

**Negotiating Belongingness in the Third Space by Exploring the Case of 1.5G Uyghur-
Canadians from China**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this exploratory research is to determine how 1.5 generation (1.5G) Uyghur youths negotiate their belongingness in the face of contradicting value systems and norms in the country of settlement. It situates the experiences of 1.5G immigrants in a transnational context and aims to contribute to literature on (1) immigrant experiences, (2) identity and belonging, and (3) Uyghur-Canadians. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Uyghur-Canadians who were born in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), China, and immigrated to Canada between the ages of 6 to 12. Using an adaptation of the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method, the research study captures the lived experiences of participants and how they create meaning(s) in their identities.

Using Yuval Davis's and Antonsich's framework for the study of belonging and Elder's conceptualization of linked lives and social ties, three common themes emerged across all participant answers: (1) experiencing life in alignment with first-generation immigrant parents in the country of settlement while differing in the understanding and interpretation of these experiences, (2) the sociocultural context in the experience of belonging, and (3) undergoing constant challenge of re-establishing authority over the negotiation of boundary of acceptable and unacceptable values and behaviors on one's own terms. These themes are essentially the determinants that influence decisions that are made during the process of negotiating contrasting values systems and norms in the Third Space – the space of transculturation where cultural transformation takes place.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Introduction

This exploratory research seeks to use 1.5 generation (1.5G) as a research indicator to study and understand how immigrant children, who have become adults in the country of settlement, form their identity and how they negotiate their sense of belonging within a sociocultural space that engenders often conflicting value systems and norms. This research will explore the post-migration experience of 1.5G Uyghur youths in Canada who have immigrated from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China to Canada. The intention of this research study is to add value to the existing rhetoric that seeks to gauge the social significance of 1.5G immigrants. The research exists at the intersection of four research areas: 1.5G immigrants; the Uyghur nationality (民族) in China; China's views on ethnicity and nationality; and Canada's views on ethnicity and nationality.

The literature review will first look at the current rhetoric on 1.5G immigrants and the characteristics of this generational cohort, then describe the metamorphosis of the Uyghur identity from a historical perspective. A summary of China's and subsequently Canada's views on ethnicity and nationality will be provided, and finally a comparative approach will be taken to analyze the different approaches China and Canada are taking to promote nationalism at the present time. The literature review will be followed by a detailed description of the design and methodology, and the timeline for this research.

1.2 1.5G Immigrants

Scholars of immigration have been attempting to gauge the social significance and the relevance of decimal generations in order to "alleviate the semantic confusion" ascribed to the existing definition of the immigrant first and second generations - as proposed by Ruben G.

Rumbaut. Initially, Rumbaut coined the term ‘one-point-five generation’ (1.5G) to depict the lived experiences of youths who ‘came of age’ in the receiving country rather than the country of birth (Rumbaut, 1976; Rumbaut R, 1991; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). To better understand the decimal generation, researchers undertook qualitative research to study the way 1.5G cope and/or overcome circumstances caused by externally driven factors.

Writing about immigrants Rumbaut (2004), argued in favour of distinguishing between immigrant generations in terms of identity formation and adaptation process. For instance, Rumbaut (2004, p.1167) introduced the 1.25G and 1.75G in his research to demonstrate that, factors such as age and life stage at the time of migration result in varied outcomes in educational and occupational attainment, and linguistic acculturation patterns.

Despite large bodies of research studies to-date, researchers have not yet reached a consensus regarding the designation of decimal generation cohorts to a specific age group. For instance, depending on the study, the 1.5G can range anywhere between 6 years of age to 17 years of age at the time of settlement in the host country; however, the latter part of the adolescent years could also fall under the 1.75G cohort. There is an overall consensus in literature that the 1.5G cohort takes on certain attributes that function in duality with existing attributes as a result of the environment that was created from their immigration experiences. Cumulatively, these attributes contribute to the development of the 1.5G hybrid identity. The discourse on the 1.5G hybrid identity within the transnational social space will be further explored in the following section on the discourse to-date.

The 1.5G identity embodies three principal attributes: their immigrant status, their multi-cultural background, and their life experiences. 1.5G youths have often been described as being “cultural brokers” (Kim & Duff, 2012; Bartley, 2010) who possess “bifocal consciousness and orientation” (Aguilar, 2012, p.156) or “bicultural and bilingual identity” (Remennick, 2003, p.56)

, which reinforces them to maneuver within multiple social and cultural spaces (Kim & Duff, 2012). Furthermore, unlike the second-generation immigrants, the 1.5G youths are capable of maintaining a strong connection to their original nationality or parental culture while quickly developing a sense of belonging in the country of settlement through the process of socialization (Rumbaut, 1976; Aguilar, 2012; Esteban-Guitart & Vila, 2015).

The cosmopolitan attributes of the 1.5G identity, however, cannot be over-simplified or assumed as a static label. In a study that was conducted on language learning for 1.5G Korean university students in Canada, the authors suggest that the ‘hybrid identity’ obstructs the ability for these students to find a balance between the old and the new cultural contexts because the two contexts embody contradicting expectation (Kim & Duff, 2012, p.93). 1.5G must navigate through contrasting value systems and norms under variety of circumstances. Each experience is unique to the individual and their cultural background (Wang & Collins, 2016). For instance, certain cultural practices may either encourage or discourage socialization depending on whether first-generation immigrant parents are willing to tolerate the idea of assimilating their children into the new sociocultural context in the receiving country (Remennick, 2003, p. 40).

1.3 Exclusion of the 1.5G

Although the 1.5G hybrid identity embodies cosmopolitan attributes, it does not eliminate an individual’s ‘foreignness’ in the country of settlement (Carreon et al., 2005). Academic studies usually portray migration stories of 1.5G individuals that come from low- or middle-income countries, who have settled in high-income countries such as the United States, Canada, and various other Western European countries. Within this context, 1.5G youths are depicted as being part of the racialized minority group who are obliged to learn the new language, as well as internalize new cultural and social standards and political values of the receiving country

(Rumbaut, 1976; Goldschmidt & Miller, 2005). Yet, despite the fact that 1.5G youths are capable of quickly developing a sense of belonging in the country of settlement before reaching adulthood (Rumbaut, 1976; Aguilar, 2012; Esteban-Guitart & Vila, 2015), they are still being placed in the space of exclusion in the country of settlement as a result of either their legal status, extent of acculturation, or ethnocultural background.

In the realm of legality, immigration scholars have recognized that 1.5G youths are experiencing the paradox of citizenship (Clarkson, 2014). On the one hand, although immigrant children absorb norms and values from their new home at a young age (Rumbaut, 1976; Goldschmidt & Miller, 2005), they are, however, not immune to the same structural, institutional, and legal barriers that first-generation immigrants experience. In this case, specifically in high-income Western countries, it is the legal status in the receiving country that defines the way 1.5G youths should be perceived by society, but unlike first-generation immigrants, 1.5G fear stigmas that are attached to their immigration status (Abrego, 2011, p.355, 357) even though this status was attained not by their own choice (The Law Library of Congress & Global Legal Research Center, 2017). The case of undocumented immigrant children (Suárez-Orozco, M., & Suárez-Orozco, C., 2001) exemplifies how external characters and factors construct the immigration experience for 1.5G youths.

Kara Cebulko looked at the life stage progression of 1.5G Brazilian immigrant youths, and subsequently differentiated their experiences in accordance to their “illegal” and “liminally legal” immigration statuses (Cebulko, 2014). Gonzales & Chavez (2012) on the other hand, demonstrated in their research that unlike first-generation immigrants, “abjectivity” and ‘illegality’ could potentially motivate undocumented 1.5G immigrant youths to develop a strong sense of social justice and responsibility. Leisy J. Abrego expanded on this point by arguing that first-generation and 1.5G immigrants possess distinct legal consciousness despite the fact that both generational

cohorts share a common migration status (Abrego, 2011, p.355, 357).

Legal status is not the only factor that shapes the space of exclusion. A pilot study on 1.5G Ethiopian Jewish rabbis and traditional Ethiopian spiritual leaders - the Kessoch – who have immigrated to Israel as part of the Jewish aliyah from Ethiopia revealed a direct correlation between acculturation and trust (Sharaby, 2011). For instance, despite collective recognition of Ethiopian immigrants as Jewish, the sentiment of mistrust towards these immigrants as a result of cultural subtleties and differences in ethnic background in Israeli society is prevalent. The degree of trust only varies in accordance with the degree of acculturation to the Israeli state; in this case, the Ethiopian Jewish rabbis are more acculturated and accepted than the Ethiopian Kessoch.

There are also instances where 1.5G youths are placed at the intersection of racialized dialogue and conditional inclusion; in this case, one's foreignness is constantly being negotiated while one's inclusivity becomes a privilege which has to be earned. In a study among 1.5G Nigerian-Americans, African immigrant youths are placed in a position where they must prove to their "white teachers" and the American educational institution that they are not inferior (Awokoya, 2012, p.267-270), and required to prove to "African Americans" that they are "Black" enough to be part of the community, or at least, blend into the community (270-272).

1.4 Preserving Parental Culture

1.5G youths maintain their connectedness to their roots without necessarily being physically present in the country of origin. Socialization in the country of settlement does not immediately eliminate the identity that 1.5G had formed in the country of origin. For instance, collectivist values are deeply-rooted in the identity of Asian-American immigrant children, and although these values undergo a process of transformation based on the circumstances surrounding their individual experience of acculturation, some of the fundamental aspects of these values are

often carried through to adulthood (Yoo & Kim, 2014, p.52-68).

One of the main factors that determines the longevity of 1.5 generation's connectedness to their roots are their ties to their first-generation parents. In response to first-generation parents' strong will to survive as well as the will to endure hardships in the country of settlement, the 1.5G children over time cultivate the desire to provide aid and become advocates for their parents (p.166). They assume this role and take on responsibilities to supplement their parents' shortcomings in the country of settlement, specifically in cases where self-care and self-sufficiency becomes unmanageable for the parents.

Some of the setbacks for first-generation parents could be caused by the stagnation in their socioeconomic mobility, or the weakened state of their social support network as a result of immigration. In this case, 1.5G are automatically placed in a position that would oblige them to take on the role of a primary social support provider. For instance, it becomes a "lifelong process" for 1.5G to manage the child-parent dynamics while taking on some of the "necessary and practical" responsibilities, namely providing economic stability, emotional support and management, and physical support for their immigrant parents (Yoo & Kim, p. 17-18).

A secondary form of ties is developed when 1.5G uses parental cultural norms and values as a point of reference to indicate one's preference in ways of being. 1.5G immigrants to Finland, for instance, were asked how they negotiate their autonomy in relation (1) to Finnish or other immigrant adolescents in Finland, and (2) to adolescents from one's own ethnic and/or cultural group (Turjanmaa et al., 2017, p. 82). Participant responses indicate that they revisited parental culture by using it as the main source of reference in their decision-making process. In terms of cultural continuity, participants understood autonomy through "their parent's culture" and abided by them to maintain financial stability and loyalty to family and family heritage (p. 83).

There are also cases where the authenticity of the heritage of 1.5G youths are called into

question either by co-ethnics or by 1.5G youths themselves because of their inability to connect, or lack of interest to associate with their parental culture. For instance, co-ethnics judge the way 1.5G youths present themselves through their accent, mannerisms and appearance (Awokoya, 2012, p. 272) to decide how they would proceed to approach them. 1.5G either have difficulty understanding cultural references presented by their peers or relatives from the country of origin, or simply disagree with the social norms and behaviors of their parental culture (Kim & Stodolska, 2013, p. 200). In both cases, these studies demonstrate that 1.5G can exist in the space of exclusion in relation to their heritage either by externally driven pressures or by self-determined choice. The next section will review literature on Uyghur nationality (民族) in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), China, by specifically looking at the construction of the Uyghur identity from a historical perspective.

1.5 Metamorphosis of the Uyghur Identity in East Turkestan (Xinjiang)

East Turkestan is a term developed by Russian turkologists in Soviet Central Asia (Kamalov, 2007, p.34); Xinjiang (新疆), on the other hand, is the Chinese term for this region. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Tarim Basin region was called Altishahr (ئالتە شەھەر) in old Uyghur language (Thum, Rian, & Elliott, 2010). The name of this region is highly disputed because it carries opposing rhetoric regarding whether the region is part of China or Central Asia (Kamalov, 2007). The Uyghurs in East Turkestan are actively negotiating multiple and sometimes contradicting senses of belongingness. Identity negotiation has, however, caused fragmentation within the Uyghur community in China as a result of extremely complex and transformative nature of their sociocultural and geographic circumstances that in many cases were either imposed by, or adopted from external influencers (Gladney, 1990, p. 5- 11; Rudelson, 1998, p. 39- 45; Bovingdon, 1893, p. 23- 25; Roberts, 2004).

Some of the main attributes of the Uyghur identity are “Uyghur language and Central Asian and Islamic cultural norms” (Grose, 2015 p. 103). These attributes differentiate Uyghur ethnic minority group from the Han ethnic majority group in China. Uyghurs often situate themselves within the Central Asian cultural sphere of influence, specifically in the realm of language, music, literature, religion, and cuisine (Grose, 2015 p. 103; Bellér-Hann, 2007).

Linguistically, the Uyghurs share the same linguistic ancestry with other Central Asian countries, namely “Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Western Eurasia” (Harris, 2008, p. 1; Rudelson, 1998, p. 53). As indicated by Dr. Dolkun Kamberi, the Uyghur language went through metamorphism at various points in history, but “[m]odern Uyghur belongs to the Ural-Altai language family”, and the language is “...especially similar to the Uzbek language” (Kamberi, 2005, p. 9). The Uyghur language functions as a medium for self-expression which takes the following forms: oral literature (Kamberi, 2005, p. 9), short stories (Kasgarli, 1993, p. 580), and poetry (Friederich, 2007). Modern Uyghur literature communicates the notion of distinction from the Chinese state and society; it “centers its themes around the history of the Uyghur people”, their heroes, their victories, and Uyghur “pride and consciousness” (Kasgarli, 1993, p. 851). For example, poetry is an essential component of the Uyghur culture because it has the “longest and richest tradition amongst the Uyghurs” (Friederich, 2007, p. 89). The themes of modern Uyghur poetry tend to focus on “freedom, democracy, social reform and innovation” (Kasgarli, 1993, p. 580), which reflects on the imagination of a society that is not dominated by an overtly oppressive foreign thought.

The connection between the Uyghur population and the cultural influence from Central Asian countries is further consolidated by music. Uyghurs “display continuity with the folk and classical traditions of Uzbekistan and northern Tajikistan” by using the “same long-necked lutes and frame drums, and gather their music into large-scale suites...called *muqam*” (Harris, 2008, p.

1). Uyghur *muqam* traditions play an influential role in Central Asia; this is exemplified by the *On Ikki Muqam - Uyghur Twelve Muqam* (Kamberi, 2005, p. 16) – “a collections of pitches and conventions of melody” (Harris, 2008, p. 69). The importance of *muqam* does not only lie in its repertoire, but as Rachel Harris demonstrates in her writing, it carries forward scholarly dialogue on the influence of Arabic traditional music and musical terminologies over Uyghur *muqam* traditions, as well as the structure, terminology, concept and practice of *muqam* in Central Asia (Harris, 2008, p. 70- 71; Kamberi, 2005, p. 17- 18).

Core cultural practices in East Turkestan are shaped by Islamic traditions and local beliefs of the Uyghur people. Commonality in cultural practices among Central Asian countries stem from Islam, but variations in rituals are based on local religious traditions; Ildikó Bellér-Hann demonstrates this by discussing the process of commemorating the dead in East Turkestan in comparison to the rest of Central Asia (Bellér-Hann, 2007, p. 133- 137). In the context of global capitalism, the rhetoric on religion amongst the Uyghur population and religious leaders can be characterized as (1) a struggle in determining the authenticity of Islam in East Turkestan, as well as the way it is practiced by Uyghurs (Waite, 2007, p. 169- 173), and (2) the significance of Islam in relation to local religious practices (p. 173- 179).

In East Turkestan, cuisine plays multiple roles of significance. In the context of identity and belonging, it is a way “to affirm distinctiveness” and “to strengthen cultural unity” (Cesàro, 2007, p. 196-197). Cultural unity is expressed in two ways; through religious practices and more generally, the style of cooking. An example of the former includes eating *halal* food and not eating food that is considered *haram* (Cesàro, 2000, p. 229), whereas the latter encompasses “meal structure, patterns, ingredients, and taste, which are more similar to Central Asian cuisines rather than Chinese cuisine” (Cesàro, 2007, p. 197). Cristina Cesàro even found that Muslim Uyghurs are “reluctant to eat in Hui restaurants” despite their “rigid *qingzhen* standards”. She argues that this

is due to their lack of trust in Hui Muslim minority group in China especially in relation to their commitment to Islam (Cesàro, 2000, p. 230).

The ethnography and the ethnogenesis of today's Uyghur population are fluid and dynamic because historically they have experienced ethnocultural and religious metamorphosis in synch with the often shifting geographic, political and social climates. Uyghurs are characterized by some scholars as descendants of the 'Turko- Mongolian steppe nomads' (Perdue & Millward, 2004, p.40) or the 'Turkic-speaking, oasis-dwelling people in the Tarim basin of Northwest China' (Gladney, 1992, p. 166). There are two widely recognized and relatively undisputed fundamental facts about the Uyghurs of East Turkestan: (1) the regions that the Turkic peoples have inhabited reached from Central Asia to Siberia (Kamalov, 2007, p. 31-32), and (2) genetically speaking, the Turkic peoples possess a complicated admixture history. A total of four major ancestral components were identified: European ancestries (25-37%), South Asian ancestries (12-20%), Siberian ancestries (15-17%), and East Asian ancestries (29-47%) (Xu et al., 2008; Feng et al., 2017)

In post-communist China, the Uyghurs of China are tied to the Chinese state (Finley, 2007, p. 219). As they attempt to solidify their sense of self and belonging as a community in East Turkestan, the influence of the Chinese state continues to dominate over the discourse on the nature and significance of their identity (Kamalov, 2007, p. 32). There are currently three distinct visions of East Turkestan as imagined by the Uyghurs of China: (1) Pan-Islamic vision (i.e. East Turkestan Islamic Movement); (2) Pan-Turkic vision (i.e. East Turkestan Liberation Organization); and (3) "Uyghurstan" state (i.e. East Turkestan Independence movement) (Gunaratna, Acharya, & Pengxin, 2010).

Before modern Uyghurs of East Turkestan became Sunni Muslims (Benson & Svanberg, 1998, p. 21), they were influenced by variety of other seemingly contrasting religions, namely

Manichaeism, Buddhism, and Christianity (Sulayman, 2007, p. 110). Uyghurs embraced Manichaeism that was brought by foreign settlers to rebel against the Buddhist Tang dynasty (Bell, 2008, p. 52). However, continuous metamorphosis in identity has resulted in sociocultural cleavages within the Uyghur population. The cleavage could be denoted to one of the most intense metamorphosis which occurred after the collapse of the Uyghur Khaganate in 840 C.E. Various Uyghur tribes migrated from Mongolia and established two notable Turkic Kingdoms, the Gansu Uyghur Kingdom in the Gansu region, and the Buddhist Turkic Uyghur Kingdom of Qocho near modern Turpan (Starr, 2004). The settlers of the former Kingdom were conquered by Tibeto-Burman-speaking Tangut people around 1030 (Millward, 2007, p. 46). The settlers from the latter Kingdom, however, populated the Tarim Basin alongside the Muslim Turkic Karluk Kara-Khanid Khanate (Perdue & Millward, 2004, p. 42).

This settlement has, on the one hand, further diversified the Turkic identities, yet on the other, it created cultural and religious clash. Both experiences can be ascribed to the geopolitical landscape of Tarim Basin. Some scholars dub East Turkestan as “a zone of transition” (Starr, 2004, p. 10) and the Uyghurs as ‘cultural transmitters’ (Bell, 2008, p. 79) or ‘middleman’ (Starr, 2004, p. 224) because they are at the forefront of the Silk Road trade. The settlers of Qocho were able to integrate the Indo-European Tocharians and Iranian Saka tribes into their kingdom over time, but later had to adopt the Islamic religion as a creed set by the Muslim Karakhanids. This change was especially daunting and traumatic for Uyghur-Buddhists; they were labeled as ‘infidels’ and much of their scripture at that time was destroyed (Bovingdon, 1893, p. 89).

Modern Uyghur nationalism, in the context of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, arose as a result of continuous foreign conquests by (1) the late Manchurian Qing dynasty, (2) the Chinese warlords during the Republic era, and (3) the Communists. The solidification of Uyghur nationalism is best represented by the rise of the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Republic (1933), and

the Second East Turkestan Republic (a Soviet-backed Turkic socialist people's republic) (1944). At this time, progressive Uyghur intellectuals adopted Islamic and Turkic modernism to promote enlightenment and united consciousness among Turkic peoples (Rudelson, 1997; Millward, 2007).

Presently, the Chinese government is placing much of its efforts in promoting Chinese national identity; but these efforts have proved to be counterproductive. The Xinjiang Classes, a state sponsored boarding school, is an example of a social space that demonstrates in practice the methodologies that Uyghur students use to subtly distance themselves away from ideologies and practices constructed by the Chinese state (Grose, 2015). Chen Yangbin noted in his research that Uyghur students continue to use their native language instead of Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) - the official national language of China - amongst themselves as a way to gain social and emotional support (Chen, 2010). Timothy Grose examine various religious customs that Uyghur students exercise in order to preserve their ethnoreligious identity (Grose, 2015, 103-105).

1.6 On Nationality and Ethnicity: China

China's view on ethnicity and nationality is defined by its constant endeavor to overcome the contradictions triggered by the processes of assimilating ethnic minority groups into Chinese society. Since the demise of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the leaders of the Republic of China (ROC) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) implemented various measures with the intention to build a single Chinese nation. These measures include the early national unification efforts - which was most notably pushed forward by Sun Yat-sen (Yat-sen, 1912) and his successor Chiang Kai-shek (Erickson, 1962, p. 233), and the nation-building efforts in the People's Republic of China namely through the state-sponsored Ethnic Identification Project, where the Central Government gave official recognition to select non-Han groups in China by allowing them to claim minority rights (Wang, 2015, p.4), followed by the radical assimilation efforts that prevailed under the guise

of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Han, 2013, p. 33).

The goal of recognizing China as a multi-ethnic nation can only be perceived in relative terms because the rhetoric on “national unification” and “nation-building” subordinates the collective consciousness of ethnic minority groups in China. For the nation-building leaders, the priority lies primarily with gaining loyalty (Leibold, 2007, p. 3) and maintaining control over territories that are being threatened by external and internal forces (Williamsen, 1998). Furthermore, it is the Han Chinese people that continue to take on leadership roles in molding the rhetoric of Chinese nationhood. For instance, during the Cultural Revolution the ethnic minority groups were coerced to abandon their cultural beliefs and practices at the expense of increasing the pace of China’s sociopolitical development (Heberer, 1989, p. 25); this course of action further deteriorated the relationship between the Han Chinese and various major ethnic minority groups (Han, 2013, p. 17). To ease these tensions, violent assimilation methods were replaced by Sinicization (*hanhua*) – a process of bringing non-Han Chinese societies under the influence of the Han Chinese culture (p. 21).

To date, the question on nationality and ethnicity contains a degree of ambiguity because in the Chinese language, the concept of nationality morphs in synch with nation-building rhetoric (Jiang, 2006, p. 161). The ambiguous nature of the term, however, undermines the quality of the data that has been gathered by the state to demonstrate the multi-ethnic aspect of Chinese society. For instance, *Zhonghua minzu* - a concept that initially described the Han Chinese people in the Qing dynasty (Lan, 2012, p. 38) - has been advocated by Sun Yat-sen and the ROC to also incorporate the Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans and Hui Muslims (Yat-sen, 1912). The CPC leaders took a step further and incorporated 55 ethnic minorities by adopting a flexible version of Stalin’s criterion for identifying nationalities (Lin Zhu, 2015, p. 7-8). However, the methods used in both cases were inherently flawed; in the former case, there was a “...denial of the existence of different

ethnic groups in China...”, and in the latter case, there was a major “...reduction in the number of recognized ethnic groups ...” (Hasmath, 2009, p. 97).

1.7 On Nationality and Ethnicity: Canada

There are three prevailing, and often paradoxical views on ethnicity and nationality in Canada, these are: Canadian multiculturalism, Quebec interculturalism, and Indigenous rights to self-determination.

According to *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibility of Citizenship* (Canada & Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a), multiculturalism is “[a] fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity” (p. 8). Multiculturalism is predicated on diversity, inclusion and respect for pluralism (Canada & Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a, p. 25). The Canadian government affirms that “...all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging...” and furthermore, “[a]ll Canadians are guaranteed equality before the law and equality of opportunity regardless of their origins” (Canada & Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012b). In exchange, Canadian nationals – those who hold Canadian citizenship - and Permanent Residents have the responsibility to respect and obey the law (Canada & Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a, p. 9).

The inclusive aspect of multiculturalism has been part of public debate since the adoption of the Multiculturalism policy in 1971. Critics argue that racialized settlers are essentially being assimilated into Anglo-Saxon culture. For instance, Charles Taylor argues that in the case of the Quebecois, equal treatment and respect for cultural particularities are “two conflicting tendencies in the politics of equality” (Taylor, 1991, p. 51). Taylor suggests that it would be more appropriate to “achieve mutual recognition of equal values defined by individual way of being” (p. 52).

Quebec has been taking steps since the Quiet Revolution to preserve its national identity

by differentiating itself from other cultural communities in Canada (Juteau, 2002, p. 444; Oakes & Warren, 2007, p. 27) and by distancing itself from Canada's official rhetoric on multiculturalism (Bouchard, 2011, p. 398; Juteau, 2002, p. 453). Instead, interculturalism was introduced as a concept defined by the objective of building a Québécois nation. The official rhetoric on interculturalism has been presented in the form of various official documents, these include, but are not limited to: the 1981 *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* action plan, the 1990 *Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* White Paper (Dewing, 2009, p. 12-13), and Bill 99, an act which "...reaffirms the fundamental rights and prerogatives of the Québec people and the Québec State" (National Assembly of Québec, 2000). In contrast to multiculturalism and interculturalism, Indigenous rights to self-determination face a multitude of structural and institutional barriers, in spite of the fact that this right is protected by the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (The General Assembly, 2008) and the Canadian Constitution (Canada & Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012a, p. 10). Some obstacles are created by the lack of interest in prioritizing research around the significance of self-determination, especially in the context of Indigenous healthcare (Waldram, Herring, & Young, 2006, p. 262) and violence against Indigenous women (Kuokkanen, 2012, p. 226).

Defending Indigenous rights (but falling short of naming them), Will Kymlicka warned that it is crucial to distinguish immigrant groups from "national minority groups" (Kymlicka, 1997). James Youngblood Henderson and Taiiaki Alfred raised question about the legitimacy of the current relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state. Henderson argues that a crucial step to reconciliation of Aboriginal and Treaty Rights is to establish an Office of the Aboriginal Attorney General (Henderson, 2003, p. 267). Alfred takes a step back and argues that first and foremost, it is necessary to acknowledge the influence of colonialism in Canada today, and the negative role it continues to play in the lives of Indigenous peoples (Alfred, 2005, p. 278-

279).

1.8 On the differences: China and Canada

At present, China and Canada are taking different approaches to promoting nationalism because they are at different stages of the nation-building process. On the one hand, China is promoting erosion of differences by way of sinicizing its ethnic minority groups, while Canada is attempting to promote a different version of nationalism, wherein the development of sociocultural and sociopolitical spaces allows for differences to thrive. The extent of support for diversity and pluralism by the Canadian federal government is, however, unclear, and in many cases, it requires a judicial interpretation of the Constitution. It is this malleable characteristic that allows the government to micro-manage various spaces of differences and to ensure that diversity and differences do not undermine the unity of the country. Such was the case when the controversial Quebec Charter of Values bill was introduced by the Parti Québécois in 2013 (National Assembly of Québec, 2013). This bill gained great popularity in Quebec in the beginning (Leger Marketing, 2013), but it eventually fell through because it was pushing forward for an agenda that would systematize marginalization of the Muslim population and others in Canada.

In China, on the other hand, the CPC clearly positions itself as an authoritative figure. The Party overtly demonstrates, via censorship, that it is intolerant of any political rhetoric that incites collective actions with the intention to destabilize the regime (King, Pan, & Roberts, 2014). The “pervasive” and “sophisticated” aspect of the regime’s censorship (OpenNet Initiative, 2012) can also be interpreted as a way of informing Chinese citizens of the extent of diversity and differences that the Party is willing to tolerate.

China and Canada also take different approaches towards the protection of their ethnic minority groups - specifically their rights and their privileges. The Chinese government will

protect those who demonstrate their loyalty to the Party, while the Canadian government will protect those who are protected by the Constitution. In China, for instance, the Party is much more lenient towards the Hui Chinese Muslims in comparison to the Uyghurs because unlike the latter, the Hui people have compliantly acculturated into the Han society, and more importantly, they shy away from any rhetoric in relation to separatism (Gladney, 2008, p. 203).

CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Field Research Design: Initial Planning

My research study was designed to take place in Canada; hence I began to network in the metropolitan city of Montréal, Québec and branched out to other cities. At the early stage of my research, while networking, I wanted to take the opportunity and to also explore different types of interview techniques. I decided to use the narrative inquiry methodology (Clandinin, 2013) to collect data on identity, belonging, and lived experiences from the perspective of young immigrants who migrated to Canada, as children from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China. The intention was to find participants who were willing to share personal details on their immigration experiences.

Based on the given research timeline, Montréal was the only city in Canada where I was able to locate the main Uyghur networks. I relied on a community network group called the Uyghur Canadian Society (UCS) to help distribute the recruitment document. I also kept open the manner in which the interviews would be conducted (i.e. face to face or via Skype or email) because in the beginning it was difficult to gauge the most appropriate way to retrieve information for this type of research study. I sent a copy of my research proposal to UCS, as well as documentations demonstrating that my research has been formally approved by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board. Then, through convenience sampling (Boxill, Chambers, & Wint, 1997, p.36), I

carried out semi-structured interviews.

The criteria for participation included the following: the participant must be 18 years of age or older, as this is the age of the majority according to six provinces in Canada (Government of Canada - Department of Justice, 2015); and the age of migration to Canada must fall between 6 years of age to 12 years of age (Rumbaut, 2004, 1167). The rationale behind these two conditions was to ensure that a sufficient amount of time had passed in order for participants to be able to express their experiences during the interview retrospectively. The recruitment document also stated that the research study would preferably include Canadian citizens who have received their high school diploma in Canada. I was seeking for a guarantee that participants were not only socialized in the country of origin, but also to a great extent socialized in Canada. Another core element of the criteria was that the interviews were conducted in English; the participants, however, were given the option to respond to interview questions in the language that allows them to express themselves more conveniently.

The most difficult aspect of going through the process of conducting the interviews was creating the interview questions. Not knowing how participants would interpret the questions and how they would answer them is a distressing feeling, but the two main principles that I decided to follow were: first, to only gather the most relevant information; and second, to always ask for consent and give participants the space to not answer if they feel that the question(s) is too straightforward or intrusive. Furthermore, the participants always had the opportunity to refuse or back out of the interview at any time. In case of refusal, the information gathered from the participant(s) would be destroyed.

Participants were selected on a first-come, first-serve basis; gender, sexuality, income and political affiliation were used as determining factors. Face-to-face interviews were held in one session, lasting up to four hours to accommodate lengthier responses. The study took place in a

relatively safe and open environment often a public space such as a coffee shop, a library or at a university campus. When necessary, the conversation was recorded with the consent of the participant. Participants were not compensated; the intention was to avoid any type of coercion for participating in this project, however, I did decide to make minor reimbursements, i.e. bus fares, beverages/snacks.

Data was stored in a password protected file folder in my work laptop while the physical copies of the documentation were shredded. If a participant requested a copy of their transcript from their interviews, I was ready to prepare it and send a password-protected version of the document view by email, to which they would gain access by retrieving the password through a phone call directly made to me. I had one master document with a list of the participants' names and contact information. This document was stored in a password protected file folder and was only be used for linking data and contacting participants. I assigned a unique identification number to each participant in order to safeguard their identity; hence, the transcripts only showed direct quotes correlated to unique IDs. All sensitive documents in relation to this project will be conserved for 5 years; otherwise it will be destroyed via secure deletion.

2.2 Timeline and Field Research Logistics

Initially, the project was supposed to commence on August 2015 and end on April 2018 while following through with the projected breakdown of the timeline below:

1. August 2015 – April 2016: submitted proposal and REB application.
2. January – April 2017: completed literature review.
3. April – August 2017: recruited participants, completed interview, followed-up with participants.
4. August – December 2017: wrote part 1 of the dissertation.
5. December 2017 – April 2018: wrote part 2 of the dissertation.

6. February 2020: completed dissertation.

During the participant selection process, two obstacles presented themselves: (1) locating Uyghurs who came from Xinjiang, China, and immigrated to Canada when they were still children, and (2) determining their willingness to participate in this research study. The Uyghur diaspora from China, although growing, is still very small in Canada. Furthermore, the immense sensitivity surrounding the Uyghur population in China may jeopardize the recruitment process in Canada. That said, the politicization of Uyghurs may not be intergenerational, nor Uyghur youths residing in Canada see it as threat. In response to the low recruitment response, the recruitment criteria were expanded to include Uyghurs from Central Asian countries.

The timeline for finding and interviewing participants was extended to late October and early November 2017. The Uyghur Canadian Society (UCS) was the starting point and the primary source for learning more about the Uyghur communities in Canada and networking amongst the Uyghur people. During the recruitment process four individuals (affiliates and non-affiliates to the UCS organization) were consulted for advice on recruitment. These were: (1) Emily Wills, my thesis supervisor who provided guidance in strategizing the best way in handling participants with sensitive backgrounds, (2) Elena Caprioni, who provided advice necessary for understanding and learning about the Uyghur community from an academic perspective, (3) Kayum Masimov who gave an overview of the current circumstances surrounding the Uyghur diaspora in Canada, and (4) one of the participants who - for the protection of their privacy shall remain unnamed - gave a snapshot of the state of the Uyghur youth community in Canada. Using snowball sampling, six individuals matched the recruitment criteria. Only three individuals however agreed to participate. For non-participants, two opted out for reasons of discomfort in answering the interview questions and disinterest in participating in the research study, while one agreed to participate but did not submit the completed interview questionnaire.

The interview protocol was administered using a combination of email (electronically) and in person (verbally); one interview was conducted in person, while the other three were conducted via email. Initially, the objective was to use a one-on-one method to interview the participants, however three barriers were encountered during this process, these are: time sensitivity, lack of finance to travel long distance, and conflicting schedules.

Given the circumstances, computer-assisted self-interview proved more efficient for the following reasons: (1) the interviewee was able to provide detailed answers on their own time because they had more private time to think and reflect, and (2) due to busy schedules, the interviewees were able to freely choose when to complete the interview questions, provided that they were given a general timeline and reminder emails. This experience in interviewing participants is consistent with the research showing that the one-on-one (or face-to-face) interview format type may promote the collection of unfocused and irrelevant data (Randolph et al., 2006). In this case, first, participants do not have enough time to process and articulate their responses to the interview questions on the spot, and second, since the responses are unpolished, there is a higher risk of them not being relevant or correctly reflecting participants' lived experiences (Randolph et al., 2006).

The recruitment process and the interview process were unique and interesting, primarily due to the nature of the subject matter. There is a clear need for better understanding the sentiments experienced and shared amongst the Uyghur youths in Canada, especially given the political alienation and the current socio-political climate surrounding the Uyghur population in China. Retrieving a snapshot of the current state of the Uyghur diaspora in Canada through personal accounts from key consultants and participants required time and sensitivity not only to the issues surrounding the Uyghur population in Canada and abroad, but also recognizing that the perception of these issues is understood differently on an individual basis and on a generational basis.

2.3 Analytical Framework

In this section, I will explain the analytical framework that guided my research study, centered on the notion of belonging, as understood by Nira Yuval-Davis and Marco Antonsich.

In her article *Belonging and the Politics of Belonging* (2006), Yuval-Davis (2006) introduces three analytical levels of belonging: social locations; identifications and the emotional attachments; and ethical and political values. She depicts social locations as belonging to a relevant or assigned categories of identity and, since “concrete social location is constructed along multiple axes of difference” (p.200), she uses an intersectional approach to examine issues surrounding social locations.

Continuing again with Yuval-Davis’ tripartite understanding of belonging, she defines her second concept, Identification and Emotional Attachments, as the construction of individual and collective identities and attachments (p.202), which encompass “important dimensions of people’s social locations and positioning” since “[c]onstruction of self and identity can be forced on people” (p.203). Her final concept, ethical and political values, she defines as “attitudes and ideologies concerning where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being/should be drawn” (p.203). In my research, I adopt and use the first two of Yuval-Davis’ three concepts, (1) social location, and (2) identification and attachments as experienced by an individual.

Although Yuval-Davis demonstrate the interactions between the three levels of analysis for understanding belonging, she warns that these should be treated as independent tools; merging would otherwise lead to “essentialism and racialization” (p.202). Nevertheless, understanding the interactions between the three analytical tools is important because the unique outcomes from these interactions develop the necessary context for understanding the politics of belonging. Yuval-Davis explains that the “politics of belonging is all about potentially meeting other people and

deciding whether they stand inside or outside the imaginary boundary line of the nation and/or other communities of belonging, whether they are ‘us’ or ‘them’” (p.204). Yuval-Davis uses the political project of belonging in Britain in the post-imperial era as an example to demonstrate the politics of belonging through the development of standards by the British government. She does this by outlining the characteristics one should have to be an Englishman [sic] or a loyal British national (p.209-2013).

Marco Antonsich developed an analytical tool to complement Nira Yuval-Davis’ work on belonging. He argues that, despite the level of depth and dimension of Yuval-Davis’ work, much focus has been placed on building the political aspect of belonging rather than determining the “personal, intimate, feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place” (Antonsich, 2010, p.645). Antonsich developed the term ‘place-belongingness’ to capture the latter notion, and subsequently introduced five factors that denote the feeling of place-belongingness: auto-biographical (lived experiences), relational (personal/social ties), cultural (which includes languages and religious beliefs and practices), economic (material stability), and legal (security).

Antonsich argues that place-belongingness should be differentiated from the politics of belonging because the former is situated within the personal dimension (construct of one’s imagination), while the latter is situated within the social dimension (construct of the collective imagination within a society). Antonsich also established a list of ‘factor contributions’ within the political dimension of belonging, which he called “discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion” (p.647). These are: (1) membership to a group and ownership of a place (p.649); (2) citizenship (claiming belonging and ‘granting’ belonging) (p.650); (3) assimilation (rhetoric of sameness over recognition of differences) (p.650); (4) belonging ‘to a situation’ rather than territory, cultural or ethnic group (p.651); (5) socio-territorial belonging (multiple forms of belonging here and there) (p.651), and (6) notions of ‘longing’ and belonging ‘there’ (p.651-652),

conceptualized as a process rather than status (p.652).

Antonsich's place belongingness and Yuval-Davis' politics of belonging were used conjointly as a framework to guide the construction of the interview questionnaire, as well as mapping and analysing participant responses. In my analytical framework I sought to gauge how 1.5G Uyghurs in Canada negotiate belongingness in what I called the Third Sociocultural Space. To keep within a realistic scope and direction for the research, my framework excluded the following analytical headings and factor contributors: material stability and security (in the legal sense), ethical and political values, status and entitlement, the notion of longing, and the conceptualization of becoming rather than being.

An intersectional approach helps to analyze the inequalities between dominant norms and value systems, and subordinate cultural and religious practices (Yuval-Davis, 2006). There are various literatures that use the intersectional approach within the realm of gender, class, and race, to identify and resolve the issue in relation to marginalization, which has been reinforced by institutions and dominant political discourses. Crenshaw (1989) used intersectionality as an analytical tool to depict the circumstances surrounding marginalized Black women in the United States, and their personal experiences with structural racism and sex discrimination. Since then, intersectionality has expanded in its meaning and utilization. For instance, Sumi Cho highlights the fluidity of this theory in terms of its application through her evaluation of the intersection of race and sexuality (Cho, 2013). Other scholars who study intersectionality argue that intersectionality will never be "exhausted" (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013, p.304) because it is a transformative concept (Bilge, 2013, p.312) that can be applied between and beyond state boundaries.

Before continuing with Yuval-Davis' first and second concepts of belonging, I will note here that I too chose to adopt the intersectional approach in my analytical framework.

2.4 Interview Question Design and Results

The interview questions were guided by the theoretical framework on place belongingness (Antonsich, 2010) and the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006). The intention was to retrieve targeted responses from participants, specifically in the realm of identity formation and immigrant experiences. Out of the three interviews conducted during the interview process, the one-on-one interview format required adjustment to the questionnaire in order to match the flow of the conversation. The adjustment of the questionnaire resulted in the increase of the count of interview questions in addition to the expansion of interview responses, as certain topics seemed important to capture in detail at the time. During the interpretation and analysis phase, a decision was made to map the one-on-one questionnaire to the standard questionnaire that contained only thirty questions; this was done to ensure efficiency and consistency when organizing and comparing data.

The questionnaire contained queries asking for the age of the participant, the city/province of their birth, where they received primary and secondary education, their ethnicity and ethnic background, age and year of arrival to Canada, and the city of settlement in Canada. The latter part of the questionnaires was divided into six categories, these are: (1) Autobiographical, (2) Relational, (3) Cultural, (4) Identification and Emotional Attachment, (5) Citizenship, (6) Membership to a group or Ownership to a place. The questionnaire also incorporates the six spheres of influence as described by Grose, 2015 and Bellér-Hann, 2007, to determine factors that contribute to participants' attachment to a cultural community, these are: language, music, literature, religion, and cuisine.

Participants' responses were systematically organized while preliminary observation led to the development of multiple themes. Using thematic analysis, developed by Virginia Braun and

Victoria Clarke (2006), responses were coded in six phases in order to identify meaningful patterns. Braun and Clarke (2006) six phases are: (1) familiarization with data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes among codes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. I have paraphrased these are: (1) mapping responses; (2) coding; (3) identifying sub-themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining and naming themes; (6) the report.

2.4.1 Mapping Responses

The initial participant response review process was documented during the transcription and the preliminary observation stages. The objective was to gain familiarity with the acquired data. The in-person oral interview was transcribed and structurally aligned to match the email-based interviews. The interviewee was asked to clarify and/or repeat their responses to ensure that orally retrieved responses were captured accurately in written form. The transcription omitted non-verbal dimensions of interaction to ensure dependability; in this case, visual information and other details such as emphasis, speed, tone of voice, timing and pauses were not given any further considerations. All spoken words that fell within the scope of the interview were captured verbatim. During the preliminary observation stage, responses were deconstructed with the intention to examine each of their components. Participant responses were sorted categorically using Marco Antonsich's place-belongingness and Nira Yuval-Davis' politics of belonging as an organizing framework, which provided the categorical headings necessary for sorting through data in a structured manner. Data elements were extracted from participant response datasets and matched to a correlating categorical heading; the objective was to visually examine different components of the acquired data.

2.4.2 Coding

During this phase of analysis, participant responses were simplified with the intention to turn them into more manageable datasets to be analyzed in subsequent phases. Each participant response was assigned to one or more descriptive category that briefly described the content of the responses. The brief descriptions were organized and labeled as “initial codes” in the coding table. The “open coding” method (Flick, 2009, p. 307-310) was used during the coding process because it gave flexibility to develop and modify codes in coordination with the research question. A general comparison of the initial codes demonstrated that there are various major common attributes that could be found across all datasets; these include, but are not limited to: (1) speaking one language at home and speaking another language outside of the home environment, (2) being “Othered” by Uyghur community members and non-Uyghurs in the country of settlement, and (3) having to negotiate and reconcile various forms of identities and contradicting circumstances during the transitional stage of the immigration experience. These attributes encompass a crucial component, namely the contrasting values systems and norms identified at each participant level, which is key to addressing the research question.

2.4.3 Identifying Sub-Themes

After further examination, initial codes with common characteristics were collated to form sub-themes. The sub-themes were developed within the scope of belonging and identity to ensure that they directly correlate to the theme of the research question. During this phase, eleven sub-themes were identified: (1) the Uyghur identity, (2) the Western identity, (3) the Islamic identity, (4) the Chinese identity, (5) the Central Asian identity, (6) the immigrant experience, (7) the 1st generation characteristics, (8) the 2nd generation characteristics, (9) being perceived as the “Other”, (10) the Multicultural environment, and the (11) Intercultural environment.

The analysis of the initial codes was carried out inductively in order to produce a rich description of the textual data, and attribute meaning to recurring characteristics and experiences. For instance, the sub-theme “immigrant experience” was identified using several indicators: (1) participants are cultural educators to non-Uyghurs in the country of settlement; (2) participants go through acculturation stages as they transition into new social, cultural, and institutional spaces; (3) the way participants reconcile with being labeled as an “insider”/”outsider” of a sociocultural space by family members, peers, and acquaintances; (4) the participant has an informal responsibility of transferring knowledge to their parents who have a more difficult time adapting to the new social, cultural and institutional environments; and (5) participants’ expectations, preferences and behavior evolve based on the degree of exposure (or lack thereof) and the pace of adaptation in new social, cultural, and institutional spaces.

2.4.4 Reviewing Themes

In this phase, the eleven sub-themes were further broadened to form two descriptive themes, which have been labeled as Theme A and Theme B. After carefully reviewing the sub-themes, it became apparent that the sub-themes could be further narrowed down because many of them share common traits. The most evident common trait found amongst the sub-themes is the identity profile of each participant based on their ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds; these are grouped under Theme A. The sub-themes that are comprised of clusters of characterizations and experiences that are more difficult to classify, but still have the potential to be developed into a comprehensive narrative, are grouped under Theme B.

Theme A incorporates the following sub-themes: the Uyghur identity, the Islamic identity, the Chinese identity, and the Turkish identity. In order to test whether the chosen sub-themes do in fact belong to Theme A, the datasets were grouped together to form three key indicators: (1) the

participants' ethnocultural background and affiliations; (2) identifying participants' belongingness to a cultural community group; and (3) how participants perceive themselves ethnically, socially, and culturally, and in the same vein, how do they think they are perceived by others (namely by their family members, peer groups, and acquaintances). By forming key indicators, the selection process for grouping sub-themes into Theme A was more consistent; only usable datasets were included.

Theme B encompasses the following sub-themes: Western identity, the 1st generation characteristics, the 2nd generation characteristics, being perceived as the "Other", and the Multicultural or Intercultural environments. Theme B datasets serve as independent indicators that collectively guide the direction of the narrative surrounding participants' experiences, to a concept called transcultural space - a sociocultural space where various sets of value systems and norms are negotiated.

2.4.5 Defining and Naming Themes

At this stage of research, it became apparent that Theme A would be formally labeled as the "Established Sociocultural Space", while Theme B came to be labeled as the Transcultural Space, or alternatively, the "Third Sociocultural Space". Established sociocultural space, or the Established Space seeks to understand the identity of each participant before immigrating to Canada. Under the Established Space label, only those responses that contained information pertaining to social ties, attachment, and self-identification were analyzed in depth.

The third sociocultural space, or Third Space analyzed the social, cultural, and institutional environments that influenced participants' decision-making process as they began assimilating to the Canadian context. As the analysis progressed, it was revealed that the Third Space can only exist when there is a beginning point (i.e. the Established Space) and the present point, which

should represent the Canadian context. Thus, the new sociocultural space, or the New Space was introduced. I was able to align some of the datasets from Theme B to the New Space; the amalgamation of these datasets led to the creation of the Western identity as a sub-theme.

The Third Space used the identity profile of each participant and attempted to determine the following query: what do 1.5 generation Uyghurs in this study choose to preserve, give up, or adopt while negotiating their identity in the Third Space, and how is this decision made? The research question acknowledges that, when young immigrants move from one sociocultural space to another, they seem to have a less difficult time coping with contrasting value systems and norms than their first-generation counterparts. The query has led to the discussion on external or uncontrollable factors that shape the negotiation processes: (1) length of time spent in the country of origin/country of settlement; (2) one's life stage at arrival, (3) the social, political, economic, and cultural circumstances, and (4) the length of exposure.

2.4.6 The Report

The report has six chapters, these are: (1) Introduction and literature review, (2) methodology and analytical framework, (3) the primary observer, (4) the established sociocultural space, (5) the third space, and (6) conclusion. The purpose of the first three chapters is to set the foundation for examining and analyzing the contents in chapters three, four and five. Chapter three will examine the role of 1.5G children in relation to their first-generation parents. Chapter four will analyze where the identities of 1.5G were initially formed, and how they are currently maintained (i.e. parental influence, parental culture, and ties to community). Chapter four will explore the concept of the New Space and subsequently address participant relation to the established and the new sociocultural spaces in the Third Space. Chapter five will first summarize the thesis, then address the limitations, and finally examine the significant findings, the benefit of

the research, and the direction for future research studies.

CHAPTER 3 - THE PRIMARY OBSERVER

3.1. Introduction

The relationship between 1.5G Uyghur youths and the established sociocultural space is preserved through the intergenerational bonds between 1.5G and their first-generation parents. This bond acts as a link which ties the lives of these two generations of immigrants together (Elder, 1998). The linked lives between 1.5G participants and their first-generation parents facilitate their shared immigration experiences; however, the impact of these experiences have taken on different significations for both, the former and the latter generation. This is especially evident in the case of immigrant struggles, where the degree and the nature of struggle between the two generations are more different than similar. The experience of struggle as a new immigrant varies by factors such as age, life stage, social obligations, the extent of life experiences gained over the years, and the process of reconciling the gap between established and new sociocultural contexts. Taking these factors into consideration, the result is that 1.5G plays a distinguishable role which this chapter will seek to identify and examine, as well as identify its implication in relation to first-generation parents.

This chapter will first examine the observations made by 1.5G participants in the introduction section by outlining the linkages in their responses in order to identify a common or recurrent theme, and by determining their signification in relation to first-generation experience of struggle. The next section, on the primary observer, will identify 1.5G participants as primary observers of disempowerment as experienced by their first-generation parents, and will analyze the nature of this role, the significance of being a primary observer, and the characteristics that make this role distinguishable. The objective of this section is to demonstrate that the primary observer role is

indicative of 1.5G sharing the same social and cultural space as their first-generation parents; this analysis will be echoed throughout this chapter. The third section, on placing the observer role in context, will further expand on the analysis made in the second section and subsequently transition into a discussion on the inevitable nature of being placed in the position of a primary observer. A comparison will be made between first-generation parents and their 1.5G children in their unequal pace of transition within the new sociocultural context. While the second and third sections attempt to portray the depth of the familial bond between the two generations through shared immigration experiences, the fourth section will examine the Established Space using the linked lives principle (Elder, 1998) to demonstrate various elements that directly link participants to their first-generation parents. This will be accomplished by breaking down participant responses and analyzing them through the lens of ‘belonging’. Finally, the last section will summarize the content of this chapter, and then tie it to the discussion which will be made in the next chapter. The concluding remarks will be framed in Nira Yuval Davis’ concept of sociallocation.

3.2 First-Generation Struggles

Participant responses demonstrate an in-depth understanding of what the uprooting process looks like for their first-generation parents, and the effect it has had on their lives. The effect is depicted in terms of stagnation, or to a certain extent regression in the quality of life. The following set of responses from the participants is an aggregate representation of first-hand observations regarding first-generation immigrant struggles:

“The hardest thing to cope with for my parents was the language barrier. They didn’t know English at all and everything they studied back home didn’t transfer at all so they had to start from scratch. They could only work extremely low-paying jobs that require no communication skills like factories and construction labour. I can’t seem to think of anything that was easy to cope with for my parents.” (P1, Q6)

“They didn’t have the opportunity to go to school and learn anything because they had to keep working in order to put food on the table. Socializing for them was difficult because most of the jobs they had were jobs where they worked with other newcomers

to Canada and they weren't able to pick up the language as fast as I did. Age is also a factor: when you're older, it's much harder to learn a language." (P1, Q3)

"For my dad, it was a little bit hard in the beginning as he was starting his own business in the construction industry. A lot of people did not want to work with him due to the language barrier." (P1, Q7)

"He also struggled in terms of language as he was older and experienced trouble learning the English language." (P2, Q3)

The language barrier was a major contributing factor to their parents being regressed to "low-skilled" jobs in Canada. Participants attributed language barriers to the age of the parents, their work environment, and the missed opportunity to attend English language classes in Canada. Participants also observed their parents struggling with inflexibilities and limitations that came with low-skilled jobs, namely attempting to fulfill their role as a provider and a caretaker while reducing the impact of the uprooting process on their immigrant children. In practice this may mean that first-generation parents are shielding their immigrant children from facing financial burdens while attempting to provide them with a high quality of life. The latter point is especially evident when examining all three participant responses; the above-mentioned struggles faced by their first-generation parents were not experienced by the participants themselves, despite the fact that the uprooting process occurred in the context of a family rather than independently:

"My parents worked really hard to make sure that I didn't feel like we were struggling or that we were strapped for cash. They made sure that I didn't feel left out of all the luxuries that other kids had in my neighbourhood. I grew up really comfortably but my parents worked extremely hard in low-paying jobs to provide for their kids." (P1, Q3)

"Given he had a stable and a well-paying job back home, I can only imagine what was going through his mind when he was forced to put in long tedious shifts in factories in order to provide for us." (P2, Q3)

In fact, another prevailing theme found amongst various responses was the recognition that there were disparities in the way social, economic and identity integration (Alba & Nee, 1997) were experienced by the participants in comparison to their parents; these disparities are determined by

the pace of language learning and the pace of internalizing new social norms and cultural values:

“I would say there was a huge difference between the ways my parents transitioned into Canada in comparison to me.” (P1, Q3)

“There was a huge discrepancy in the transitioning phase of myself and my dad.” (P2, Q3)

All three participants shared a common sentiment of having the ability to grasp the English language with ease, as well as rapidly adapt to Canadians way of life:

“I came here at a very young age and learning a new [language] English was really fast for me. I was put in ESL but got out of it after a semester. I remember learning English was really exciting for me and I would regularly go to the library with my sister and read books written in English.” (P1, Q2)

“Given I arrived in Canada at the age of 10, any struggles that I perceived at the time were insignificant and negligible.... Next thing I knew, I was a Canadian totally adapted to the Canadian way of life.” (P2, Q5)

“Everything came naturally. I adapted to changes pretty fast.... Super smooth. People in Canada were welcoming. I don’t feel homesick. There is a feeling of freedom.” (P3, Q5)

The ability to overcome struggles faced by first-generation parents did not go unnoticed, as these responses indicate that the participants had recognized the achievements made by their parents, whether it is in language learning or by dealing with the consequences from the uprooting process:

“What surprised me the most was their ability to achieve so much from being dealt the worst hands.” (P1, Q6)

“He also struggled a bit with the language; however, he was able to overcome this hurdle.” (P2, Q6)

3.3 The Primary Observer

The witnessing and recognition of parental struggles and achievements by 1.5G Uyghur participants indicate that they have gained firsthand observation of their first-generation parents being disempowered in the new sociocultural context. Based on their observation it seems that their parents endured disempowerment of greater gravity in comparison to their own experience,

which indicates that disempowerment takes on a distinguishable form for their parents. It is the magnitude of their responsibilities and the stakes that are attached to these responsibilities that determine the gravity of their experience. First-generation parents were placed in a position to not only rebuild their own lives and safeguard the wellbeing of their family members, but also simultaneously attempt to adjust to the new cultural and linguistic landscape.

How do first-generation struggles affect 1.5G? One possible effect is parents' impeded ability to be involved in 1.5G's schooling. Research demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between parent-initiated school-based engagement and children's academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001; Jeynes, 2005; Hill, 2001). However linguistic barriers (Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005, p.470) and cultural differences (De Gaetano, 2007; Greenburg, 2012) are key obstacles that immigrant parents must overcome first before they are able to actualize parent-initiated school-based engagement. The issue lies in factors that discourage the ability for these parents to overcome these obstacles; this is especially true for socioeconomically disadvantaged immigrant parents, as found with immigrant Latino parents in America who face linguistic and cultural barriers (Tinkler, 2002; Tamis-LeMonda, Baumwell, & Dias, 2011, p, 221-222). Parents struggle both, to support their children academically or, more broadly, to provide a high standard of living including particular supports that non-immigrant families might have an easier time providing (Qin-Hilliard, Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M., 2005, p. 138; Suárez-Orozco, M., & Suárez-Orozco, C., 2001, p.75). In some cases, issues surrounding their own wellbeing, such as their mental health have not been properly addressed (Gilbert et al., 2017; Torres, 2010).

The detailed insights recounted by participants seem to indicate that the 1.5 generation possess a distinguishable and important character namely, assuming the primary observer role. The 1.5 generation are observing the effect of uprooting on their parents in close physical and emotional proximity without directly experiencing, or being involved in their struggles. The

position of a primary observer is tailored to a specific immigration experience and generational identity; for instance, although the second-generation shares close social ties with their first-generation parents, they are not placed in a position to assume the same “provider” role due to the nature of their generational identity. Instead, in the role of primary observer, the 1.5 generation recognizes the existence of immigrant struggles as experienced by their parents, identifies the form of these struggles by name, and describes the impact of these struggles on their parents independently and within the family context.

3.4 Placing the Observer Role in Context: Immigrant Parents and their Child Observers

While the extent of disempowerment in the uprooting process of immigration is generally greater among 1st generation immigrants than the 1.5 generation, the 1.5 generation may still experience disempowerment. There are shared experiences to which both, the 1.5 generation and their parents are subjected in the earlier stages of immigration: alienation; the struggle to connect; and the struggle to feel a sense of belongingness in the new sociocultural space. Although these characteristics were not identified by participants in this research study, other studies have identified cases where immigrant children experience the process of disempowerment because their surrounding community members, in the receiving country, choose to perceive and characterize them solely based on their ethnocultural background (Bursztyn & Korn-Bursztyn, 2015, p.204). As shown in research with Haitian immigrants to the US, 1.5G disempowerment does not only push them towards alienation, but it also disturbs their socialization process in the new environment (Bursztyn & Korn-Bursztyn, 2015, p.204). Disempowerment also occurs when the 1.5 generation are asked by their first-generation parents to provide various forms of support (i.e. serving as ‘language brokers’) even though they may not possess adequate resources and knowledge to take on these tasks (Burck, 2005, p. 123-127; Katz, 2014, p. 32-46).

1.5G have demonstrated their ability to adapt and learn at a faster pace than their first-generation parents (Burck, 1948, p. 122-123; Timmel & Ripple, 2001), and those too were shared by the participants in this research study. However, participant responses also indicate that their immigrant parents had difficulty transitioning into the new sociocultural space as a result of that generation's lengthy adaptation and learning process. The significance of this circumstance is that, upon overcoming the obstacle of adapting and learning, 1.5G are automatically placed in the position to observe those who have not reached their level of linguistic and cultural fluency. In this case, 1.5G are observing their parents attempting to "catch-up" to them in language learning (Fong, 2004, p. 292), as well as to remain in control as an authoritative figure despite having weak grasp of the new social and cultural contexts (Qin-Hilliard, Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2005, p. 138). 1.5G are able to overcome the challenge of adapting and learning before reaching adulthood, while their first-generation parents face these challenges as adults.

3.5 The Unequal Pace of Transition

Two factors reinforce the adaptation and learning gap between the two generations: the individual's life stage at the time of arrival; and the sociocultural conditions surrounding them. Implication on the firsts factor would lead us to believe that rapid adaptation and language learning are inherently part of 1.5G's identity profile. But this perspective will lead to misunderstanding the reason why first-generation parents seem to adapt and learn at a slower pace, in comparison to their 1.5G counterparts. To understand the context of first-generation struggles, therefore, we need to look at sociocultural conditions.

One of the common experiences the first and the 1.5 generation share is the way in which their environment shapes their character and the way they interact with, or react to their surrounding sociocultural environment. For instance, it is not that first-generation parents cannot

learn the foreign language fast enough; in fact, they have the potential to surpass their children (Ausubel, 1964). More often than not, however and especially for lower-income immigrant families, the parents are not surrounded by an environment that is conducive to their language learning process. Low wage jobs usually require first-generation parents to work long hours (Chuang & Moreno, 2011, p.331), surrounded by other new immigrants less fluent in the language and culture of the host country (Piller & Lising, 2014; Marchevsky & Theoharis, 2006, p. 68-110). Hence, as a result of exhaustion, lack of incentives, or lack of time, they are unable to prioritize language learning (Rong & Preissle, 2009, p.57- 96).

The unequal pace of transition has repercussions on the family dynamic which, depending on the magnitude of the gap between the established and the adopted cultural context, transform the immigrant child-parent relationship. The significance of this is echoed by clinical practitioners from the human service professions, namely family therapists, social workers, counselors and nurse practitioners (Caspi, 2012, p.18-19; Papadopoulos & Hildebrand 1997). The disadvantage of having to navigate through new sociocultural and linguistic landscapes while attempting to re-establish oneself and one's family in a foreign country, creates a unique circumstance whereby the vulnerability of first-generation parents is exposed to 1.5G youth and disrupts the family's equilibrium (Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 2005 p. 75-77; Burck, 2005, p. 122-126; Sluzki, 1979; Falicov, 1998). As adolescents, 1.5G youths are undergoing a critical stage in the development of their psychology (Erikson, 1959; Carlson & Zigelbaum, 2011, p. 82). First-generation immigrant parents are placed with the burden to re-establish themselves and their family in a foreign country. The interplay of these two circumstances becomes conducive to intra-family conflicts (Petersen, 1988, p. 596-599).

3.6 Expectations Beyond their Years

Meanwhile, the drawback to 1.5G's linguistic and cultural education leverage over their first-generation parents is that such leverage is constructed: given the age and life stage of the 1.5 generation, they are neither adequately equipped in terms of life experiences, nor truly endowed with the freedom by their parents to adequately utilize this leverage and make a difference in the living situation for their family in an impactful way. During the pre-adolescent stage of human development, 1.5G are surrounded by family, peers and the formal educational institution (Lemish, 2007). The latter would require t 1.5G to socialize and acculturate based on standards set by the host country (Duran, 2015, p.73-90). These circumstances would theoretically place the 1.5 generation in a suitable position to navigate through foreign institutions and networks and obtain necessary resources to successfully settle in the receiving country with their family members. Yet, as mentioned above, these are expectations that 1.5G are unable to meet.

Immigrant children are expected to incorporate new elements of the foreign culture (Kim et al., 2003) while “expected to maintain the culture of the parents” (Padilla, 1994, p. 30). Yet, the exposure to seeing their parents’ struggle, to stabilize socially and financially, creates a distinct “growing-up” environment for them. It is a disorienting psychological experience for young immigrant children to observe their first-generation parents struggle while being unable to help. The 1.5 generation are expected to focus their attention on responsibilities that neither directly contribute to first-generation’s efforts, nor provide any actual psychological, social or financial support for the 1st generation. For instance, the main responsibility for an immigrant child, as an expectation from first-generation parents, would be to not only attend, but most importantly do well in school (Fuligni, 1997; Raleigh & Kao, 2010; Areepattamannil & Lee, 2014). Furthermore, the idea of bicultural competence has proven to be a difficult task to achieve and manage for child immigrants; instead of gaining a position of power or a leadership role within the family hierarchy,

they are caught in the “...bind of contradictory messages” which would cause them to “...become paralyzed or rebel” (Barenstein & Genijovich, 1989, p. 462).

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have addressed the role of the 1.5 generation as primary observers, witness to first-generation struggles, capable of advanced linguistic and cultural skills, but of an age where expectations are to fulfil a future-oriented role (of bright student) rather than the parent-oriented role (of fellow provider).

While the research on the effect of observing parental hardship on 1.5G immigrants is not extensive, some studies point to guilt as a possible sentiment that participants may have carried from their childhood into adulthood. Researchers have identified financial support as a way some groups of 1.5G reconcile their sense of guilt in their adulthood; for instance 1.5G middle-class Mexicans recognize the struggles and sacrifices experienced by their first-generation immigrant parents as a result of the uprooting process, hence as adults they willingly provide financial and social support (Agius Vallejo & Lee, 2009). In adulthood, the observer role leads to action, or having the intent to help, as at this stage of life the 1.5G have the knowledge, resources and networks, as well as a good understanding of how to use these leverages in a way that would benefit family growth.

The value of the observer role lies in the depth of the observations made by the study participants on their first-generation parents; this could only have been made possible because of familial relations between 1.5G participants and their parents (Yoo & Kim, 2016; Elder, 1998). In this case, by existing in a shared sociocultural space that was established before they had acquired their ‘immigrant’ identity, the participants were exposed to specific circumstances that would otherwise have been more difficult to understand or capture by those who do not possess the same

degree of intimacy. In the established sociocultural space, the lives of the participants and their parents are linked.

CHAPTER 4 - THE ESTABLISHED SOCIOCULTURAL SPACE

4.1. Introduction

Among the ways that the 1.5G are linked to their parents' experiences is through shared identities. At the same time, members of the 1.5 generation understand that these identities are in ways shaped by their unique experiences. In this section, the way the participants understand their relationship to these identities is discussed.

Participant responses on identity formation and belongingness were carefully mapped to relevant themes that were guided by Nira Yuval-Davis and Marco Antonsich's conceptualization of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. The objective was to have an in-depth understanding of how belongingness was formed and what it looked like for each participant. The mapped responses were then grouped by participants, which in turn formed individual sociocultural identity profiles. Once individual profiles were combined, five identity groups were found, Uyghur, Islamic, Chinese, Turkish, and Western overlapping in different ways in each individual. Some identities were present amongst all three participants, others were not, as shown in the response concerning one's sense of belonging to a cultural community. In answer to the question of with which community an individual self-defined, participants responded:

"I would say both the western community and the Uyghur community. I've been here since I was a kid and I identify well with the western community but I also attend a lot of social gatherings with Uyghur people as well." (P1, Q26)

"I identify with the Muslim community. As stated above, the Islamic culture has been the most influential in my life and has come to replace what little Uyghur ethnic identity I had. I feel comfortable with the Islamic community mainly because the religion states that we are all brothers and sisters of faith and that we are family to one another." (P2, Q26)

“I feel relatable to Muslim community, Western community, [East] Asian community”
(P3, Q26)

In the following three sections, I describe three identities – Uyghur, Islamic and Chinese – that the 1.5 generation share with their first-generation parents in what I am calling here “the Established Sociocultural Space”.

4.2 Uyghur Identity

All three participants demonstrated strong awareness and recognition of their Uyghur identity; they depicted their relationship to this identity group in the following manner:

“I guess it’s just who I am. I want to have a sense of belonging to something. I want to be able to say that I’m Uyghur and have people understand, just from that statement, all the culture, language, food, music that it represents. I have vivid memories of my childhood growing up in Ghulja with my cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents, and I also have memories of my time spent with the Uyghur people here in Toronto, as I’m well connected with the Uyghur community here.” (P1, Q21)

“[words about me that depict Uyghur identity are] Loves music, Loves to dance, Very social, Confident, Loves food” (P1, Q24)

“We are socialized since birth to hold certain norms and values. These values are perhaps more subtle and are implemented in the subconscious and we do not think about them; thus, it would be hard for me to answer this question objectively ... To me Uyghur culture is merely eating certain Uyghur foods and speaking the language.” (P2, Q21)

“[words that depict Uyghurness are] Food, Language, Music ...” (P2, Q24)

(1) Question regarding one’s ethno-national identity:

“[I am] Uyghur-Canadian.” (P3, Q29)

(2) Question regarding the feeling of being secure or insecure of one’s name/heritage in front of Chinese or Quebecois people:

“I am very proud of my name. In the official paper my name is in Chinese. I dislike that it’s in Chinese. I am very proud of my heritage. I’m thinking of changing my Chinese name to Uyghur. And I am even more proud of my name in front of Quebecois.” (P3, Q21)

Three themes emerged in these quotes. First, participants recognize that they have been

socialized into the Uyghur culture prior to moving into new sociocultural space. Second, they preserve their Uyghur identity through exposure, by becoming a member of the Uyghur community in the country of settlement, by engaging in Uyghur cultural norms at home, by utilizing Uyghur language with other Uyghur speakers, by maintaining ties to family members who are more attuned to their Uyghur identity, or by identifying themselves as being ethnically Uyghur. Third, participants differentiate themselves from the dominant culture while being categorized as ‘the other’ by non-Uyghur community members.

The sentiment of belonging to the Uyghur identity group was expressed in a tangible manner, such as through Uyghur food eaten at home, and in an intangible manner, namely through the memories gained in Xinjiang, as well as through the Uyghur language, music and culture. P2 was born and socialized into Uyghur culture, yet their valuation of the Uyghur identity is limited to only food and language whereas for P3, it extends to their name. In the former case, Uyghur norms and values have become an innate quality, hence the participant does not deliberately think about their Uyghur identity, however in the latter case, P3 had made it a point to demonstrate the extent of their Uyghur identity by having the desire to change their name from Chinese to Uyghur on official documents. This may demonstrate that P2 does not feel that their Uyghur identity is being threatened in any way while the opposite is true for P3.

For P1, spending time with Uyghur community members in Toronto strengthened Uyghur identity, while in the case of the P3, advocating for Uyghur rights helped to reinforce the Uyghur identity within themselves. Participants’ varying attachment and internalization of the Uyghur identity was thus communicated through the depth of their understanding of Uyghur culture, or the length of their exposure to Uyghur culture.

4.3 Islamic Identity

Participants associate themselves with their Islamic identity in two ways: (1) they align their moral values and beliefs to the Islamic faith as practicing Muslims, or (2) they partake in select few Islamic practices as either a way to maintain a sense of belonging to the Muslim community (Ruthven, 1997, p. 3-4), or to achieve an outcome related to their wellbeing. Participants cited reading the Qur'an for mental health and emotional wellbeing purposes, visiting the mosque on special occasions, or following Islamic dietary laws:

“However, I do feel that my Uyghur cultural values, norms and morals have been replaced by Islamic ones, and to me [the] Uyghur culture is merely eating certain Uyghur foods and speaking the language.” (P2, Q21)

“I’m not super religious, but I do believe in God and partake in the cultural practices of Islam such as Eid, eating halal etc.” (P1, Q17)

“My dad goes to mosque on Fridays. I go there for special occasions like Eid. I am able to read the Koran but I don’t really read it. I read it sometimes during Ramadan... When I am depressed or sad, I read it.” (P3, Q17 and Q18)

P1 and P3 both lean towards the cultural aspect of being a Muslim when describing their relationship towards Islam. P2, on the other hand, self-identifies as a religiously observant individual. P2 and P3 identify themselves with the Muslim community, whereas P1 practices Islam. Under the umbrella of the Uyghur culture; in terms of identity, religion, in their perspective, does not take precedence over culture. Taking a cross-generational perspective into consideration, all three participants also responded that their first-generation parents are all practicing Muslims - albeit the question of degree of practice was not discussed in detail in their responses:

“My parents are both fairly religious. They believe in God and pray regularly.” (P1, Q18)

“My father is a devout Muslim. His moral compass is guided by his religion, and I look up to my father in this regard. We do not have any differences in our spiritual view.” (P2, Q18)

“My family/parents are practicing Muslims [...]” (P3, Q18)

The challenges observed in the intergenerational transmission of religion have been documented amongst previous and succeeding generations within and outside of the immigration context. For instance, David Voas introduced religion's "half-life" observed in Western countries by proposing that, with each succeeding generation, there is a reduction in religiosity when compared to their preceding generations (Voas, 2003; Voas & Chaves, 2016). The depiction of religion's half-life as a phenomenon can be observed when studying participant experience with the transmission of religion from their first-generation immigrant parents. For example, P1 and P3 describe their parents as practicing Muslims who attend the mosque and pray on a regular basis; they characterize their parents as being "fairly religious". However, their own engagement with Islamic customary and religious practices is less comprehensive by comparison.

The case of P2 is illustrative of comfortably overlapping identities: they prioritize the identification of being a Muslim more than being a Uyghur, and they seem able to integrate into the country of settlement with little effort and adapt to its prevailing ideology, namely Canadian multiculturalism. The P2 experience can be explained by childhood religious socialization observed in second-generation youths, where parents would take an active role in reinforcing religion into their children's lives at an early age in the country of settlement (Güngör et al., 2011). They pass on their religious traditions and values within the home context (Doomernik, 1995) or in other cases, they would also have their children receive formal religious training (Regnerus et al., 2004), such as attending Qur'an lessons (Güngör et al. 2011, p.1368).

The P2 experience speaks to research showing that childhood religious and cultural socialization in the country of origin poses little to no impediment to the desire for second-generation youths to adopt mainstream values and culture in the country of settlement (Güngör et al. 2011, p.1369). There is an observable difference in the degree of attachment to the Islamic identity

group by all three participants. These are, Islam as a fundamental building block determining how life should be experienced, Islam being integrated into Uyghur culture and cultural practices, and utilization of Islam for therapeutic purposes.

4.4 Chinese Identity

Participants either did not make reference to the Chinese identity, or had distanced themselves from this identity group despite claiming some form of belonging to the Chinese state (i.e. as East Turkestan/Xinjiang is legally part of the Chinese state despite being an autonomous region). The participants are perhaps experiencing the sentiment of detachment or disconnect from Chinese identity while the reasoning could at large be attributed to the passive approach that decision makers use to reinforce strong interethnic ties between Uyghur minorities and Chinese Han majorities in China. Consequently, passivity perpetuates (1) weak interethnic trust climate between Uyghurs and the Hans, and (2) segregation to further disconnect people on the ethnic and sociocultural lines.

A detailed examination of this identity group is necessary because of the curious nature of its relatively weak to non-existent presence in participant responses given that all three participants came from China. Only one participant had responses that were sufficient and relevant enough to be included in the Chinese identity group; these responses were divided into four overarching themes:

(1) On limited knowledge of Mandarin participant responded:

“Chinese is my second language” (P3, Q1) and “I lost Chinese when learning French in Canada” (P3, Q2)

(2) On experiencing overt discrimination by Chinese authority participant responded:

“In China I didn’t notice any discrimination but after coming to Canada and going back there again in 2009 – at the Beijing airport – we were selected for random search. My mom was sent to the interrogation room... [there was a] 1 hour integration in compare to other Hans. Also, when I was trying to get a ticket, they said they were out of tickets

but standing behind us were a Han couple and the priority was given to the Han couple – they were given the tickets but not us.

Another time the Han taxi driver didn't want to drop us off. [People?] were throwing insults and yelling.” (P3, Q4)

Or

“This doesn't impact me because I don't live there [in Xinjiang] and it hasn't impacted my family because they pray at home but my distant relative stopped going to mosque and can't meet up with people in public areas. On the phone you can't talk. When we talk to relatives, we talk about daily stuff like what did you do, what did you eat and how are friends. Phone calls are tapped. It is risky to talk about politics, religion, and even economy. I stopped using WeChat recently – any Chinese apps are tapped.” (P3, Q4)

(3) On being “Othered” by the Chinese government participant responded:

“[In]China [the government portrays me] as a Uyghur foreigner.” (P3, Q4)

(4) On having the sentiment of needing to be recognized and respected by Eastern China participant responded:

“[I feel I need to earn respect/recognition as a Uyghur person] in Eastern China.” (P3, Q4)

Or

“[The separatist movement has] not directly [affected me]. Personally...that movement is ambiguous I don't personally believe in separating...I don't know...It's very ambiguous...for now there is a rule of law for my country. But I don't think it has affected me or my relationship with my parents. It's an open conversation. We all wish a better future. For now, my peers are worried about separation, they just want to be recognized as a real autonomous region that can be ruled by itself. We just want respect and restoration of Rule of Law in China.” (P3, Q4)

This participant has demonstrated that the Chinese identity is, to a certain degree, intertwined in their personal life, however this was not the case for the other participants. The responses from the other participants reveal that their personal connection, or link to the Chinese identity is at best, negligible; it would not have made sense to include them in the Chinese identity group. The former

participant responses indicate that, generally speaking, this participant has gone through a combination of negative direct personal experiences along with observed negative indirect

personal experiences. These two factors reveal the reason why the development of the Chinese identity was brought to a standstill for this participant.

However, in order to understand the greater significance of this participant's experiences, from a broader socio-political perspective, it is necessary to understand the reason other participants did not make reference to, or imply their affiliation to the Chinese identity. Since China has a strong political and, to a certain extent, sociocultural influence over the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and moreover Mandarin is one of the two official languages in Xinjiang, it would have been expected for all participants to express their relationship to the Chinese identity, regardless of whether it was positive or negative. Hence, in order to better understand the lack of expression, it will be crucial to gauge the participants' possible attitude towards the Chinese identity. The following section will investigate and address the quality of the current ethnic ties between the Uyghurs and the Hans in China from a combination of social, political and cultural perspective. Here it is also important to take into account that the new generation of Uyghurs are more moderate and are less attracted to strong political resistance as opposed to their predecessors (Baranovitch, 2007).

4.4.1 Interethnic Distrust Between Uyghur and Chinese Identities

The weak trust climate between the Uyghur and the Han ethnic groups has been well documented in Xinjiang (Yee, 2003; Yee, 2005; Han, 2010), and more specifically in China's boarding schools for Uyghurs and other minority groups, the Xinjiang Class (Zhang et al., 2013). Interethnic distrust is perpetuated by inadequate promotion of inter-ethnic and cross-cultural engagement between the Uyghurs and Hans. The general approach towards inter-ethnic and cross-cultural engagement has been passive; this is especially evident after the establishment of the Xinjiang Class. Cadres and/or community leaders have not taken an active role in further

improving the quality of inter-ethnic and cross-cultural engagement between Uyghur and Han students. As a result, the Xinjiang Class project has only been able to realize half of its goal; on the one hand, the project has reached relative success in assimilating Uyghur youths into the fabric of the Han dominated Chinese society, on the other hand, it has failed to enhance inter- ethnic integration - that is if by integration the China's Ministry of Education (MOE) mean consolidating inter-ethnic ties through authentic interactions.

Timothy A. Grose (2010) argues that Xinjiang Class is largely failing to promote inter-ethnic ties between Uyghurs and Hans and the reasoning can best be explained by Yangbin Chen who states that there is a “[l]ack of bridging social capital between Uyghur students and local Han students, teachers and school culture...” (Chen, 2008, p.182). Yet Yuan, Qian, and Zhu argue that the implementation of Xinjiang Class policy is “fluid” and “incoherent”, and it is usually implemented by school administrators who implement policy based on “...patriotism and ethnic integration and the subtle management of students’ ethnicities” (Yuan, Qian, & Zhu, 2017).

The intention of “fluidity” or flexibility in the implementation of Xinjiang Class policy can be rationalized in the following manner: the local level of implementers, who work in close proximity to Uyghur and Han students, are given the creative freedom to manage issues surrounding ethnic ties without the rigid interferences from the central government. However, there are two concerning aspects to Yuan’s findings, these are (1) incoherency in policy implementation and (2) subtle management of students’ ethnicities.

The “incoherency” aspect of implementation is concerning given that the Xinjiang Class policy does not specify the most effective and relevant policy implementation methods.

Implementers are not being held accountable by the greater Uyghur community for the methods they use in implementing the Xinjiang Class policy. As a result, Uyghur-Han ties are mishandled as some of the most simplistic yet most crucial inter-ethnic integration-based objectives are not

being formulated. For instance, Xinjiang classes are not helping the majority of Uyghur students immerse into the authentic Han environment - this has been demonstrated by a case study on the type of polarized cultural stereotypes Uyghur students have of Han people (Chen, 2015).

In the case of the subtle management of students' ethnicity in Xinjiang Class is also very concerning. This method of policy implementation reflects on the fact that the implementers are not concerned with best implementation practices, which means that they are inexperienced, or have not been educated in the realm of approaching minority issues - firstly, with care and secondly, in a nuanced and contextualized manner. As a result, Uyghur students have quickly adapted to their foreign environment, as mentioned by Baranovitch (2007), albeit the adaption quality is poor and unsustainable because it has been a one-sided experience - manufactured, systematized and presented by the affluent Hans to young Uyghurs as the only viable option in achieving social and economic stability.

4.4.2 Reinforcers of Inter-Ethnic Segregation Between Uyghur and Chinese Identities

There are four major reinforcers of inter-ethnic segregation. These reinforces function in conjunction with each other hence demonstrating that the current Uyghur-Han tensions derives from a greater, and more complex systemic problem in China.

4.4.2.1 Spatial Separation

Uyghur population had been geographically separated from more affluent population group - namely the Han ethnic group, within (Liang & White, 1996; Zang, 2002;) and outside of Xinjiang (Dijk, 2011). The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, as an ethno-geographic space, was established at the time of the Qing conquest, when Dzungaria and the Tarim Basin were unified and recognized as a province in 1884 (Tyler, 2004). Xinjiang, now the Western administrative

subdivision of People's Republic of China, is home to 21.82 million residents - a majority, or 45.9% of which are comprised of the Uyghur ethnic group (Beijing Hua tong ren shi chang xin xi you xian ze ren gong si et al., 2012). Currently, the shifting affluency dynamics between the newly migrated Hans and young, highly educated Uyghur migrants in Urumqi (Howell & Fan, 2011), as well as the active implementation of economically and infrastructurally intensive development policies in Xinjiang (Lu & Deng, 2011), should in theory have triggered cross-cultural engagement via direct inter-ethnic interactions, yet Tsui Yen Hu's research study has demonstrated that, there aren't any significant motivating factors for Uyghurs and Hans to either improve or deepen their relationship outside of their work and school environments (Hu, 2003).

4.4.2.2 *Perceptual Biases*

The Han and Uyghur perception of each other and oneself are shaped by their biased opinions on one's or the other's status in the Chinese society. For instance, from the perspective of a Han Chinese, they see themselves as the "big brother" who must civilize their "little brother", the Uyghurs (Harrell, 1995, p.14), or in other cases they see themselves as being "normal" or ordinary and "un-exotic", and Uyghur as being "colorful", "exotic", and "primitive" (Gladney, 1994, p.98). The biased perceptions indicate that there is an unequal Han-Uyghur power relation which triggers the Uyghur population to be stigmatized by affluent Han population and be placed in the category of the "Other" (p.114), or an "outsider" (Waidiren) (Baranovitch, 2003, 734). Currently both, the Uyghurs and the Hans are refusing to close the gap in their prejudiced and unassessed perception of each other; Elena Caprioni demonstrated in her work that the young educated Uyghurs and Hans in Xinjiang are unwilling to compromise some of the movable social barriers, such as language and religion (Caprioni, 2011).

4.4.2.3 *Exclusionary Characteristics in Minority Education*

China's minority education system is drawing enclaves amongst Uyghur students in different ways. These enclaves are triggered by constraints faced by two types of exam taking Uyghur students. The first constraint is faced by Uyghur students graduating from a minority school and the second is faced by Uyghur graduating as a Min kao Han students - minority students who are in preparation for the entrance exam into universities that use Chinese as the only language of instruction (Han, De Costa, & Cui, 2016, p. 319)

In the former case, minority school graduates have limited access to higher education and greater job prospects outside of Xinjiang (Rong, 2009, p. 216) while in the latter case, Min kao Han students face stigma from both, the Uyghur community - because of their weak grasp of the Uyghur language, and the Han community - given that Uyghurs in China are generally perceived to be socially and culturally "backward". Jennifer Taynen states in the conclusion of her research study, "The Uighur Min kao Han clearly illustrate the significance of language in Xinjiang's politics. Their experiences within the Han and Min kao Min communities demonstrate that ethnicity is not the only significant means of group identification" (Taynen, 2006, p. 59).

The third constraint is faced by Uyghur students that reside in Xinjiang's cities. These students are losing their linguistic identity against their will as a result of the 2004 bilingual education policy, which places focus on having minority students adopt Mandarin Chinese as their "mother tongue" instead of keeping it "as a tool for the professional realm and communication with non-Uyghur speakers" (Schluessel, 2007, p. 259).

Regardless of the examination status or school curriculum type, the manner in which the policies for minority education is being implemented, continues to place young Uyghurs in vulnerable social positions. Given the above-mentioned scenarios, these policies, although they make sense on a theoretical level, in practice, young Uyghurs are being isolated from their Uyghur

peers and Uyghur identity.

4.4.2.4 Disempowerment in Employment through Marginalization and Exclusion

It is widely understood and accepted that there is a large employment and ethnic earning gap in the tertiary economic sector in urban areas of Xinjiang (Zang, 2012, p. 433; Wu & Song, 2014, p. 170). There are two major contributors to this problem: the first is attributed to the employment concentration of Han Chinese in state-owned enterprises (Zhu & Blachford, 2012, p. 725), and the second is attributed to discrimination against Uyghurs in Xinjiang (Bovingdon, 2002, p. 45). The private sector is the backbone of economic development in China, yet, there seems to be a clear ethnic delineation that favours Han migrants over young Uyghurs in taking the lead role of developing this sector in Xinjiang. Furthermore, the fact that all major key economic sectors are dominated by Han Chinese (Wu & Song, 2014, p. 165) indicates that, since these sectors are shaped by the Han language and culture, they are in practice, not available for Uyghurs who graduated as Min kao Min students - minority students who prepare for university entrance examination in non-Chinese or English language (Han, Y., De Costa, P., & Cui, Y., 2016, p. 316), nor any Uyghurs that do not speak Mandarin - which is the majority of the Uyghur population.

4.4.2.5 Drawing Correlation

Participant attitude towards the Chinese identity can at best be characterized as being irrelevant, and at worst, as having the sentiment of contempt. Broadly speaking, the quality of the current Uyghur-Han ties in China is fragile and distorted because the issue of inter-ethnic trust and segregation have been passively addressed by decision makers. It is impossible to determine the participant's relationship towards the Chinese identity without them verbalizing their thoughts, however, it is helpful to understand the possible reasons for their lack of expression, by placing their silence into context. Similar to the Chinese identity, the next section will also explore an

identity group that had nominal mentions but requires further analysis to understand its significance.

4.5 Turkish Identity

This section will provide a brief summation of how participants relate to or define their association, and by analyzing the extent of its relevance in the formation of P1 and P3's identity.

"I can't really remember that well but I remember stopping after Grade 1 in my country of birth. We went to Turkey when I was around 8 years old and I did Grade 2 and 3 there. When I arrived in Canada, I started at 4th Grade." (P1, Q1)

"...I would say that as time went on, I got exhausted of trying to explain who I am and where I'm from and would just say that I'm Turkish more so out of laziness than being covert." (P1, Q4)

"I would say both the western community and the Uyghur community. I've been here since I was a kid and I identify well with the western community but I also attend a lot of social gatherings with Uyghur people as well." (P1, Q26)

"My dad loves soap operas and Turkish soap operas program (on Youtube). My mom likes to watch more French movies and programs. My brother watches English movies. My Dad speaks Turkish, he has a lot of Turkish friends and he listens to Turkish news." (P3, Q11)

The theme in this collection of responses is the consolidation of the Turkish identity, however the focus point will be on P1 and P3's relationship to the Turkish identity. A comparative approach will first be used to explore the process of identity consolidation during the migration processes in the case of P1, then P1's experience will be used to determine whether P3's lack of attachment to the Turkish identity is an anomaly.

By definition, P1 is considered to be a "twice-migrant" because they have migrated from one country to another more than once (Bhachu, 1985); the first migration took place from China to Turkey, and the second migration took place from Turkey to Canada. It is important to not only recognize P1's twice-migrant experience, but also investigate the effect of migration on P1's sense of belongingness. Studies have demonstrated that twice-migrants of multiple generations, such as

the Indo-Caribbean Hindus in London, England and the East African Sikh migrants in Britain, have lost their ties to their country of origin because of their absolute assimilation to the bureaucratic system and institutions in the country of settlement, and because direct-migrant community members differentiate themselves from their twice-migrant counterparts, despite sharing a common place of origin (Bhachu, 1985; Vertovec, 1994). The latter is deemed to be far removed from their ancestral land in terms of attachment in comparison to the former.

Unlike the twice-migrants of multiple generations, P1 still maintains their attachment to Xinjiang/East Turkestan, and had not assimilated to Turkey's bureaucratic system and institutions. This is possibly due to their young age at arrival and their relatively short period of socialization in Turkey, which ultimately led to the failure of consolidating the Turkish identity. However, migration to Canada has demonstrated to be of a different experience because it became a place of permanent settlement. Permanency in a foreign environment seems to have triggered P1 to actively preserve their Uyghur identity despite acknowledging the fact that they have already been assimilated to the Western society:

"I'm not super religious, but I do believe in god and partake in the cultural practices of Islam such as Eid, eating Halal etc." (P1, Q17)

"...I also have memories of my time spent with the Uyghur people here in Toronto as I'm well connected with the Uyghur community here." (P1, Q21)

"I would say both the western community and the Uyghur community. I've been here since I was a kid and I identify well with the western community but I also attend a lot of social gatherings with Uyghur people as well." (P1, Q26)

Cultural and religious reproduction, and community conservation in the country of settlement are key characteristics that P1 shares with twice-migrants such as the Indo-Fijian community in Sydney, Australia, who also use the same approach to preserve their own ethno-religious identity and community in the adoptive country (Kim, 2004).

Similar to P1, P3 also does not associate their belongingness with the Turkish community

despite the fact that Turkish identity plays a significant role in their parent's life. When analyzing this circumstance within the family context, there is an identifiable gap that perhaps can be explained by the failed transmission of culture from parent to child. Conversely, it may also imply that Turkish identity does not play a functional role in P3's day-to-day life. This is an attribute that has also been observed in P1 whose attachment to Turkish identity is inconsequential. In fact, P1 response clearly indicates that Turkish identity is an instrument of convenience simply because it is more recognizable than the Uyghur identity. However, it is important to note here that Turkish identity may not be absolutely irrelevant to the identity formation rhetoric, especially considering the fact that Turks and Uyghurs share a common ethno-linguistic ancestry, as they both fall under the broader Turkic identity group (Sayarı, 1994, p. 175–196).

The analysis of participant responses has demonstrated a curious relationship between the participants and the Turkish identity. It is likely that there wasn't a necessary condition for the participants to attach themselves onto this identity group due to the length of exposure, life stage at the time of exposure, or relevance in one's day-to-day life, but the fact that the implication of exploring Turkish identity within the broader framework of belongingness in the established space is ambiguous needs to be further explored, especially since Turkish identity shares a common ethno-linguistic root with the Uyghur identity. Further exploration is required to understand participant relationship to Turkic identity, and how they differentiate their sense of belongingness, it may be that the participant may also have an attachment to land, however this has not been overtly confirmed. The implication of this is beyond the scope of this research study.

4.6 The Significance of the Established Space

The established space encompasses complex system of identities that can be characterized as volatile and ambiguous. The lack of concreteness and clarity in the way participants define their

sense of belonging is not rooted in participants' lack of understanding of self, rather it is rooted in the contestation over historical and social narratives that impact the legitimacy of certain identities. It is easy to manipulate identity, and therefore one's sense of belonging because culture, language, religion and ethnicity are constantly evolving with time. Those who hold authority and power over a given narrative may also dictate not only over one's identity, but also how it should be remembered.

It is important to maintain a conceptual understanding of a sociocultural space in which individuals are able to break down their sense of belonging and analyze identity individually in order to better understand the experiences and sentiments that are shared across generational lines. The established space allows for meaningful dialogue and knowledge exchange between generations, as experienced by 1.5G participants in this study and their first-generation parents. A key element that ties 1.5G back to their place of origin is attachment; this is an element that continues to thrive in the new sociocultural space in the place of settlement.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced each of the study participant's identify profile and analyzed each profile comparatively. I also addressed the significance of the established sociocultural space, as it directly ties the lives of my participants back to their first-generation parents, and more broadly to the sociocultural space in which they originated. A shared experience between first-generation and their 1.5G children is being tied to the established sociocultural space despite living in the new space context.

This chapter also goes in-depth about the composition of the Established Space by using participant responses as a primary source of data to help interpret the relationship between themselves and the sociocultural space that connects them back to their place of origin. Identity

formation and the sense of belonging of each participant were mapped using Nira Yuval-Davis and Marco Antonsich's conceptualization of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. The final profile revealed four identity groups, these are the Uyghur identity, the Islamic identity, the Chinese identity, and the Turkish identity in that order. The next step is to investigate the fifth identity group, the Western identity. This identity group was not included in chapter 4 because it does not tie in with existing identities that derived from the place of origin, instead it is associated with the new sociocultural space in the place of settlement. Chapter 5 will explore the new sociocultural space and the Third Space - the space of transculturation.

CHAPTER 5 - THE THIRD SPACE

5.1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to explore the relationship between participants and their new sociocultural space, the New Space, and how they integrate and negotiate between expectations and practices from the Established Space and the New Space in the Third Space context. Using participant responses, the first section of this chapter will first explore the concept of 'home', then examine the alignment of values in the New Space, and lastly analyze the perception of otherness by the actors of the Established Space. The subsequent section will examine, within the decision-making context, what each participant chooses to preserve, give-up and adopt in the space of transculturation. Two conceptual diagrams will be introduced with the objective to aid in the imagination of the sociocultural spaces where the negotiation of belongingness for 1.5G Uyghurs takes place.

5.2 The New Sociocultural Space

The New Space, in the context of this research study, is defined by the Canadian cultural

space which encapsulates the Western identity that dominates Canada's contemporary sociocultural and political context. This section examines participant relationship to the Canadian/Western identity by specifically focusing on three key elements: (1) participant's definition of 'home' when examining place- belongingness; (2) the alignment of their personal values to the prevailing political philosophy of the Canadian state; and (3) the description of their character by the actors of the Established Space. When asked to define and identify 'home', participants indicated in their responses that they experience place attachment in Canada and not in the country of origin:

"Home is Toronto. Toronto because this is where I spent most of my life and where my family is and where my friends are." (P1, Q30)

"Home for me is Vancouver, I grew up here and am familiar with my surroundings and have all my friends and family here." (P2, Q30)

"Montreal. It's there because whenever I want to be in a comfortable place and/[so that] I can be free, I think about Montreal" (P3, Q30)

The term 'home' could have been described as a geographic location where 1.5G was born and raised before immigrating to Canada. Participant responses, however, challenge the possible pre-conceived notion that 'home' can only correlate to the place of origin. All three participants experience attachment to home and neighborhood in similar ways. They are demonstrating the social and spatial significance of the named city by virtue of maintaining their association to the actors of the Established Space in the New Space context through (1) memories they cultivated during their formative years; (2) their Uyghur peers and community members from Xinjiang; and (3) their family members. Participants' individual sense of place-belongingness is shaped by their lived experiences, their personal and social ties, their cultural familiarity, and them possessing a sense of security in the city they identified as 'home' (Antonsich, 2010, p.646-649).

In the New Space, participants have aligned their values to those that are upheld in the

Canadian society, specifically pertaining to Canadian multiculturalism. Participants described experiences, values and principles that in their day-to-day lives have played a beneficial role in safeguarding their existing identities:

“For the most part, we lived in Toronto, which is a very multicultural city. I can’t seem to remember a time where I was discriminated against or harassed because of my background.” (P1, Q7)

“Canada is a melting pot of different, unique and fascinating cultures; thus, I see myself as part of this multicultural and diverse society and indeed very comfortable with my heritage and give myself a rating of 10.” (P2, Q4)

“Multiculturalism. It goes along with open mindedness. I feel at ease.” (P3, Q4)

All three participants characterize Canadian multiculturalism as a space for identity preservation in a space of difference. Canadian multiculturalism for these participants seems to entail flexibility in identity development because their responses imply that Canadian multiculturalism fosters a space which gives them the ability to choose their cultural and religious orientation without fear of any backlash from their community or the state. Participants would presumably feel a sense of security because in the New Space, the laws and policies defined by the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, and section fifteen and twenty-seven of the Charter of Rights and Freedom (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1985; Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982) regulate diversity and identity differences with the intention to protect and preserve them.

As participants further establish themselves in the New Space, their detachment from the Established Space becomes more apparent. This detachment has been recognized by the actors of the Established Space who assert participant’s otherness by characterizing them as being “too Western”:

“I have been jokingly called too western by other Uyghur friends who came to Canada recently. I laugh it off most of the time because it’s probably true. I’m more western in behaviour than Uyghur.” (P1, Q25)

“I am accused at times of being too wester[n], by my family members. I can’t recall an example off the top of my head.” (P2, Q25)

“My immediate family says I’m too Western and some people in the Uyghur community [say that I am too Western]. They are straight forward about it but I just brush it off. I just reply to them that I grew up here. I don’t take it too seriously.” (P3, Q25)

This experience of being labeled as “too Western” may entail that participants are being perceived by these actors as Eurocentric or Western-centric. In this case, the actors are either subtly criticizing the participant’s manner of conduct, their worldview, or their values. The data does not provide enough content to evaluate the details of these observations; nevertheless, such critical observation implies that these actors were able to distinguish themselves from their counterparts.

The labeling of being “too Western”, however, is not an uncommon occurrence. It is a well-established fact that within the non-Western immigrant family context, children “endorse dominant Western values” (Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008, p. 85), which conversely trigger excessive suspicions in the minds of the parents due to the fear that the existing gap in values, traditions and beliefs between the parent and the child will expand further (Sodhi, 2017, p. 42).

Neither P1 nor P3 deny the labeling of being “too Western”. P1 admits that they are more Western in ‘behavior’ than Uyghur, while P3 acknowledges the fact that the justification for being Eurocentric or Western-centric is due to the length of time they had spent in their formative years being exposed to an environment dominated by Western values and Western philosophies. The transformations they experience in the context of their consciousness and human development is concurrent with the changes that continue to take place within the Canadian society.

Upon examining each participant’s relationship to Western identity within the Canadian context, it appears that the New Space is a place where participants call ‘home’. It guards their values, and shapes their character. As participants continue to exist within this sociocultural space, the Canadian Western identity will continue to act as the main source of influence in shaping their

behaviour, and their cultural standards and values.

While the existence of each participant is present within the New Space, it is important to reiterate that the actors and structures who are part of the Established Space also thrive within the New Space along with the participants. The significance of this on a conceptual level is that there is a dialogue transpiring between the actors and structures of the two sociocultural spaces. In the real world this conceptual dialogue translates into the way in which participants cope with contrasting value systems and norms after immigrating into the new sociocultural context. The following section will examine the symbiotic relationship between the Established Space and the New Space through the lens of the Third Space - the space of transculturation.

5.3 The Third Sociocultural Space

Participants negotiate their belongingness by determining what to preserve, what to give up and what to adopt in the Third Space. The Third Space lies conceptually at the intersection of the Established Space and the New Space; it is a sociocultural space where the phenomenon of “complex transmutations of culture[s]” occur (Ortiz, 1947, p. 97-98). The specificities in decisions that are made in the Third Space, as well as the outcomes may fundamentally differ from one participant to another. In this case, it is crucial to consider the underlying method or guiding principles that participants use in their decision-making process. It is also important to understand the context in which these decisions are being made. However, it has become evident that these decisions are made within the parameters set by the actors and structures located in the Established Space and the New Space. These actors and structures - whether they are the parental figure, community members, or institutions - draw limitations to acceptable and unacceptable values and behaviors based on their own standards and expectations. The following sections will examine each participant’s relationship to the Third Space by analyzing how each participant negotiate their

belongingness in this social space.

Table 1. Conceptual Diagram of the Third Space

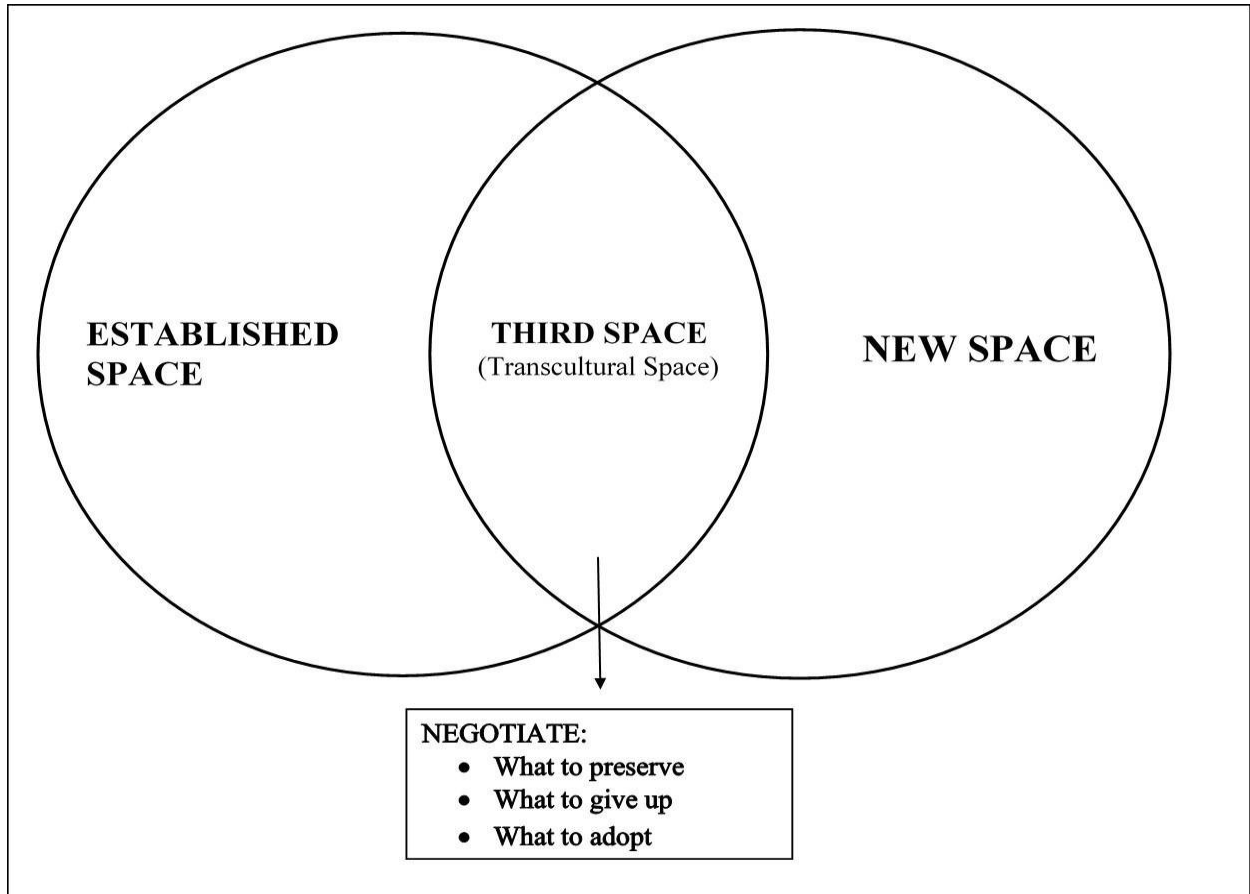
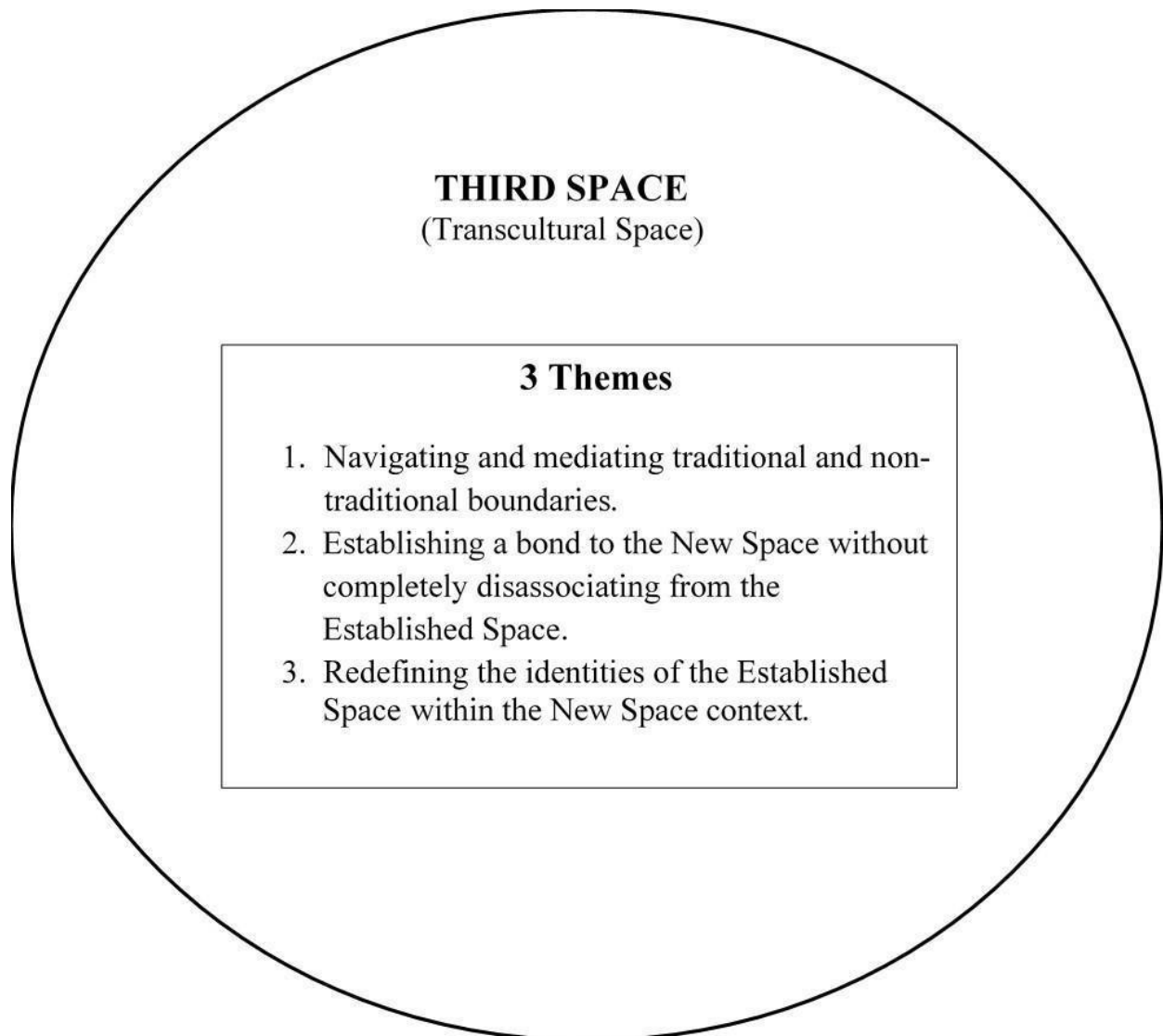


Table 2. Conceptual Diagram of the Three Themes Identified in the Third Space



5.4 Participant 3

P3 negotiates their belonging in the Third Space by navigating and mediating traditional and non-traditional boundaries:

“I am proud of [the] Uyghur culture, but I distance myself to some traditions.” (P3, Q4)

“It’s complicated... This is an open-ended question... There is a clash between cultures. I am very open person... very liberal. I have some conservative values.” (P3, Q10)

“[...] My parents want me to marry someone from same culture and religion but to me it is not that important. I haven’t talked about marrying a person from another culture – that is a topic to be discussed in the future. In the Uyghur culture, the girl needs to be

married between 23 to 25 [years of age]. They (her parents) lightly joke ... “you are getting old; it’s time to find someone”. I openly told my parents that I am not ready. I know where my parents stand on this issue and they know where I stand on this issue. [Regarding this matter] there is tension.” (P3, Q22)

“[...]My parents don’t want me to dress too openly. I wear shorts that would shock them. I don’t feel...I’m a less of a Uyghur girl by wearing Western fashion, but for my parents it’s crucial. When I am at their house I will not dress as openly. That is a compromise.” (P3, Q22)

P3 acknowledges that their pride towards the Uyghur identity comes with limitations, and these limitations exist as a result of difference in value between themselves and their parents. P3 uses two examples to demonstrate some of the traditional aspects of the Uyghur culture that do not align with their own values: (1) the difference in the criteria for marriage; and (2) the difference in opinion regarding what is considered appropriate for an “Uyghur girl” to wear. P3’s parents are unanimously in disagreement with P3’s decisions in both cases, and therefore implying that P3 made a misguided decision on the values they had chosen to preserve, give up and adopt.

For instance, P3’s parents did not want their child to dress openly but P3 decided that dressing openly does not tarnish their Uyghur identity. In the context of the Third Space, it seems that the participant is willing to preserve their relationship with their first-generation parents by respecting parental comfort zone. More specifically, the participant is willing to give up their own preferences in dressing at home by compromising and dressing less openly, and instead preserve the traditional standard of dressing as proposed by their parents.

However, they had also decided to give up some of the traditions that are deemed to be unsound by modern Western standards. In this case, P3 decided to disregard the traditional standard for committing oneself to marriage between the ages of 23 to 25, and be married solely within the same ethnic and cultural group. This decision has led to a consequential outcome defined by tension between P3 and their parents. P3, on the other hand, has stated that they do not have the intention to give up on the decision of delaying their marriage, nor give up the ability to widen

their selection of choice for potential suitor. Perhaps the rationale for this decision was made on the basis that this specific case requires long term commitment, and could potentially affect the overall trajectory of their life.

The scenario described above implies that, in the Third Space, the most important question is not whether to adhere to existing standards and expectations, but rather questioning whose standards and expectations 1.5G should adhere to, and what is the justification for adhering to the standards and expectations of someone other than oneself? It seems that it is necessary for the participant to draw a balance through compromise with each decision. The process of deciding what to preserve, what to adopt and what to give up becomes a game of strategy. The objective is to identify the most appropriate and favorable outcome by using a systematic approach to estimate the potential cost and benefit of their decision. However, if the individual is able to properly gauge the standards and expectations in the Third Space, then they would be able to compromise and therefore come to a consensus, as demonstrated in P3's decision to dress more conservatively at home and more openly outside of the home environment.

In the case of marriage, P3 determined that the standards and expectations of the actors from the Established Space did not align with their personal values. For instance, P3 had admitted that the tension caused by lack of compromise on the issue of marriage is ongoing, but this tension, which is substantive in nature, would not exist if P3 had decided to completely disengage themselves from the Established Space. One of the ways to disengage is for P3 (1) to deny their association to the Uyghur community and ultimately their association to their parents, and (2) to potentially adopt the New Space as the sole sociocultural space that influence their identity development.

The Third Space is not a permanent sociocultural space; the continuation of this space is only possible by virtue of either 1.5G's will, the length of time spent in the New Space, and the

quality of their attachment to the Established Space. Yet, the tension continues to exist because P3 chooses to maintain a relationship with the actors of the Established Space while observing the values from the New Space. They are deliberately placing themselves in a situation where it is necessary to gauge the standards and expectations of multiple actors, and decide on what to preserve, what to adopt and what to give up.

There are various dichotomies that could be found in P3's case. P3 and their first-generation parents have strikingly opposing standard for acceptable appearance, for one's social responsibility as the daughter of the family, and for the gender role as a female person. P3's parents seem to align themselves closely to Uyghur traditions while P3 is in the phase of evaluating whether these traditions are appealing or useful to them in any way. The 1.5 generation may feel the necessity to follow traditional social norms due to their proximity to the Uyghur culture, while first-generation parents are diverging from these norms because they lack this type of proximity. These differences may address the cultural conflict (as depicted by Samuel P. Huntington, 1997) between the Central Asian culture and the Western culture, however, a more reasonable explanation may instead be the nature of the parent-child relationship, as conceptually depicted by Berger and Luckmann (1966).

Berger and Luckmann have used the theory of institutionalization to describe the parent-child relationship specifically in the context of transmitting cultural capital (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 72). Institution, in the field of sociology, refers to recurring patterns of behavior or of relationships that are accepted as a fundamental part of a culture (Huntington et al., 1968, p. 12). This definition is applicable within a family context where children are taught socially acceptable behaviors (Macionis & Gerber, 2011, p. 116). There is less likelihood for 1.5G to adopt the social institution established by their parents because they did not take part in the creation of this institution. The 1.5 generation are willing to integrate into non-traditional cultural space as P3 has

because it gives them the opportunity to create and set the parameter of their own institution. Contextual factors such as culture, religion, and immigration experiences are realities that only adds layers of complexity to the process of creating the institution.

5.5 Participant 2

P2 negotiates belonging in the Third Space (1) by preserving Islamic identity and adopting Western identity in the Canadian context, and (2) by giving up the Uyghur cultural standards and expectations. P2 attempts to prove that they have the ability to create their own social institution instead of following the institution established by their parents (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This is evident given that P2 differentiates themselves from their parents when it comes to cultural identification:

“My cultural identification differs from that of my father...” (P2, Q10)

There are two factors that contribute to P2’s success in negotiating their Islamic identity in the Third Space. In the first place, Islam is not a foreign religious identity in Canada. According to Statistics Canada, 3.2% of Canada’s total population identify themselves as Muslims, while more specific to P2’s case, Vancouver has a Muslim population of around 73,200 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Secondly, the Canadian multicultural context provides the appropriate sociocultural space, as well as the flexibility for P2 to preserve their Islamic identity. P2 has already mentioned in the section on the New Space that Canadian multiculturalism allows for “identity preservation in a space of difference”. P2 has replaced their Uyghur identity with Islamic identity in the New Space by making the decision in the Third Space to give up the cultural aspect of the Uyghur identity:

“My father still values his Uyghur identity; however, he does not expect me to abide by them. Given he was exposed to that culture for a longer period of time than I was, it has in a sense a part of him.” (P2, Q22)

“...I do feel that my Uyghur cultural values, norms and morals have been replaced by Islamic ones...” (P2, Q21)

P2 gave up their Uyghur identity because it did not align with their personal values. P2’s father does not expect P2 to fully embrace the Uyghur identity because there is an understanding that the degree of exposure P2 has to this identity group is significantly lower in comparison to them. However, despite stating that they have given up the cultural aspect of the Uyghur identity, it should be noted here that P2 did not give up this culture in absolute terms. P2 still chooses to remain associated to the Established Space by (1) actively engaging in the Uyghur language learning process, (2) keeping in touch with family members in the country of origin, and (3) maintaining their preference in consuming Uyghur food:

“My father still listens to traditional Uyghur music...” (P2, Q10)

“I do speak, and occasionally read in Uyghur. My family uses a mix of both English and Uyghur interchangeably to communicate with one another.” (P2, Q19)

“There are certain words which I would consider ‘big words’ that are utilized by my father and uncles on a daily basis. I often have to ask them for what the word means. Where as I speak Uyghur mixed with English.” (P2, Q12)

“I do not keep in touch with friends from back home however I do keep in touch with some family members. I communicate to them using Uyghur and I just check up on them to see how they are doing.” (P2, Q28)

“I am accustomed to eating Uyghur food, so for me there is no difference when it comes to food for us.” (P2, Q13)

P2 experiences difficulty in gauging the standards and expectations of the Established Space. The difficulty stems from the old social institution, as defined by Berger and Luckmann, 1966, being imposed on P2 by an authority figure in the New Space:

“My father still listens to traditional Uyghur music, where as I spend most of my time on the global top 50 charts on Spotify. When we go on car rides it’s a constant struggle to argue over what we should listen to.” (P2, Q11)

“[h]e still watches Uyghur shows and programs while I cannot stand at the cringe worthy acting and over clichéd life lesson it attempts to spread.” (P2, Q10)

This case greatly emulates P3's experience in that, there is a lack of discussion between the authority figure and P2 regarding the best way to cope with contrasting value systems and norms in the New Space. Consequently, the lack of discussion is widening the gap between the old institution (created by the authority figure based on the social and cultural standards of the Established Space) and the new institution (created by P2 based on the social and cultural standards of the New Space). By being imposed with the norms and value systems from the Established Space without conciliative dialogue, P2 will continue to face challenges while negotiating their identity and sense of belonging in the Third Space.

5.6 Participant 1

P1 negotiates belongingness in the Third Space in three ways: (1) by preserving various attributes of the Uyghur culture in the New Space; by giving up certain behavioral traits that are shaped by the norms and value system of the Established Space; and (3) by adopting the Western identity within the Canadian context.

“I want to be able to say that I'm Uyghur and have people understand just from that statement all the culture, language, food, music that it represents. I have vivid memories of my childhood growing up in Ghulja with my cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents and I also have memories of my time spent with the Uyghur people here in Toronto as I'm well connected with the Uyghur community here.” (P1, Q21)

P1 seeks to preserve the central and peripheral features of the Uyghur culture in a social space that is largely unaware of and unfamiliar with the Uyghur identity. This is especially evident as the following responses demonstrate possible justifications for P1 to seek cultural preservation:

“I got exhausted of trying to explain who I am and where I'm from and would just say that I'm Turkish more so out of laziness than being covert.” (P1, Q4)

“I'm a Canadian Citizen and no it doesn't really define my belonging. I still feel like I'm Uyghur and not a Canadian.” (P1, Q29)

It is the repetition of validating one's Uyghur identity in the New Space, and the feeling of

being more Uyghur rather than Canadian in the New Space that facilitate the appeal of preserving the peripheral attributes of the Uyghur culture in the New Space. The peripheral attributes, in this case are Uyghur literature, arts, and music. P1 describes their longing to be recognized as a Uyghur person, and to have the understanding of the meanings and connotations attached to this identity group by those who do not fall into this identity category. Perhaps P1 is seeking to legitimize their Uyghur identity in the New Space. P1 describes two methods used to preserve their Uyghur identity; the first is through the use of memory by recollecting their childhood spent in the country of origin with their family members and relatives, while the second is through their ties to the Uyghur community in the country of settlement. Yet, P1 has clearly given up some of their behavioral traits from the country of origin through the process of assimilation in the country of settlement:

“The more I become more accustomed to Canada, the more I feel there is a gap that grows between me and them in terms of how I behave and they behave.” (P1, Q28)

“I came here at a very young age and learning a new English was really fast for me. I remember learning English was really exciting for me and I would regularly go to the library with my sister and read books written in English. I’d say the only difficult thing at the time was socializing with others...However there were also a lot of new immigrants as well from different countries that I could relate to and get a long with.” (P1, Q2)

“I now mostly use English to communicate.” (P1, Q16)

Age at arrival and time spent in the country of settlement are key to measuring the development of 1.5G’s attachment to the New Space and detachment to the Established Space. P1 made it clear that there is a difference in the way they behave in comparison to their friends and family members back in China; P1 indicates this difference in their response by identifying the “growing gap” in behavior. P1’s experience of the gap is not out of the ordinary since they are actively “making changes to behavior, values and attitudes, and identity” (Williams & Berry, 1991, p.6 33) and “[shifting] away from the traditional values, attitudes, and behavior of the culture of

origin” (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1997, p. 288).

The simultaneous deterioration of the old behaviors and the adaptation of the new is an inevitable reality because the peripheral attributes of the Uyghur culture have rapidly diminished in terms of its significance for P1:

“The easiest thing to cope with was making friends, learning the language. I don’t feel like there was anything that was particularly hard to cope with.” (P1, Q5)

“Toronto [is home] because this is where I spent most of my life and where my family is and where my friends are.” (P1, Q30)

“I don’t keep in touch with my family back home. I left very early and I don’t remember them that well.” (P1, Q28)

“Sometimes I do have trouble conveying my thoughts in Uyghur as I’m not able to find the appropriate words.” (P1, Q12)

P1 follows the typical model of assimilation by adhering to new norms through language learning and socialization in the New Space, while simultaneously (perhaps unintentionally) weaken their attachment to the Established Space. P1 demonstrates that unlike the Uyghur language, peripheral attributes of the Uyghur culture are none existent in their social life, and there does not seem to be any potential to further explore these attributes due to P1’s lack of interest:

“I’m not that well versed in it. They don’t mean that much to me.” (P1, Q27)

“My parents only listen to Uyghur music or read Uyghur books. I only listen to English songs and read English books.” (P1, Q11)

“My parents don’t really like eating outside, they only like to eat food that they’ve prepared at home, usually Uyghur food. I eat everything pretty much. I’m not really obliged to eat the same thing as them, but they do encourage me to not eat out as much.” (P1, Q13)

“[my top 3 favourite Uyghur dishes are] Polo, Lengmen, [and] Goshnan”. (P1, Q14)

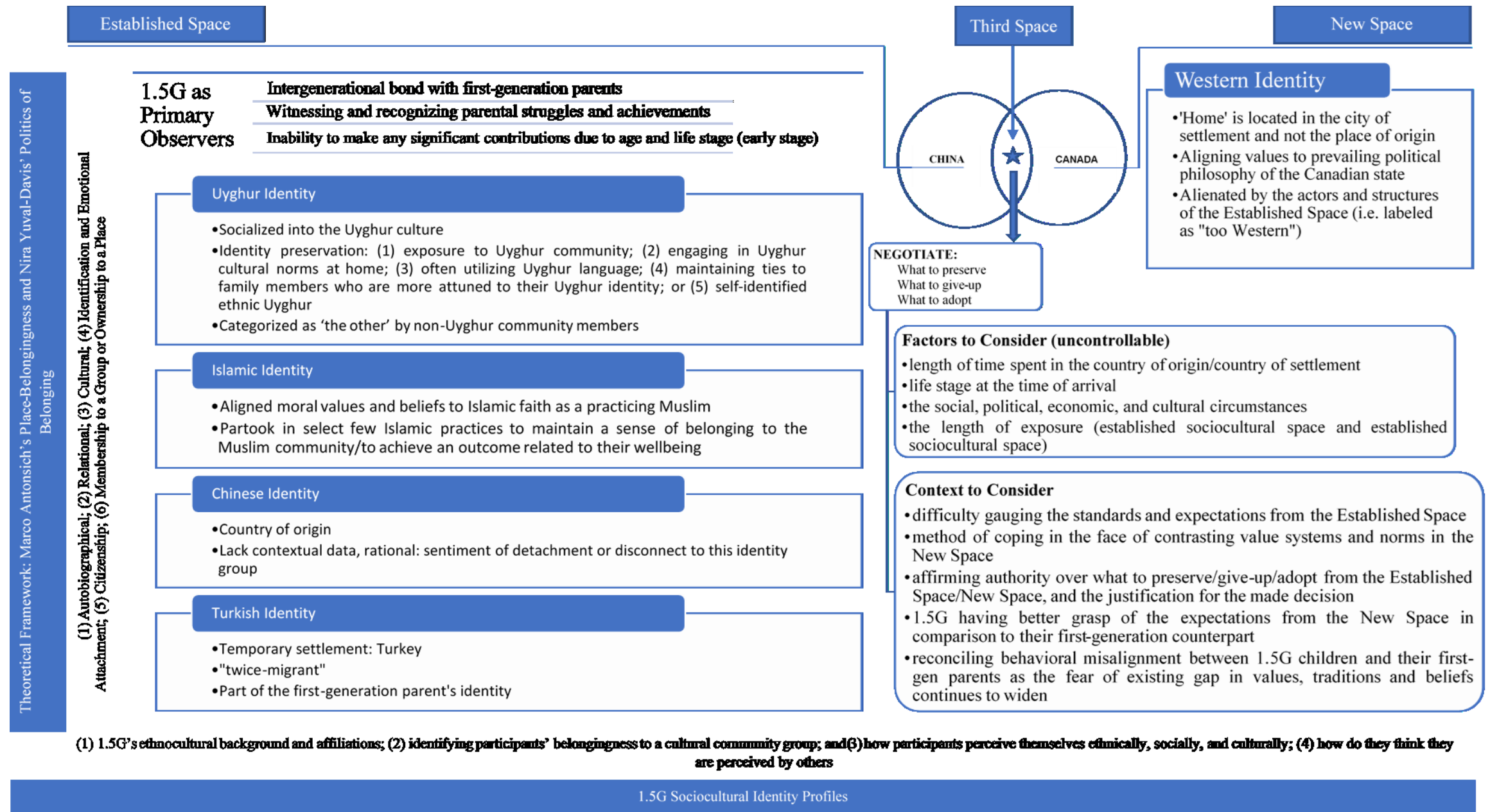
P1 is able to maintain their knowledge of Uyghur dishes as well as be able to list their favorite dishes by Uyghur names instead of Chinese names (given that they have access to these dishes at home), however, P1 does not demonstrate the sentiment of partiality or attachment to any

particular dishes, Uyghur or non-Uyghur. 1.5G lacks the sense of urgency to preserve meanings attached to music, literature and ethnic foods despite being exposed to them on a day-to-day basis. This could be because the Uyghur culture in itself is not a dominant culture in the country of settlement, yet 1.5G still has the responsibility to address more immediate responsibility of adopting and preserving the cultural attributes that dominate the New Space.

5.7 The Significance of Relating to the Third Space

This section looks how each participant relate to the third sociocultural space. The Third Space, as a concept, has served its purpose in demonstrating how participants negotiate their belongingness in the face of contradicting norms and value systems. By mapping participant identities to applicable social space and examining each participant's experience in negotiating belongingness, it gives the opportunity to visualize the active dialogue that is occurring between the actors of the Established Space and the actors of the New Space. None of the participants have completely disassociated themselves from the Established Space despite the fact that the New Space has become the main source of influence that shapes their behavior and their cultural standards and expectations.

Table 1. The Detailed Construction of the Established Space, New Space and Third Space



All three participants faced the adverse repercussions because of limitations that actors of the Established Space and the New Space had drawn. The repercussions vary in severity from parent-child tension as experienced by P3, to simple disagreements as experienced by P2, to completely disregarding circumstances that could potentially lead to tension or conflict altogether. The severity lessens based on the nature of the compromise that each participant draws as they attempt to counterbalance the decisions they had made in the Third Space with the outcome taken place in the real world as a result of their decision. When negotiating what to preserve, give up and adopt, participants are demonstrating that the process of establishing their authority over the negotiation of the boundary of acceptable and unacceptable values and behaviors on their own terms is challenged on a regular basis by the actors of the Established Space and the New Space.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

6.1 Thesis Summary

In the context of mass migration in a globalized world, it is widely recognized that the immigrant experience is neither homogeneous nor static; in fact, the privilege of an immigrant is determined by their age, life stage, length of exposure (or lack thereof), and the sociocultural context. Hence, this thesis began with the objective of exploring 1.5G Uyghur-Canadian youths in Canada, and their post-migration experiences. Part of understanding the 1.5 generation post-migration experience is to determine how this generational cohort negotiate their belonging in the face of contradicting value systems and norms in the country of settlement.

Chapter 1 focuses on introducing the subject matter of this thesis work and the research areas that are supported by the literature review. The literature review encompasses four research areas starting with discussion on the concept of '1.5G immigrant' - specifically focusing on the

social significance and relevance of this decimal generation as defined by Ruben G. Rumbaut, the attributes that makes this decimal generation unique, and its application as currently used by researchers. The literature review then moves to the next research area, which is defining the Uyghur identity in East Turkestan (Xinjiang). The focus heavily relies on the historical aspect of modern Uyghur population by looking at the ethnography and the ethnogenesis of this ethnic group.

Since one of the major aspects of this research study is the place of origin and the place of settlement, it was also important to include background information on China and Canada, with a special focus on (1) nationality and ethnicity, and (2) identifying the differences between the two countries. The objective of these research areas is to place particular focus on the prevailing hegemonic values and norms of these two countries because they will play a significant role in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 focuses on the methodology and the analytical framework of this thesis work. The research study was designed to take place in Canada because of the minimal exposure of the Uyghur population in this country. The narrative inquiry methodology was selected as an interview technique to collect data. While searching for participants, the intention was to keep sensibility and ethics in mind while networking through the community in order to build trust and meaningful relationships because of the level of intimacy and vulnerability that is required from participants for this research study. It was also important to include the initial planning for the research study and the actual recruitment and logistical process under Field Research Design to demonstrate the nature of the data collection process and the limitations, which in some cases are outside of researcher's control. The limitations to this research study will be further discussed under 'Limitations and Implications'.

An analytical framework was developed to help set the parameters of this research study.

The framework was developed using Nira Yuval-Davis' work on Belonging and the Politics of Belonging (2006), and a complementary concept called 'place-belongingness' introduced by Marco Antonsich. Since the study of 1.5G Uyghur Canadian youths in Canada and their post-migration experiences are complex in that it is a multifaceted and layered topic, the intersectional approach was used to analyze the inequalities between dominant norms and value systems, and subordinate cultural and religious practices and how they are negotiated in the context of 1.5G immigrant experiences. Research participant responses were systematically organized and have been coded in six phases so as to identify meaningful patterns that are relevant to the research study. This thematic analysis was based on the work of Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006). The six phases are: (1) mapping responses, (2) coding, (3) identifying sub-themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) producing the final report.

Chapter 3 addresses the role of the 1.5 generation as primary observers, specifically focusing on the particular characteristic of this generational cohort as a witness to first-generation struggle due to their familial relations. The word 'primary' in primary observer was used to describe the 1.5 generation because they are observing the effect of uprooting on their parents in close physical and emotional proximity without directly experiencing, or being involved in their struggles. Furthermore, it is also a way to distinguish from those who may have close proximity, namely the second-generation children who shares close social ties with their first-generation parents, however they are not placed in a position to assume the primary observer role due to the nature of their generational identity.

This chapter compares how hardship is experienced differently by 1.5G children in comparison to their first-generation parents. I also discuss how their role as parents and children limit their ability to overcome the struggles that immigrants face together. A key aspect of being a witness to first-generation struggles is inability to make any significant contributions to lessen the

burdens that first-generation immigrants experience due to the age and life stage of the 1.5 generation upon immigrating to the country of settlement. This chapter uses linked lives (Yoo & Kim, 2016) and social ties (Elder, 1998) to describe the relationship between the 1.5G children and their first-generation immigrant parents.

The principle of social ties is an important concept because it helps to explain the reason that 1.5G are able to observe the magnitude of parental responsibilities and the stakes that are attached to these responsibilities that in turn determines the gravity of their experience. There are two circumstances that distinguishes 1.5G immigrant experience from their first-generation parents: (1) the way first-generation parents have been placed in a position to not only rebuild their own lives and safeguard the wellbeing of their family members, but also simultaneously attempt to adjust to the new cultural and linguistic landscape, and (2) the ability for the 1.5G to overcome the challenge of adapting and learning before reaching adulthood, while their first-generation parents face these challenges as adults. These are observable differences that can only be witnessed through linked lives.

This chapter does not seek to diminish the struggle of 1.5G youths, especially as immigrant children, seeing their parents' struggle to stabilize socially and financially creates a distinct "growing-up" environment. Instead, this chapter seeks (1) to focus on the value of understanding the difference between 1.5G and their first-generation parents by identifying the inherent role of the 1.5 generation within the family context; and (2) to describe how each participant interpret their relationship to the identities that they share with their first-generation parents.

Chapter 4 introduces the Established Space - one of two themes derived from the thematic analysis developed in Chapter 2. This chapter analyzes participant responses and examines the identity profile established based on each participant's sense of belonging to a cultural community, and more specifically their attachment to a specific language(s), memory, food, music, culture and

name. Four sociocultural identity groups were identified in the Established Space; these are Uyghur identity, Islamic identity, Chinese identity, and Turkish identity. The objective of this chapter is to learn how study participants identify themselves, and how they describe their relationship with their immigrant parents. In the Established Space, the Chinese identity required particular attention because participants either did not make reference to the Chinese identity, or had distanced themselves from this identity group despite claiming some form of belongingness to the Chinese state. A detailed examination of this identity group was made because of the curious nature of its relatively weak to non-existent presence in participant responses. Participants silence was placed into context as it was necessary to explore the reason for their lack of expression regarding their relationship to the Chinese identity.

This chapter depicts the Established Space as a volatile and ambiguous sociocultural space. It is a space that fosters intergeneration bond between the 1.5G and their first-generation parents, as depicted in Chapter 3. On the one hand, this bond acts as a link that ties the lives of these two generations together while the depth of their bond is measured by their physical and emotional proximity. The lack of concreteness is due to the contestation and clarity in the way participants define their sense of belonging; this is not completely rooted in their lack of understanding of self, rather there exists a dimension of contention over historical and social narratives that impact the legitimacy of certain identities that my participants identity with, which is important to note here.

Chapter 5 introduces the New Space and the Third Space - the space of transculturation. There is a symbiotic relationship formed between the actors and structures of the Established Space and the actors and structures of the New Space, which requires the lens of the Third Space to understand its implications. The Third Space lies conceptually at the intersection of the Established Space and the New Space; hence it is important to first understand the significance of the New Space and its attributes.

This chapter begins with analysis of the New Space, which examines participant relationship to the Canadian/Western identity by specifically focusing on three key elements: (1) participant's definition of 'home' when examining place-belongingness, (2) alignment of personal values to the prevailing political philosophy of the Canadian state, and (3) description of character by the actors of the Established Space. Participants define 'home' not as the place of origin, rather it is the cities that they currently live in. Participants align their values to Canadian multiculturalism and they define the new sociocultural space as a place for identity preservation in a space of difference. The actors of the Established Space assert participant's otherness by characterizing them as being "too Western", which could translate to being perceived as Eurocentric or Western-centric.

In the Third Space, the 1.5G negotiate what to preserve, what to give up and what to adopt. 1.5G experiences life in alignment with their first-generation immigrant parents in the country of settlement while differ in the understanding and interpretation of these experiences. The example for this is the criteria for marriage and opinions regarding what is appropriate for an "Uyghur girl" to wear. There is a generational difference in opinions and standards. In the Third Space, 1.5G is willing to preserve their relationship with their first-generation parents by respecting their comfort-zone. They are willing to give up their own preferences in how they dress at home by preserving the conservative standard of dressing. Yet they are willing to give up the traditional expectations for marriage: who they should marry, at what age they should marry, and when they should marry.

It is important to prioritize the sociocultural context in 1.5G's experience of belonging. In the Third Space the 1.5 generation are able to preserve the Islamic identity from the Established Space while adopting Western identity within the Canadian context in the New Space. They are able to successfully transition their Islamic identity into the New Space because this sociocultural space has integrated actors and structures for promoting and (to a certain extent) preserving this identity group.

1.5G constantly face the challenge of re-establishing their authority over the negotiation of the boundary of acceptable and unacceptable values and behaviours autonomously. They at times have difficulty gauging the standards and expectations from the Established Space which adds layers of difficulty for them to cope in the face of contrasting value systems and norms in the New Space. There is a real struggle between 1.5G and their first-generation parents when it comes to affirming their authority over what to preserve from the Established Space and why it should be preserved. This struggle creates tension between these generations as 1.5G have better grasp of the expectations from the new sociocultural space in comparison to their first-generation counterpart. This context solidifies 1.5G's authority over what they chose to adopt in the New Space and give up from the Established Space. The Third Space concept helps to visualize the active dialogue between the actors and structures of the Established Space and the New Space, and how this dialogue is translated into action within the third sociocultural space.

Chapter V provides a concise summary of previous chapters and briefly discusses (1) limitations of this research study, and (2) significant findings, benefit, and implications on the topic of negotiating belongingness in the Third Space.

6.2 Limitations

There are two major limitations to this research study: (1) the number of participants, and (2) the methodology used for recruiting participants. The initial number of participants for the study was supposed to be minimum 10 and maximum 14, however the actual amount whom agreed to partake in the research project was only three. There are several rationales for the first limitation; the demographic group selected for this research study was too specific and narrow. There is already a limited number of studies on young Uyghur community members in Canada which indicates that this topic areas requires further exploration. The Uyghur community in Canada is a tight knit community that requires the building of trust over the years. At the time of data

collection, there did not exist any significant statistics pertaining to the population size of the 1.5 generation Uyghurs:

Table 1. Uyghur Language Spoken in Canada by Sex (Total)

Canada (2016)		
Topic	Characteristics	Total
Mother tongue	Uyghur	1035
Language spoken most often at home	Uyghur	610
Knowledge of languages	Uyghur	1385
Language used most often at work	Uyghur	15

Note. Statistics Canada. 2017. Newfoundland and Labrador [Province] and Canada [Country] (table). Census Profile. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001.

Table 2. Uyghur Language Spoken in Canada: Single Origin vs. Multiple Origin

Census	Ethnic origin	Total	Single Origin	Multiple Origin
2016	Uighur	1,555	1,015	540
2011	Uighur	1,155	755	400

Note. Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016187, and Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028

The narrative inquiry methodology was used to address this limitation by drawing data from participant life experiences, and gain an in-depth insight on how they create meanings in their lives.

Secondly, the methodology used for recruitment may not be either suitable or the most effective way of locating participants. Although the recruitment information was distributed using variety of mediums, perhaps it was not enough to locate the target audience due to the size and the particular attributes of the audience. I learned that building trust with this community is key to not only gathering quality data, but also recruiting more participants for this study.

6.3 Significant Findings, Benefit and Implications

This research study concludes with three significant findings: (1) 1.5G immigrants experience life in alignment with their first-generation immigrant parents in the country of settlement while differing in the understanding and interpretation of these experiences, (2) the sociocultural context plays a significant role in the experience of belonging for the 1.5G, and (3) 1.5G undergoes the challenge of re-establishing authority over the negotiation of the boundary of acceptable and unacceptable values and behaviors on their own terms on a regular basis.

It is in the Third Space that 1.5G are able to negotiate their belongingness by determining what to preserve, what to give up and what to adopt. In the context of this research study, the 1.5 generation forms distinct attachment to Western identity in Canada. This is iterated through the examination of place-belongingness where the concept of ‘home’ is located in the city of settlement rather than the place of origin. The social and spatial significance of this is that the Western identity will continue to act as the main source of influence in shaping not only the behavior, but also the cultural standards and values of the 1.5 generation. However, alienation by the actors and structures of the Established Space becomes an inevitable reality for the 1.5 generation because their behaviours are deemed to be ‘Eurocentric’ or ‘Western-centric’. Behavioral misalignment becomes the cause for excessive suspicions in the minds of the actors of the Established Space due to their fear of widening existing gaps in values, traditions and beliefs.

This research study developed a conceptual framework to analyze belonging from the perspective of 1.5G Uyghur-Canadians. It tackles issues relating to immigration experiences, generational tensions, and attachment to people, place and memories. On a broader scale, this study seeks to continue the existing conversation on identity formation and belongingness by narrowly examining what it means to assign what we think are appropriate terminologies on an individual without either understanding the full scope of their identity, or prioritize how they understand

themselves. For instance, by referring to someone as being “too Western” when they may not have even developed a deep attachment (1) to the place where they were born, (2) the country they came from, or (3) the place or country they settled in. This exploratory research seeks to also continue the dialogue on alienating identities that may be (1) subordinate or obscure to the general public, (2) statistically insignificant, or (3) heavily politicized and problematized.

Despite the fact that 1.5G Uyghurs are statistically insignificant in Canada (at the time that this research took place), the overall objective is to maintain an inclusive outlook on this ethno-generational group for the purpose of exposing and continuing to explore an aspect of the Uyghur community that has not been explored through the lens of the 1.5 generation’s experiences. This is where this exploratory research makes its first contribution. However, it will be noted here that the purpose of the research study is not to represent the experience(s) of the whole Uyghur community; as not all Uyghurs are 1.5G and not all 1.5G are Uyghurs.

Another aspect to consider is that the politicization of the Uyghur identity group, at the current time, is blocking continuity in the understanding of the ever-evolving nature of the Uyghur diaspora in Canada. On the one hand, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the state and the Uyghur community by focusing on the dynamic of their relationship, yet, the amount of literature and news articles dedicated to such examination is molding the Uyghur identity group into a single layered character. Hence, this research study makes its second contribution as part of a larger effort to deconstruct the mainstream narrative that is over-politicizing this identity group.

Future research should focus on replicating and testing the concept of the third sociocultural space where contrasting value systems and norms are negotiated by using a larger and more diverse sample size. Future research should encompass verity of social circumstances, cultural contexts, and ethnic and religious identities. Taking a comparative approach when analyzing various ethno-generational groups will also help understand the role of each immigrant generation in grater depth.

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APPENDIX A - Negotiating Belongingness in the Third Space Questionnaire

Framework for Research

Notion of Belonging according to Nira Yuval-Davis

Three analytical levels: (i) social locations, (ii) identifications and emotional attachments, and (iii) ethical and political values respectively

Notion of Belonging according to Marco Antonsich

Place-belongingness: "...personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place..."

Five factors that denote to the feeling of place-belongingness - these are: auto-biographical (lived experiences), relational (personal/social ties), cultural (which includes languages and religious beliefs and practices), economic (material stability), and legal (security).

Autobiographical

1. Which grade did you stop at your country of birth and which grade did you start at in Canada? Was there a gap and why?
2. On a scale from 1-10, how difficult was the transition from your country of birth to Canada (10 being most difficult and 1 being easiest) in terms of learning new language and socializing with others? What made it easy/hard? Provide examples/lengthy context.
3. Is there a difference between yourself and the way your parents transitioned into Canada in terms of language learning and socializing? Was it easier or more difficult for them? Provide examples/context
4. On a scale from 1-10, how secure/comfortable do you feel about your heritage in front of others (10 being most difficult and 1 being easiest)? Were there any times where you had to be more covert with your heritage?
5. After immigrating to Canada, what were the hardest and the easiest thing to cope with? What surprised you the most and what surprised you the least?
6. After immigrating to Canada, what were the hardest and the easiest thing to cope with for your immediate parents/guardian? What surprised you the most and what surprised you the least?
7. In comparison to your parents/guardian how do you deal with discrimination/harassment in school, workplace and in public spaces due to your ethnocultural background? Identify where it occurred and how you or your parents/guardians dealt with it
8. Is it easier or harder to make friends in Canada in comparison to your country of origin? Why?
9. Give me an example of a time when you had to deal with someone who either didn't speak your language or understand your culture/religion/customs? What tactic do you use to deal with them?
10. How does your cultural identification differ from your immediate family members? Provide one example with concrete context.
11. How does your taste in art, music, literature, and preference in news outlet differ from your parents/guardian? Provide examples
12. What is the difference between the way you speak Uyghur and the way your parents/guardians speak Uyghur?
13. How does your preference in food differ from your parents? Are you obliged to eat the same thing as they do?
14. What is your top 3 favourite Uyghur dishes?
15. Do you constitute yourself as a "majority of the population" or "minority of the population" in Canada and in place of origin/birth?

Cultural

16. What is your first written and spoken language? Which language do you use to communicate most often now on a daily basis?
17. Are you a religious/spiritual person? If yes, what is your religion or spiritual belief and do you practice it?
18. What are your immediate family members' religious/spiritual beliefs/values? How does your religion/spirituality differ from theirs?
19. What language do you communicate in at home; school; work; with peers? (i.e. I communicate at home in English/Chinese/Russian; at work and school I use English; with peers I use English)
20. Do you speak, write and read in Uyghur? Do you use the language on a daily basis? When do you use it? (i.e. I don't speak, write or read in Uyghur, but my mother sometimes uses basic Uyghur phrases to talk to me so I understand basic words)

Identity and Emotional Attachment

21. What does being Uyghur mean to you personally in terms of values, social norms, morals, way of being or memory? Provide context to your answer
22. What does being Uyghur mean to your immediate family/guardian? Answer in terms of the way they treat you or their expectations of you. Provide context
23. Do you prefer to make friends whom you share similar culture, religion, customs, language? Why?
24. In your perspective, what are the characteristics that makes up the Uyghur culture (up to five)
25. Have you ever been accused of being too Western/Eastern/religious by family members or peers? How did you deal with the situation? Provide one example with concrete context.
26. Which cultural community do you belong or identify with? (i.e. Muslim community, East Asian/Chinese community, Western community, Turkic community etc.) If this question doesn't define your sense of belonging, then elaborate on which community do you feel the most comfortable, relatable, secure, identifiable, see similarities more than differences? Why?
27. Are you well versed are you in Uyghur literature and arts? What do they mean to you personally?

Relational

28. Do you still keep in touch with your friends and family back in your country of origin? What language do you use to communicate with them? What is the importance of keeping in touch with them?

Citizenship

29. What is your citizenship status and does it define your sense of belonging? Explain your answer.

Membership to a group or Ownership to a place

30. Where is "Home" (could be a geographic location or a social space) why there?