

**Legislated Multiculturalism & Second-Generation Hybrid Identities:
A Phenomenological Study of Canadian Ismaili Muslim Men in Montreal, Quebec**

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Abstract

The recent controversy over the 2014 proposed Quebec Charter of Values suggests the integration of minorities is, at present, a fundamental social and political debate in such a multicultural nation as Canada. Yet, minimal consideration has been given to second-generation citizens who find themselves living between various dimensions of culture. This study examines the impact of legislated multiculturalism and how it has evolved to influence second-generation Canadians in this country. This qualitative research explores the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism by examining the phenomenological analysis of second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal, Quebec. In-depth interviews were conducted to expand their perspective of identity negotiation in Canada. Research findings suggest that a symbolic sense of identity is created by simultaneously being part of the cultures found in Quebec, Canada and the global Ismaili Muslim diaspora community. This study argues that research participants challenge fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers; that their sense of diaspora community is indispensable to their perception of home and belonging in Canada; and that the legislation of multiculturalism is a practical and positive influence for second-generation Canadians. This discussion of the second-generation identity, along with the literature review and findings, provides further insight into the Canadian approach of multiculturalism.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my Mother, Canada, and Islam.

Thank you for teaching me the importance of love, freedom, and peace....

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problematic in Context

For several decades, there has been obvious tension over the increased migration of various ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities to the West. Having sustained a significant degree of immigration since the 1970s, Canada is currently undergoing a major shift in its demographics. 2011 Census data suggests 20 % of the population reports being foreign born, reflecting an increase in immigration of 13.6 % from the previous (2006) Census (Statistics Canada, 2011, 2006). Furthermore, according to the latest statistics, more than 200 different ethnic origins were reported throughout the nation (Statistics Canada, 2011). Since 2001, Canada has also reported the highest percentage of minorities amongst G7 countries (Statistics Canada, 2011). According to some projections, it is estimated that by 2030 Canada's population growth and dispersal will come largely from new immigration patterns (Grant, 2007). At the same time, modern Western societies, Canada included, are experiencing growing tensions and challenges over the management of cultural diversity. Lately, the increasing push to accommodate minority rights and freedoms has been met with criticism. A prime example of this criticism was witnessed through the 2014 proposed Quebec Charter of Values¹, a piece of legislation that targeted minority cultural groups.

As a society continuously shaping its cultural mosaic, Canada's well-known strategy in managing its cultural diversity has been through the approach of multiculturalism. The legislation of multiculturalism attempts to address the concern over how to manage cultural diversity (Banting, 2012; Kymlicka, 2012). Originally developed in 1971, the

¹ The charter was proposed as a means of legislating limits on the accommodation of minority cultural groups. Legislation was to limit religious symbols such as the wearing of kippas, turbans, hijabs, and crosses for public workers and civil servants throughout the province of Quebec.

multiculturalism policy was created in Canada (Kymlicka, 1998). Since its inception, it has evolved in many different ways to help ensure the respectful governance, inclusion, and equality of its citizens (Dewing, 2009; Elliott, 1992; Fleras, 2002). Over the years, many global experts and research scholars have become interested in researching Canada's approach to multiculturalism. In fact, many academics have been studying Canada to observe how cultural diversity is being managed within its borders (Bannerji, 2000; Cameron, 2004; Kymlicka, 2007; Modood, 2007; Parekh, 2000; Taylor, 1992). Over the last decade, researchers have collected interesting findings that examine how Canadian minorities, especially the younger generations, can adapt their identities into various cultural environments (Allahar, 2001; Beyer, 2005; Conway-Smith, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Yet, over the years, the debate on multiculturalism has transformed dramatically (Hasmath, 2011; Kymlicka, 2010; Modood, 2007).

For example, in April 2012, over 120 international guests met at the Global Centre for Pluralism in Ottawa for its inaugural Pluralism Forum, a series of moderated dialogues and debates with leading global authorities on policies and practices supporting cultural diversity worldwide. In this discussion, the renowned Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka underlined his comparative research on the changing perceptions of multiculturalism in Europe and its relationship to the Canadian approach. With his research findings, Kymlicka revealed that multiculturalism's philosophy has essentially disappeared in Europe over the last decade (Kymlicka, 2012). In his analysis, he highlights how the failed interpretation of the philosophy has created a larger sense of insecurity around issues of immigration and citizenship worldwide (Kymlicka, 2012). According to Kymlicka, critics have begun to blame multiculturalism's discourse of accommodating various cultural groups for the failure to integrate minorities (Kymlicka, 2012). As the author points out, further

attention must be paid to the legislation of multiculturalism and how it impacts minority cultural groups in Canada.

While second-generation identity has been discussed more frequently amongst researchers in Canada in recent years (Eid, 2007; Kucera, 2008; Portes & Rumbaut, 2008; Sodhi, 2008; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009), the majority of academic research focuses on the accommodation and tolerance of immigrant minorities (Fleras, 2001; Hussain, 2004; Sam & Berry, 2010; Taylor, 1994).

As Canadians, we might ask ourselves: does our so-called ‘cultural mosaic’ actually reflect a peaceful and multicultural society? Throughout the literature, the notion of multiculturalism is still widely known as the core strength and success of Canada (Bissoondath, 1994). Multiculturalism policy is often claimed as one of Canada’s most significant accomplishments. This policy has helped minorities build a sense of identity, while allowing them to be part of Canadian society as a whole (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). However, it is time to reconsider multiculturalism’s legislative framework to ensure the inclusion of all Canadian perspectives, particularly that of the second-generation. Setting policy as context, it is important to go beyond the legislation of multiculturalism and obtain updated insights using a new generational approach that focuses on the children of immigrants born and raised in Canada. In this sense, it has become imperative to investigate how the second-generation² negotiates its sense of identity and understanding of multiculturalism in Canada.

² The term ‘second-generation’ will be used to refer to the children of immigrants who were born and raised in Canada. This is a direct refutation of the term ‘second-generation immigrant,’ underscoring how these individuals are *not* immigrants but Canadians by birth right.

Addressing the topic of multiculturalism through second-generation identity fills the research gap within contemporary literature. Using this approach, this study aims to evaluate the impact of multiculturalism on second-generation Canadians. Their experiences of living as a second-generation minority can thus be investigated through the concept of multiculturalism. Nonetheless, this research recognizes that the current debate over the management of multiculturalism is far from over. For instance, as a result of recent backlash following Quebec's contentious Charter of Values, an examination into the experiences of a Canadian-born Muslim identity gains relevancy.

This research presents results of a phenomenological analysis of the experience of second-generation Canadian Muslim men living in a diaspora community in Montreal, Quebec. This study seeks to investigate and offer insights into how this community negotiates a sense of identity within a multicultural society such as Canada.

1.2 Research Objectives

In considering recent debates, it has now become important to go beyond the current literature to investigate how multiculturalism influences the second-generation identity in Canada. To do so, this study aims to (1) challenge fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers; (2) deconstruct a sense of diaspora community; and (3) investigate the impact of multiculturalism. Interestingly, second-generation members of this diaspora community have rarely, if not ever, been studied in the specific context of multiculturalism. As a result, it has become essential to explore its impact, and how the legislation of multiculturalism has evolved to influence second-generation Canadians.

1.3 Thesis Overview

This study is divided into five chapters. In this introductory section, we address the problematic along with the research objectives and overview of the study. The second

chapter provides a literature review that outlines the current background behind this investigation. To examine the impact of legislated multiculturalism and how it has evolved to influence the second generation in Canada, the conceptual framework of the literature review will be presented by establishing four major themes of identity: hybridity, diaspora communities, ethnicity, and citizenship. Furthermore, additional theoretical background on second-generation identity and the development of legislated multiculturalism in Canada is presented. The chapter ends by discussing the need to bridge the gaps found in the literature.

Chapter three introduces an outline of the qualitative research methods approach used for this phenomenological study. An explanation is provided for the research design, along with a description of the 12 respondents, the volunteer sampling strategy, and recruitment process. Furthermore, chapter three describes the data collection and thematic analysis methods used to conduct research. Ethical considerations that guided this study along with data validity and reliability of analysis are presented to ensure trustworthiness and creditability of the research findings.

In the fourth chapter, the research findings provide a description of the results and a discussion that tie in with the literature review. The first section of the chapter presents a summary of the major themes and concepts that emerged from the interviews. Furthermore, this chapter ends with a discussion that will be divided into three analytical sections established through this research, namely: Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities; Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation; and Redefining Canadian Multiculturalism.

The final chapter provides a summary of the previous chapters, followed by a reconsideration of the research objectives in light of what has been discovered. The limitations of this study are discussed and implications for future research are considered.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The current chapter provides a literature review that summarizes existing knowledge in key areas related to this research. We will review the theories of leading authors in the field such as Stuart Hall, Charles Taylor, and Will Kymlicka. We will then introduce the meaning of identity and present its description using the four major themes of hybridity, diaspora communities, ethnicity, and citizenship. Furthermore, this chapter provides additional theoretical background on the second-generation identity and the legislation of multiculturalism in Canada. The chapter ends by problematizing research gaps found in the literature.

2.1 Establishing a Sense of Identity

The global flows of cultures that define our contemporary age of globalization complicate the relationship between individuals and their cultural identities (Sassen, 2006). As Ting-Toomey (2005) outlines, individuals develop their identities through interaction with others within their socio-cultural environments. While one's culture plays a large role in shaping his or her identity, it is through multiple interactions that we shape the views of ourselves and others. Negotiating this experience can be seen as a challenge in multicultural societies. The formation of one's identity is therefore understood as a complex process that is frequently debated in literature.

The American sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall captures identity construction through his framing of culture as a 'production' that is continually evolving and established through its representation (Hall, 2003). According to Hall (2003), markers of identity reflect historical experiences and shared practices. As a result, we define our identity through a negotiation and development with others. Here, Hall is referring to the ability to describe one's own identity markers such as race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, and sexual

orientation. Accordingly, these identity markers can be both physical and psychological features that are not directly seen by society. In other words, these markers along with other characteristics such as language and religion can interact with one another in order to shape an individual's overall sense of identity. However, Hall's consideration is clear: identities are not fixed or static. As Hall (1991) points out, identity is always a temporary and unstable effect of relations that define identities through differences. In this sense, identities can be best understood as a flexible and socially-constructed process (Hall, 2003). Therefore, one's identity does not only exist through pre-determined conditions of time and place, but through contextual processes that influence one's identity formation (Hier, Boloria, & Singh, 2006). Thus, in order to understand one's identity, it is important to recognise one's own socio-cultural context. For example, nowadays, individuals are found to identify with both their ethnic and national identities as a new way to be part of broader society (Jurva & Jaya, 2008).

While this socio-cultural process implies that individuals can negotiate the formation of their own identities, Hall's argument describes how cultural identity markers are already limited through their imposition and recognition (Hall, 2003). In other words, identities can be imposed just as easily as they can be negotiated. The power to construct our own identity relates particularly to how we perceive culture and the extent to which cultural identity markers can be used to set boundaries "between outside and inside, between those who belong and those who do not in a given society" (Hall, 1991, p. 48).

Who we are identified as in society can be dependent on how cultures are perceived and considered in that society. For example, the process of citizenship illustrates how politics can be part of identity construction by imposing fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers. Thus, one's citizenship rights can play an essential role in the degree of freedom

they can enjoy (Bloemraad, 2006). Charles Taylor's essay, "The Politics of Recognition", argues for a better balance in the politics and power of identity recognition (Taylor, 1994). Taylor (1992) defines 'equal recognition' a fine balance of recognition and choice wherein everyone has the right to define his or her own identity. However, the author also believes that the importance of recognition has been modified and intensified by new understandings of individual identities (Taylor, 1994). He further emphasises Canadians' need for due recognition since they are a democratic and culturally diverse society. Taylor stresses that "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or a group of people may suffer real damage, real distortion. Not recognizing or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). As we consider Taylor's argument, it becomes apparent that the power of choosing between identity markers is tied fundamentally to our sense of self and the politics of recognition. In this sense, identity can be described by many conceptual themes currently debated amongst scholars.

Accordingly, scholars outline the construction of identity as a present concern for various Muslim men and women living in Canada (Adams, 2009; Hussain, 2004; Karim, 2009; Sharify-Funk, 2010; Ting-Toomey, 2005). Furthermore, literature describes how Muslim women are faced with the distinctive challenge of living between traditional patriarchal structures of Islam and secular approaches of Western feminism in Canada (Bhimani, 2003; Dwyer, 2003; Karim, 2009; Khan, 1998). According to Razack (2008), despite growing debates in policy and legislation in Canada, there seems to be a challenge in describing modern Muslim men living in our multicultural society. Furthermore, cultural stereotypes such as the media portrayal of barbaric Muslim men have been subject to

intensive criticism in the discussion of inequality, gender, and religion (Eisenberg et al., 2014). While acknowledging the particular importance of establishing the literature on Muslim women in Canada, this study limits this variable by investigating the gendered perspective of Muslim males. The reason for this methodological limitation is simply because it allows for a more objective literature and control for gender differences. Of course, it would have been ideal to include a female gendered perspective if it were a bigger study; however, given the constraints of this research, focusing on the male gender perspective was set as a research boundary.

The balance of this literature review is organized using four major themes of identity gathered from current literature on hybridity, diaspora communities, ethnicity, and citizenship.

2.1.1 Hybridity.

In recent literature, one's identity is defined as a person's conception and expression of his or her own cultural individuality or community affiliations (Moskowitz, 2005). Social psychology describes the term as the distinctive agency belonging to any individual or shared by community members of a particular cultural group (Bhabha, 1996). Experts have employed the term 'identity' to refer to this idea of recognizing and negotiating cultural identity markers based on personal distinction from others (Werbner, 1997). In the early 1970s, the concept became of interest to policy makers during the emergence of immigration and new citizenships in Canada. Recent literature describes one's sense of identity and belonging by examining various cultural characteristics such as ethnicity, language, or race. Consequently, cultural theorists are questioning the limits of fixed and objective conceptions of identity (Plaza, 2006).

Bhabha (1996) examines the notion of hybrid identities by discussing the possibility of emerging states of agencies. In this context, Bhabha investigates the perspective of culture as a gathering of various temporalities such as modern, colonial, postcolonial, and native constructs (Bhabha, 1994). Similarly, Bhabha (1994) developed the concept of hybridity to describe both the construction of cultural differences and a space of negotiation between identities. Bhabha explores his theory under the conditions of two emerging sets of agencies.

In the first part, the ‘hybrid agency’ examines the multiple representations of culture by refuting social antagonism based on cultural supremacy or sovereignty (Bhabha, 1996). Bhabha argues hybridity as “the frontiers of cultural difference” and “the admixture of pre-given identities” (Bhabha, 1990, p. 314). From his point of view, hybridity has become a historical necessity and a stepping stone to postmodern thinking (Bhabha, 1994). In Bhabha’s analysis, hybrid agency becomes merged and multidimensional as identities redefine traditional boundaries. He elaborates the concept by using culture as an interpretive and contextual production made by individuals (Bhabha, 1994). Despite a variety of ethnic, historical, and political factors, it can also be argued that hybridity is exemplified through the use of various cultural identity markers (Ratcliffe, 2004). This hybrid-agency describes an experience shared by minorities in multicultural societies, and represents the multiple identities with which they negotiate meanings of home and belonging (Mahtani, 2002). Their interpretation of history and community gives “narrative form to the minority positions they occupy; the outside of the inside, the part in the whole” (Bhabha, 1996, p. 58). The author argues that this sort of agency is a way of sharing identities and providing the results of unique contemporary experiences.

In his second emerging state of agency, Bhabha describes the experience of an ‘interstitial agency’, which provides an occasion for individuals to express various sources of

cultural belonging (Bhabha, 1996). A hybrid element is understood conceptually as something that is mixed. As a theoretical term, identity is used as a tool in addressing discourses of cultural representation. According to many experts, the next phase of contemporary research lies in its ability to define hybridity as a cultural effect of globalization in multicultural societies (Allahar, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). In other words, Bhabha distinguishes this notion of hybrid identities as continuously evolving amongst minorities in multicultural societies (Bhabha, 1996).

Furthermore, through the consideration of hybrid features, third space theory becomes important to define as the interpersonal location where minds meet and new understandings arise through collaborative interaction and inquiry (Cummins, 1996). According to Bhabha (1996), the figure of third space is described as the multiplicity of identities and the place 'in between' cultures. This third space is where the balance of multiple cultures happen, in one mindset, becoming progressive in their thinking and ways of living.

Karim (2003) claims that hybridity relates to a third space characterized by the challenge of negotiating between cultural and transnational boundaries. Moreover, Hirji (2010) identifies characteristics of a hybrid state of agency by describing the challenge of a modern minority identity living in the West. The author discusses this minority position to describe people who are continuously marked as different, and whose cultural practices have been subject to alienation, public criticism, and critical judgment (Hirji, 2010). As a result, the exposure to an abundance of diversities results in confusion and causes multiple cultural identity markers to conflict with one another.

In addition, Phinney's model of ethnic identity development suggests how hybridity to various cultural practices may, in fact, encourage a new generation to develop situational

and bicultural identities during different times in their youth (Phinney, 1999). Phinney (2002) illustrates how identity is fluid and changes over time as a result of acculturation processes in pluralistic societies. Hence, many people gain a sense of distinction from their hybrid identities, which furthers a sense of home and belonging, especially for diaspora communities in Canada.

2.1.2 Diaspora Communities.

For the purposes of this study, we should be attentive to the experiences of the forced and exiled when discussing a diaspora community. According to Stuart Hall, a diaspora refers to a community living in a new state of ‘translation and communication’ (Hall, 1992). Furthermore, authors Chaliand and Rageau suggest that a diaspora should be defined as “the collective forced dispersion of a religious and/or ethnic group, precipitated by a disaster, often of a political nature” (Chaliand & Rageau, 1995, p. 14). This collective character of a diaspora community remains an important topic of discussion in Canada as it allows an expansion of the notion of hybrid identities in multicultural nations.

The notion of diaspora communities has become increasingly debated in current literature. The notion of diaspora has changed over time as globalization and movement are seen to go beyond traditional discourses of immigration. As Clifford (1994) describes, the term diaspora refers to transnational movements and historical contexts of displacement. In other words, diaspora is defined as “the dispersal or scattering of a body of people from their traditional home across foreign lands” (Israel, 2000, p. 1). Within this traditional definition, the notion of diaspora has been related to the destruction of the home country of a community, or a community’s expulsion from it, which is “accompanied by a collective trauma that remained embedded in the consciousness of the ethnic, racial, or religious community” (Safran, 1999, p. 264).

In the twenty-first century, modern identity is understood as an individual process that is related to our own sense of self. Also significant, however, is the collective sense of identity developed out of commonality and a shared sense of experience. In this respect, diasporic identities are constantly reproduced through the increasing nature of immigration (Hall, 2003). Therefore, it is through this claim that diaspora can create a new sense of community. Throughout history, diaspora has been experienced by many communities, including Armenians, Turks, and recently Palestinians; however, the traditional reference can be made directly with the Jewish diaspora community (Cohen, 1997). Daniel Elazer (1986) described how the global Jewish community represents the classic diaspora phenomenon of all time, and that the term itself originated as a means of describing their historical migration. Various case studies make it even more compelling by considering “Babylon for the Jews, slavery for the Africans, genocide for the Armenians, and the formation of the state of Israel for the Palestinians” (Cohen, 1997, p. 28). In recent times, the proliferation of the term lets us use the concept with other communities, allowing expansion of the meaning associated with the modern notion of diasporic communities (Butler, 2001; Clifford, 1994; Cohen, 1997).

In his work, Cohen (1997) attempts to provide an organizational framework of the meaning of diaspora. The author mixes traditional and modern definitions of diaspora communities. Cohen describes a list of nine common features of diaspora that takes modified theories into account. In his book, a diaspora community features a dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions (Cohen, 1997). In his description, Cohen (1997) also highlights diasporic goals as an expansion from a homeland in search of work and trade. He later outlines his features of a diaspora community by

underlining the importance of collective memory, homeland, history, acceptance, ethnicity, and tolerance (Cohen, 1997).

Since the 1970s, Canada has been a prime location for gathering diaspora communities and “individuals who embody multiple identities and speak various languages, to translate and negotiate between them” (Hall, 1992, p. 310). Part of this recognition process with a diaspora involves the common formation of a mutual sense of identity and belonging. This can be produced within settings where one can be included as part of a cultural group. Such acknowledgement allows associating group members of the diaspora community with an imagined or real location, or with other members of the diaspora across territorial borders (Cohen, 1997). In his work, Cohen attempts to go beyond the traditional framework of mobile cultures by defining diaspora as the modern migration experience of various cultural communities. This is widely evident through diasporic communities, which also break the boundaries of territory and geography. In other words, as noted by Gilroy (2007), diaspora communities expand the relationship between location, place, and consciousness.

In recent times, a shared identity can become very influential, especially when communities attempt to identify themselves politically. A collective diaspora identity has not only become an opportunity to share a common culture but has emerged into political purposes as well (Gilroy, 2007). For this matter, Clifford demonstrates his theory of a ‘deterritorialised alternative’ when considering dispersed communities that share an identity beyond borders and “not necessarily defined by a specific geopolitical boundary” (Clifford, 1994, p. 304). According to Gilroy (2007), while there are several perspectives through which collective identities are established, most literature focuses on the ones that are constructed from an ethnic, linguistic, or religious standpoint. Distinctively, when one’s nationality is not the primary feature in the construction of his or her identity, these three

elements can, for instance, interact with each other in a specific way for group members of a diaspora community. Hence, many people are found to define themselves as members of a cultural or religious community rather than as citizens of a country. Canada has become home to the implementation and management of these numerous ‘deterritorialised alternatives’. According to authors in the field of transnational communities, Kennedy and Roudemetof (2002) outline that the locality of group members is no longer considered the main focus for sustaining a diaspora community. Furthermore, due to globalization factors, the authors argue how diaspora communities can be established through a facilitated communication and connectivity (Kennedy & Roudemetof, 2002). In the Canadian context, members of a diaspora are therefore given the opportunity to institutionalise their community locally, provincially, and nationally.

According to Butler, many contemporary researchers define the concept of homeland as the actual or constructed location that “serves as the defining factor of a diasporan identity” (Butler, 2001, p. 204). As a result, it serves as the location of a common identity, which can also be known as ‘imagined communities’. In the early nineties, Benedict Anderson (1991) was the first scholar to present the concept of imagined communities through his considerations of diaspora and nationalist movements. Anderson highlights that by strengthening these communal bonds, members felt as though they shared the same values and beliefs (Anderson, 1991). In this context, members of a diaspora feel they are part of a larger community that shares a common sense of belonging. In his research, Anderson examined the ways people felt related to each other despite never having met or having any blood relations. In the case of a diaspora, the imagined community is increasingly seen as a minority that builds a sense of understanding and inclusion between its members. The author discusses the importance of ‘competing cultures’ by addressing the significance of language.

In terms of communal recognition, he states that the most important feature of language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, and building, in effect, particular solidarities (Anderson, 1991). For example, we notice this sort of ‘imagined community’ in the French Canadian context of the province of Quebec. Anderson (1991) suggests that language is a crucial necessity in the formation of solidarity and sovereign movements. In fact, Quebec is continuously found reinforcing this distinctiveness as a majority, French-speaking society in North America (CBC News, 2008).

In recent years, theorists have concerned themselves with the relationship between culture and the politics of identity. Analysing the link between place and space has become an interesting challenge for immigration and citizenship in Canada. Accordingly, minority communities have become key factors in the continuously expanding boundaries of the nation (Mukadam & Mawani, 2007; Samuel, 2010). According to Taylor (1994), identity is not only formed and negotiated through social relations, but also entrenched through hierarchies and political recognition. An understanding of identity construction therefore requires an evaluation of the environments in which individuals live. This is by no means a way to suggest that past, present, and future cultural identity markers are separate and independent. Rather, each instance must be considered in relation to the other and viewed in a constant state of evolution, continuity, and transition within society. To explore diaspora communities, one’s identity must also examine the concept of ethnicity in order to evaluate how it influences one’s sense of self and belonging in society.

2.1.3 Ethnicity.

Members of a diaspora community come from numerous backgrounds that originate from various ethnic traditions and histories (Eid, 2007). According to Ting-Toomey (2005), ethnicity can be sustained by multiple cultural characteristics such as shared citizenship,

language, or religion. Ting-Toomey defines ethnicity as “an inheritance wherein members perceive each other as emotionally bounded by a common set of traditions, worldviews, history, heritage, and descent on a psychological and historical level” (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p.216). In Canada, one’s ethnic identity is therefore seen as a conflicting issue that can have differing definitions.

Going back to its origins, the term ‘ethnic’ derives from the foundations of two Greek words. Firstly, the term ‘ethnos’ is defined as “a number of people living together”; and, secondly, ‘ethnikos’ refers to “the people who are not like us” (Isajiw, 1999, p. 17). According to Driedger (2003), many experts define an ethnic group as a gathering of individuals who are bonded with a distinct and shared sense of culture based on similar history, religion, and physical characteristics. Here, the author describes an ethnic identity as prevalent when individuals believe in a common nationhood, faith, and language distinct from others (Driedger, 2003). Often used as a presumption for race, sharing physical characteristics is one way to provide individuals with a sense of identity and belonging (Ratcliffe, 2004). In order to determine why ethnicity is important to recognize, it is also crucial to understand how its theory is developed. While there are several factors that influence the establishment of collective identities, this study will explore ethnicity as a primary feature of one’s identity in Canada. To better understand the current narrative of this research, it is fundamental to consider the notion of ethnicity as advocated by multiculturalism.

Ethnicity is a topic of important discussion in current literature, yet there is a lack of understanding when it comes to its meaning. Research on ethnic identity has become increasingly discussed in multicultural nations (Berry, 2001). In Canada, one’s ethnic origins can be complex to identify, especially in terms of the ability to be self-reported in data.

According to Jurva and Jaya (2008), further attention must be paid to both hyphenated and hybrid identities that are increasingly growing amongst younger generations. A recent special edition of “Canadian Ethnic Studies” (Volume 40, Number 2) was devoted to the experiences of second-generation Canadian youth. In it, Gallant (2008) reports findings that highlight a variety of multiple ethnic-identity negotiations amongst the second generation youth in Quebec. Elsewhere in the same volume, it is suggested that, as a result of Canada’s multicultural philosophy and legislation, youth are found to experience tension between maintaining various representations of ethnic backgrounds and a Canadian-born identity (Byers & Tastsoglou, 2008).

The concept of ethnicity is known as a profound marker of culture in literature. However, there seems to be a lack of information on how individuals conceive their ethnic identities through acculturation and integration experiences (Ting-Toomey, 2005). To expand on this notion, many theories were explored to conceive this process. From a constructionist viewpoint, ethnic identity is negotiated through daily activities and interactions by individuals (Isajiw, 1999). According to Chiu (2003), ethnicity is viewed as fluid and dependent on multiple factors, which include location, level of interactions, and generational elements. In this context, ethnicity then becomes a variable concept that critics see as a flexible, fluid, and systematic understanding of identity (Hall, 2006; Hasmath, 2011; Ratcliffe, 2004). Thus, when discussing the identity of ethnically-diverse individuals, maintaining a symbolic ethnic identity can be seen as a problematic issue in modern times (Tastsoglou & Petrinioti, 2011).

The formation of an ethnic identity can also provide stages of minority experiences. According to Sodhi (2008), one may use different perspectives to foster bicultural identities in a multicultural society. In this sense, the author suggests that ethnicity plays a powerful

role in achieving a third space (or ‘best of both worlds’), whereby youth share ideas, values, and traditions that are continuously evolving in their lifestyles (Sodhi, 2008). The ability for ethnicity to create a sense of belonging defined by various attributes such as ideas, practices, and beliefs, plays a powerful role in forming one’s individual sense of identity, especially for minorities in Canada. In other words, both the minority and majority are considered bearers of distinctive knowledge on different perspectives of culture and its various ethnic identities within society (Modood, 2007).

While upholding the right to identify with the ethnic identity of your choice, it is essential to consider the position of minority groups when it comes to citizenship. Engaging in this cross-cultural dialogue can therefore allow an opportunity to research the longitudinal outcome of immigration and its impact on citizenship in Canada.

2.1.4 Citizenship.

For this part, it is important to justify why citizenship is not just a legal framework of rights and freedoms one gains by becoming a ‘citizen’, but rather that which ensures the defining process of its nation’s laws and democracy. Thus it is important to examine citizenship through the effectiveness and implications of legislated rights and freedoms in Canada.

For the last decade, the discussion of minority rights has been strongly debated amongst recent scholars (Banting, 2012; Kymlicka, 2011). Considering the construction of one’s identity, citizenship becomes crucial when exploring the perspectives of minorities. This framework takes into account minority group members’ identification with their national citizenship. According to Baumeister (2003), the conception of individual rights is argued by most liberals as a set of basic freedoms related to the liberty of one’s citizenship. However, a citizen’s civic rights are increasingly becoming challenged with debated issues

of tolerance and integration in multicultural societies (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). According to recent controversy, such as the proposed Quebec Charter of Values, basic citizenship rights are being questioned as to the accommodation of religious minority groups in Canada. In this context, Nagle (2006) states that citizenship is “undergoing a process of reorientation” (p. 26). As such, a closer look at minority rights is therefore needed in order to ensure all citizens experience a positive sense of belonging through their own cultural values and beliefs. However, it is also said that a society with a neutral public sphere can also create an environment of disadvantage for various minority groups (Nagle, 2009). The following discussion introduces two different ways to conceive citizenship rights.

Firstly, according to Kymlicka (2007), ‘differentiated citizenship’ allocates a set of different rights for minority cultural groups based on their unique needs and aims of achieving equal recognition. Critics that support differentiated citizenship rights are considered to challenge traditional methods of managing cultural diversity (Kymlicka, 2007). However, recent concerns still lie in the government’s neutrality and transparency to protect multiculturalism and its mission to facilitate the various cultural demands of both dominant and minority cultural groups (Parekh, 2000).

In contrast, Tully (1995) defines ‘undifferentiated citizenship’ as “a legally and politically uniform society where citizens are treated identically rather than equitably” (p. 64). Traditional policies demonstrate undifferentiated citizenship and how they were once established and understood by society (Tully, 1995). However, it is unsatisfactory to perceive the notion of citizenship through an objective lens which does not consider the subjective character of legislation and its people. In this sense, Bloemraad (2006) argues undifferentiated citizenship rights to be unnecessary as it finds its legislation to create conflicting relationships between minorities and majorities.

In terms of policies, Hall (2000) argues the power of self-governance, whereas laws are made to suit the needs of all citizens and allow them to freely become included within society. However, a closer look at the notion of citizenship will help demonstrate whether all citizens' needs are met equally and not just fairly. Furthermore, according to Hall (2000), tolerance is argued to have failed "when it is assumed that there is a broad cultural homogeneity amongst the governed" (p. 228). Some critics maintain the idea that these citizenship rights only serve to worsen the gap regardless of the unique needs of the minority (Kymlicka, 2007). In this sense, Beaman (2012) claims that such regulations can only ensure partial tolerance through the use of various reasonable accommodations.

Consequently, due to cultural boundaries currently found in multicultural societies, many minorities are found to have limited opportunities to influence legislation to suit their specific needs (Kymlicka, 2007). In addition, literature suggests multicultural policies do not effectively help cultural minority groups since many are still found discriminated through ghettoization, exclusion, and high poverty rates that are consistently found amongst minorities (Graham, Swift & Delany, 2003; Galabuzi, 2006). As a result, these margins are seen as what is considered the limits of citizenship rights in a context of democracy, freedom and equality in multicultural nations (Kymlicka, 2007). However, it is for this same reason that some theorists are found to support differentiated citizenship rights as this claims undifferentiated policies to be unfair to certain minorities found within society. For instance, critics see this distinction as a threat to cultural diversity and as a way to easily manage minorities to assimilate to the dominant cultural majority (Jiwani, 2006; Sharify-Funk, 2010; Zhou, 1997). Moreover, further criticism is also made to undifferentiated citizenship as it claims to threaten social cohesion by generating unnecessary polarization and marginalization of the minority (Tully, 2000). On the other hand, critics also argue that it is

unfair for certain selected individuals to obtain specialized rights that cannot be accessed or used by all citizens (Bauman, 1997).

Although both sides raise valid points, it would be too simplistic to only consider one side of the rights and freedoms related to one's citizenship. However, research has shown that differentiated citizenship rights can gain an advantage by supporting policies that also accommodate the majority without oppressing or discriminating against the minority (Kymlicka, 2012). According to Kymlicka and Norman (2000), it is said that, when legislation is put into place to tolerate the needs of minorities, it gives the opportunity to reduce the gap between various cultures and find solutions to overcome existing boundaries currently present in society. However, the risk can also result in further societal division and the exclusion of certain minorities "within visible walls of the ghettos" (Bauman, 1997, p. 18).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Second-Generation Identity.

Research on the second generation is relatively recent, but increasingly growing in Canada and worldwide. Most studies on identity and diaspora have focused primarily on the experiences of first-generation immigrants (Berry, 1997; Li, 2003; Phinney et al., 2001; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). While several scholars have discussed the second-generation perspective as a component of a larger analysis (Beyer, 2005; Eid, 2007; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf & Water, 2004; Portes & Zhou, 1993), overall, only a handful of research investigated the conceptual challenges and hybridization of the second generation (Byers & Tastsoglou; Gallant; Hébert et al., 2008). Reviewing how second-generation identity has been explored in the literature provides an entry point to the discussion of how this minority group, overall, represents a gap within.

For starters, the very definition of who is part of which generation is contested. According to Eid (2007), many theorists in the field of identity and minority studies have had different interpretations of the terms ‘first’ and ‘second’ generations. However, a general consensus has been made by global experts and academics that the necessary criteria for nativity is what was found to differentiate the second generation from the first (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Beyer, 2005; Plaza, 2006).

The broad definition of the term second generation is based on several features. According to Portes (1997), the longitudinal outcome of immigration is suggested to depend less on the fate of first generation immigrants and more on the patterns of adaptation taken by their second-generation children. The process of citizenship has important implications for defining what it means to be Canadian and, in turn, has equally significant implications on second-generation children born in Canada (Pratt, 2002).

Tastsoglou (2008) describes the second-generation identity to be dependent on many factors. Accordingly, their acculturation was found to depend on the “social condition, financial capital and cultural patterns” brought by their parents to the host country (Zhou, 1997, p. 988). Academic research can go beyond this relationship between origins and social structures of various cultural groups. Several theorists are attempting to illustrate how immigration influences the opportunities available to their second-generation children. Furthermore, literature seems to debate how cultural identity markers of the first generation can influence the second generation (Zhou, 1997; Eid, 2007).

Recently, the discussion of integration and accommodation is seen to be widely associated with the adaptation process of the first generation (Li, 2003; Phinney et al., 2001). According to Berry et al. (2006), acculturation is described as the process of cultural and psychological change that follows intercultural contact. In this sense, acculturation is not a

process that occurs rapidly; instead it is argued as a development that occurs through various processes such as interaction, integration, and negotiation. Particularly for youth exposed to multiple cultures in and out of home, they choose from selected elements of their cultural backgrounds to form a new hybrid identity within the dominant cultural majority (Grant, 2007). Reitz and Zhang (2011) argue how second generations have the opportunity to pick and choose from multiple identity markers which they think are best from the minority and majority cultures.

Much of the contemporary research reviewed in the literature explores the many ways that minorities adapt and integrate within dominant cultural groups in which they live. In fact, this sort of mixture is found to occur regularly in multicultural societies (Eid, 2007). However, Dwyer (2003) claims this interaction may cause several identity issues for the second generation. Scholars have suggested emerging patterns of difficulties faced by the second-generation identity construction (Taylor, 1994; Mohammed-Arif, 2000; Mahtani, 2002). Consequently, Bannerji (2000) argues that these second-generation individuals are in search of an identity in-between various cultures. In other words, they are found to continuously negotiate their identities through a negotiation of both their birth country and the ones inherited from their parents (Mahtani & Moreno, 2001). This mixture of cultural identity markers is what experts consider as the construction of a hyphenated identity where hybrid agencies meet to form new ways of developing one's general identity (Bannerji, 2000; Jurva & Jaya, 2008; Mahtani, 2002). However, this is not to say that this process of identity is not constructed without debate and scrutiny. For example, Mohammed-Arif (2000) outlines how a majority of second-generation minorities in the West forms a dual cultural identity by preserving inherited traditions within their private spheres while simultaneously adapting to western conventions in public. As this mixture of cultures

happens, this new generation creates its own multidimensional identity bound by a sense of belonging and adaptation in the West (Eid, 2007). Emerging patterns have shown this type of hybrid identity of the second generation to mix their cultural backgrounds to form a new set of norms, values, and beliefs that are unique in multicultural societies (Allahar, 2006; Grant, 2007; Plaza, 2006; Sodhi, 2008; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

According to Nagle (2009), this hybridity factor is described as the process through which the “second generation creatively mediate and reconcile oppositional identities” by contributing a new multicultural dialogue between cultures (p. 159). Also, a significant part of the literature on the second generation found that this population adapts simultaneously to multiple cultures (Eid, 2007; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf & Water, 2004; Pratt, 2002; Sodhi, 2008). However, faced with conflicting perspectives at times, little or no attention has been drawn to how second-generation minorities may negotiate these multicultural conditions.

Despite contemporary literature making significant contributions, additional research is needed in order to provide a better understanding of how second generations construct their identities and build a sense of belonging within various multicultural values found in Canada. In fact, a number of researchers are beginning to explore similarities and differences between cultural groups and the experiences of the second generation (Bannerji, 2000; Eid, 2007; Mahtani, 2002; Parekh, 2000).

Parekh (2000) argues that no multicultural society can be stable if constituent communities do not receive a fair share of recognition in areas of social, economic, and political democracy. In terms of characteristics for communal recognition, the author makes a strong connection to Benedict Anderson’s notion of the importance of language in building ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1991). The main similarity with both authors is their use of the concept of community in order to form a meaning of home and sense of belonging.

Both Parekh (2000) and Anderson (1991) suggest that recognition and politics are key essentials in the construction of communal practices.

Another major component addresses the literature gap that exists regarding the second-generation Muslims living in Canada. Research has explored the effects of this experience by mainly examining immigrants as religious minority groups in a predominantly Christian society (Bhimani, 2003; Eid, 2007; Karim, 2009; Murji & Hebert, 1999). Much of the literature on religious minorities addresses accommodation and tolerance issues in Canada; however, knowledge on the impact of multiculturalism on second-generation religious minorities is scarce in comparison. For the purposes of this study, the following section focuses on the features and objectives of legislated multiculturalism in Canada.

2.2.2 Legislated Multiculturalism.

Up until the late 1960s, Canada had various immigration policies, which strongly favoured immigrants that would fit into its society (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998; Knowles, 2007). However, over time, various globalizing factors and economic changes brought in major waves of foreign labour from across the globe (Fleras, 2002; Elliott, 1992). According to Kelley and Trebilcock (1998), Canada's demographics were beginning to change as the country's reputation as a multicultural nation started gaining much attention. Kymlicka (2010) claims many emigrants were also attracted to the bilingual nature of the country as it was perceived to be tolerant, inclusive, and democratic. As a society beginning to shape its multicultural character, various legislative policies were put in place to preserve, promote and enhance Canada's cultural diversity.

In 2011, the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, a first of its kind, celebrated its 40th anniversary. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2012), the policy provides a series of principles for achieving the equality of its citizens in the economic, social, cultural,

and political life of Canada. In fact, part of Canada's official legislation for the preservation and enhancement of its cultural mosaic states:

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the quality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada.³

Historically, Canada's first multiculturalism legislation rose in the aftermath of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). In 1969, the innovative 'B & B' commission officially documented the notion that Canada is reflected by its bilingual and bicultural plurality (Knowles, 2007). Given the strong persuasion of their arguments, various cultural representatives debated how their languages, religions, and traditions should be considered just as important to Canada as the ones found in Quebec (Fleras & Kunz, 2001). According to Cameron (2004), since its inauguration, Canadian multicultural policy has served not only as an equalizing standard for governance but also as a basis for Canada's heterogeneous society.

As the world's first policy on the management of cultural diversity, it became a fundamental hope that all citizens could be treated fairly and equally within its borders (Day, 2000). Moreover, despite the policy being inducted within the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, it is not until 1988 that multiculturalism became an official law through the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Dewing, 2009). According to Mahtani (2002), the Act was a policy that aimed to acknowledge every Canadian's right to identify with the cultural traditions of their choice, while retaining official Canadian citizenship. The strategy was to endorse and protect the rights and freedoms of all of its citizens, regardless of ethnic

³ Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2012): 'Multiculturalism'.

backgrounds or religious affiliations. However, through its evolution over the years, multiculturalism has also been a target for conflicting issues and challenges regarding cultural diversity.

In 1971, the federal government and Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau recognized legislated multiculturalism as a fundamental requirement of a culturally-diverse and bilingual Canadian society. At the time, the implementation of this policy not only recognized the many minority groups it contained, but also created strategies for them to safely and positively contribute to Canadian society (Fleras & Kunz, 2001). Furthermore, its legislation encouraged these values with respect to identity markers such as ethnicity, race, language, or religion. In implementing the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy of Canada, the rights and freedoms of all Canadians were distinctively acknowledged by granting them official recognition (Kymlicka, 2010).

In the early 1980s, as new ethnicities and religions started to make the shifting population of Canada, the federal government had the mandate to clarify the aim of multiculturalism policy. According to Madison, Fairfield and Harris (2000), multiculturalism was reputed as a platform that allowed minorities to be part of the national culture and be supported by its protective legislation. In 1985, the updated goals and objectives of the multiculturalism policy were described as follow:

Table 2 - Goals and objectives of the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

1. Recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;
2. Recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;

3. Promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation;
4. Recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;
5. Ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;
6. Encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;
7. Promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;
8. Foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;
9. Preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada;
10. Advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.

(Department of Justice, 1985).

Policy Research Initiative (2009) claims these objectives were also addressed by funding public institutions, such as schools and hospitals, to reduce barriers of access and portray the multicultural reality of Canada. Since the 1980s, much has changed in terms of Canada's demographics and society. According to the Census (2006), an estimated five-million citizens were reported as members of a visible minority in Canada.

Globally, the concept of multiculturalism is so broad that it often gets misconceived through its definition and key terms. For countries with a multiplicity of diverse cultures, like those in Europe, Australia, the United States, and Canada, there is a growing need to both understand and investigate the influence of multicultural legislation. According to Kymlicka (2012), multiculturalism has taken on negative implications in Europe over the last fifteen years. Multiculturalism is perceived to be framed as a loophole used to justify porous immigration practices and even preferential treatment for minorities within mainstream society (Day, 2000). Siapera (2010) claims Australia's government recognises its official

policy for multiculturalism as a 'merit' to manage its increasing cultural diversity. However, over the years, the concept of multiculturalism has been confronted with an insurmountable amount of criticism focused on its inability to implement policies and engage its cultural minorities.

Recently, the role of religion in the Canadian discourse on diversity has faced considerable challenges, and there has been political pressure to reconstruct its traditional narrative as a Judeo-Christian society. Both in Canada and Quebec, as in many parts of the world, individuals find themselves increasingly entrenched in a religious lifestyle and "far from a secular vision of society" (Berger, 1999, p. 2). Despite the existence of a multicultural policy shaped around tolerance, reasonable accommodations, and coexistence, animosity still exists in regards to religious freedom in Canada. According to Taylor (1989), one's religious identity still remains the lawful principle by which some orient themselves and bring meaning to their lives. By this approach, one's identity construction can be related and practiced through a communal religious perspective.

On the surface, multiculturalism legislation might appear to be equal and righteous to all but discrimination on the basis of religion is still present. Jiwani (2006) argues a strong interest has been targeted towards the globalization of Islam, wherein a growing number of Muslims live in the West. According to Bagley (1987), minorities who grew up in another country and immigrated to Canada often faced challenges of integration due to "language barriers, differences in attire and other cultural customs that isolated them from the dominant culture" (p. 18). Although Canada is not where a large part of Muslims live (Adams, 2009), Roy (2004) believes the interest of promoting religious peace is becoming much more popular amongst youth in the country. Nevertheless, the stereotypes of Muslims portrayed in the media, along with a number of recent political events, has led many critics to investigate

the relationship between the West and its Muslims (Khan, 1998). As a result, Bhimani (2003) claims it is not surprising to find the debate of multiculturalism particularly interested in immigration from the Muslim world. Consequently, Khan (2008) believes the focus of religious debates involving Muslims has been prioritized as a highlight item in the media.

In this context, these challenges have intensified doubts about the value of multiculturalism and how it affects the identity of Canadian Muslims, even those who are born and raised in this country. As a result, the challenges of religious freedom are becoming problematic, and multicultural societies face considerable backlash of their policies.

As we have seen in Quebec through recent controversy, Sharify-Funk (2010) claims the discussion of ‘reasonable accommodations’ were due to the increasing arrival of new immigrants, and the effect of cultural integration within a francophone minority trying to protect its own collective status within Canada. The commission declared that efforts need to be made on all sides to help society evolve and successfully approach the responsibilities of integration and intercultural relations (Sharify-Funk, 2010). This method is important to remember as Taylor states during his interview: “All those who live here, who work here, who make their life here, who are part of our society are Quebecers, regardless of their origins” (CBC News, 2008). Nevertheless, as we witnessed through the controversy over the proposed Quebec Charter of Values, the challenges of tolerance and accommodation are becoming even more sensitive than before.

For the purposes of this study, multiculturalism will be defined as “the understandings, strategies and policies adopted to govern and manage diversity within multicultural societies” (Hasmath, 2011, p. 163). According to Taylor (1994), this definition is portrayed to be a symbol of Canada’s social cohesion, inclusion and politics of recognition. In his work, the author explains how the government attempts to recognize and

manage cultural diversity within its borders. Taylor (1992) describes the potential failure of recognizing certain cultural differences can “inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in the false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (p. 25). If we break down the author’s argument, multiculturalism encourages citizens to embrace the cultural differences of others and promote positive interactions. Taylor (1994) suggests it is through this mindset that minorities can maintain a sense of belonging within a dominant majority.

There are important diversities in Canada that need to be expressed. In terms of its policy, Siapera (2010) claims the objective focus of multiculturalism is to shape an integrated, inclusive, and socially-unified society. Despite challenges from the province of Quebec, Kymlicka (2010) asserts there is strong evidence that legislated multiculturalism plays a positive role in the successful integration of its religious minorities. Kymlicka’s theory of liberal culturalism asserts that, even though minorities do not share similar ways of living, “it is not about resolving disputes over legitimacy, but about learning to live with their contested character, and building democratic forums for continuing that conversation” (Kymlicka, 2011, p. 289). However, Symons (2002) argues how certain Quebec government parties (Parti Quebecois) have continuously opposed Canada’s approach to multiculturalism since they claim it reduces their own culture “to a minority status similar to that of immigrants” (p. 28). With this in mind, and for the purposes of this study, we will thus attempt to bridge gaps in the following section.

2.3 Bridging the Gaps

In the last few decades, we have witnessed worldwide challenges faced in the management of cultural diversity, especially in the case of legislating multiculturalism (Banting, 2012). As previously mentioned, increasing migration patterns towards the West have been one of the major influences faced by multicultural societies (Statistics Canada,

2011). Thus, given the background found in the literature, this transition is seen to be ever-expanding and introduces an important opportunity to research current multicultural debates. According to Knowles (2007), it is argued that the Canadian approach of multiculturalism is a progressive model that allows people to truly express their identity and be part of a society that is most tolerable and adaptable to diversity challenges since the early 1970s.

Furthermore, as we have noticed from the previous section, minorities are faced with a unique experience of negotiating hybrid identities in a multicultural nation (Mahtani, 2002). Recognizing diaspora communities is an important part of Canadian multiculturalism and it is still uncertain whether it will be feasible in the years to come. Facing criticism from across the globe, legislated multiculturalism finds itself in the midst of much debate. Global experts and policy makers have been questioning the effectiveness of this model for many decades. Despite its challenged popularity, Kymlicka (2010) argues that the legislated policy behind multiculturalism is still being developed through a pluralistic form that is desirable and, in Canada, quite a success story.

Lately, one can assume that various studies and academic research have been increasingly investigating the identity formation of religious minorities in Canada. Over the last decade, critics have addressed the challenging limits of religious accommodations; whether it is through special holidays, diets, or the public sphere (Sharify-Funk, 2010; Eid, 2007). However, there has been very little research devoted to the unique focus of multiculturalism and the modern-day Muslim identity in Canada, particularly from Quebec. Although various studies have examined the various understandings of multiculturalism amongst ethnic groups (Byers & Tastsoglou; Jurva & Jaya; Sodhi, 2008), there seems to be very little research dedicated to examining the impact of living in a multicultural society as a second-generation religious diaspora community member. According to recent literature, this

target minority group is positioned in a unique cluster of citizens who can distinctively relate to the impact of multiculturalism as second-generation Canadians (Eid, 2007; Jurva & Jaya, 2008).

This phenomenological analysis explores the experiences of second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal, Quebec. This approach will be used to explore the identity formation of this target population. The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of the impact of legislated multiculturalism on second-generation members of a diaspora community in Canada.

2.4 Research Question

The overall research question driving this study is described as follow: *How does the legislation of multiculturalism influence second-generation Canadian men who are part of a diaspora community?* This discussion will provide a larger reflection of the respondents' perceptions of challenging fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers, deconstructing a sense of diaspora community, and investigating the impact of multiculturalism in Canada.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Overview

While previous sections have reviewed the theoretical background related to this study, the goal of this present chapter is to illustrate the methodological framework used in this research. Through the investigation of legislated multiculturalism in Canada, the aim of this research design is to structure analysis of the construction, negotiation, and representation of the (male) second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim identity.

First, this chapter presents the motive in selecting a qualitative methodology for this research. Furthermore, it outlines the sampling strategies and recruitment criteria used with participants. Also, it describes the respondents by giving a brief summary of their socio-cultural background. In addition, this chapter will explain the researcher's position in relation to this study and its respondents. This part will also present the ethical considerations that led this study. Moreover, this section describes how data collection was conducted and how interview themes were analysed. Lastly, this chapter concludes by presenting the validity and reliability of the analysis that guided this research.

3.2 Research Design: Qualitative Methodology

There are multiple ways we could have approached this phenomenological analysis of second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim men from Montreal, Quebec. According to Keyton (2011), measuring individual identity perceptions is a complex process for researchers; therefore, qualitative research methods are considered to be more empirical, interpretive, and effective in studying a target population. In addition, the approach of qualitative methodology allows for a more thorough and in-depth analysis of interview data (Creswell, 2009). According to Creswell (2002), qualitative methods enable researchers to dig deeper into the perceptions and opinions made by respondents during their interviews.

Thus, qualitative methodology was chosen to generate richer dialogues and informative feedback from participants. Using this approach, qualitative research allows both the researcher and participants to create new conceptual meaning within their discussion. This method also provided an opportunity to apply a standard of protocol while developing contextualized follow up questions for each research participant. This method also allows respondents to share experiences while facilitating the evaluation and interpretation of their responses (Creswell, 2002). Merriam (1997) claims the qualitative method permits researchers to understand each respondent in relation to the other rather than generalise unique perceptions.

This qualitative research methodology correlates the perceptions of the researcher and the respondent. According to Creswell (2002), qualitative methodology allows a connection between researchers and participants that systematically reflects “on who he or she is in the inquiry” (p. 182). Given the semi-structured nature of the interviews, participants were able to express themselves freely and self-define their identity through various discussions (Ospina, 2004). A semi-structured approach was also conducted due its ability to generate various discussion topics with participants during their interviews. In addition, the complex nature of this investigation could have not been effectively explored by only using close-ended questions. In order not to conform to expectations and bias as a researcher, open-ended questions were used to facilitate the respondents’ personal views and description of experiences (Ospina, 2004). However, objective and fixed questions were also applied to ensure that their answers were clearly understood by the researcher (Creswell, 2002). Therefore, the researcher considered qualitative methodology relevant for the study to better understand second generations and their perceptions of multiculturalism in Canada. This research specifically conducts a qualitative phenomenological approach.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) is a recently-developed and increasingly growing qualitative methodology in research (Gill, 2014). Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) describe a phenomenological analysis as an examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences. In addition, the authors describe phenomenology as a philosophical approach to the study of experience and interpretation (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). According to Larkin, Watts, and Clifton (2006), the phenomenological analysis design provides in-depth information through a process of inquiry that attempts to make sense of participants' experiences. A phenomenological analysis is an idiographic and a detailed investigation conducted on relatively small sample sizes. The aim of this approach is to examine convergence and patterns of responses within a sample of research participants (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). Hence, a qualitative phenomenological analysis approach allows investigating experiences using a variety of data sources available within the sample.

For the purposes of this study, 12 in-depth interviews of approximately one hour in duration were conducted with second generation men of the Canadian Ismaili Muslim community living in Montreal, Quebec. As described previously, few studies have been conducted on the second generation's perceived experience of multiculturalism in Canada, especially in regards to religious minority groups in Quebec. Therefore, this study used a qualitative research design to examine a phenomenological analysis of the target population at hand. The dialogues were structured around ten pre-determined protocol questions and endorsed open discussion during interviews.

As mentioned above, a phenomenological analysis approach seeks to describe experiences in-depth and to offer detailed information on the issue being discussed. This research design allows for various findings to emerge from the interview data. Once transcripts of all the respondents were compiled, thematic analysis was completed in order to

draw patterns and conclusions. Discussions were focused on participants' understanding of themes within multiculturalism and their perspectives on how it impacts their second-generation identity in Canada. The qualitative interviews also discussed the legislation of multiculturalism through its current debates and controversies. In this context, it was essential to explore how participants made sense of their belonging and identity in Canada.

3.3 Sampling Strategy and Recruitment

The sampling strategy used for this research was a volunteer sampling technique, where information letters were distributed in local Ismaili community centres and respondents were recruited on a first-come, first-serve basis. One of the reasons why the interviews were conducted in the province of Quebec, and in Montreal in particular, is simply due to the wide range of ethnic diversities present within the local Ismaili Muslim diaspora community there. In fact, this plurality goes beyond borders, ranging from Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern African to Western, Central, Eastern, Middle-Eastern, and South-East Asian backgrounds.⁴ Selecting this type of volunteer sampling method allows this research to both maximize heterogeneity within the sample and include self-involved respondents (Creswell, 2009). However, it is important to note that the Montreal Ismaili Muslim community is tight-knit and relatively close. As a result, to protect the anonymous and confidential nature of this study, no relatively personal information will be provided.

The research sample consisted of twelve Canadian second-generation Ismaili Muslims, and the criteria (6) for inclusion in this study consisted of the following:

⁴ See Appendix 5 for a socio-historical review of the Shia Ismaili Muslim diaspora in Canada.

- A minimum of 18 years of age; due to the complexity of the questions and the sensitivity of obtaining parental approval if participants younger than 18 were included.
- Respondents had to be of the male gender; this step was taken for a variety of reasons related to the literature identity, due to personal and research feasibility concerns, and to control for gender differences amongst respondents. Moreover, it also allowed respondents to share their experiences with a researcher who can relate to their identity as a male second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim from Montreal, Quebec. Considering the scope of this research, due to sampling strategies and interview settings, only male participants were enrolled in this study. One reason for this gendered perspective was also due to the facilitated recruitment and access to participants. Enrolling male participants made it easier for the male researcher to discuss and share thoughts about a gendered topic such as identity. It would have been ideal to include a wide group of research participants, including women; but, given the constraints faced in this study, this gender bias was taken for both practical and methodological limitations. In limiting this variable within the sample, it allowed for a more objective investigation of the target population at hand.
- Fluency in both English and French; in order to portray the bilingual nature of the participants and the local community.
- Having been born and raised in the greater area of Montreal; in order to target the population at hand.
- Being Canadian of the second generation; due to their Canadian birth and their parents' migration to Canada.

- Research participants had to be clearly self-identified as Shia Nizari Ismaili Muslims⁵ in order to target the religious diaspora community at hand. However, it must be noted that a level of religious practice was not a necessary criteria for their selection.

Prior to the interviews, information letters were prepared in order for participants to acknowledge the nature and objective of this research. Once the letters were reviewed, a consent form was signed bilaterally before beginning each interview. Furthermore, interviews were held in undisclosed locations that were chosen by the participants themselves. A reason for inviting the respondents to choose their own interview settings was to enhance their sense of comfort in an environment of their choice where they could share experiences in freedom and security.

3.4 Respondents

From its inception, it must be clear that the goal of this research was not to produce results that could be generalised to the global diaspora communities of the Ismaili Muslims, but to the particular framework of its male second-generation members in Montreal.

The respondents of this study were all born in Montreal, fluently bilingual, and attend a local mosque, or *jamat-khana*⁶, by choice. Through an examination of 12 participants between 18 and 28 years of age, the aim is to analyse emerging themes and opinions generated by the interviews of this study. Relating gaps found in the literature can thus provide interesting information on the participants and expand their discussion of multiculturalism in Canada.

The recruitment method was used to develop specific questions pertaining to contemporary debates of multiculturalism and the second-generation identity in Canada. In

⁵ See Appendix 5 for a socio-historical review of the Shia Ismaili Muslim diaspora in Canada.

⁶ A *jamat-khana* is a community centre for all religious and communal activities of the Ismailis (Daftary, 1998).

this sense, this study attempted to gain further insights into the hybrid identities of second generations and how they negotiate a sense of belonging across multiple socio-cultural settings. Investigating a phenomenological analysis of the Montreal Ismaili Muslim community allows for a larger reflection on the impact of legislated multiculturalism and the second generation in Canada.

After the interviews, many shared having gained a lot of knowledge about themselves through this study and its interview process. In fact, many claimed that they had never thought so deeply or even discussed so much about their own identity. And, although some participants mentioned that they had not given much previous thought to the topics discussed during the interviews, the results of data collection suggest quite the opposite. In order to effectively explore the objectives of this research, the flexibility of in-depth interviews and open-ended questions encouraged the respondents to share their experiences, attempt to define their sense of identity, and explain their conception of multiculturalism in more detail.

3.5 Position of the Researcher

According to Creswell (2009), in any research, it is important to describe one's research position as it may influence the outcome of the findings. In this study, positionality was determined by the relationship of the researcher to the respondents (Merriam et al., 2001). In other words, qualitative methodology confirms my position as an insider and an outsider. My identity is, in reality, similar to the ones the participants represent during the interviews. Thus, my research approach allowed me to understand this target population's perception at greater length.

Moreover, it permitted my position to be an observer and a researcher in my own second-generation Ismaili Muslim identity in Canada. My position as a researcher presumably aided in the recruitment process and participation of the respondents. Critics

argue that researchers as insiders can provide a thoughtful meaning of experiences (Merriam et al., 2001). In this context, the researcher is a member of the Ismaili Muslim community in Montreal, where data collection was conducted. The researcher's status as an insider most likely aided in the data collection process and may have allowed participants to share their point of views with someone who can relate to their experience. Such as in this case, researchers enter the study with "baggage and find themselves in in-between positions as both part of the research and conducting the research" (Einagel, 2002, p. 229). Nonetheless, understanding and fairly representing the participants' perspectives, whether positive or negative, is of key importance in any research. Through the phenomenological analysis of the data, this researcher was aware of any assumptions made. Throughout this study, there is a consistent commitment to conveying the respondents' perceptions in an impartial, unbiased and fair manner.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

In agreement with the Social Science and Humanities Research Ethics Board and the Office of Research Ethics and Integrity at the University of Ottawa, this thesis obtained ethical approval prior to conducting the data collection process (Appendix 4). At the outset of each interview, all research participants were presented with a letter of information (Appendix 1) accompanied by this study's interview guide (Appendix 2), and were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 3), underlining their participation as voluntary and self-committed. The respondents were informed that they could choose not to answer any particular question during the interview, and withdraw their involvement at any time with no justifications required. This situation of limited or withdrawn involvement did not occur with any of the participants during the research.

Furthermore, participants were reminded of the confidential and anonymous nature of their participation. Each participant's name was therefore replaced with a randomly assigned respondent number. In this sense, their names do not appear anywhere on the documentation, transcripts or data collected during this study. As a result, throughout the investigation of this research, the respondents' anonymity was respected by the use of their respondent number. These steps were undertaken with sensitivity and shared with participants in order to maintain trust, confidentiality, and anonymity throughout the process of this study.

3.7 Data Collection

For the purposes of this study, although the focus group method of inquiry could have provided this research with important and valuable data from participants, greater depth and detail could have only been produced through individual qualitative interviews (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). The personal stories of the respondents could have been difficult situations to share in a focus group environment; therefore, this method would have not been an appropriate approach to use. When it comes to data collection procedures, Keyton (2011) claims "interviews are a practical qualitative method for discovering how people think and feel" (p. 269). According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), this approach provides the researcher with the opportunity to ask follow-up questions to further probe and develop previous answers made by participants. Discussing their experiences provided the respondents with the opportunity to share experiences about their past and present, as well as their insights for the future.

In terms of data collection, the method of conducting semi-structured and in-depth interviews was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, this method ensured that all research participants were heard individually and with utmost attention by the researcher. Secondly, due to strong relationships and the closely-integrated Ismaili Muslim community found in

Montreal, the respondents could have been insecure and uncomfortable sharing their experiences with others present. Thirdly, the individualistic approach of qualitative interviews allowed the researcher to clearly explain and, if needed, reiterate interview questions for those who needed more time or clarification. Lastly, this data collection approach permitted the researcher to examine interview data and analyse patterns made by participants.

Therefore, this research method gave the opportunity to ask participants personal, descriptive questions while remaining in a conversational and friendly dialogue during each interview. In addition, to enhance the narrative framework of this research, the focus of conducting qualitative interviews allowed the researcher to broaden themes and topics of discussion with respondents. Given consent by the participants, the interviews were audio-recorded to accurately preserve the data collected. As well, 237 pages of hand-written field notes were generated in which similarities, comparisons, and patterns of data were analysed.

3.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of summarizing the interview data collected and presenting the important features of the results (Creswell, 2009). In qualitative methodology, data analysis is the process of organizing data categories and themes (Keyton, 2011). According to research methods specialists, the process of data analysis is described as categorizing and classifying interview data into various concepts, patterns, and themes (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). This research analyzed the data collected by organizing them into categorical themes that were reflected in the literature review. Therefore, thematic analysis was distinguished as a suitable process for this study.

The thematic analysis of data collected was interpreted and analysed in two major ways. The first phase comprised of examining the interview transcripts through the

experiences of each participant. Moreover, this part of the analysis was used to break down interview dialogues using coding structures. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2011), an important part of qualitative data analysis is the process of coding patterns and themes. This type of coding model enables organizing data into distinctive parts (Creswell, 2002).

Furthermore, this research examined each interview separately and in detail in order to have a general sense of the data collected. In order to accurately investigate the data generated, this process allowed new patterns and themes to emerge for analysis. The major themes explored in this study surfaced from coding the data found in the interview transcripts. In this sense, shared experiences were managed into organized themes depending on the discussion with research participants. According to Keyton (2011), coding and categorizing data into themes helps managing perceptions made by the respondents. Through this process, experiences were distinguished and placed into various conceptual themes.

In the second phase, a closer investigation of the themes was generated and contextualized through the analysis of different experiences. Through this examination of emerging themes, commonalities were compiled and compared in order to draw empirical conclusions and illustrative patterns of analysis. One of the key advantages of this type of analysis is the ability to distinguish the participants' coded answers in a descriptive and narrative fashion. The relevant interview data analyzed was then again separated into sub-themes that expressed the same perspective. In other words, through this process of analysis, this study organized four theoretical themes to gain greater insights into the identity formation of second-generation Ismaili Muslim men and their perception of legislated multiculturalism in Canada. To ensure the reader's trustworthiness and credibility of the analysis, the following section will outline data validity and reliability in reference to research methodologists such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell (2002).

3.9 Data Validity and Reliability

To ensure credibility of analysis, Creswell (2009) describes qualitative validity as the accuracy and qualitative reliability as the consistency of data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe the quality and trustworthiness of analysis by affiliating the term with four descriptive components: credibility, conformability, consistency, and applicability. In a phenomenological analysis, organizing interview data can be considered an important factor in the validity and reliability of a study. Therefore, to avoid this issue, this present research ensures trustworthiness in data collection and analysis. As suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), credibility was established by creating a rapport with participants prior to conducting data collection. Furthermore, the predetermined set of protocol questions were asked, as described in the interview guide that was distributed to each respondent prior to the interview. In addition, follow-up questions were also used in order to repeat participants' comments so that they can elaborate on their previous responses. Data validity and reliability was also ensured by building a communication of trust between the researcher and the respondents.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1 Results

This chapter presents the research findings of this study. The first section presents the interview data as conducted with the research participants. Results are organised thematically according to the four conceptual themes of identity (i.e., hybridity, diaspora communities, ethnicity, and citizenship) reflected from the literature review in Chapter 2. Wherever feasible, results have been presented using quotations from study participants.

The second part of this chapter is comprised of a discussion of the results. This discussion is presented in three analytical sections established through this research: Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities; Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation; and Redefining Canadian Multiculturalism. This discussion provides a larger reflection of the respondents' perceptions by (1) challenging fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers, (2) deconstructing a sense of diaspora community and (3) investigating the impact of multiculturalism in Canada. The findings and analyses of within this chapter describe the respondents' views on how legislated multiculturalism influences their identity as second-generation Canadians.

4.1.1 Hybridity.

As described in the literature review, the concept of hybridity is fluid and contested. According to participants, hybridity allowed them to challenge multiple socio-cultural paradigms as second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslims. Most respondents consider themselves to have been exposed to and influenced by many different cultural identity markers in Montreal. Whether it was through language, ethnicity, or religion; respondents were found to claim these markers as a mixture of experiences that construct their second-generation identity in Canada. As reviewed in Chapter 2, the concept of hybridity relates to

the contemporary flow of cultures and their interactions (Bhabha, 1994). In her study, Mahtani (2002) describes hyphenated-identities by examining younger minorities found in Canada. The author outlines the notion of hybrid identities by exploring how mixed-race citizens negotiate cultural and national affiliations (Mahtani, 2002). In her findings, hybridity was described as an experience in which minorities negotiate a unique meaning of home in Canada.

In this study, second-generation Ismaili Muslims were found to claim that the meaning of home transcended beyond a specific geographic location found on a map. According to the research participants, framing a conception of home also helped them shape a second-generation identity in Montreal. It was discovered that their meaning of home was not strictly related to their place of birth or where they were raised, but rather from various hybrid experiences that challenge the boundaries of fixed cultural identity markers. Whether it was at their schools, community centres, or work; various components of hybridity were distinguished by the respondents.

While it may seem like a very simple concept, the respondents' meaning of home was further identified as closely related with family. In fact, family was considered a common denominator for mostly all of the respondents when discussing the significance of home. Negotiated as a defining factor for most second-generation respondents, the topic of hybridity led to exploring the importance of family as Respondent #4 describes:

For me family is not necessarily just blood, but people who I'm really close with, just like good friends of mine. It doesn't mean that because we have different parents that we're not family. That's how I was raised and that's how most of my friends were raised. And for us home is our family. (Respondent #4)

When asked to define his meaning of home, Respondent #1 instantly referred to family by saying:

Home is where your family is. It is where you feel comfort and do not feel judged. Where your surroundings relate to your values and ethics. In my case, I would say home is Montreal; it's where I belong in other words. (Respondent #1)

During the interview, Respondent #8 was also found relating the importance of family by associating it to a place of love and comfort:

To me, home is a special place; it's your birth place, your place of security, the place where your family is, the place where you feel love, and the place where you feel comfortable. (Respondent #8)

Furthermore, Respondent #11 adds to this notion of family as he states:

It's where you feel a sense of comfort and feel a sense of pride, but also where you're able to identify yourself. So in terms of comfort, all of my perspectives of culture were made in Montreal where there are many kinds of different cultures that surround you. (Respondent # 11)

As we can see by the quotes above, most respondents related their significance of home with their families. When discussing its implications, the respondents were found to generally share a common perspective on hybridity throughout the interviews. However, according to the interview data, a few respondents were also found to distinguish it as more of a personal development constructed through time and place. In line with Charles Taylor's (1992) approach of the politics of recognition, this notion was discussed particularly with the respondents who had left the city of Montreal but still consider it as their first home:

When I moved out, I made my new home in a different city, and I laid my roots in a different city. But, fundamentally, where I learned my values and principles and the culture in which I grew around and the people that I grew around with would always be people from my first home: Montreal. So I would say home is really in both Quebec and Canada but at the same time, home is where you make it yourself as well. (Respondent #10)

Afterwards, when asked how the province of Quebec can be considered home, this same participant replied:

I mean, whether you are from Montreal, from Rimouski or Gaspésie, you pretty much identify with Quebec as being part of your home. It's kind of a sense of pride for us coming from a francophone province as Quebecers. (Respondent #10)

Furthermore, Respondent #12 was found to define Montreal as a temporal and redefining place over time:

Montreal is home for me for a time being as I'm born and I'm raised here. But, is home stuck and anchored in one place? Not necessarily, because home can change. (Respondent #12)

Canada, as the respondents' country of birth, nationality, and citizenship, was found to have a special meaning for their second-generation identity. Most of the respondents described themselves having mixed and multifaceted hybrid identities. Complex in its nature, they relate their second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim individuality with various cultural identity markers present in their lives. Their perceptions of Canada were also claimed by embracing a notion of a hybrid identity. For most respondents of this study, hybridity was able to define their identity in terms of balancing numerous socio-cultural relationships in Montreal. Respondent #12 discusses this experience as he defines his community as a primary feature of his Canadian identity:

I'm a Canadian Ismaili Muslim from Montreal. It's the way we identify ourselves because we are, in some sense, one of the only groups which can identify ourselves with our religion and country. (Respondent #12)

Here, the participant was found claiming the hybrid perspective of a combined national and religious identity. This response demonstrates the generalized feeling negotiated by most respondents of this study. In fact, many were found to discuss the description of this third space (Bhabha, 1996), which is negotiated in situational circumstances and characteristics. For most respondents, this was the case Respondent #7 states when asked to describe his second-generation identity:

It is pretty hard to describe. Because, I will be honest, it is kind of a struggle. I am North American, French and English Canadian, and Quebecois; however, I am a Montrealer and an Ismaili Muslim in essence. (Respondent #7)

Exploring the hybrid dynamics of this identity was interesting as most respondents described themselves as bilingual ‘Montrealers’ from the province of Quebec, and second-generation Ismaili Muslims in Canada. The identity markers respondents identified themselves with was quite extraordinary. Most respondents expressed their views by conforming to a multitude of values taught by their parents. These experiences were discussed with respondents; and the general consensus complies with Respondent #10 as he states:

Being Ismaili Muslim in Montreal, you have to balance both [spiritual and material] lives and that's something that was very important to our parents. We have to integrate within the Canadian culture but we can't lose what it fundamentally means to be Ismaili. There is definitely a balance. [...] The values and ethics of our community play a very, very big importance on how you grow up. (Respondent #10)

For many respondents, hybridity highlights multiple diversities, which promoted their negotiation within various cultural environments in Montreal. They believe their cultural repertoire is diverse yet complex to define at times. Respondent #9 makes this claim about hybridity:

That's what makes the beauty of growing up in Montreal, and knowing that you know you come from different places. As long as you know your roots, you can live freely and still have the knowledge of having a different cultural baggage. (Respondent #9)

Respondent #3 expands on this thought, saying:

I think it was always implied that being Canadian was a part of your identity and it came with all other parts of being. I mean, yes, you feel like you are different from others in terms of skin color and languages spoken and things like that. But I don't think you felt more or less of a Canadian than someone who maybe identifies with a different culture or practices a different religion. (Respondent #3)

This exposure to various values and beliefs seems to have had a great impact on the respondents' lives.

Most respondents described themselves as a multidimensional and hybrid second-generation identities. According to the respondents, these characteristics were found to be

engrained in their second-generation experiences. According to respondents, multiculturalism has the unique ability to intertwine hybrid cultures with one another. Many expressed that multiculturalism is what protects both their Canadian and religious identity.

When asked what ‘multiculturalism’ meant, Respondent #11 stated:

I see Canada as a multicultural society. We as Canadians accept everybody. I’d say this is our case since it is part of our tradition and heritage in Canada; except we see challenges in Quebec. (Respondent #11)

Unanimously, all of the respondents described multiculturalism was beneficial to Canada.

Whether it was through ethnic diversity, bilingualism, or religious freedom, the respondents explicitly stated that multiculturalism is what made this country what it is today. Discussing the notion of inclusivity in Canada, Respondent #12 argues:

[It’s a] society that is inclusive and not just tolerant. Accepting of who you are and where you’re from is what allows you to feel attached to a cultural community but also allows you to identify yourself as a proud Canadian. Similarly, [multiculturalism] is very uniquely Canadian and enshrined in our culture. (Respondent #12)

Respondent #12 later adds to his view of multiculturalism by stating:

Canada is inclusive of language, race, and cultural identity; and [multiculturalism is not just accepted but it’s promoted because there’s a difference in tolerance. When you tolerate someone, you tolerate them because you’re not really happy but you’re okay with it. But when you encourage and you’re happy about it, that’s multiculturalism. And walking in downtown Montreal, downtown Ottawa, more so downtown Toronto; you can see people from numerous different backgrounds speaking English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Mandarin, Chinese, Hindi. And, everyone is living together in harmony in a society of inclusiveness. (Respondent #12)

This was the general consensus reported by participants of this study. Many claimed that multiculturalism is what allowed them to embrace their own hybrid identity. As Respondent #1 states:

Multiculturalism is what allows us to believe in hope, to live with various traditions and intertwine them for the long run. Pierre Elliott Trudeau paved the way to that

privilege by declaring it an official policy in the 1970s. It is what makes us unique in this world, no one is the same and it's what makes us proud. (Respondent #1)

Montreal respondents provide a unique vision into the particular challenges of multiculturalism and living in the province of Quebec. Throughout the interviews, they were found to describe a dual tension living as a Canadian and a Quebecois in Montreal. The respondents discussed what it felt like being in-between these positions, and how this perception impacts their lives. It was noted that these respondents attributed part of their bilingual identity to the fact that they had access to a good education and exceptional experiences in both official languages in Montreal. Ironically, according to a few, the language dispute in Quebec was actually beneficial for Canada. Despite most respondents having attended French high schools during their youth, their commitment to bilingualism in Montreal is what provided them with the means to easily adjust in both languages. The respondents claim that growing up in Montreal, they felt a distinctive advantage of communicating in more than one language. According to interview data, most respondents were found to generally speak over three languages. For instance, Respondent #9 had the opportunity to start his own business; and, while he had to face various challenges, his strong commitment to bilingualism was definitely an asset in Montreal:

I find that knowing multiple languages has definitely helped me because I can go to clients and speak to them in various languages. English and French are, however, essential. Every client is different and comfortable in their own native language, and I'm able to adapt myself to them, which is very important. In Montreal, I see this was a strong asset versus just learning one language. (Respondent #9)

Respondent #12 adds to this notion of the multilingual advantage and of knowing French, claiming:

It's a minority language in North America, and I honestly believe that the rest of Canada thinks the exact same way. If you have your own image but part of this image is multiple languages, multiple backgrounds and multiple religions; well that's pretty much the people of Montreal. (Respondent #12)

In addition, Respondent #7 shared his point of view on hybridity, and why he believes

Montreal is so special in this regard:

The reason why Montreal is so cool is because there is a French culture. But if you take out the language and culture, the Europeaness of Montreal, it is just another Canadian city. [Hybridity] is what makes it so unique. [Montreal] is a little Europe in North America. (Respondent #7)

The respondents of this study were found to discuss their hybrid identities by adapting to multicultural experiences over the course of their lives. In fact, it was discovered to have played a significant role in their ability to form a hybrid, second-generation identity. For this theme of hybridity, respondents were asked to explain their second-generation identity, particularly growing up in Montreal. The respondents argued that multiculturalism provided them with the freedom to be expressive about their multiple hybrid identities. Emphasizing their second-generation Ismaili Muslim identity, they are ideally positioned to describe how multiculturalism has influenced their identity from a religious standpoint.

For the respondents of this study, balancing a hybrid identity is what allows them to embrace Canada's diversity. As a result, when asked how they felt about multiculturalism in Canada, they all, without exception, agreed on it being beneficial for society. Most went on to explain their experience in Montreal is what made them recognise the importance of multiculturalism and its legislation in Canada. The impact of multiculturalism on second-generation Ismaili Muslims in Montreal is, in fact, key for this investigation. Added to this distinct perspective is their hybrid ability to adjust to various cultural settings. According to most respondents, there is no doubt that their hybrid agency (Bhabha, 1996) within various cultural environments has been ingrained by their experiences from a very young age.

Respondent #5 says:

If I were in Chicoutimi, I would definitely not be exposed to as many different cultures. Even if you just go to Quebec City, it's not as diverse, it's not that

multicultural. [...] There are countless cities that are not as diverse as Montreal, and my being exposed to all these various cultures basically allows me to personally adapt and communicate within them. (Respondent #5)

Respondent #4 addresses his perception of the legislation of multiculturalism; he states:

I really appreciate Canadian multiculturalism as it allows me to practice my right and freedom of faith, ethnicity, customs, traditions, languages, or any type of culture I want. (Respondent #4)

Furthermore, this overall feeling was shared by the majority of the respondents as they felt official legislation was helpful in allowing them to experience their hybrid identities.

Respondent #8 discusses this notion while suggesting Montreal's hybridity:

Cities like Toronto or Vancouver are different, but [they're] getting a little bit more bilingual. Montreal has the task of having both [official languages] as the main languages, which then gives [Montrealers] a little bit more to relate to and communicate with amongst each other. (Respondent #8)

He later adds the importance of subcultures, and how Montreal blends these diversities through multiculturalism:

Today [,] if multiculturalism is just a giant blend, then yes, I am part of what Canada calls multiculturalism because that's what I've experienced in Montreal. Those are the things I portray through my identity. (Respondent #8)

Respondents identified themselves as cosmopolitan Canadians, and described Montreal's urban experience as a significant part of their sense of hybridity. Respondent #6 addressed hybridity as a cosmopolitan ethic:

In Montreal, you have so many different cultures and, in the end, you [get] the best of all worlds. Here, Ismailis would agree that we are exposed to various kinds of cultural backgrounds in and out of our community. (Respondent #6)

According to interview data, respondents were found to recognize how the city provides the freedom to develop different cultural identity markers. Whether it was through religious, linguistic, or even ethnic backgrounds, many respondents believe multiculturalism is what gave them access to this mixture of cultures, to understand them and claim them as their own. As Respondent #9 claims:

I think Canadian values embrace all societies as a whole. [...] Growing up knowing that Canada supports inclusiveness, being united, and pluralistic – now that’s what makes us great as a society. (Respondent #9)

Overall, respondents were positively influenced by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. They were found to embrace Canada’s practical approach of legislating multiculturalism and protect its minority cultural groups. Most respondents felt legislation facilitated and protected their construction of a hybrid identity. For example, Respondent #10 states:

Canada has always been, at the forefront of accepting people of different cultures and different backgrounds and different faiths. (Respondent #10)

As we notice, according to respondents, hybridity therefore carries a big responsibility, especially in Quebec. In fact, Respondent #1 claims the importance of hybridity in Quebec:

What I would recommend to future immigrants in Quebec is to learn the official languages as [this knowledge] is a necessary tool for success. There are countless opportunities to learn French through classes and programs that are offered. The resources are readily available, and these avenues just need to be used. (Respondent #1)

Most respondents admitted learning French at a young age was very useful. They believe it benefitted both official languages while safeguarding bilingualism in both Quebec and Canada. This feeling was shared overall by most respondents as Respondent #10 states:

The more you can learn from other peoples’ cultures, the better of an individual you can become. How open you are to meeting new people, to meeting people from different cultures, to learning from people from different cultures – now that plays a big part in shaping who you are and who you want to become in Canada. (Respondent #10)

The importance of promoting bilingual language skills was discussed with respondents. For the majority, respondents suggested their bilingualism as an example of their hybrid identity as Respondent #3 states:

I think they [parents] need to encourage their children to embrace both English and French languages. There needs to be more of a reality growing up in a country where people are different and constantly faced with different values. Parents need to realize and teach their children that, while you can truly hold your traditional identities, you

need to find a way to balance it with the dominant cultural ones in which you live.
(Respondent #3)

The fact that all respondents are relatively young and have a second-generation identity is quite important in this phenomenological analysis. They provide unique insights in their ability to adjust in both Quebec and other Canadian environments. According to the respondents of this study, their second-generation hybridity works hand-in-hand with Canada's continuous effort to reinforce multiculturalism. Based on a number of explanations, hybrid identities seem to be uniformly shared by this group of respondents. Respondent #3 describes his perception of hybridity within multiculturalism:

I love the fact that you can walk down the street and live in whole variety of different languages, different ethnicities and different religions. That is multiculturalism according to my knowledge. I mean nobody feels that they need to hide or diminish what makes them different to be Canadian. I think it is so inherent in Canadian culture and that's what makes you belong as a Canadian. It can be seen as both: living together and together living. (Respondent #3)

Whether the emphasis is racial, linguistic, or religious, the second generation respondents believe their sense of belonging stands alongside multiculturalism in Canada. Respondents were found to support the legislation of multiculturalism, as described, to defend their second-generation hybrid identities in Canada.

4.1.2 Diaspora Communities.

The twelve second-generation Ismaili Muslims in this study expressed various perspectives about their diaspora community. As we noticed through the literature review in Chapter 2, diaspora communities are found to share similar values and beliefs between members (Anderson, 1991). According to most respondents, important diaspora traditions were distinguished as an essential part of their second-generation identity in Canada. According to respondents, principles and practices of Ismaili beliefs were passed on,

particularly during their childhood. For instance, Respondent #11 explains why communal prayers are important in the Ismaili Muslim community:

You can pray on your own time at home but it's just not the same. Having communal prayer with your community is something that's been a significant part of home your whole entire life, and we've never had that problem or lack of having the opportunity to have communal prayers on a daily basis. (Respondent #11)

During the interviews, second-generation Ismaili Muslims were asked to describe their meaning of culture, and explain what they meant by their description. Although their claims varied, most respondents of this study shared a uniform view. They discussed the effects of living as part of a diaspora community in Montreal. Also discussed was the need to negotiate experiences between greatly diverse cultures during their youth. Being a 'Canadian', a 'Quebecer', or a 'Montrealer' was found to be a common response found throughout the interview data. However, what it meant to be a 'Canadian', a 'Quebecer' or a 'Montrealer' was not necessarily the same for respondents.

The respondents' abilities to negotiate a variety of influences were also subject to analysis in this study. The affiliation to a diaspora community was found to further forge a sense of culture and belonging in Canada. Despite strong diversities present within their specific diaspora community, respondents' all seemed to believe that their spiritual bond is a collective effort to shape a diasporan culture across the globe. According to many respondents, a shared meaning and understanding of their diaspora community is what unifies them. When asked how he could describe his diasporan culture, Respondent #4 states:

I would describe myself as being obviously a Shia Ismaili Muslim, because I was born into the religion and community. [...] I find that being Ismaili, we have this ease of being a united community despite our ethnic differences. (Respondent #4)

In the same light, Respondent #5 expands on this notion of diaspora community:

As an Ismaili Muslim, we're taught to accept and acknowledge all cultures from a very young age because we have such a vast multicultural background amongst

ourselves in our community. Saying so, I can say that I accept all cultures as I'm actually a prime example of it being born and raised in Montreal from a South East Asian mother and an East African father. (Respondent #5)

Furthermore, when asked how he relates his diaspora community to his identity, Respondent #8 claims:

Through the Ismaili Muslim community, I was able to build a lot of relationships. In other words, it built my way of life by being my support system and motivation. These things come from what I learnt and experienced from my faith and religious culture. (Respondent #8)

As we can see, a diaspora community is an essential part of their second-generation identity in Canada. As Ismaili Muslims, many believe their second-generation identity was developed by multicultural values and traditions established in Montreal. In this regard, Respondent #10 describes his multicultural background by stating:

In my family, we were raised with many different cultures. My parents were originally born in different parts of Africa: my mom in the Democratic Republic of Congo and my dad in Uganda. We have a strong sense of our African culture, where my roots come from and where my parents were born. Then there is also the fact that my great grandparents are of Indian origin, so there is also that Indian culture that comes into play. [...] And then there is also the sense that I was born and raised in Canada and, particularly, in Quebec. Also part of Canada, however, Quebec has a culture of its own. So it's a very complex question to answer, namely because of the fact that I feel that I am multicultural in that sense. (Respondent #10)

When asked about the importance of cultural sites, most respondents believe it was the foundation of their diaspora community. For example, local diaspora community centres (*jamat-khanas*) were said to provide a place to foster relationships and further develop a communal sense of belonging in Canada. Most respondents claim this cultural site provides an institutional context within which to practice religious customs and traditions in a collective way. As a key component in the construction of their identity, many respondents suggest that their interaction with members of the Ismaili Muslim diaspora reinforced their

sense of community in Canada. Respondent #3 states this perception of his diaspora community:

You could have best of both worlds. You could be Canadian, but also be an Ismaili Muslim and feel completely comfortable with that. It's that blend which makes my culture and identity. (Respondent #3)

Most respondents discussed how identifying with the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community created bonds that expand and challenge socio-cultural boundaries perhaps found otherwise in our society. For the respondents, *jamat-khanas* are not only considered as a place of prayer but as a peaceful environment where numerous esoteric practices can be sustained and cultivated (Daftary, 2007). *Jamat-khanas* were distinguished as diaspora community cultural sites where they practice their faith without fear or prejudice. For the second-generation respondents, their religion as a source of culture is instilled not only because some members are of the same origins, but, perhaps more significantly, because many are not. In fact, Canadian Ismaili Muslims are from various backgrounds⁷. According to respondents, the presence of diversity and how to manage ethnic differences through a religious perspective is what strengthened the traditions they shared. For instance, Respondent #1 describes his experience with people from various ethnicities in his *jamat-khana* as:

It is a Canadian pride that is grown with the love for the Imam, our community, and our spiritual brothers and sisters. It is definitely more of a spiritual bond than a physical one. These values are passed on from generation to generation, and that has basically been our strength for many centuries. (Respondent #1)

The experiences discussed with the respondents support Respondent #1's view of a diaspora community. According to most respondents, community centres were described as a site where cultural diversities such as race, language, and ethnicity are varied but yet unified. Therefore, it is not surprising that religion plays a primary role in how second-generation

⁷ See Appendix 5 for a socio-historical review of the Shia Ismaili Muslim diaspora in Canada.

Ismaili Muslims tend to define part of their identity in Canada. For example, Respondent #11 states:

I'm Ismaili before I'm Canadian, but I know I'm Canadian and I don't have to walk around with the maple leaf around me and say I'm Canadian, I know I'm Canadian, I'm actually Ismaili Canadian. (Respondent #11)

This illustrates how being both Ismaili and Canadian is found to be fundamental to his sense of self and identity in Canada. This is an important relationship claimed by most respondents in this study.

The Ismaili Muslims respondents present a unique experience of second-generation identity construction in Montreal. Due to a strong sense of belonging to their diaspora community, the respondents discussed how they felt about the rights and freedoms to associate with the religion of their choice in Canada. In a sense, their faith and attachment to the Ismaili diaspora community was described as the core of their Canadian identity.

Respondent #2 states:

In a way our religion [Ismailism] is very modern. I would say our faith is based on a modern interpretation of Islam. This complete right and freedom to express this faith is very unique here in Canada. (Respondent #2)

For centuries, the Ismaili beliefs were persecuted and condemned (Daftary, 1998). However, according to Daftary (1998), the faith was discretely transferred to the next generation regardless of where they were or where they settled. Being born in Canada provides a unique contrast for the second-generation participant of this study. In that sense, their citizenship rights provide unique evidence of Canada's legislation of multiculturalism and religious freedoms. For the respondents, religious freedom provided more than just a right to practice their faith, but offered a unique way to live their lives according to their inherited cultural traditions within their diaspora community. Most of the respondents were aware of religious rights and freedoms, however not many were cognisant of the legislative components

attached to it in Canada. When asked if he knew what consisted of having the complete right and freedom to practice the religion of his choice in Canada, just like the majority of the respondents, Respondent #11 stated:

No, not exactly in detail, but I think religious freedom is great because it plays a political role in Canadian society. There is a reason we're accepting of various cultures. Whether it's for my own community or other cultural communities; our Canadian politics protects it, embraces it, and accepts it. (Respondent #11)

In this same approach, Respondent # 7 claims Canadian rights and freedoms protect various diaspora communities:

Rights and freedoms like multiculturalism can be ethnically, racially, and religiously open. The fact that people can come here and feel integrated is what makes our politics so appreciated. They can live here and practice their cultures and, though they can be seen as outsiders, they really are just like insiders, as Canadians, and that is it. Despite your religion, you are a Canadian. You are already welcomed by being different, and I believe that is because of our rights and freedoms in Canada. (Respondent #7)

This overall perception of the respondent is what most second-generation Ismaili Muslim participants felt when discussing this topic. According to the interview data, many respondents expressed deep gratitude for Canada's multiculturalism policy due to its support for various diaspora communities. Respondent #8 describes the importance of legislated multiculturalism in Canada:

Being able to have these types of legislation, you are able to learn a lot from the environment that surrounds you. Growing up in Montreal, your identity stays open-minded about various cultures compared to if you're located somewhere there is less multiculturalism, and could not experience various diversities present in Canada. In other words, protecting Canadian rights and freedoms is learning about real life; multiple diversities and what it means to be part of a multicultural society. (Respondent #8)

Many respondents also felt that religious freedom is what essentially gave them the confidence to share and educate others about their Ismaili Muslim diaspora community. For example, Respondent #12 states:

Through legislation, we are all protected by our rights and freedoms; and, in my case, it is the right to identify myself as being a Muslim – an Ismaili, particularly. For the past forty years, I feel the Ismaili Muslims are a perfect model of integration into Canadian society. Through the [country's] laws that protect our religious identity, I follow certain principles; and that's why I associate myself as a proud Canadian Ismaili Muslim. (Respondent #12)

Seen as a minority within another minority, the respondents felt growing up in Montreal provided them with a special dichotomy of living in-between Quebec and Canada. The same goes for their religion. The respondents consider themselves as part of the larger Muslim population as well as the global Ismaili diaspora community. This important relationship is found to be indispensable for respondents of this study. For the majority, they felt Canada was on the right track in managing its religious diversity. They expressed their gratitude for legislative efforts in multiculturalism. Generally, most respondents felt policy was in line with its current objectives. As Respondent #4 states in his response:

Even though Canada has its own culture, it believes that immigrants should have the same opportunities that its [Canadian-born and naturalized] citizens have. Unfortunately it's not like that everywhere in the world. In Canada, they want you to be successful. They even help you to be successful. So they continue on assisting you, whether it's with education, policies, or programs. They want to help you in being the best person you can be. The laws we have in place are setup to protect all of its people. [...] There is a difference in Canada, and it's like no other country in my opinion. (Respondent #4)

The respondents were found to provide interesting insights into their diaspora community. Many intertwined various multicultural customs and traditions of their diaspora community in order to establish their own sense of a second-generation identity. According to respondents, their diaspora community is indispensable to their meaning of home, and of belonging in Montreal, Quebec, and Canada.

4.1.3 Ethnicity.

Second-generation Ismaili Muslims were found to claim numerous backgrounds that originate from various ethnic origins. Ethnicity was observed as an important cultural

identity marker as most respondents each associated with over four ethnic affiliations.

According to participants, the notion of ethnicity plays an important role in the construction of their second-generation identity in Canada. When asked to elaborate on how they felt being part of these various ethnic groups, most respondents claimed living in Canada is what provided them this privilege and opportunity. During his interview, Respondent #9 claimed:

I'm a worldwide person with a worldwide culture; and, I think as time has passed, my identity has evolved into adapting into various cultural environments. (Respondent #9)

The respondents' ability to negotiate cultural diversity was suggested as a distinctive experience of ethnicity for second-generation Canadians. Ethnicity was observed to be fluid as most respondents claim to balance various backgrounds as second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslims in Montreal. The interview data illustrates ethnicity as an important marker used in their identity construction. In general, the respondents claimed having a cultural repertoire that spans over regional, provincial, national, and international boundaries.

Respondent #5 was found to describe his overall Canadian identity as a combination of multiple features:

I believe my overall identity comes from being an Ismaili in the long run. At the end of the day, my family and wider community are basically the ones molding me into the Ismaili faith and what the culture is about. So I would say, when it comes to my identity, I have to explain myself through a mixture of belongings that begin with Pakistani, East African, Ismaili Muslim, Quebecer, Canadian, etc. (Respondent #5)

As we notice, respondents claim the negotiation of their ethnic identity as a balance of many cultural belongings. Within the context of Montreal, they claim multiculturalism to be a mixture of religions, origins, and languages entwined with one another. According to most respondents, multiculturalism therefore has an intentional role in their lives. Montreal is considered a model place for this ideal type of multicultural interaction to occur. In some cases, respondents were found to claim Montreal as one of the only transnational cities with

full access to a complete version of the cultural mosaic found in Canada. Respondent #2 addresses this exclusive access to the entire mosaic of cultures:

In my opinion, multiculturalism is my group of friends. If you look at my entourage, I must have one of every kind in my group; their backgrounds come from many different countries, they practice many different religions, and speak many different languages. (Respondent #2)

According to respondents, many believe that ethnic rights and freedoms were directly related to the legislation of multiculturalism in Canada. Participants claimed to embrace Canadian multiculturalism as a way of preserving their inherited cultural backgrounds. In this sense, Respondent #9 discusses his consideration of multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism's meaning is a society that embraces many cultures by finding ways to share each other's values. Pluralism is part of the example of our society and that's a strong value. I definitely appreciate the Canadian government embracing and recognizing the fact that multiculturalism exists. (Respondent #9)

For some respondents, various cultural minority groups are not only targeted because of their racial background or religious customs, but also because of the various languages they speak. During the interviews, this was an interesting perspective that was observed by many respondents. Some explained how they felt about Quebec's French culture in North America. Respondent #12 drew an interesting parallel between the Ismailis' concerns for their Muslim identity after the events of 9/11 and how the Quebecois feel about preserving their French language and traditions:

It's like giving a negative and stereotypical image to all Muslims after 9/11. It is unfair for Ismailis, particularly, since we are a Muslim community that is ethnically and racially diverse from all over the world. In the same way, you simply cannot separate the French language from the Quebec culture. (Respondent #12)

Respondent #10 shares his point of view on this perspective, stating:

I associate myself with three different cultures by living in Quebec and Canada. Overall, I would say that the Ismaili Muslim faith and the Canadian culture are all rolled into my belonging in Montreal, Quebec. (Respondent #10)

On the one hand, respondents felt as though they supported being unique as Quebecois, yet were found to have a stronger affinity to Canada. Many respondents felt the dilemma was confusing, but mainly in political terms. In general, the majority was found to identify with being Canadian first, but Quebecois as a valued distinction. Many went on to explain how it was also due to their parents' migration experience and being welcomed by Canada from various countries in Africa and Asia. When asked how they felt about multiculturalism in the province of Quebec, Respondent #12 stated:

I'm a big supporter of bilingualism and multiculturalism; and, having been born here, raised here, gone to school here and work[ing] here in Montreal; you begin to understand Quebec's patriotism and where it comes from. (Respondent #12)

Respondent #10 expands on this idea as he compares himself to the first generation:

For first-generation Ismailis in Quebec, it was probably a very difficult transition coming from different parts of Africa and different parts of Asia and settling down in Quebec. For newly arrived immigrants, language must be a very big barrier. Cultural policies surrounding language in Quebec have also played a very big role for many minority communities. My parents, for instance, growing up in certain parts of Eastern Africa, English was the primary language for a lot of first-generation immigrants. Having to settle in Quebec and transition to a French environment was very difficult and challenging for them to integrate within society. (Respondent #10)

He then later adds:

Whereas in other parts of Canada, it was a different attitude as immigration policies were much more universal. I would say, it is a lot harder to integrate within Quebec if you're coming from an English-speaking country like Uganda, Tanzania, or Kenya. The restrictive policies that the Quebec government put in place, I don't want to say alienated the community but it didn't help, it didn't help at all. (Respondent #10)

This common perspective on ethnicity outlines key challenges of multiculturalism in Canada and the province of Quebec, in particular. However, all of the respondents felt legislation benefits them in the long run. It must be noted that the formation and maintenance of their second-generation Ismaili Muslim identity was also reflected by their understanding of multiculturalism.

For the majority of respondents, ethnicity was found to be established by numerous cultural identity markers. According to the second generation investigated in this study, challenging fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers was described to impact on their minority position and their identity construction in Canada. For instance, some respondents reported facing various cultural challenges during their youth. Respondent #4 gives an example, explaining:

Growing up, obviously there were challenges to us Muslim kids. You're always going to be questioned and people are going to say: "Well, look, how come you don't celebrate the same things as me? You're different than me!" (Respondent #4)

The respondents of this study, for the most part, expressed that they did not experience any sort of intolerance, discrimination, or racism in Montreal. Many respondents stated they had not personally faced any sort of explicit prejudice during their youth. Accordingly, a majority of respondents found this was also due to the positive contribution and implementation of multiculturalism in Canada. In this context, Respondent #3 claims:

There are definite obstacles and there is definitely a discussion that needs to be made about how to reconcile these obstacles for Islam and the Muslims who follow the faith in Canada; those are two exclusively important things. (Respondent #3)

For most respondents, setting the right communication is the best way to minimise the effects of discrimination, whether it is racial, linguistic, or religious. Furthermore, a few respondents mentioned the importance of institutions. For instance, Respondent #8 states:

I'm not looking at everybody thinking this person is different and that person is different; everyone is the same to me. In Montreal, you learn a lot of that through our multiple cultures. There are countless educational programs, libraries, and community centres you can learn from everywhere. (Respondent #8)

Looking through the lens of second-generation Ismaili Muslims in Montreal, many respondents believe challenges lie, in part, in the societal misconception and stereotyping of Islam. This is, in fact, what most respondents believe is currently causing the various

controversies found in Quebec and other troublesome areas throughout the globe. The majority of the respondents report that, while they have rarely been the target of religious bigotry, they know of many instances of intolerance made towards Muslims. Interestingly, the few respondents who reported these discriminatory experiences saw them as isolated incidents and not necessarily of intolerance. In general, the respondents suggest discrimination is not due to fear but rather due to ignorance and the lack of knowledge of Islam. Respondent #11 explains this point of view as he says:

Especially right after the events of 9/11, it was difficult working in the public eye. It's just people are close minded that way, and you just don't want to play into that trap. (Respondent #11)

Comments shared by certain respondents were found to support Respondent #11's claim as they describe these instances as barriers for inclusion in Canada. Respondent #12 states this misunderstanding in Quebec as he notes:

It's harder to explain but I don't think its racism. I don't think it's a problem of tolerance either. I believe it's an issue of misunderstanding religious traditions. [...] In Quebec there are certain religious practices that may not be viewed very favorably but I don't think these practices are directly related to Muslims. I think that it's, however, a problem of the miseducation of Islam. (Respondent #12)

Throughout the twelve interviews, Quebec's proposed Charter of Values and ban of religious symbols for public workers were discussed as being widely unpopular with this group of respondents. Many suggested Quebec's politics a secular and rooted in a single-minded approach to identity in a heterogeneous multicultural society. The respondents' were found to consider the proposed Charter as a strong limitation to multiculturalism policy. As Respondent #10 states:

In order to avoid discrimination, you want to make sure to correctly promote your culture, you want to make sure it's not lost. If you open your doors to so many people, lots of cultures will be regrouped; as we see in Quebec. Inevitably, it kind of dilutes the dominant culture because you are now incorporating many other cultures within

the dominant Quebec francophone culture. The extent of the policies that they have is questionable but their intention I think is still just. (Respondent #10)

Moreover, returning to the language debate found in Quebec, many respondents believe that the notion of discrimination is now linked to your ability to speak French in Quebec. Many of the respondents shared this linguistic barrier, as Respondent #6 claims:

I haven't felt so much of the visible minority here in Quebec, but I do feel it as though speaking French is, however, an obligation. I guess at this point, some may feel they are portrayed as outsiders just because of the various languages they speak. (Respondent #6)

The participants' experiences have played an important role in shaping their ethnic identity. Many brought up an important cross-generational comparison with their parents, who they believe were the ones who really went through an adaptation phase in Canada. For example, Respondent #4 describes being born in Montreal in comparison to his parents:

Being born and raised as a second-generation Ismaili Muslim was not the same experience as my parents in Montreal. In my opinion, I didn't have to face the same socio-cultural challenges my parents had to go through because when they came here it might not have been as diverse as it is now. There is a big difference between my parents' experience and my own. But, yet again, my parents came here for a reason: they left their country in the hope to find a better place. (Respondent #4)

The respondents provided interesting insights into how identity shifts as a factor of context and time. According to the second-generation respondents, this shift is found to be critical in gaining a better knowledge of ethnicity across multiple generations in Canada.

4.1.4 Citizenship.

As reflected in Chapter 2, citizenship rights have been strongly debated over the last decade. According to interview data, respondents claim that their Canadian citizenship has an important role in defining their second-generation identity. Participants considered themselves to negotiate boundaries between cultural identity markers in Canada. They claim minority rights have challenged controversial issues of religious tolerance and

accommodation, especially in Quebec. Furthermore, respondents also characterized citizenship as their birth right to preserve inherited traditions in Canada.

Many respondents were found to embrace the legislation made to protect cultural diversity in Canada. It was discovered that participants strongly embrace their citizenship due, in part, to its longstanding support for multiculturalism. However, most of the respondents still consider multiculturalism to be challenged in the province of Quebec. They believe a tension still exists with the approach of Canadian multiculturalism. The interview findings suggest that respondents find Quebec failing to successfully integrate all of its cultural minority groups. Furthermore, few respondents even compared Quebec's cultural integration model with the American melting pot found in the United States. According to many respondents, they believe legislative propositions such as the 2014 Quebec Charter of Values can only tend to create more debate over Canada's multicultural approach. For example, Respondents #10 discussed multiculturalism as a balance between three various cultures in Montreal:

Being an Ismaili Muslim in Montreal has a lot to do with having to live with let's say three different cultures. In my case, the Canadian culture, the Quebec culture, and the Ismaili Muslim culture. There always has to be a sense of balance, and I think that's something that's highly promoted by multiculturalism. (Respondent #10)

Second-generation participants were found to be concerned by certain political parties opposing the approach of multiculturalism in Quebec. However, despite the challenges, they feel as though multiculturalism has a strong foundation in the city of Montreal. In the interview data, many respondents shared a common perspective when it came to promoting cultural diversity. As Respondent #6 states:

I guess the situation here is a lot different than in the rest of Canada. Here the level of multiculturalism is through the roof. You have everything here and you're not the only one living that kind of transition, so it makes it easier in building an identity

because you're building it together with other people that are in the same situation as you. (Respondent #6)

During the interviews, respondents described their impressions of multiculturalism as a variable geometry of culture. Most believe multiculturalism is an inclusive and evolving phenomenon in Canada. Certain participants argued its ability to unite various communities. Having been raised in a cosmopolitan city such as Montreal, the respondents said they had a unique experience in Montreal, by living simultaneously in the province of Quebec and in Canada.

According to the second-generation Ismaili Muslims investigated in this study, the relationship between the province of Quebec and Canada is very complex but meaningful. Negotiating this rapport drew a unique relationship existing in the respondents who identify as Quebecois and Canadians. The majority were found to identify themselves as Canadians first, then Quebecois as a proud distinction. According to respondents, the feeling was pretty unanimous; they were found to share a perception of the distinctive culture found in Quebec. For example, Respondent #12 states:

I feel that many Quebecois recognize Quebec as a distinct culture and nation. They feel that they need to protect and promote their history and language. It's a matter of belonging and pride, and I understand where they're coming from as a Shia Ismaili Muslim. It's so with reason. But, at the same time, I don't think the typical definition of Quebec is the same for everyone, as I think it's a very 50-50 question, as we noticed in the referendum in 1995. (Respondent #12)

Accordingly, this discussion lead many participants to develop their insights over the proposed Charter. Unanimously, they thought this sort of legislation would only divide the population further and bring in more tension towards minorities. Respondent #2 went on to explain his displeasure with the proposed Quebec Charter of Values:

Just look at news today, there is less and less religious freedom in Quebec. The PQ [Parti Quebecois] is trying to bring this Charter up where you can't wear crosses, you

can't wear stars of David, and you can't wear hijabs or anything religiously affiliated.
(Respondent #2)

In the interview data, language was yet again a major concern, predictably brought forth by the respondents. The overall feeling was that, in Quebec, minorities were no longer discriminated over the colour of their skin, but rather over their ability to speak French. Considering the respondents were fully bilingual, they reported having no issues in Montreal. However, many believe the social stigma still lies in certain parts of Quebec's as conservative efforts are made to recognise French as the predominant language and culture in the province. According to some respondents, language regulations have escalated drastically. In this regard, Respondent #1 stated:

As a matter of fact, I believe the PQ's [Parti Quebecois] agenda stresses linguistics way too much as it tries to adapt who you are by forcing you to speak French. It is a close-minded mentality. In other words, if you do not speak French, does that mean you are not Quebecois? Now we even see rules where dogs have to understand French commands and the word 'pasta' cannot be written on restaurant menus anymore. It's what makes Quebec so distinctively unique, yet still Canadian.
(Respondent #1)

Many respondents also mentioned this context as an important linguistic barrier that limits the province in the long run. Despite its challenges, many were found to describe Montreal in terms of its bilingualism. As Respondent #3 says:

I think there definitely is a difference in Montreal compared to the rest of the province. But as much as people try to avoid it, I think that you realize it growing up in Montreal. Obviously there are linguistic and cultural barriers present in Quebec.
(Respondent #3)

The respondent later emphasized how this also relates to the historical nature of the province:

And I think it relates back to the context and history of Quebec, wanting to protect their culture and equating that with trying to keep all other influences outside of Quebec. So I think they see minorities as being a threat to their own culture.
(Respondent #3)

Furthermore, Respondent #12 expands on the cultural diversity found in Montreal:

When you go to school with people who practice different religions, speak different languages and have backgrounds from different countries in the world; it has a great impact on your life. [...] This is what we essentially realize growing up simultaneously in Montreal, in Quebec, and in Canada. (Respondent #12)

Additionally, Respondent #1 comments:

I believe the different interactions you have with people is what permits you to grow as an individual and learn through your experiences in Montreal. (Respondent #1)

However, this was not the overall feeling shared by the entire sample of this study. Some felt that there are limitations present in the province of Quebec compared to the rest of Canada.

In this regard, Respondent #10 says:

Whereas in other parts of Canada, I can give you the example of my Ismaili family in British Columbia, they integrated a lot more with the Canadian identity. In Quebec, I feel the biggest difference, once again, comes down to cultural policies and language policies – which are perfectly acceptable to me and I can understand why it was done by the Quebec government to preserve their distinctive culture, but it is somewhat still of a barrier. (Respondent #10)

In hindsight, second-generation Ismaili Muslims mutually found that Canada was effective in developing its citizenship efforts. According to interview data, respondents claim the legislation for multiculturalism protects citizenship rights and freedoms in Canada. They believe policy can address contemporary concerns for multiculturalism in our society. As

Respondent # 11 states:

I think the changes that are going through in the nation right now are actually for the best, by enriching the Canadian culture and society we live in. It is simple because they [government] are looking for what's missing in Canada. Some say it's about economy, but it's not only economic. [...] It's your education and how you will benefit Canada and yourself at the end of the day. It's not where you're from, it's about how and what you can bring to Canada and vice-versa. (Respondent #11)

For the respondents, negotiating a second-generation citizenship in Canada was discussed to be a balance of many cultural belongings. In fact, at times, their perceptions of citizenship were found to go beyond margins of society as many described their identity to associate with both Islam and Canada. Respondent #12 explains this notion as he describes

his place in Canada as a second-generation member of the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community in Montreal:

I think that the Ismailis' definition of Islam is very modern in the 21st century, and we follow practices which are current and practices which are also traditional. There are many challenges between the Western world and who we are as Muslims; and I think that, being an Ismaili, it's much easier to integrate and assimilate because it's who we are, it's what Ismailis have always done, we have always integrated into societies historically. So in that sense of belonging, it makes it a lot easier for Ismailis. As a community we are open and accessible, and I think it's just harder to integrate for more strictly traditional Muslim communities. (Respondent #12)

According to participants, there are numerous cultural and societal differences amongst various communities in Canada. However, a common belief was found to be shared when it came to Canada's high standards for the quality of life of its citizens. In this sense,

Respondent #1 describes:

Belonging to Canada means to love, to have the opportunity to be educated and cultured. I believe we set the highest standards of education, health care, and democracy in the world. These are also luxuries that make us the best country in the world. (Respondent #1)

In the interview dialogues, respondents were asked to define what makes them feel they belong in Canada by using one single word. Both Respondent #7 and Respondent #2 answered instantaneously with the word freedom (Respondent #7; Respondent #2).

Additionally, Respondent #2 was asked to relate his conception of freedom to the experience of a second-generation Ismaili Muslim in Montreal. He replied:

We are very accepting, and I can say that as an Ismaili Muslim, as a Quebecer, or as a Canadian. [For the] most part, if you ask most Canadians if they consider Quebec as different, they would all obviously say yes. They're Canadian but not completely Canadian; they speak a different language, basically. (Respondent #2)

According to most, their citizenship was found to protect their various cultural identity markers in Quebec. Many thought that it is what allows them to express the cultural affiliations of their choice. According to interview findings, respondents suggest that

Canada's multiculturalism policy is representative of our broad cultural diversity as

Respondent #5 claims:

Canada is a place that allows me to be at ease of mind because it allows me to learn and understand the cultures around me. I like to gain knowledge on cultures and I give knowledge of my culture to others and this is basically my personality and this is the type of person that I am. (Respondent #5)

For the respondents, Canada was defined as the country where they belong, Quebec as a distinctive sub-culture within it, and Montreal as the hybrid space that incorporates both.

When asked to describe this relationship, Respondent #10 claims:

The difference between Canada and Quebec is that Canada doesn't feel threatened about losing its culture because its culture is mainly made up of various cultures. [...] The Canadian identity incorporates the Quebec identity, it incorporates the First Nations identity, it incorporates the Ismaili identity, it incorporates the Jewish identity, etc. It's all of the little parts that make up the whole, and that's what Canadian culture is. [...] That's what makes me belong to Canada. (Respondent #10)

Throughout the interviews, citizenship was claimed as a merit to second-generation respondents of this study. Its rights and freedoms were embraced despite challenges found in the province of Quebec.

In this chapter, the major research findings were presented through the interview data with second-generation Ismaili Muslims from Montreal. Thus, we have found numerous responses to our central research question, which attempts to understand how legislated multiculturalism influences their second-generation identity in Canada.

4.2 Discussion

This part of the chapter discusses the major research findings of this phenomenological study on second-generation Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal. In this section, the discussion will outline the results in relation to the theoretical background reviewed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, this portion of the chapter will present research findings

reported in the data collected interviewing the respondents of this study. This discussion will be divided into three analytical sections established through this research.

Firstly, *Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities* discusses the respondents' hybrid identities that were constructed through various cultural experiences in Montreal. This notion expands the literature on hybridity by highlighting identity negotiations faced by the second generation of this phenomenological analysis. Here, the discussion challenges fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers such as language, religion, and ethnicity. Interview data suggests that the second-generation identity is more fluid and flexible than it appears. Consequently, a new theory develops in an attempt to break down this sense of hybridity as experienced by the second generation respondents of this study.

Secondly, *Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation* discusses the unique communal perception of the respondents. This study expands on diaspora literature by describing experiences of second-generation Ismaili Muslim community members in Montreal, Quebec. Here, the respondents deconstruct a sense of diaspora community where various ethnic customs and traditions intertwine. They were found to discuss their second-generation identity through a balance of traditional religious practices and a modern Western lifestyle in Canada. This link between their communal identity and sense of belonging is, therefore, described through various experiences. In this section, the argument is that the second-generation voice should be accounted for in contemporary literature on diaspora communities in Canada and globally.

Lastly, *Redefining Legislated Multiculturalism* discusses various influences of multiculturalism through the unique perception of the second generation. This discussion investigates the impact of multiculturalism on participants of this study. The influence of culturally-protective policies is explored through the respondents' recognition, awareness,

and understanding of legislated multiculturalism in Canada. This section attempts to unfold multiculturalism, despite its criticisms and controversy, as a practical and positive contribution to Canadian society. This discussion explores a new approach in considering the legislation of multiculturalism through diaspora community members in Canada. Considering their experiences as second-generation identities, a discussion over the legislation of multiculturalism is made and whether it continues, and will continue, to play an important role for future generations to come in Canada.

4.2.1 Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities.

For the purposes of this study, hybridity was distinguished by the second generation as an attempt to challenge existing cultural barriers present in our society. Here, the recognition and adaptation to various cultural identity markers is considered through a variable geometry of identities. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests how identity can no longer be considered fixed and objective in its discussion (Hall, 2003). In fact, the research findings of this study reveal the second generation as being fluid and flexible hybrid identities. This conceptualization of hybridity shows that respondents are not only aware of its position but embrace its adaptable character as well. Considering the notion of hyphen-identities (Mahtani, 2002), this study suggests how the respondents' hybridity can be adjusted based on the cultural environment at hand.

For this phenomenological analysis on the second generation, research findings demonstrate how identity markers can be constructed into various cultural settings. In addition, it is also reported that the second generation holds hybrid identities that can be balanced through a negotiation of numerous cultural identity markers (Berry et al., 2006). This was, actually, noticed throughout the interviews as most respondents' stated this hybrid distinction came from the exclusive experience of living in a cosmopolitan city and adjusting

to various cultural settings during their youth in Montreal. In fact, Respondent #7 explains this common sense of hybridity shared by most respondents when he states:

I feel like a Quebecer, since there is a certain part of my culture that associates with being Quebecois. At the same time I love Canada since it is a great country and protects my rights and freedoms of religion. This best-of-both-worlds relationship can be seen by the people of Montreal. (Respondent #7)

In line with Hollinger's notion of cosmopolitanism (1995), research findings reveal how respondents embrace a cosmopolitan ethic that is defined by their dual sense of belonging in Quebec and in Canada. The ability of the respondents to adapt to diverse socio-cultural settings was claimed to promote their sense of belonging. A recurrent theme that emerged throughout the interviews was how respondents collectively felt they belong in Quebec as well as in Canada.

Canada is presently faced with the need to expand this discussion of hybridity to include the second generations' perspective. The respondents of this study are said to have negotiated this particular socio-cultural position throughout their lives. Moreover, many respondents also suggested how religious freedom is at question and increasingly becoming problematic in multicultural societies. According to respondents, the issue mainly lies in the religious minorities' ability to integrate and adjust to the society in which they live. In this context, Montreal is described as the prime location of these adjustments for the participants. The Ismaili Muslim respondents, for the most part, emphasized how they actively negotiate a cultural adaptation on a regular basis. Respondent #6 describes this experience when he argues his position as an insider-minority within his own society:

If you are able to adapt then everything is just a lot easier in Quebec. If you're not going to; then expect to be seen and spoken to as an outsider. I wouldn't say so much about being better accepted, but it definitely makes it a lot easier to speak French in order to communicate in Quebec. (Respondent #6)

The distinctive debate over the use of the French language in the province of Quebec was found to play an important role in the respondents' identity negotiation. However, the overriding concern still lies in the way religious minorities can adapt to various cultural settings. Despite being born and raised in Canada, many second generation respondents were found to describe how they were still portrayed as immigrants or minority outsiders (Eid, 2007). In this case, the gap deepens, and the respondents believe solutions are needed to preserve and protect the approach of multiculturalism in Canada.

In addition, many respondents claimed a hybrid identity that is distinctive and highly beneficial in Canada. Results suggest how hybridity factors come into play when considering second-generation citizens. Most respondents consider themselves to be a 'middleman' in the relationship between dominant cultural groups and the first generation of immigrants in Canada. Respondent #8 addresses this overall perception:

I think the second generations are being treated equally and fairly, in general. It's just the thing is that more and more people are paying less and less attention to this distinctive matter. They're not focusing on the fact that the second generation is more culturally diverse than ever before, especially in the province of Quebec. In this sense, in Montreal, we are the unique product of a growingly bilingual and multicultural society. (Respondent #8)

This hybrid identity was reflected by respondents and highlights the many cultural negotiations they faced as second-generation Canadians. Respondent #8 further describes this hybridity of the second generation in Montreal; he states:

Montreal has a culture of its own where I find a lot of different people. French and English being the official languages, only in Montreal can you see such an extensive example of bilingualism. Compared to the different cities in Canada, I think Montreal provides me with a little more flexibility in being myself. In a sense, it has my cultural luggage all under one roof. (Respondent #8)

This experience of living in Montreal, sharing and learning from other cultures was described by the respondents throughout the interviews. Accordingly, for the most part,

hybridity is what was found to chiefly describe the characteristics of their second-generation identity. Many suggest how hybridity is what allows them to adapt and interact with the cultural diversity found in Montreal. In this regard, Respondent #3 explains:

I think hybridity is kind of leading to the fact that you can still retain the same cultural identity as your parents while you freely and actively claim other affiliations in Canada. By the same token, while holding your hybrid identity, you must also integrate with other cultures within Canadian society. And I think it is the balance of that interaction that makes the most [difference] for us second generations. The fact that they are not mutually exclusive, and that they can gain from each other, equally is really what hybridity means to me. (Respondent #3)

The hybrid approach of identity formation and cultural belonging for the second generation is considered. According to research findings, a major distinction found in Quebec is the adaptation to a dominantly francophone society. In discussing the concept of hybridity during the interviews, this unique perception of the second generation was established.

This first part of the discussion has examined hybridity, which second-generation Ismaili Muslims claim to identify with on an everyday basis. The ‘variable geometry of identities’ is thus considered as a contextual circumstance that respondents refer to throughout this study. The importance of hybridity is analysed as a way of integrating various cultural markers within a second-generation identity. The majority of respondents considered their bilingual character as a prime example of their hybrid identity. This bilingual hybridity was raised throughout the interviews, with a particular emphasis on their experiences in Montreal. According to respondents, hybridity played a major role in their lives. They highlighted the many cultural negotiations faced as second-generation Canadians who are part of a diaspora community in Montreal. Respondents claimed their hybrid identities to challenge a fixed conception of cultural identity markers. According to interview data, hybrid identity was distinguished by participants and highlighted the many cultural

negotiations they faced as second-generation Canadians part of a diaspora community in Montreal.

4.2.2 Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation.

In this second part of the discussion, we will investigate the communal perception of a diaspora through the second-generational perspective of the respondents of this study. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 describes the importance of diasporic communities when discussing religious minorities in Canada. Anderson (1991) and Dwyer's (2003) concepts of communal identities are examples of theories that do not take the second-generation identity into account. In order to address this absence from contemporary literature, this research highlights the need to expand this discussion with the second generations in Canada. Accordingly, the respondents' diasporic communal perspective was found to be an integral part of their identity which cannot be overlooked.

For the Ismaili Muslim respondents, it became evident throughout the interviews that their second-generation identity was highly due to the outcome of successful immigration and the protection of religious rights and freedoms in Canada. In fact, the respondents collectively stated how the core of their identity was based on the combination of the two. In other words, evidence of this study relate their faith and citizenship as unifying concepts that define their second-generation identity in Montreal. Hence, despite being found in over 30 countries across the globe (Blanchfield, 2014), respondents of this phenomenological study strongly believe their diasporic community cannot be disassociated from their identity in any way possible (Cohen, 1997).

According to second generation respondents, the link between one's religious identity and geography is becoming continuously fragile in this day and age. Here, the respondents

distinguish their diaspora community as going beyond the limitations of ethnicity, language or nationality (Gilroy, 2007). In fact, the second generation of Ismaili Muslims present a very unique position that combines a long history of different ethnicities and traditions as one global diaspora community. Respondent #12 describes living part of a diaspora community as a second generation member in Canada as he claims:

If people ask me who I am; I say I'm a second-generation Ismaili Muslim. The reason I express myself and I feel comfortable saying I'm an Ismaili Muslim before everything else is because I'm one of many second generation with this very complicated and very mixed background. In fact, our community is still very mobile, flexible and open in the 21st century. (Respondent #12)

Additionally, Respondent #8 claims a good argument as he explains his second-generation identity in relation to the concept of diaspora community:

Well you see we were born into the community, so automatically I was adapted to following the Ismaili faith in which I was born. Growing up, I realize this is the way of life and I still believe to have a lot of dedication to my faith. I understand the challenges behind our Muslim community. I still learn a lot from my community and I respect it very much. So if you want me to describe myself, I would say I'm an Ismaili Muslim of the second generation in Canada. (Respondent #8)

For the respondents of this study, it is discovered that their diaspora community is the anchor that leads to every aspect of their lives as second-generation Canadians. During the interviews, a majority made this distinction by suggesting that their diaspora community provides a collective identity and a strong set of multicultural values.

Relating to Anderson's conception of 'imagined communities' (1991), the respondents suggested important socio-cultural perspectives to their community relations. This importance of a diaspora community is seen as a relationship that goes beyond traditional boundaries and geographic borders. For second-generation Ismaili Muslims, this communal attachment is what creates an everlasting environment of trust and brotherhood within the international diaspora (Daftary, 2007). Originating from various ethnic

backgrounds, cultural diversity is what respondents described to be one of the most important strengths of their diaspora community. During the interviews, most respondents reported how their diaspora community fulfills more than just a spiritual, traditional or social need, but rather a culmination of these components. Respondent #9 considers this perspective as he states:

I think Canada was definitely one of the first countries where the Ismaili community was able to find itself a permanent home in the Western world. Our communal bond is what we've been able to demonstrate in order to find the middle ground between our culture and the cultures in which we live. One of the benefits of being Ismaili Muslim is that our community integrates a lot within the society in which it lives. In fact, that is who we were in the past, that is who we are at the moment and that is who we will be in Canada for the generations to come. (Respondent #9)

The experiences respondents claim support this statement. Throughout the interviews, they underline how their families and community members play an important role in familiarising essential values of their diaspora. Giving them something to identify with so to speak, the respondents suggest how multiple cultural identity markers define their second-generation Ismaili Muslim identity in Canada. Results of this study reveal that identity is not described by a specific sort nationalism or ethnicity, but rather by a combination of various cultural identity markers experienced as second-generation diaspora community members in Montreal.

Many respondents also mentioned how this was due to the successful mixture of different religious practices, which constitute a major part of the Ismaili Muslim theology (Daftary, 2007). In this sense, this study underlines the need to expand the discussion between religious identities and the second generation in Canada. According to data, this relationship was found to be negotiated by the respondents during their interviews. Many claim how there is an inner-diversity within the community, which only enhances the way

they understand their global diaspora and multiculturalism in Canada. Respondent #11 asserts this point as he explains:

Our internal differences, that's what makes our community stronger. As we can see through current immigration, many people want to come to Canada for that exact same reason. [...] Canada accepted who we are as a religion, they accepted who we are as individuals and that's how our community sees it, and I know that's how a lot of people in Canada see it, too. (Respondent #11)

According to respondents, their diaspora community takes on an important meaning, not only as a religious identity but as an exemplary way of combining cultural differences and practices as one. Also, during the interviews, respondents widely stated how Ismaili Muslims have this ability to communicate as a global diaspora community.

Since it was adapting new legislative policies in the early 1970s, Canada was selected as a destination by the respondents' parents not simply because it was recommended by their spiritual leader, but because it also legally endorsed minorities to freely practice the religion of their choice (Madison et al., 2000). Suggesting their faith as primary source of their second-generation identity, many respondents revealed how Canada's pluralism is directly related to their own communal beliefs rooted in Ismaili history and Islamic principles.

Throughout the interviews, second-generation identity was discussed as a modern and mixed perception according to respondents of this study. However, for the most part, the respondents were asked to portray what it meant to be part of a diaspora community in Montreal. What was found to be distinctively interesting throughout the interviews was the respondents' strong gratitude for the legal right to practice their faith. Their responses illustrated the importance given to their right to religious practice, and how it enables them to have a common sense of diaspora and belonging in Canada.

Despite the many various responses provided in this study, a common theme during the interviews was how participants felt their diaspora community fit into Canadian society.

Some responses were found to be as diverse as the respondents themselves. It is important to point out that, despite the many answers provided by the respondents, it was revealed that the second generation had a common understanding of their diaspora community. In line with Cohen's (1997) features of diaspora community, results show the bond they share is not simply due to their generational similarity, but because of the diversity that unites them as a diaspora community. This research attempts to use experiences with the respondents' diaspora community and a contemporary second-generation lifestyle in Canada. In other words, respondents were found to intertwine various multicultural customs of their diaspora community in order to express their second-generation identity.

The contemporary presence of diversity in the Ismaili community of Montreal is what respondents believe deepens their shared meaning of identity and religion in Canada. Most respondents also emphasized how strongly they value their notions of diversity and pluralism. Respondents claim a strong heterogeneity is present in their Montreal-based diaspora community.

This notion ties in with Taylor's (1994) conception of the 'politics of recognition', which also supports the claims made by the respondents of this study. Many view their diaspora community to have challenged traditional methods of managing cultural minority groups. According to some, recognizing the political rights of minorities should be a central part of cultural legislation in Canada. The communal approach is what respondents refer to as a collective interaction established during events, ceremonies, and rituals in the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community. Consequently, their religious community centres take on an immense significance, which apparently reinforces their sense of home and belonging in Canada (Eid, 2007; Rajiva, 2005). In fact, Respondent #11 was found to describe this communal bond by using the importance of his community centre (*jamat-khana*):

When I travel, the thing I miss the most is going to mosque. I couldn't be able to live with myself if it was absent. I believe it's the collective prayer that is an important component that would be missing. Like, okay, you can pray on your own time but it's not the same thing as having communal prayer with your community. That is something we've had our whole lives and we've never had the problem or lack of opportunity to go and practice communal prayer every day. That's something that I know if I moved to – say, South America – I know that would be missing right away and that's something I would probably come back for. (Respondent #11)

In this phenomenological analysis, it is esoteric and historical traditions that the second-generation respondents' highlight as the basis of their diaspora community. According to respondents, its unique space is intangible and goes beyond the limitations of identity markers and specific traditional practices. Respondents claim to realize they are an Ismaili minority within a wider Shia Muslim minority, and that is why it is important to integrate with the dominant cultural groups of our society. In fact, the second generation was found to believe their diaspora community is what provided them a common identity in Canada. Considering this second-generational perspective, their inherited religious identity is what becomes evidently clear throughout the interviews. As results show, their diasporic affiliation plays a unique role in maintaining a modern second-generation Ismaili Muslim identity in Canada.

The personal opinions of the respondents seem to defy Howard's (1998) notion of identity and immigration, which, once again, does not take the second generation into account. Another major component of this study addresses the intergenerational gap that exists between first- and second-generation minorities in Canada. Many researchers have explored this topic by investigating narratives of first-generation immigrants. This intergenerational link has become crucial and noteworthy for contemporary research on minorities in Canada (Karim, 2009). Examining their distinct and varied cultural identity markers provides more incentive to research the second-generation identity. In contrasts to

past research on Canadian minorities, this study seeks to contribute to current knowledge and argues that the absence of the second generation must be addressed when attempting to discuss the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism in Canada. In other words, the respondents were found to intertwine various multicultural customs and traditions within their diaspora community in order to establish their own sense of a second-generation identity. In fact, their Ismaili Muslim sense of a diaspora community was discovered to be indispensable to their perception of home and belonging in Canada. Considering diaspora communities and their second-generation members, their unique experiences can provide strong relevance to the initiatives and strategies of legislating multiculturalism.

4.2.3 Redefining Legislated Multiculturalism.

The last part of this discussion argues various challenges of multiculturalism through the respondents' second-generation perspectives. This argument forwards legislative implications by illustrating the respondents' perceptions of multiculturalism policy. The impact of culturally-protective legislation was explored through their notion of recognition, awareness, and understanding of legislated multiculturalism in Canada. Despite much criticism and recent controversy in Quebec, this discussion attempts to present the respondents' views on multiculturalism, whether it is a practical and positive contribution to society. Here, data collection shows policy as a unique approach to be considered strongly successful, efficiently productive, and politically useful for all Canadians. In this sense, a new discussion of legislated multiculturalism is therefore needed in order to justify whether it continues, and will continue, to play an important role for cultural rights and freedoms in Canada. Diversity challenges led the entire sample to conclude that the legislation of multiculturalism is highly required in order to preserve rights and freedoms of minorities in Canada.

As a policy that proposes breaking down cultural barriers, the principles behind legislated multiculturalism are seen to be difficult to achieve in practice. Furthermore, contemporary cultural policies were distinguished by respondents and were said to be moving in a direction to its basic foundations. However, multiculturalism has seen its darker days. Over the years, it has been consistently criticized in this regard since its inception in the early 1970s. However, according to most respondents, Canada's official multiculturalism policy has been successful in preserving its inclusion and integration of minorities over the years (Kymlicka, 2011).

Research findings of this study investigate the impact of multiculturalism on second-generation Ismaili Muslims in Canada. Despite recent critiques, the data collection of this study reveals the longitudinal effect of multiculturalism and how it has been successful through the identity formation of the second generation in Canada. According to respondents, the success of the multicultural approach is what essentially allowed them to be meaningful members of a global diaspora community in Montreal, in Quebec, in Canada, and worldwide. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggests how multiculturalism influences this second-generation identity through various challenges and debates (Siapera, 2010). According to the respondents, they expressed a common view that legislation on multiculturalism contributes productively in making Canada one of the most diverse and inclusive societies in the world. In fact, according to interview findings, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was found to ensure that all minorities have equal access to their rights to practice and maintain the cultural traditions of their choice (Kymlicka, 2011). Considering Kymlicka's (2007) conception of 'differentiated citizenship', the respondents unanimously described how the legislation of multiculturalism has made a practical and positive impact in their lives. Many claim the policy as being a key precursor in the way they formed their

hybrid and hyphenated identities (Bhabha, 1996; Mahtani, 2002). In fact, the respondents even suggested Canada's multicultural character as being its greatest strength and a worldwide, model approach for inclusiveness and peace. During the interviews, most revealed the benefits of Canada's multiculturalism as a space of diversity in a place of unity, knowledge, and security. Many of the respondents' experiences suggested how Canadian multiculturalism policy helped in reducing discrimination and stereotype geared towards Muslims, especially after the events of 9/11. Respondent #12 highlights his opinion on the legislative benefit of multiculturalism when he states:

One of the reasons why Canada is such a great country is because of the laws that we have. Through legislation and policies, such as the ones we have for multiculturalism, it basically allows us to practice our religion without fear. We don't have to worry about being told what to practice and how to practice it. That's simply because we're not really harming anybody, and we have the freedom of doing that. For that reason, I'm happy to be Canadian, I'm happy that we don't have problems in practicing our religions or inherited traditions in Canada. (Respondent #12)

According to the respondents of this study, multicultural legislation is considered as a legal basis for the mosaic of cultures found in Canada. Respondent #7 addresses this claim as he explains what Canadian multiculturalism means to him:

It is just human beings living together. It is simple as that. It is going to come to that point where all of the frontiers are broken and united, like we can see by the many cultures in Montreal. Its policies are what allow us to legally keep our traditions and heritage. (Respondent #7)

According to interview data, second-generation respondents found multiculturalism to preserve and enhance the pluralistic nature of Canadian society and its provinces. In fact, it was noted that all respondents claimed multiculturalism as a vital necessity for the country's cultural diversity. However, it was also felt that legislative multiculturalism needs to be reinforced, especially in Quebec. The respondents were found to suggest keeping an open dialogue with ongoing considerations for multiculturalism, such as the Bouchard-Taylor

Consultation Commission on the practices of accommodation and religious symbols

(Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). According to the respondents, language is seen as a significant barrier found in Quebec. Respondent #2 asserts this challenge, stating:

Mainly, I would say that the language is the biggest factor. Lots of things revolve around language and the culture that comes from bilingualism. It puts policies in place in order to promote the French Canadian culture as opposed to other provinces. (Respondent #2)

All of the respondents of this study discussed the influence of multiculturalism legislation.

Respondents claim how it is now time to have a new democratic discussion of multiculturalism, not just from the wider Canadian perspective but through second generations and distinctive provincial circumstances such as the ones found in Quebec.

Suggested as a new approach, many respondents believe their second-generation identity should be accounted for when considering multiculturalism. In addition, respondents reveal how it has become important to give a strong attention to the second generations who have personally experienced hybrid identities and can thus provide interesting insights into multiculturalism. Also, implications can further develop the theory of second-generation identity and the future of legislated multiculturalism in heterogeneous societies. For instance, Respondent #9 argues this notion when asked why he believes there are sovereignty challenges in Quebec:

To save their culture and have their own independent nation-state because that's their end goal: to have their own country. It doesn't matter how you're doing economically or what the world has to offer or what Canada has to offer; for separatists, it's just about saying that you have your own country. (Respondent #9)

The respondents of this study believe that Canadians passionately care about the multiculturalism discussion. In fact, they relate its benefits with their experience of growing up in Montreal as second-generation minorities. However, it was discovered that many responses addressed Quebec's failure to further support Canadian values of multiculturalism.

This phenomenological analysis of the experience of second-generation Ismaili Muslims describes the present dichotomy of living in Montreal as part of both societies in Quebec and Canada. In reality, the respondents revealed how they felt as though multiculturalism policy was created for their second-generation needs. The findings presented in this research illustrate the complex nature of contemporary multiculturalism. Using several identity markers of the second generation, respondents believe that legislated multiculturalism is what provides them with a better understanding of the world in which they live. The cosmopolitan experience of living in Montreal is noticeably present in the respondents' discussions. The combination of cultural diversity is what respondents believe to share as evidence of Canada's multiculturalism.

In line with Parekh's (2000) notion of 'rethinking multiculturalism', this study reveals the need to promote, and perhaps reassess, the meaning of Canadian multiculturalism through the second-generation identity, particularly in Quebec. While recent debates have strongly focused on religious accommodation issues, attention to the meaning and current understanding of the legislative framework of multiculturalism has been scarce. For many respondents, the Canadian multiculturalism model is seen as an approach to claim their rights, freedoms, and diversities as second generations. For others, this type of human categorization is what also paves the way to ethnic polarization, racial ghettoization, religious discrimination, and linguistic separation (Galabuzi, 2006; Tully, 2000). However, the concept of multiculturalism has yet to be taken seriously enough to challenge these recent controversies as seen in Canada.

In this section, we have discussed and analysed our results in detail. The respondents' arguments were found to be unanimous as legislated multiculturalism was claimed as a necessary policy to address the cultural diversity present in Canada. According to results,

respondents claim that legislated multiculturalism is a practical and positive influence for second-generation Canadians.

On the basis of the data collected, this thesis argues that (1) research participants challenge fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers; (2) that their sense of diaspora community is indispensable to their perception of home and belonging in Canada; and (3) that legislated multiculturalism is a practical and positive influence for second-generation Canadians. The findings and analyses of this chapter were used to describe the respondents' views on how legislated multiculturalism influences their identity as second-generation Canadians.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter presents a summary of the entire study. It provides the concluding statements on research findings, limitations, and areas for future research.

5.1 Research Summary

This research examined how multiculturalism influences second-generation identities by investigating the phenomenological analysis of Canadian Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal, Quebec. Using a qualitative methods approach, this study conducted twelve interviews for data collection and analysis.

As we notice from the literature review, the increased migration of various cultural minorities to the West has been the source of various debate and controversy in multicultural societies. Having sustained a significant degree of immigration for several decades, Canada is currently witnessing a major shift in its demographics. Research projections estimate that in the next 15 years, Canada's population growth and dispersal will come significantly from increasing immigration patterns. However, a backdrop that comes along with cultural diversity is the inevitable growing challenge of integration and accommodation of minority cultural groups, especially for religious minorities. Seen as a rising debate in Canada, the 2014 Quebec Charter of Values is a prime example of the criticism currently being proposed in the province of Quebec. As a society continuously shaping its cultural mosaic, Canada's well-known strategy and legislation in managing its cultural diversity has been the approach of multiculturalism. Over the years, many global experts and research scholars have become interested in Canadian multiculturalism. In fact, interesting findings reveal how minorities, especially the younger generations, have the ability to adapt their hyphenated identities into various cultural environments. Recently, the term 'second generation' has been much more

frequently discussed in contemporary research. As the children of immigrants born and raised in Canada, knowledge in this area is developing as literature seems to know very little about second-generation identity negotiation. Consequently, it has therefore become important to go beyond the current literature, and investigate how multiculturalism legislation influences the second-generation identity in Canada.

Multiculturalism is still developing rapidly due to the increasing nature of globalization, immigration, and foreign labour in Canada. The context in which we discuss multiculturalism's legislative framework is debated. Recent controversies have urged global experts to observe this second-generation group of Canadians and learn from its unique experience.

This study investigated this problematic through a review of four major themes of identity: hybridity, diaspora communities, ethnicity, and citizenship. Also, this research proposed a theoretical framework that investigates the merging concepts of second-generation identities, diaspora communities and legislated multiculturalism in Canada. In order to bridge these gaps in the literature and answer the research question (*How does the legislation of multiculturalism influence second-generation Canadian men who are part of a diaspora community?*), this study investigated the phenomenological analysis of second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal, Quebec. Through the use of a volunteer sampling technique, a qualitative research design was conducted using 12 face-to-face interviews. A qualitative methodology was used because of its ability generate in-depth dialogues and interpretive feedback from participants. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions encouraged the respondents to share their experiences through various topics discussed. Once transcripts of all participants were compiled, thematic

analysis was completed to draw coded patterns and themes that emerge during the interviews.

The research findings of this study provided a description of the results and a discussion that tie in with the literature. The results section of Chapter 4 presented a summary of the overall results; major themes and concepts that emerged from the interviews. This section organized interview data by displaying supporting quotes through the four conceptual themes of identity markers established in the literature review.

Hybridity, for the most part, was described by the respondents' hyphenated identities, which were distinguished as mixed and multidimensional. They were found to relate the concept of third space as a mixture of their socio-cultural experiences in Montreal. For participants, hybridity was characterized as an agency to various cultural identity markers. Emerging patterns within the data collected show respondents to have diversified and integrated their cultural identity markers to form a new set of norms, values, and beliefs to construct their second-generation identity in Canada.

In terms of diaspora communities, the respondents claimed that their allegiance to the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community forged a further sense of identity and belonging in Canada. Despite a strong diversity present within the local Ismaili community in Montreal, respondents' were found to share a spiritual bond that goes beyond all other features of their second-generation identity. According to research participants, their diaspora community was revealed as an anchor to their identity. In fact, it was discovered to have unified their perception of diaspora in Canada and across the globe. The respondents claim their second-generation identity as a result of multicultural experiences in and out of their diaspora community.

For second-generation Ismaili Muslims in Montreal, ethnicity was revealed to be one of the most important cultural identity markers to establish their identities. The respondents were found to claim numerous backgrounds originating from multiple ethnic origins. For the most part, respondents claimed up to three or four ethnic affiliations, each which ranged from different parts of Africa and Asia. Throughout the interviews, respondents claimed the negotiation of their ethnic identity as a balance of multiple cultural belongings. According to results, their conception of ethnicity was found to challenge fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers, claimed to have played a major role in the construction of their second-generation identity.

For the concept of citizenship, the respondents' Canadian birth right was claimed as one of the defining characteristics of their second-generation identity. Participants found citizenship rights to have negotiated their boundaries between minority and majority cultural groups in Canada. According to participants, minority rights challenge controversial issues over the tolerance and accommodation of religious minorities, especially in the province of Quebec. Second generation respondents were found to identify with their citizenship as a way to protect their rights and freedoms in Canada.

To date, investigating the impact of multiculturalism on a particular second-generation identity has not been widely researched in the literature. In this study, we have presented our results according to major themes that guided the discussion with our participants. These concepts were proven to be most effective by captivating the arguments made by respondents of this research. For the purposes of this study, three analytical sections were established in this research: Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities; Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation; and Redefining Canadian Multiculturalism.

First, in *Hybridity and the Variable Geometry of Identities*, we suggested that second-generation hybrid identities were constructed due to the experience of constant interaction with a vast multicultural diversity present in Montreal. Results of this phenomenological analysis were found to challenge fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers, which were claimed to be fluid and flexible by respondents. Hybrid identity was distinguished by participants, and highlighted the many cultural negotiations they faced as second-generation Canadians as part of a diaspora community in Montreal.

Secondly, in *Diaspora Communities and the Second Generation*, we demonstrated the important interest of considering the diaspora community of second-generation identities in Canada. Findings suggest that it has become essential to recognize and consider inherited cultural practices needed to accommodate certain communities. Here, we attempt to use the phenomenological analysis of the Montreal Ismaili Muslim community in order to demonstrate the balance of traditional religious practices and a contemporary second-generation lifestyle in Canada. In other words, the respondents were found to intertwine various multicultural customs and traditions within their diaspora community in order to establish their own sense of a second-generation identity. In fact, their Ismaili Muslim sense of diaspora community was discovered to be indispensable to their perception of home and belonging in Canada.

Thirdly, in *Redefining Canadian Multiculturalism*, we have outlined the new suggestions and concerns of legislated multiculturalism as perceived by this second generation sample. The official multiculturalism policy was claimed as a practical and positive influence on their second-generation identity in Canada. In fact, this research investigated the major challenges faced by multiculturalism according to second generations. Debates led our entire sample to conclude that the legislation of multiculturalism is not only

highly required, but essential in order to preserve and protect cultural diversity in Canada. In addition, for the most part, respondents claimed Canadian citizenship as a defining right to religious freedom in Quebec. The respondents of this study demonstrate how second generations are thus found to redefine multiculturalism in Canada. Considering their perception of multiculturalism policy, their argument was found to be unanimous; legislated multiculturalism was claimed as a necessary policy for cultural diversity in Canada.

5.2 Limitations

In all research studies, there are challenges; and this investigation of second-generation Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal is no different. Briefly, there are three main limitations in this study.

First, the sample of research participants is small. Due to its limited size and focus, the findings of this study do not permit us to authentically assert the rightful perception of multiculturalism made by second generations in Canada. In fact, research findings cannot be generalised by only considering 12 participants for an entire second-generation identity in a multicultural nation such as Canada. Of course, having a greater number of participants in this study could have brought a different argument, potentially altering the research findings.

Second, all of the research participants were of male gender. The reason for this specifically gendered perspective is simply due to the facilitated recruitment and access to respondents of this phenomenological analysis. Due to sampling strategies and interview settings, enrolling male participants made it easier to discuss and share personal thoughts about a topic such as identity. Also, it allowed for the respondents to share their experiences with a researcher who can relate to their identity as a male second-generation Ismaili Muslim from Montreal. This approach was taken to both control for gender differences, and because of a sense that female respondents might be less comfortable and open in discussing identity

with a male researcher. However, it would have been ideal to interview female participants as they could have brought an alternative gender perspective to a second-generation identity in Canada.

Lastly, this study also limits itself by solely interviewing the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community from Montreal, Quebec. The respondents may have a unique perception and world view of multiculturalism. Thus, the sample used is limited in its nature by this target population. Interviewing respondents from various cosmopolitan cities, such as Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver, could have provided richer data to expand the second-generation identity perspective in Canada.

5.3 Future Research

Despite this study's focus in examining the influence of legislated multiculturalism on second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim men in Montreal, few important aspects were set aside for the sake of efficiency. We suggest these be included in potential future research.

First, with respect to the influence of legislated multiculturalism, it would have been interesting to research the point of view of multiple generations. In the last few decades, many researchers have been studying the multiculturalism approach to discover a better understanding of the cultural diversity found between generations in Canada (Banting, 2012; Eid, 2007; Kymlicka, 2012; Nagle, 2009). Although our research sample was relatively young, the target population strictly consisted of the second generation. It would be interesting to expand sampling strategies to include an intergenerational perspective within this study. For instance, in 1998, the major aim of Howard's research was to investigate the pluralistic nature of immigrants as a value and major part of Canadian society (Howard, 1998). Although her case study focused on various types of minorities, it would be interesting to approach this investigation through a growing 'third generation' in Canada.

To address limitations found in this study, future research can aim to avoid these research shortcomings. In this sense, it can instil a greater understanding for the breadth of cultures that contribute to the multiple values and traditions found in Canada. While previous studies mainly target the general population of first-generation immigrants, there seems to be a gap in knowledge of other generations found in Canada. Furthermore, it is critical to further research that the potential reform of the legislation of multiculturalism incorporates changing perceptions of multiple generations and hybrid identities present in Canada. Exploring this perspective in greater depth will potentially grow valuable insights, thereby creating a greater culturally-inclusive, peaceful, and tolerant society in Canada.

In Summary this study examined perceptions of the influence of legislated multiculturalism on hybrid second-generation identities. We discovered that, although the approach is not a priority for some participants, many attach strong importance to the required necessity of multiculturalism in Canada. In addition, this study emphasized how second generations must be considered when addressing the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism in Canada, particularly in the province of Quebec. Furthermore, this research has also argued the cultural reference of religion in framing an understanding of the ways in which second generations shape a diasporic communal identity (Dwyer, 2003; Murji & Hebert, 1999).

In considering the focus of this research, this thesis concludes that the second generation (1) challenges fixed conceptions of cultural identity markers; (2) that their sense of diaspora community is indispensable to their perception of home and belonging in Canada; and (3) that legislated multiculturalism is a practical and positive influence for second-generation Canadians. Discussing their experiences suggests how hybrid identities are created by simultaneously being part of the cultures found in Quebec, Canada and the

global Ismaili Muslim diaspora. Learning from their second generation experience provides a larger reflection on hybrid identities, diaspora communities, and the future politics of legislated multiculturalism in Canada.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Letter of Information

[Date]

Dear Research Participant,

My name is Rahim Karmali, and I would like to invite you to be part of a thesis project that I am conducting. This project is part of the requirement for a Master's degree in Communication at the University of Ottawa. My affiliation with the Faculty of Arts and the Department of Communication can be established by contacting my supervisor, Jeremy Shtern, PhD.

The purpose of the study is to investigate issues related with multiculturalism and the second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim identity. The thesis will investigate legislated multiculturalism by exploring theoretical concepts of transnationalism, hybridity and cosmopolitanism in Canada. The objective of the project is to understand how multiculturalism influences the identity of Canadians of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Your participation in this study will have the potential benefit and opportunity of discussing your experiences and identity as a second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim. Your participation will benefit this research and may contribute to journal articles, presentations, conferences, and future publications that may evolve from this study.

Please note that participation in this study will be established on a first-come, first-served basis. If you choose to participate in this research project, the process will consist of an interview conducted in English and is foreseen to last approximately one hour. The foreseen questions discussed will include:

- 1) What is the meaning of home for you?
- 2) How would you describe your culture(s)?
- 3) How would you associate your overall identity to Canada?
- 4) What is 'multiculturalism'?
- 5) How do you compare your experience living simultaneously in Quebec and in Canada?
- 6) How do you feel about your rights and freedoms to associate with the religion of your choice in Canada?
- 7) How would you define multiculturalism in Quebec in comparison to Canada?
- 8) Have you felt any sort of intolerance, discrimination or racism?
- 9) What recommendations would you bring to help manage immigration and religious diversity in Canada?
- 10) What makes you feel your identity belongs in Canada?

The criterion for selecting research participants for this study is that you are over 18 years of age, male, fluent in English and was born in Canada. Information will be recorded and transcript notes will be taken. All information will be reported in the final report in anonymous format. At no time will any specific comments be attributed to any individual, and all documentation will be kept strictly confidential for the entirety of the study.

A copy of the final thesis project will be published in Canada's Library Archives. A copy will be registered at the Department of Communication at the University of Ottawa. This study will be available online through the university's database, the Theses Canada portal and will be publicly accessible. Access and distribution will be unrestricted.

Please feel free to contact me at any time should you have additional questions regarding the project and its outcomes. You are not compelled to participate in this research project. If you do choose to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time and all interview data specifically drawn from your interview will be destroyed. Similarly, if you choose not to participate in this research project, this information will also be maintained in confidence.

If you would like to participate in my research project, please contact:

Mr. Rahim Karmali
Department of Communication



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Appendix 2

Interview Guide

- 1) What is the meaning of home for you?
- 2) How would you describe your culture(s)?
- 3) How would you associate your overall identity to Canada?
- 4) What is 'multiculturalism'?
- 5) How do you compare your experience living simultaneously in Quebec and in Canada?
- 6) How do you feel about your rights and freedoms to associate with the religion of your choice in Canada?
- 7) How would you define multiculturalism in Quebec in comparison to Canada?
- 8) Have you felt any sort of intolerance, discrimination or racism?
- 9) What recommendations would you bring to help manage immigration and religious diversity in Canada?
- 10) What makes you feel your identity belongs in Canada?

Mr. Rahim Karmali
Department of Communication



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Appendix 3

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more information about details mentioned here, or not included in this document, do not hesitate to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand the ethical considerations involved in this study.

Consent Form

Title of the study: Legislated Multiculturalism and the Identity of Second-Generation Shia Ismaili Muslims in Canada.

My name is Rahim Karmali, and I am conducting a thesis project as part of the requirement for a Master's degree in Communication at the University of Ottawa.

My affiliation with the Faculty of Arts and the Department of Communication can be established by contacting my supervisor, Jeremy Shtern, PhD.

Invitation to Participate: I am inviting you to participate in the abovementioned research study and this document constitutes an agreement to participate in an interview that will be recorded.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to investigate issues related with multiculturalism and the second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim identity. The thesis will investigate legislated multiculturalism by exploring theoretical concepts of transnationalism, hybridity and cosmopolitanism in Canada. The objective of the project is to understand how multiculturalism influences the identity of Canadians of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Participation: As a participant in this study, you will be expected to discuss your experiences as a second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim in an audio-recorded interview that is expected to last approximately one hour. You will be asked questions related to multiculturalism and its effect on your identity. The criterion for selecting research participants for this study is that you are over 18 years of age, male, fluent in English and was born in Canada. You will be asked questions related to Canadian multiculturalism, your thoughts on how it is legislated, your second-generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim identity, as well as questions related to your experiences with notions of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and pluralism.

Risks: Your participation in this study will entail that you volunteer very personal information and this may cause you to feel emotional inconveniences. Your participation in this study is fully voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to participate in this study all together, may refuse to answer certain questions and may withdraw from the interview at any time. As a participant in the study, you realize the potential harm that may result from this study is minimal. You have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these risks by summarizing all information provided in anonymous format. At no time will any specific comments be attributed to any individual unless specific agreement has been obtained beforehand.

Benefits: Your participation in this study will have the potential benefit and opportunity of discussing your experiences and identity as a second generation Canadian Ismaili Muslim. Your participation will benefit this research and may contribute to journal articles, presentations, conferences, and future publications that may evolve from this study.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: You will receive assurance from the researcher that the information you will provide will remain strictly confidential. You understand that the contents will be used only for purposes of analyzing the information provided and that your confidentiality will be protected and sensitive care will be taken in the presentation of information to avoid specific research participants to be identified. The researcher and his academic supervisor, Dr. Jeremy Shtern, will be the only individuals with access to the raw data or any other identifying information which will be kept in a securely locked cabinet at the home office of the researcher or in the securely locked desk drawer at the departmental office of the academic supervisor.

To conceal the identities of participants, pseudonyms will be used to protect their identity as respondents of this study. Anonymity will be guaranteed and only the researcher and his academic supervisor will be aware of who is concerned in this study. The raw data or any other interviewed information will be kept in a securely locked cabinet at the home office of the researcher or in the securely locked desk drawer at the departmental office of the academic supervisor during the conservation period.

Conservation of data: The researcher and his academic supervisor, Dr. Jeremy Shtern, will be the only individuals with access to the raw data or any other identifying information. As per the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies guidelines, a copy of all original data including transcripts, audio-recordings, and notes will be securely stored on the University of Ottawa's campus. All original documents will be securely kept in the academic supervisor's office during the full conservation period of the study, which will be for a minimum of five years.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will not be included in the research data under the conditions of privacy and security. Similarly, if you chose not to participate in this research project, this information will also be maintained in confidence and discretion.

I, _____ (please print), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Rahim Karmali of the Department of Communication, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, which research is under the supervision of assistant professor Jeremy Shtern, PhD.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall
550 Cumberland Street, Room 154; Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5.
Tel.: (613) 562-5387 - Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

By signing this letter, you give free and informed consent to participate in this thesis.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____
(Signature) (Date)

Researcher's signature: _____ Date: _____
(Signature) (Date)

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

Mr. Rahim Karmali
Department of Communication



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Appendix 4

File Number: 10-12-27

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 11/30/2012



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
 Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Jeremy	Shtern	Arts / Communication	Supervisor
Rahim	Karmali	Arts / Communication	Student Researcher

File Number: 10-12-27

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Legislated Multiculturalism and the Identity of Second Generation Shia Ismaili Muslims in Canada

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
11/30/2012	11/29/2013	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:

N/A

Appendix 5

A Socio-Historical Review of the Shia Ismaili Muslim Diaspora in Canada

The origins of Islam's two main divisions, Sunnism and Shi'ism, can be traced back to the debated succession of the Prophet Muhammad [pbuh]. In fact, to this day, its legitimacy has caused much segregation between these two branches of Islam.

Professor Farhad Daftary, co-director and head of the Department of Academic Research and Publications at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in England, is one of the most renowned academic authors on the history of Shia Ismailis Muslims. Through his major publications, such as *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community* (1998) and *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines* (2007), Daftary's research been actively documenting the Ismailis for over forty years. According to Daftary (1998), upon the Prophet's death, a recognized successor was needed to fill the role as the leader of the *Ummah* or Islamic communities and states in power. The Sunni majority chose to follow the teachings of the Prophet through the message of the holy Quran and various political caliphate authorities (Daftary, 1998). For the minority group of Shias, the philosophy changes as several communities chose to follow the Quran's guidance as well as the divinely inherited ancestry of an Imam, which Shias believe was claimed by the Prophet himself through the lineage of his son-in-law and first successor Ali (Daftary, 2007). Since the Prophet's death and the succession of his son-in-law Ali, the hereditary chronology has also been debated amongst Shia Muslims (Daftary, 2007).

In the case of the Shia Ismaili Muslim diaspora community, for centuries, members have held the fundamental belief in the inherited blood lineage of the Imam of the Time, his spiritual interpretation of the Quran and contemporary guidance of Islamic values (Daftary, 1998). Despite several historical divisions within the Ismailis themselves, the general

community known and used in today's literature refers to the unique Nizari denomination of Ismaili Muslims (Daftary, 1998). Although there is not any specific country linked to the Ismailis, they were once distinguished as fundamental contributors to Islamic knowledge and culture during the golden days of the Fatimid period (Daftary, 2007). For example, according to various sources and historical scripts, during the tenth century, the Imam and his Ismaili leaders founded Al-Azhar University, considered one of the first university institutions in the world, established in the city of Cairo in Egypt (Daftary, 1998). Despite a major geographical dispersal of Ismaili communities, until their collapse during the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, “the Nizari leaders succeeded in founding a cohesive state with numerous mountain strongholds and scattered territories stretching from eastern Persia to Syria” (Daftary, 2007, p. 15).

Following the downfall of the Fatimid Dynasty and the Ismaili states, formerly known as the Nizari states, the Ismaili Muslims were forced to live scattered and hidden as a minority within various ethno-religious communities (Daftary, 2007). However, during the 18th century, the spiritual leaders of the Ismaili Muslims became politically active again in Persia and, later, in British India, where the 46th Imam, Hasan Ali Shah, had acquired trustful global recognition and received the honorific title of ‘Aga Khan’ in 1818 (Daftary, 2007). As prominent religious leaders in British India, the Aga Khans gained much popularity and legitimacy. In 1937, Aga Khan III was elected to the head of the League of Nations (Daftary, 1998). Later in the 1950s, his son Prince Aly Khan held the position of Pakistani ambassador to the United Nations (Daftary, 1998). According to Daftary (2007), as a symbolic figure, Aga Khan III is still considered today as a champion of the modern progression and globalisation of the Ismaili diaspora community. He is also said to be the one to have paved the way and set foundation for the Aga Khan Development Network, a

not-for-profit, non-denominational development agency seeking to improve the global quality of life. The AKDN, currently succeeded by his grandson, the current living Imam of the Time, is one of the largest networks of institutions dedicated to development causes such as poverty, health, and education in the third world, specifically in impoverished societies throughout Africa and Asia. In this sense, his Highness Prince Shah Karim Al Hussaini Aga Khan IV is the forty-ninth hereditary Imam of the Shia Nizari Ismaili Muslims (Daftary, 2007). The Aga Khan IV is considered to Ismailis as the direct descendant of Prophet Mohammad and spiritual leader of the world's estimated fifteen million Shia Nizari Ismaili Muslims (Daftary, 2007).

Going back, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, a large part of the Ismailis from the British subcontinent of India migrated to Africa searching for new economic ventures, mostly throughout East Africa, where the British had already established several colonies (Daftary, 1998). Up to the early decades of the twentieth century, the Ismaili Muslims travelled to several regions in East Africa to search for new opportunities as skilled and innovative entrepreneurs from British ruled India (Daftary, 1998). Out of the many that made the journey, most settled in Eastern coastal towns and metropolitan areas of Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. Nevertheless, the diaspora community stretched as far as Madagascar, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Burundi, etc. According to Delf (1963), the Shia Ismaili Muslims who went on the journey to Africa were mainly businessmen who put strong emphasis on values such as their religious practices, education, and the integration within the societies in which they live.

As a means to British political expansion, the hierarchal structure of most of East Africa was built on a three-way system. The largest part of the pyramid scheme was held by the local Africans, who were the laborers and occupied the lowest positions in the structure.

In the centre, we found the South Asian minorities, such as the Ismailis, who provided the middleman arrangements for the top European colonial powers (Delf, 1963). Through this structured framework, South Asian Ismailis were given cultural, economic and official legislative rights to their minority cultural identity (Daftary, 2007). However, once colonialism ended in Africa, the new governments at hand no longer supported middleman positions held by various South Asian minorities.

As the Ugandan situation became tense, the Ismailis, along with other South Asian minorities, were forced out of their homes and country of birth (Jamal, 1976). Under the dictatorship of the President of Uganda, Idi Amin Dada ordered the expulsion decree of all South Asians (Amor, 2003; Twaddle, 1976). Amin argued that God had advised him to expulse the Asians for sabotaging Uganda's economy and failing to integrate socially with its dominant culture (Sathyamurthy, 1986). According to various sources, not only were businesses looted and violence increasing, but citizenship documents were being seized and property papers destroyed as they were considered as ineligible by authorities (Mittelman, 1975; Ofcansky, 1992). This "war on economic liberation" was used by Idi Amin as a presumption to return the wealth to the real black people of Uganda (Jamal, 1976, p. 614). The events were so frightening that it brought much uncertainty to the future of the Ismaili diaspora communities established in several parts of Africa. According to Jamal (1976), as a result, many community members fled their homes by leaving all of their possessions behind; all they had had was their community and their faith.

When the Ugandan expulsion order was officially announced in August of 1972, the Aga Khan IV immediately contacted Canada's Prime Minister, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, and negotiated the resettlement of thousands of Ismailis across Canada (Daftary, 2007). As of the early year of the 1970s, a mass migration started arriving from Uganda, Kenya, and

Tanzania, along with many other countries throughout Africa (Daftary, 2007). As the influx of Ismaili Muslim migration followed, families and community members were reunited throughout the years. Only a small percentage of Ismailis decided to stay in Africa (Amor, 2003).

Canada was selected as a host-society for several reasons. On the one hand, Canada was going through a major cultural transition at the time, where it was adopting new multicultural policies and opening its doors to foreign laborers from across the world (Jamal, 2006). Also, the spiritual leader of the Ismailis, specifically suggested Canada as a secure democratic country, where they could freely practice their faith and call their home for future generations (Blanchfield, 2014). According to Blanchfield (2014), over the last five decades, the open hearts of Canadians and its immigration policies welcomed Ismailis from across the globe, from such countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India (Blanchfield, 2014).

As we can notice from this brief theoretical and historical review, one of the invaluable features of this diaspora community is noticeably its pride in its multicultural and globalizing history. Shia Ismaili Muslims currently live in over 30 countries worldwide, with about 100,000 living in Canada from coast-to-coast (Blanchfield, 2014). According to Matthews (2007), there are roughly 15,000 Shia Ismaili Muslims in both the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta (i.e., 30,000); 30,000 in the Greater Toronto Area, and 6,000 in the province of Quebec. In the early 1990s, with increased hostility rising in Afghanistan and its surrounding areas, a noticeable influx of Central Asian Shia Ismaili Muslims began throughout Canada, particularly across the province of Quebec. In 2007, there were over 4,000 members residing in the greater area of Montreal compared to approximately 2,000 living in the rest of Canada (Matthews, 2007). Through time, the migration of the Central

Asian Ismailis Muslims further extended the heterogeneous character of the Ismaili Muslim diaspora community in Canada.

Through the pluralistic values embedded in their Islamic ethics and values, the Canadian Ismaili Muslim community is a prime example of a diaspora that attempts to balance the gap between Islam and the West. Throughout their history, the Ismaili Muslims have embraced fundamental principles that are dedicated to pluralism, volunteerism, and the reinforcement of civil society (Daftary, 2007). According to Hollinger (1995), this cosmopolitan ethic is an important influence that plays a strong role in the identity formation of immigrants and their children in Canada. In addition, Hollinger claims that multiculturalism has allowed various ethnic minorities, just like the Canadian Ismaili Muslims, to form a transnational identity that is accepting and open to others (Hollinger, 1995). In his work, "Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism", the author distinguishes that the core notion of multiculturalism is its pluralistically integrated and cosmopolitan model (Hollinger, 1995). In addition, Kymlicka (2001) claims the importance of a cosmopolitan ethic as a method that identifies various minorities as permanent, tolerable, and integrated within Canadian society. In fact, Kymlicka (2001) suggested that "cosmopolitanism promotes multiple identities, emphasizes the dynamic and changing character of many groups, and is responsive to the potential for creating new cultural combinations" (p. 266).