, and specifically on the Eritrean youth community.

Appendix

1. Resilient Teens: social exclusion of parents and impact on the second generation Eritrean youth- Interview questions

Background information

1. Name

2. How old are you

3. Do you identify your ethnic background as Eritrean?
4. Gender

5. Year of arrival to Canada

6. Immigration status upon arrival to Canada

7. How long have you lived in Canada

All my life Ten years or more Five to nine years Less than five years

8. I want you to think about growing up in Canada. Who did you live with when you were growing up? For example, did you live with your mom? Did you live with your dad? Did you live with any brothers and sisters? How many?

9. Do you live with your family now?

10. What is the size of your family?

11. Family members by age (including yourself)

Geographic location

12. Can you describe to me your area of residence; where you grew up and where you reside now. What are the factors affecting your (parents) choice of residence.

13. In your opinion, was there adequate schooling and resources in and round the neighbourhood, **If clarity on term resources is needed, then i.e.**.recreational amenities

Education

14. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

15. Are you currently in school?

16. What level of education do you want to achieve? How far do you eventually want to go in school?

17. Realistically speaking, what is the highest level of education that you think you will achieve

18. Are (were) there any barriers to attaining your desired education achievements?

For those who: completed or are currently in post-secondary education

19. How have you financed your education/ how do you plan on financing your education

    Parents help
    Financial assistance through government
    Part-time job
    Full-time job
    Bank loan
    Other, please explain

20. Do your parents encourage and expect you to attain post-secondary education?

    For those enrolled in any type of college, university or vocational school

21. Based on the jobs people with your educational background obtain, what is your perception of the percentage of visible minorities in these jobs

22. Upon completion of your studies, how difficult do you anticipate it will be to gain employment in what you have studied?
    Very difficult
    Somewhat difficult
    Not difficult

23. What are your reasons for these perceptions?

Employment and education of parents

24. Skills and assets that parents brought with them to Canada. Parent's economic (occupational) status pre-migration

25. Are parents professional or working-class parents

26. What is your parent (s) current employment status?

    Employed

Unemployed
Part-time work- **Voluntary or involuntary**
Full-time work
Self-employed
Underemployed- **The term can describe the employment of workers with high skill levels in low-wage jobs that do not require such abilities, as in the case of a medical doctor who is driving a cab.**
Occasional
Other, please explain

27. If unemployed, how long?
    6 months
    6-12 months
    More than 12 months
    Other

28. Do you think your parents had a hard time entering the Canadian labour market at a level appropriate to their skills? How has that affected the family's overall economic situation?

29. To the best of your knowledge think about your mom and dad's occupations while you were growing up in Canada. What types of jobs have they had?

30. What does your mom and/or dad actually do in that job? What are some of their main duties?

31. To the best of your knowledge, think about the hours your parents spent at work, did they work long hours (more than 8 hours a day, 5days/week)? **If yes, then ask,** did that translate into an income that was enough to sustain the family?

32. How stable has your parents' employment situation been?

33. To the best of your knowledge, what is your parent (s) yearly income?

    Less than $15,000
    $15,000- $20,000
    $20,000- 30,000
    $30,000- $40,000
    $40,000-$50,000
    $50,000-60,000
    More than $60,000

34. Think about your family's financial situation when you were growing up. I'm talking about how much money your family had when you were growing up. Would you say that your family was poor, average or middle-class, average working class family or do you think that your family was rich, wealthy or upper-class?

35. Do you parents own or rent the house or apartment where you live now

Impact of parent's socioeconomic situation

36. To the best of your knowledge, is your parent's current income situation sufficient to sustain your family on a month to month basis?

37. Do you have any financial obligations and responsibilities toward your family? Can you elaborate on what they are?
    Pay (partial) rent/mortgage
    Pay bills
    Help out financially with younger siblings
    Other

38. Has your parent's financial situation influenced the decisions you've had to make with regards to school or work? For example, has their financial situation delayed your entrance to post-secondary education or was it a factor in leading you to take on certain jobs

    Yes, can you please explain
    No
    Somewhat, can you please explain

39. Has your parents' financial situation figured prominently in you selection of which type of education to pursue (college, university or vocational school)?
    Yes
    No
    Somewhat

40. In what way has their financial situation impacted your decision?

Personal employment status

41. At what age did you get your first paid job?

42. What is your current Job status?
    Employed
    Unemployed
    Underemployed
    Full-time
    Part-time
    Temporary
    Contract
    Self employed

43. Length of stay at current job
    6 months
    6-12 months

More than 12 months
Other

44. What is your job and how many hours per week do you work at it

45. Are you working at more than one job right now?, **If yes, then ask,** Why do you need to work at more than one job?

46. How would you describe your current work situation
    Survival Jobs
    Career
    Temporary work
    Casual work (to pass time or to gain experience)

47. Main source of income
    Current employment
    Savings
    Government assistance
    Family assistance
    Other

48. How do you compare your job situation with that of other people you know
    Better
    Somewhat better
    About the same
    Somewhat worse
    Worse

49. **If worse or somewhat worse,** then ask, Why is it worse or somewhat worse?

Job Search strategies

50. What method(s) do you usually use when searching for a job
    Employment resource centres
    Government funded initiatives for unemployed youth (e.g YES program)
    Apprenticeship programs
    Family networks
    Ethnic community networks (finding a job through the Eritrean community)
    Friends
    Other, please explain

51. Have you ever used official job search services such as resource centres or apprenticeship programs? **If yes, then ask**
    How did you know hear about them?

Were they useful in helping you find a job or giving you the experience you were looking for

If no, then ask, Why not, is it because you didn't have

Access to them, i.e. there weren't any in the area you lived in
Know about them

52. In your opinion do you think many Eritrean youth acquire jobs through ethnic community networks or their parent's networks?

53. In your opinion what kinds of jobs resources or connections do these community networks or familial networks offer?

    Public sector
    Private sector
    Manufacturing
    Service sector; customer service, maintenance staff etc..
    Other, please explain

Community Resources

54. Are you connected with any Eritrean community in the GTA (attending community events, going to a Church/Mosque that is frequented by Eritreans, close ties with people that identify as Eritrean)
    Very connected
    Somewhat connected
    Not connected

55. *Community resources can include things such as providing youth with a network for future employment, with scholarships for education, community centres for youth that include things such as computers and a space for youth to gather at. Are the resources provided by the Eritrean community mainly focused on cultural education whose purpose is to pass on the cultural traditions or it is focused on providing resources to help youth integrate in Canadian society.* In your opinion and from you experiences, what kind of resources does the Eritrean community have to offer Eritrean youth in Toronto?

56. In your opinion, do you feel that the community and the resources it has to offer have been developing towards catering to the issues and problems Eritreans face in Canada? E.g. housing issues, finding employment, family conflict resolution

57. Have you ever acquired a job through community networks or resources?

    If yes, then ask, What kind of job was it?

    If no, then, Why not?

58. What kind of job was it?
    Manufacturing
    Public sector
    Private sector

59. Compared to other community groups in the GTA (Punjabi, Chinese, Portuguese), in your opinion, the Eritrean community resources and networks are
    Better
    Somewhat better
    About the same
    Somewhat worse
    Worse
    I don't know

60. Based on your previous answer, can you explain how you think this affects their integration in Canada of both youth and adults

Perceptions of integration

61. How do you compare your job situation with that of other people with similar education
    Better
    Somewhat better
    About the same
    Somewhat worse
    Worse

62. What is the proportion of people at your work place who are racialized
    Less than 10 percent
    10-20 percent
    20-40 percent
    40-50 percent

63. Compared to the other employees who have similar qualifications, skills and time spent at your current job, do you see yourself advancing to a higher position?
    Yes, please explain
    No, please explain

64. How do you perceive your membership in the visible minority category and specifically in the Eritrean community as impacting your future success in Canada

Citizenship and belonging

65. Do you feel economically and socially integrated in Canadian society

66. What would you say were/are some of the obstacles to your adaptation and integration into Canadian society

67. To the best of your abilities, can you describe to me what you think the Canadian identity is

68. Do you think of yourself as fitting this description of the Canadian identity

References

Abdurrahman Aydemir and Mikal Skuterud. (2004). "*Explaining the Deteroriating Entry Earnings of Canada's Immigrant Cohorts: 1966-2000.* Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Statistics Canada.

Allahar, Anton. (1998). "Race and Racism: Strategies of Resistance", pp 335-354 in *Racism & Social Inequality in Canada.* Vic Satzewich (ed.) Toronto: Thompson Education Publishing Inc.

Anisef, Paul. et al (2000). *Opportunity and Uncertainty: Life Course Experiences of the Class of '73.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Anisef, Paul and Kelli Phythian, 2007. "Income Rates and the Adaptation of Canadian Immigrant Youth" , pp. 1-25. Unpublished article made available by Paul Anisef.

Anisef, Paul, Marie- Andree Bertrand, Ulrike Hortian, and Carl E. James. (1985). *Accessibility to Postsecondary Education in Canada: A review of the literature.* Published by the Education Support Branch Department of the Secretary of State of Canada

Anisef, Paul, Robert Sweet and George Frempong (2003). *Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrant and Racial Minority University Graduates in Canada.* CERIS Working Paper No.23

Anisef, P. and Kenise Kilbride (eds).2003. *Managing two worlds: the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario* Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Banting, Keith et al (2007). "Introduction" pp1-38. in *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada.* Banting, Keith, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle (eds.). Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP).

Bissoondath, Neil (1994). *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada.* Toronto: Penguin Books.

Bolaria, B.S. (1983). "Dominant perspective and non-white minorities," in Peter.S. Li and B.S. Bolaria (eds). *Racial minorities in Multicultural Canada.* Toronto: Garamond Press

Boyd, Monica. 2002. “Educational Attainment of Immigrant Offspring: Success or Segmented Assimilation?” *International Migration Review* 36 (4), 1037-1060.

Boyd, Monica. (2000) “Ethnicity and Immigrant Offspring” in *Perspectives on Ethnicity in Canada: A Reader”* Kalbach, A. Madeline and Warren E. Kalbach. Toronto: Harcourt Canada

Boyd, Monica and Elizabeth Grieco. (1998) “Triumphant Transitions: Socioeconomic Achievements of the Second Generation in Canada,” *International Migration Review* 32 (4), 853-876

Boyd, Monica. (1992). “Gender, Visible Minority, and Immigrant Earnings Inequality: Reassessing an Employment Equity Premise” pp279-321. In *Deconstructing a Nation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism in the 1990's Canada* Vic Satzewich (ed.). Toronto: Garamond Press.

Brym, J. Robert and John Lie (2005). *Sociology:Your Compass for a New World*. Thomson Wadsworth

Bryman, Alan. (2001). *Social Research Methods.* Oxford :Oxford University Press

Byrne, David. (2005). *Social Exclusion Issues in Society*. England: Open University Press.

Canadian Youth Foundation (1995). *Youth Unemployment: Canada’s Rite of Passage*. Ottawa: Canadian Youth Foundation.

Caplan, Nathan, Marcella H. Choy, and John K. Whitmore. (1992). *Children of the Boat People: A Study of Educational Success.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Castles, Stephen and Godula Kosack (1973). *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe*. London: Oxford University Press.

Castles, Stephen and Alastair Davidson. (2000). Citizenship and Migration. Globalization and the politics of belonging. New York: Routledge

Cheung Leslie, "Racial Status and Employment Outcomes," Canadian Labour Congress, October 2005 pp1-39
December 10, 2007 http://canadianlabour.ca/index.php/3/Racial_Status_and_Em

Das Gupta, T. (1996). *Racism and Paid Work.* Toronto: Garamond Press

Davies, Scott, and Neil Guppy. (1998). "Race and Canadian Education" pp. 131-155 in *Racism & Social Inequality in Canada*. Vic Satzewich (ed). Thompson Educational Publishing, Co.

Dei, George. (1998). "Taking Inclusive Education Seriously", pp 60-78 in *RE/visioning: Canadian Perspectives on the education of the Africans in the late 20th century*. Vincent D'oyley and Carl E. James, (eds). Toronto: Captus Press.

DeVoretz, D.J. (ed.) (1995*). Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy.* Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Elabor-Idemudia, Patience. (2005). "Immigrant Integration in Canada: Policies, Programs and Challenges" pp58-74 in *Possibilities And Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada.* Carl E. James (ed). Halifax: Fernwood Publishing

Esses, M. Victoria, Joerg Dietz, and Arjun Bhardwaj. (2003). "The Role of Prejudice in the Discounting of Immigrant Skill," paper presented at the University of Michigan Conference on Immigration, April 11-12, 2003, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward. (2006). *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.

Galabuzi, Grace-Edward. (2004) "Racializing the Divison of Labour: Neoliberal Restructuring and the Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups" pp 175-204 in *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*. Stanford, Jim and Leah F. Vosko (eds.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gans, Herbert. 1992. "Second generation decline: scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15 (April), 173-191.

Gingrich, Luann Good. (2003). “Theorizing Social Exclusion: Determinants, Mechanisms, Dimensions, Forms and Acts of Resistance”, pp3-23. In *Emerging Perspectives on Anti-Oppressive Practice*. Toronto: Wes Shera (ed,) Canadian Scholars’ Press, Inc.

Guppy, Neil and Scott Davies. (1998). *Education in Canada: Recent Trends and Future Challenges*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada and the Minister of Industry

Harvey, B. Edward and Kathleen Reil. (2000). “An analysis of Socioeconomic situation by ethnocultural groups, periods of immigration and gender for Canada and Toronto CMA, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Compared”. Final Report by Professor Edward B. Harvey University of Toronto.

Hiebert, D. (1997). *The Colour of Work: Labour Market Segmentation in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.* Working Paper No.97-02. Vancouver: RIIM

Jackson, Andrew (2005). *Work and Labour in Canada: Critical Issues.* Toronto: Canadian Scholar’s Press.

James, E. Carl and Maxine Wood (2005). “Multicultural Education in Canada: Opportunities, Limitations and Contradictions” pp93-107 in *Possibilities And Limitations: Multicultural Policies and Programs in Canada* Carl E. James (ed.) Halifax: Fernwood Publishing

James, E. Carl. (1999). *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity and Culture.* Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.

James, E. Carl. (1996) “Introduction: Proposing an Anti-Racism Framework for Change” pp 3-15 in *Perspectives on Racism and the Human Services Sector: A Case for Change*. Carl. E. James (ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

James, E. Carl. (1990). *Making It*: *black youth, racism, and career aspirations in a bit city*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press

Kobayashi, Audrey. (2008). “Introduction: A Research and Policy Agenda for Second Generation Canadians”pp 3-6 in *Canadian Diversity: The experiences of Second Generation Canadians* 6 (2) (Spring).

Koa, Grace and Marta Tienda (1995), "Optimism and Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth", *Social Science Quarterly* 76 (March), 1-19.

Kelly, Ninette and Michael Trebilcock. (1998). *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kunz, Jean Lock, Anne Milan and Sylvain Schetagne. (2000). *Unequal Access: A Canadian profile of racial differences in education, employment and income.* A reports prepared for Canadian Race relations foundation by Canadian Council on Social Development Retrieved Feb.03, 2008 From *http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Unequal_Access.pdf*

Kymlicka, Will. (1998). *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will. (2007) "Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model (s)" pp39-86 in *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada (volume III).* Banting, Keith, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle (eds). Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy (IRPP).

Livingstone, D.W. (1993) "Lifelong Education and Chronic Underemployment: Exploring the Contradictions" pp89-102 in *Transitions: Schooling and Employment in Canada.* Anisef, Paul and Paul Axelrod (eds). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc.

Li, S. Peter. (1989). *Ethnic Inequality in a Class Society.* Toronto: Wall and Thompson.

Li, S. Peter. (2000). "Earning disparities between immigrants and native-born Canadians," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 37 (3), 289-311.

Li, S.Peter. (2003). *Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues.* Toronto: Wall and Thompson.

Madanipour, Ali, Goran Cars and Judith Allen (eds.) (1998). "Introduction" pp7-24 in *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, experiences, and responses,* Madanipour, Ali, Goran Cars and Judith Allen (eds.). Londong: The Stationary Office.

Mitchell, Andrew and Richard Shillington (2002). *Poverty, Inequality and Social Inclusion.* Working paper for the Laidlaw Foundation, Toronto: Laidlaw Foundation.

Neuwirth, G. (1999) "Toward a Theory of Immigrant Integration" in *Immigrant Canada: Demographic, Economic and Social Challenges.* Halli, S. Shiva and Leo Driedger (eds). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Omidvar, Ratna and Ted Richmond *"Immigrant Settlement and Social Inclusion in Canada"* The Laidlaw Foundation 2003.

(Working paper series Perspectives on social inclusion)
http://www.laidlawfdn.org/files/children/richmond.pdf

Ooka, Emi and Barry Wellman. (2006). "Does Social Capital Pay off more within or between ethnic groups? Analysing job searches in five Toronto Ethnic Groups" pp 199-226 in *Inside the Mosaic.* Eric Fong (ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ornstein, M. (2000). *Ethno-Racial Inequality in the City of Toronto: An Analysis of the 1996 Census.* Toronto: City of Toronto <ceris.metropolis.net>.

Paugam, Serge. (1995). "The Spiral of precariousness: a multidimensional approach to the process of social disqualification in France" in *Beyond the Threshold: the measurement and analysis of social exclusion.* Graham Room (ed.) The Policy Press: Bristol

Pendakur, Krishna and Ravi Pendakur (2002). "Colour my world: have earnings gaps for Canadian-born ethnic minorities changed over time?," *Canadian Public Policy* 28 (4), 489-512.

Penadkur, Ravi. (2000). *Immigrants and the Labour Force: Policy, Regulation and Impact.* Montreal: McGill- Queen's University Press.

Pool, David. (2001) *From guerillas to government. Ertirean people's Liberation Front.* Oxford: James Currey Ltd.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. (2001) Rumbaut *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Russel Sage Foundation: New York

Portes, Alejandro (1995) “Economic sociology and the sociology of immigration: a conceptual overview” pp248-279 in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: essay on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*, Alejandro Portes (ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (November), 74-96.

Portes, Alejandro, and Robert L. Bach. (1985). *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Quell, C. (2002). *Official Languages and Immigration: Obstacles and Opportunities for Immigrants and Communities.* Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages

Reitz, G. Jeffrey and Rupa Banerjee. (2005). “Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada,” pp 1-57. Paper presented at the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association meeting “Social Trends and Social Justice: Analysis of the EDS Survey.

Reitz, G. Jeffrey and Kara Somerville. (2004). “Institutional Change and Emerging Cohorts of the ‘New Immigrant Second Generation: Implications for the Integration of Racial Minorities in Canada,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 5, (4) (Fall), 385-415.

Reitz, G. Jeffrey (ed). (2003). *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants.* Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California. La Jolla, California.

Reitz[a], G. Jeffrey (2001). Immigrant Success in the Knowledge Economy: Institutional Change and the Immigrant Experience in Canada, 1970-1995 in *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, (3), 579-613.

Reitz[b], G. Jeffrey. (2001). “Immigrant Skill Utilization in the Canadian Labour Market: Implications of Human Capital Research”. *Journal of International Migration and Integration,* 2 (3), 347-378

Reitz[a], G. Jeffrey. (2004). “Canada: Immigration and Nation-building in the transition to a Knowledge Economy.” pp 97-133 In *Controlling Immigration: Global Perspectives,* W. Cornelius, et al. (eds.). Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Reitz[b], G. Jeffrey. (2004). “National and Urban Contexts for the Integration of the Immigrant Second Generation in the United States and Canada,” paper drafted for presentation at a conference on *The Next Generation: Immigrant Youth and Families in Comparative Perspective*, Harvard University, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, October 29-30.

Reitz, J.G. (1998). *Warmth of the Welcome: The Social Causes of Economic Success for Immigrants in Different Nations and Cities.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Reitz, G. Jeffrey and Breton, R. (1994). *The Illusion of Difference: Realities of Ethnicity in Canada and the United States.* Toronto: C.D. Howe

Roberts, R Bryan. (1995). “Socially expected durations and the economic adjustments of immigrants” pp. 42-86 in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. Alejandro Portes (ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Room, Graham. (1995). “ Poverty and Social exclusion: the new European agenda for policy and research”, pp 1-10 in *Beyond the Threshold: the measurement and analysis of social exclusion.* Graham Room (ed). Bristol: The Policy Press

Rootham, Esther (2008). “Racialized Youth, Identity and the Labour Market”, pp 115-117 in *Canadian Diversity: The experiences of Second Generation Canadians* 6 (2) (Spring).

Rumbaut G. Ruben and Alejandro Portes (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rumbaut, G. Ruben. (1990). *Immigrant Students in California Public Schools: A Summary of Current Knowledge.* Report prepared for John Hopkins University, Centre for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students.

Sassen, Saskia. (1995) “Immigration and Local Labor Markets” pp 87-127 in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. Alejandro Portes (ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Sen, A.k, (2000). “Social Justice and distribution of income” pp59-86 in *Handbook of Income Distribution.* Atkinson, A.B. and F. Bourguignon (eds). Vol.1. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Scott, Jacqueline L. (2001). A study of the Settlement Experiences of Eritrean and Somali Parents in Toronto. Praxis Research & Training.

Sheppard, Michael. (2006). *Social Work and Social Exclusion: The Idea of Practice*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Shields, John (2003). “No Safe Haven: Markets, Welfare, and Migrants”. *CERIS Working Paper No.22*. Doucet, J.Michael (series ed).

Simmons, Alan B., and Dwaine E.Plaza. (1998). “Breaking through the Glass Ceiling: The Pursuit of University Training among African-Caribbean Migrants and their Children in Toronto,” in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 30 (3), 99-120.

Siemiatycki, Myer. (2001). “Newcomer Youth At Risk” pp1-36 in *To Build on Hope: Overcoming the Challenges Facing Newcomer Youth at Risk in Ontario,* Kilbride, Murphy,

Kenise and Paul Anisef (eds.) Submitted to The Ontario Administration of Settlement and Integration Services.

Stein, Gross Janice. (2007). “Searching for Equality” pp1-22 in *Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada*. Janice Gross Stein et al (eds) 2007. Wilfrid Laurier University Press: Waterloo.

Teelucksingh, Cheryl and Galabuzi Grace-Edwards. (2005). “Working Precariously: The impact of race and immigrants status on employment opportunities and outcomes in Canada” in *Directions.* (Canadian Race Relations Foundation), 2 (1), 15-52.

Tolley, E. (2002). “Selection Criteria in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act: The Skilled Worker Class,” Draft Report, Metropolis Project Team, Metropolis Policy Brief No. 1, November.

Tyyskä, Vappu. (2008) "Parents and Teens in Immigrant Families" in *Canadian Diversity: The Experiences of Second Generation Canadians*, 6 (2) (Spring), 79-82.

Waters, Mary C. (1991). "The Intersection of Race, Ethnicity and Class: Second Generation West Indians in the United States." Paper presented at the Race, Ethnicity, and Urban Poverty Workshop, Chicago, Northwestern University and the University of Chicago.

White, Michael J., and Jennifer E. Glick. (2000). "Generation Status, Social Capital and the Routes Out of High School" in *Sociological Forum* 15 (4), 671-91.

Yan, M.C. (2000). "Coping with unemployment: Some Lessons to learn from a group of unemployed ethnic minority youths." In *Canadian Social Work Review in* 17 (1), 87-109.

Zhou, Min and Jennifer Lee. (2008). "Divergent Pathways to Mobility and Assimilation in the New Second Generation" in *Canadian Diversity: The experiences of second generation Canadians*, 6 (2) (spring), 13-16.

Zhou, Min. (1997). "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation" in *International Migration Review* 31 (Winter), 975-1008.