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IDENTITY AND POLITICS:
SECOND GENERATION ETHNIC WOMEN IN CANADA

By

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Masters Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Political Science
University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is interested in how intersections of gender, race, and class inform the social and self constructions of identity in the lives of second generation ethnic Canadian women. It is based on the assumption that the social incompatibility of ethnicity and Canadian identity impacts on their political behaviour, and their sense of themselves as Canadian citizens. The thesis is composed of a theoretical discussion of the relevant literature, and the empirical results of fifteen interviews with the subjects in question. It attempts to demonstrate that the specificity of the subjects' identities is not being acknowledged by mainstream discourses on ethnicity, citizenship, and feminism, which are either gender blind, or define all ethnic women as immigrant women. While recognizing the importance of research on immigrant women, I would argue that such a label is not all encompassing, and in fact, casts the debate in a particular fashion: by suggesting that the immigrant experience is the central focus in the intersection of race and ethnicity, it obscures the significance underlying the consistent linking of ethnicity with immigration. In my discussion of the shortcomings inherent in such approaches, I conclude that there is a need for better understanding of the multiplicity of ethnic women's experiences, through the development of broader and more inclusive theoretical frameworks that seek to understand and theorize these complexities, rather than essentializing them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extent my gratitude to the following people, without whom this thesis would not have been possible:

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My sister Suma. I'm still three steps behind, but only because you are -and have always been- my inspiration.

This thesis is dedicated to Francesca Scala,
whose unmatched verbal skills in an argument
first sparked my political interest in what I'd
always considered to be a purely personal phenomenon.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with how the social and self identities of second generation* ethnic* women are constructed in Canadian society, in order to determine how such identities influence these women's sense of themselves as citizens; and how this in turn impacts on their political behaviour. This is one of the main hypotheses of this research: that there exists a strong link between identity and citizenship, and that this should be seen in terms of how this plays out in political involvement in a particular society.

This thesis is composed of two major sections: a theoretical overview of relevant literature, and the empirical results of fifteen interviews with second generation ethnic Canadian women. The first four chapters critically review the literature available on the areas mentioned above. The fifth chapter takes up the methodological questions: it outlines the kind of feminist qualitative methods used, as well as giving a brief description of the interview process, and the women being interviewed. The sixth chapter evaluates the interview results in terms of the theoretical questions raised in the first four chapters, looking to compare the conclusions from the literature with those of the empirical study.

* all asterisks indicate references that are defined and contextualized in the glossary of terms following the end of the introduction.

In the modern world, the challenges of racial and ethnic diversity are forcing nation states to reconstruct traditional notions of national identity. For countries like the US and Canada, with ethnically diverse populations, there is a growing need to both understand and incorporate minorities* into mainstream* societal perceptions through specific employment strategies, media and advertising, and political culture. This thesis concentrates on the following four areas relating to ethnic group attitudes and behaviour: 1) the social and self construction of ethnic identity in racialized* societies like Canada 2) Ethnic, female identity in this same society which is also gendered*: how the intersection of race*, and gender* produces specific behaviours, and experiences in minority women that differ significantly from that of ethnic men 3) The important distinctions between ethnics in the first generation, and their children who were born and/or raised here, and 4) The relationship that may exist between the racialized, gendered identities of these "second generation" women and their sense of themselves as Canadians: how this relationship affects their participation in the political culture of this country.

In chapter one of this thesis I look at the literature available on how ethnic identity gets constructed in racialized societies like the US and Canada and how this social construction then affects self perceptions, an interaction Charles Taylor has referred to as "dialogical" in nature[1]. I also examine inter-

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[1]. Charles TAYLOR, Multiculturalism:Examining the Politics of Recognition, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

generational differences, and how this does or does not affect social perceptions of racialized ethnics as immigrants*. Finally I critique the research done on ethnic identity as being gender blind in its consistent degendering of ethnic identity and experiences. Not only does this ignore the problem of sexism (both in particular communities as well as in larger society), it relegates ethnic women's experiences to the sidelines.

Given the feminist perspective in this thesis and the focus on second generation women, chapter two reviews theory in both mainstream white feminism*, and the women of colour* discourse. The former, while revolutionary in its emphasis on women as an important area of study, is criticized for a lack of awareness of how race, gender, and class intersect to privilege some women over others. The women of colour discourse does make these important connections, and has offered non mainstream women a space to articulate their multi-layered oppressions. However, its focus on immigrant women (with the other group being African-American or Canadian), does not lend itself well to this particular research which, among other things, seeks to deconstruct societal perceptions that continue to assume that "ethnic" refers to "immigrant".

Using ethnic feminist discourse as a partial framework of analysis, the focus of chapter three is on second generation women, how they differ from immigrant women and the multiplicity and/or fragmentation of identity they may experience given their triple disadvantage as women, minorities, and minority women. Also looked

at in this chapter is the role that class may play as a factor that intersects with race and gender in the construction of second generation minority women's identity. Finally, the chapter ends with an overview of the politics of identity as a possible framework for this thesis; as well as some of the benefits and disadvantages associated with linking identity, consciousness, and political activism.

Chapter four continues to explore this suggested link between political behaviour and identity by looking at citizenship as an important building block to political participation. Citizenship rights, historically denied to women and minorities, have not only shaped modern day societal perceptions of who is a full and welcome member of the community, they have also determined who is included in the national identities of countries like Canada and the US. The theoretical rights of citizenship that have been extended to all groups in a democracy have left some groups (for example ethnics) feeling that in practice they are denied access to these rights through social norms and racialized perceptions of who and who does not belong. The construction of a negative social identity holds within it some very salient questions as to the criteria we use to define who we see as having the rights, privileges and respect awarded to citizens of a democracy.

If citizenship rights are one important aspect of political identity and behaviour, then multiculturalism in Canada offers a good example of how citizenship theory has worked itself out as a policy. Chapter four ends with a discussion of some of the

problems, and advantages of multicultural policy, and how the legacy of the eternal immigrant identity is illustrated in such policies which continue to define ethnic groups as the "new" part of Canadian identity[2].

The study of questions of identity, citizenship and political behaviour could easily be situated in standard scientific research methods, where demographics and data bases abound. No doubt such methods are efficient and useful in their own way, for those who can actually decipher the complicated relationships between generators, units of analysis etc. Such research, characterized by its crisp, incisive (and equally dry) articulation of hypotheses, is the standard by which rational objectivity is measured. The apparent lack of connection between the researcher and his work (a strange dictum that might be described along the lines of "never let them see you care"), is what gives the research validity, and allows it to keep searching for truth.

While not intending to launch into a philosophical discussion on what truth is, I must point out that the truths of someone who claims to be objective, are much more suspect than the truths of a researcher who wears her biases on her sleeve, thus allowing those examining the research to contextualize the findings. After all -

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[2]. Neil BISSOONDATH, "A question of belonging: multiculturalism and citizenship", in William KAPLAN et al (eds). Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. pp.368-387. Bissoondath's characterization of social ethnic status in Canadian society. He is specifically talking about this in terms of multiculturalism's creation and maintenance of this stereotype, but it aptly describes mainstream perceptions of minority groups.

without falling victim to a post modernist relativism - we must ask ourselves: who determines whose truth is "truer" , unless we construct a standard that is based on consistency and integrity, rather than objectivity[3]?

Unlike male, western positivist methods, feminist research makes no secret of its "partisan" goals; a reflexivity which is refreshing after one has deconstructed the "impartial" designs of western nations' imperialism, racism, and sexual oppression (eg: the examination of what has been justified historically in the name of truth begs the question: what exactly is the nature of the relationship between "objective" and "objectives" ?). Unlike the subject/object distinction that characterizes "science" , even in its purest, most academic form, feminist theory has always consciously striven to make strong links between knowing and doing.

This particular thesis is obviously feminist in its research methods, as well as in its epistemology: knowledge as being inextricably linked with power, in a world where those who generate the knowledge have the power. As an ethnic-Canadian woman attempting to contextualize her own life experiences in a larger political framework, my "biases" have offered me the opportunity to connect with both the literature, and the interviewees, enabling me to write a thesis that (although, I cannot vouch for anyone else), did not put me to sleep. Despite the standard assumptions of feminist research as self indulgent theorizing, I would argue that

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[3]. Reference to an enlightening conversation I had with Claire Turenne Sjolander last year about how to determine whose truth is "truer" in today's post modernist void.

working to clarify the link between people's personal struggles and their political consciousness is not only a more meaningful way of helping them relate to other struggles, it is also simply more effective as a means of generating political activism. Positivist scientific methods are all well and good, but - dare I say it - feminist research methods entertain a ridiculous notion of theory needing to have some kind of *point* to it, what Pamela Moss has described as experience informing knowledge, and knowledge then informing change[4]. In any case, assuming that there is indeed a point to this particular research, it is my hope that in attempting to challenge prevailing ideas of knowledge, I can offer a small contribution to feminist political aims of research both on, and for the oppressed.

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[4]. Pamela MOSS, "Focus: Feminism as Method", The Canadian Geographer/Le Geographie Canadien, vol. 37 no.1, 1993.p.48.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following terms are socially constructed and are thus part of a larger critique by social theory on the way in which we unconsciously define and prescribe specific roles based on factors of race, class, and gender. However, while noteworthy, the deconstruction of these terms is not the focus of this particular thesis. Unfortunately in attempting to crystallize some of the problems underlying such categories, I am forced to utilize these terms solely as a means of facililating the discussion. Given their regular appearence in each chapter, I have eschewed the standard use of quotations marks in the belief that this would be disruptive to the reading of the thesis. Therefore, any future reference to these terms, unless otherwise suggested, is based on the following definitions, which, while, themselves embedded in socially constructed meanings lend the text a certain amount of clarity.

* Degender - to minimize or ignore the importance of socially constructed male/female differences.

* Ethnic - those groups or individuals who do not fall into either the categories of Native, Anglo, and Franco Canadian, or white ethnic Canadian (greek, Italian, and other European Ethnics); while obviously political in nature, it will still be used, interchangeably with race, in the body of this thesis, for the purposes of convenience.

* Gender - socially constructed category related to, but not primarily caused by biological differences in men and women.

* Gendered - adherence to certain prescribed beliefs that are based on socially constructed perceptions of male/female biological limitations.

* Immigrant - Unless otherwise suggested, refers not to the legal status of immigrant/non immigrant, but to the social status of one whose primary socializing experiences have been in another country.

* Mainstream society - the dominance of Anglo/Franco culture politically, socially and economically in Canada.

* Race - what scientists have argued is a socially constructed category rather than a biological one.

* Racialized - adherence to socially constructed categories that posit biological differences between certain groups of human beings.

* Second generation - defined in this thesis as individuals that were either born and raised in Canada, or raised from an extremely young age, since it is my contention that the latter group has no more in common with the experience of immigration than does the former group.

* Visible Minority - the legal and social status of groups in western societies that do not fall into the primary frame of reference which is characterized by the racial status " white " .

* White feminism - the body of literature as well as the social movement based on theories that defined white, western middle

class, and heterosexual women's experiences as the primary frame of reference, thereby excluding the experiences of women who did not fall into some or all of these categories.

* Women of Colour - socially constructed term taking as its frame of reference "white"; is used to describe "non white ", ethnic women.

CHAPTER ONE

ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following chapter serves as an introduction to the important themes in this paper: the social construction of identity, and the intersections of certain factors (race, gender, class, ethnicity etc.), which then produce the multiple identities that exist in today's world. These identities transcend conventional analysis that is based on dichotomous categories: man/woman, ethnic/non ethnic, white/non;white etc. The theorizing of such identities which are complex and often fluid (rather than one dimensional), is the basis of this research, which looks at second generation ethnic-Canadian women. Therefore, it is necessary to begin by examining the literature on ethnic groups, in order to determine whether this type of single category analysis can successfully incorporate the multiple social identities of the subjects in question.

The literature on ethnic group behaviour reveals particular trends in ethnic behaviour that are relevant to this research: 1) inter-generational differences, 2) gender roles and 3) societal perceptions of ethnics. The examination of these trends is crucial to the overall objectives of this thesis: A) to determine how the

social / self construction of identities takes place in the case of Canadian citizens who are second generation, ethnic, and female; and B) to assess the impact of that (dual) construction on the political behaviour of these individuals.

The first section of this chapter looks at literature on social identity and its relationship to ethnicity in western societies. It illustrates how society's perceptions of people and groups have a profound effect on the construction of individual identity. As well, it outlines what may be important distinctions between racial minority identity and ethnic identity. Since the latter part of my research consists of interviewing various subjects (in order to determine whether, and in what way, the relationships outlined in the framework of analysis actually exist), it is necessary to examine whether the insertion of race into the gender/ethnicity equation has varying consequences for some second generation women.

The second section moves into an analysis of the distinction between first and second generation ethnics, and the impact that societal perceptions (of who are and are not immigrants), has on these two groups. The question of negative identity in both generations, as a result of their interaction, is then seen as taking place within this paradigm of social exclusion and stereotyping.

The literature on ethnic behaviour deals mainly with the way in which ethnic identity is constructed in ethnically heterogenous societies like Canada; as well it offers important insight into

questions of immigrant and second generation identities. However since the issue of multiple identities remains almost completely unacknowledged, it tends to view ethnicity as a single category of disadvantage. Gender and its impact on ethnic identity, one of the fundamental questions of this particular research, goes unmentioned. Therefore the last sub-section in this chapter offers a criticism based on the exclusion of gender in the literature.

* * * * *

The Construction of Ethnic and Racial Identity

Social identity theory posits that group distinctiveness is constructed in relation to another group, never in isolation[1]. According to Moghaddam, there is a hierarchy of groups, where one group has what comes to be considered "desirable social values"; this then affects the psychology of other groups in that their desirability or worthiness is measured in relation to the primary group[2]. Therefore it would follow that there are certain characteristics which define those who have "desirable social values" and will therefore be active citizens, and those who are

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[1]. Fathali M. MOGHADDAM (ed. et al), Theories of Intergroup Relations: International Social Psychological Perspectives, (New York: Praeger, 1987), p.74.

[2]. Ibid., pp.74-75.

"different" and may be marginalized[3]. In racialized societies, the development of a negative self identity among certain groups appears to be inevitable; according to Modoad, constantly being described as an appendix, or afterthought erodes one's sense of self worth, to the point where one defines oneself through categories like ethnic or minority[4]. Jongkind in fact describes social isolation, powerlessness, and self estrangement as three of the six stages in minority identity formation[5]. A review of literature dealing with minority groups in countries like Australia, Canada, the US, Great Britain, and the Netherlands reveals that for the most part these nations all share a similar problem: in varying ways they appear to alienate and ghettoize their ethnic populations, especially those whose physical appearance or cultural behaviour is different from what has been defined as the norm[6].

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[3]. Azouz BEGAG, "The 'Beurs', Children of North-African Immigrants in France: The Issue of Integration", The Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol.18, no. 1, 1990, p.3.

[4]. Tariq MODOAD, "Black Racial Equality and Asian Identity", New Community, vol. XIV, no. 3, spring 1988, p.401.

[5]. Jongkind suggests that there are six stages in minority identity formation: a. social isolation, b. powerlessness, c. meaninglessness, d. normlessness, e. value isolation, and f. self-estrangement. See Fred JONGKIND, "Ethnic Identity, Societal Integration and Migrant's Alienation: State Policy and Academic Research in the Netherlands", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 15 no. 3, 1992, pp.366-367.

[6]. According to Deloria, minority identity will always be constructed as a political identity because of its problematic

The distinction between cultural and racial difference is important and appears as a central idea in much of the literature on ethnic minorities. If the dominant culture is white, and anglo-saxon, then other groups would be measured against this frame of reference, either remaining relatively close to the norm, or in the case of racially different groups, much farther away. According to scholars like Alba, certain ethnic groups whose cultural differences distinguished them from North American society (eg. Italians, Greeks), have now been defined as being in the "twilight of their ethnicity" - that is their cultural differences over a period of two or three generations have integrated into the dominant one[7]. Kitano, in his book on race relations in the US suggests that this is in large part due to their lack of racial difference, which offsets their cultural "strangeness" and allows western society to perceive them as "white" and therefore part of the dominant culture[8]. According to Kitano, white ethnics will naturally assimilate more easily, following the "straight line theory", while ethnics who are racially different will not because

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nature. See Vine DELORIA Jr, "Identity and Culture", Ronald TAKAKI (ed), From Different shores: perspectives on race and ethnicity in America, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p.103.

[7]. Richard D. ALBA, " The Twilight of Ethnicity among Americans of European Ancestry: The Case of Italians", in Richard D. Alba (ed), Ethnicity and Race in the U.S.A.: Towards the 21st Century, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 152.

[8]. Harry H.J. KITANO, Race Relations, (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1991), pp.95-96.

their social identity is constructed mainly through their physical appearance[9]. In fact, authors like Ujimoto take this one step further, suggesting that not only will racial ethnics not follow the straight line theory, their racial differences preclude any complete assimilation into cultures like Canada, which are essentially white[10].

From this, we might conclude that while second generation ethnic women who are not racially different, may be still in the process of becoming completely accepted by these societies, their identity is not complicated by the social category of race. Few scholars would argue with the contention that race, unlike ethnicity alone, acts as an exclusionary factor in western society; at the same time it has been pointed out by authors like Pichini, and Hatzimanolis, that even certain "white" ethnic groups, are still described as ethnic, which in itself may be an appendix, thus immediately removed from the primary frame of reference[11]. Therefore while the level of exclusion varies (due to race), it may still exist in the case of certain non-visible ethnics.

Regardless of the race/ethnicity debate, those who are considered ethnic in Canadian, British, or American societies,

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[9]. Ibid., p.96.

[10]. Victor K. UJIMOTO, "Studies of Ethnic Identity and Race Relations", Peter S. LI (ed), Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[11]. Lia PICHINI, "Two Generations in Conflict: Sex Role Expectations", Canadian Woman Studies, Summer 1987 vol.8, no.2, pp.22-23.

share one thing in common: a family migration at some point in time to another country (Since this research is most interested in those young ethnics whose parents were the first generation of immigrants, the migration process would have been fairly recent). If only one generation of children has been born and/or raised here, the ties to what scholars call the "parent" country are only one generation removed. This would also suggest that there are cultural differences, not only between these second generation children and the dominant culture, but also between these individuals and their parents. The following two sections examines the literature on second generation ethnics: the specificity of their ethnic identities, and the way society constructs both their ethnic status and their second generation status.

Second Generation Ethnic Identity

Ethnic minorities who grew up in another country and migrated to Canada or the United States as young adults often had certain specific problems integrating: language barriers, differences in clothes, food, and other cultural customs that isolated them from the dominant cultures in both these countries[12]. At the same time,

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[12]. Christopher BAGLEY, "The Adaptation of Asian Children of Immigrant Parents: British Models and their Application to Canadian policy", in Milton ISRAEL (ed), The South Asian [Diasporal in Canada: six essays, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario), 1987, p. 18.

these immigrant families raised children in western society, children whose cultural exposure has been predominantly western. Despite their fluency in the language(s), or familiarity with North American culture, the extent to which these second generation children have been accepted and assimilated into western society must be examined more closely.

If certain ethnics face racism and discrimination in western countries, what differentiates the immigrant experience from that of their children? In many ways it would appear as if those born and /or raised in the dominant culture have a much better chance of integrating, and becoming "British" "French" "Canadian" etc. Perhaps they already are, just by virtue of the fact that they have never really lived anywhere else; their ties are to these countries in spite of their ethnic roots[13]. While this appears to be an obvious conclusion, authors like Rezai-Rashti and Russell point out that there are certain problems unique to second generation ethnics: problems of acceptance and integration that their parents either did not have, or experienced differently[14]. Russell suggests that while first generation ethnics often experience more overt racism and exclusion than their children, they also have a stronger

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[13]. Ibid., p.21. Bagley in his research makes an important differentiation between the two generations in his discussion of how South Asian immigrant parents are ambiguous and still define "home" as India, while their children, although they are living in a racist society, define Home as England.

[14]. Goli REZAI-RASHTI, " The Dilemma of Working with Minority Female Students in Canadian High Schools", Canadian Woman Studies Spring 1994, vol 14, no. 2, pp.76-82.

source of self esteem to draw from[15]. According to her, immigrants who were raised in a country where they were the majority culture have a strong foundation for self esteem and feel capable of accomplishing more than their children who, often as early as three years old, are aware that they are "different" and grow up in a culture that treats them like a minority[16]. Since the term minority has singularly negative connotations - implying a lack of belonging and a sense of disadvantage - this in turn may cause them, unlike their parents, to construct their self identity in more negative terms[17]. Bagley points out that in contrast to their parents, ethnic children are more likely to blame themselves for failure to achieve their goals rather than external factors like economic recessions, racism and discrimination[18].

For racial minorities, a negative self identity may stem from an awareness that one will never truly belong to the dominant culture; regardless of how assimilated they are, their inability to be accepted completely by society is - like their parents'- based

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[15]. Roberta J. RUSSELL, and Ruth L. WRIGHT, " The Socialization Experiences of Visible Minority Women in Educational Administration Positions", Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. XXIV, no.3, 1992, P.132.

[16].RUSSELL AND WRIGHT, op. cit., p.132.
Ou and Mcadoo in their findings suggest that children as young as three or four years old are capable to a certain extent of recognizing race differences.See Harriet PIPES MCADOO and Youn SHI OU, "Socialization of Chinese American Children" in Harriet PIPES MCADOO (ed), Family ethnicity: Strength in Diversity, (London: Sage publications, 1993), p.250.

[17]. Ibid., p.132.

[18]. BAGLEY, op. cit., p.18.

on their racial difference[19]. In countries like France, second generation children of north African immigrants actually have specific names: they are called "les Beurs" and "Young immigrants" both with derogatory implications[20]. This is in spite of the fact that most of them were born and raised in France[21]. And while such ethnics are excluded from the nationality of the particular country in a de facto sense, as Bagley points out, they are also not part of the old cultures their parents left behind either: " Adults (maintain) an ambiguous desire to return ... while the younger generation has acquired a specific minority identity within the context of urban Britain. The possibility of a return ... is remote for these young people.." [22]. He contends that they do not fit in easily to either culture, and are always in a state of limbo, where they define "Home" as the "host country", a country which unfortunately does not include them completely as "Canadians", "Americans", "French" etc.[23] Yamada describes this as the guest-

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[19]. Haruko OKANO, "Spring is Here, Mama", in Arun MUKHERJEE, (ed), Sharing Our Experience, (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1993), p.80.

[20]. Azouz BEGAG, "The 'Beurs', Children of North-African Immigrants in France: The Issue of Integration", The Journal of Ethnic Studies, vol.18, no. 1, 1990, p.3.

[21]. Ibid., p.3.

[22]. BAGLEY, op. cit., p.21.

[23]. Srivastava discusses how one's background is defined against one's "Canadianness" "so that we are always "not-not quite Canadians". See Aruna SRIVASTAVA, "Re-imaging Racism: South Asian Canadian Women Writers", Himani BANNERJI (ed), Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics, (Toronto: Sister vision Press, 1993), p.112.

host model, where certain ethnic groups, regardless of their citizenship, or their second generation status, are treated as if they are being allowed to stay, only because of the goodwill of that nation. Their nationality, their loyalties, and often their rights may be questioned by the majority population, whose view of ethnics as "immigrants" would not have modified itself a great deal from their parent's generation to theirs[24].

Children of immigrant parents growing up in Canada may have to deal with the difficulties of integrating into a culture that does not fully accept them. The negative perceptions of the dominant culture towards a particular group often have devastating effects on individual identities: societal prejudice forces ethnics to consciously assert their identity as something positive, otherwise they internalize the value judgement of the dominant group, where not only do they regard their ethnicity as a burden, but perhaps desire to be part of the dominant group[25]. Geok-lin Lim points out that living biculturally in societies that demand a "hegemonic identity" forces ethnics to view their partial acceptance into the dominant culture as more important than the validation of their

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[24]. Mitsuye YAMADA, "Asian Pacific American Women and Feminism" , Gloria ANZALDUA and Cherrie MORAGA (eds), This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Colour, (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Colour Press, 1983), p.74.

[25]. See Arun MUKHERJEE (ed), Sharing our Experiences, (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women: Ottawa, Ontario, 1993). The letters and stories in this book serve as a useful example of how individual ethnic women constructed their own identities in the face of the racism and ignorance of Canadian society. Quite a few of the stories deal with the theme of self hatred and a desire to be "white".

ethnic background[26]. However, since their capacity to be completely assimilated is sometimes restricted by race, in those cases, the marginalization may be two-fold. The reality of living biculturally in racialized societies may as a consequence mean that second generation ethnics appear to be neither a part of one culture or the other. Geok Lin-Lim argues that since the dominant culture has devalued their ethnic background, second generation ethnics would often choose to embrace the white, western mainstream, sometimes becoming alienated from their own culture[27]. However self awareness of this betrayal leaves its mark on individual lives, since according to Mukherjee, to deny one's ethnic roots is also to deny a part of oneself[28].

Inter-generational Questions

Much of the focus on the second generation in the ethnic literature tends to examine the inter-generational tensions between immigrant parents and their western children. Authors like Brah and Afshar look at the ways in which ethnic culture comes into conflict

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[26]. Shirley GEOK-LIN LIM, " Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian-American Literature", Feminist Studies, vol 19, no 3, 1993, p.578.

[27]. Ibid., pp. 296-299.

[28]. MUKHERJEE, op. cit., p.80.

with western societal norms[29]. While immigrant parents may seek to maintain many of the old traditions, their children, having grown up here often find the customs of their cultures - arranged marriages, religious devotion and other lifestyle choices - alien and restrictive[30]. In the case of women, Pichini suggests this is especially problematic, given that ethnics from certain areas of the world may tend to have more restrictive rules for the females in their community[31].

The tension between these two generations is also a product of the racism and discrimination in the larger society. Rezai-Rashti talks about the embarrassment and shame that ethnic children feel about their parents, especially as young people[32]. Although these individuals may themselves be recognizably ethnic in their racial appearance their behaviour is very westernized: they speak with

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[29]. Haleh AFSHAR, "Gender Roles and the `Moral Economy of Kin' among Pakistani Women in Western Yorkshire", in New Community, vol. 15, no. 2, 1989, pp. 211-225.

[30]. AFSHAR, OP. CIT., pp. 213-216.

[31]. PICHINI, op. cit., pp.22-23
Geok Lin Lim discusses the conflict between female emancipation from the restrictions her ethnicity and ethnic community place on her; however she suggests that this coincides with her Father's spiritual death since his daughter has denied her ethnic roots. See Shirley GEOK-LIN LIM, "Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian American Literature", in Feminist Studies, vol 19, no.3, 1993, pp. 580-584.

[32]. Rezai-Rashti points out that often ethnic adolescents, reacting to the racism at school and among their peer groups, assimilate by deliberately not speaking their ethnic language, or feeling ashamed if their parents have accents. See REZAI-RASHTI, op. cit., pp.78.

western accents, dress in western clothes, and are assimilated to a point where it is only by the way they look that they are categorized as ethnic. Their parents on the other hand have noticeable differences from the "host society", and according to Geok Lin-Lim these differences are sometimes a source of pain for second generation ethnics, many of whom are trying to move away from their ethnicity[33]. This is not possible, as their parents act as a constant reminder of what not belonging looks like. The first generation on the other hand may often be unreconciled to the fact that their children are sometimes not part of the ethnic culture in any meaningful way and in many ways want to deny their cultural heritage[34]. Geok Lin-Lim suggests that immigrant families who see their children struggling to escape the bondage of their ethnic past, suffer a loss of identity in the process[35]. Not only has their cultural heritage been denigrated by the society they live in, they also suffer a double rejection at the hands of their children[36]. She describes this loss through a race/gender lens, where an Asian father's ethnic death is caused by his daughter; through her embracing of white culture he loses patriarchal control, and therefore cultural control as well.

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[33]. See Irshad MANJI, "Dear Mum, I am Sorry" in Arun MUKHERJEE (ed), Sharing Our Experiences, (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1993), pp.193-195.

[34]. Ibid., pp.193-195.

[35]. Shirley GEOK-LIN LIM, op.cit., p.580.

[36]. Geok lin Lim, op. cit., p.580.

Clearly, what sometimes appear to be subtle differences between first generation immigrants and their westernized children, are much more important than we realize, especially in the context of government policies on integration. An acknowledgment of these differences, means recognition of the possibility that multicultural policies in countries like Canada, Australia, etc. do not address a growing population of young ethnics whose problems of cultural integration are very different from their parents. Second language programs and other similar endeavours, while they are no doubt worthy, are not meaningful as ways of easing young ethnics' difficulties in a racialized society, since these are not the areas where they experiences problems fitting in. As Rezai-Rashti's article suggests, women in the second generation may face very different pressures from their mothers who in that sense were never expected to become anything more than immigrants[37]. According to her, they were not expected to live or become like the dominant culture, their differences being both racially, and socially identifiable[38]. Second generation ethnics on the other hand are socially expected (and expect themselves) to be, at the same time, totally western and non western, a strange and often mutually exclusive coexistence.

Another important difference between the two groups is their perceptions of where the Homeland is. Bagley's research on the East Indian community in Britain seems to indicate that for the

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[37] REZAI-RASHTI, op. cit., pp.77-78.

[38]. Ibid., pp. 78.

immigrant generation, Home often still means the country they left behind; on the other hand, he notes that their children consider the country they have grown up in, as Home, regardless of whether they are completely accepted.[39].

The question of acceptance is one that researchers do not agree upon. Most of them admit, especially in the case of racial ethnics who are second generation, that complete acceptance is not at present a reality; however, some scholars suggest that the degree of acceptance varies from group to group and is based on factors other than race or ethnicity. Neither social identity theory (with its single category "ethnic"), nor an additive model (where ethnicity plus race plus gender invariably produces exactly the same circumstances), can account for different experiences, simply because they do not recognize the complexity of interaction between the factors mentioned above. For example, research done by Ou and Mcadoo indicates that Chinese-American children, while being aware of their racial distinctiveness are fairly well adjusted[40]. This suggests that despite social identity theory on negative self esteem in lower status groups, there might be other factors that offset the negative impact of race or ethnicity, and in fact contribute to a positive self identity, even in a racist society. One factor may, as Ou and Mcadoo contend, be a continued fostering

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[39]. BAGLEY, op. cit., p.21.

[40]. Ou YOUNG SHI and Harriet Pipes MCADOO, op. cit.

of ethnic pride at home and in the community which offers second generation ethnics some sort of resiliency against societal prejudice[41]. Or there may be other significant characteristics which are either elevated in this same society or at least accepted. Education, social class, material wealth, are all things highly valued in most industrialised societies. Thus in the case of an ethnic possessing some or all of these attributes, the individual's negative social identity (their ethnicity) may be tempered by these other values, and their self- identity is, as a consequence, more positive.

Clearly then, there are certain factors working against the negative social impact of being racially and/or ethnically different. Are there any factors working in conjunction with race and ethnicity to lower certain individuals' social presence and thus affect their own self identity? Gender, according to feminist theory has historically been one the most pernicious of social categories: it has been used a rationale for entrenching oppressive and unequal laws and traditions against women all over the world. In fact, present day western feminist theory suggests that far from being dismantled, this gendering of society continues. Since western society is also racialized according to ethnic researchers, the interaction of gender and race might hold some very important insights into the study of ethnic group behaviour since it offers researchers a vital clue as to why in certain societies, female members of a racial group may have lower self esteem than others.

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[41]. Ibid.

For example, in Christopher Bagley's studies on South Asian youth in Britain there is a brief mention of consistent findings which indicate that within each ethnic group (excepting West Indians), girls have lower(or different) self esteem than boys, which he attributes to their lower status and lack of social power[42]. The recognition of gender as an important element of self identity is however only briefly touched upon in one article of his.

This lack of acknowledgement of gender as intersecting with ethnicity and race has rendered much of the research in the area incomplete. Most of the authors in this field appear unaware of both the differences in experience and perception between male and female ethnics, as well as the possible relationship between gender, race, and self esteem. This relationship (self evident to ethnic feminist scholars who view ethnic experiences and identity through the dual lenses of gender and race), is fundamental to the study of ethnic women and must be fully explored if researchers are going to attempt to understand what affects ethnic self identity in both men and women.

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[42]. Christopher BAGLEY et al (eds), "The Comparative Structure of Self-Esteem in British and Indian Adolescents" in Gajendra K. VERMA and Christopher BAGLEY (eds), Self Concept, Achievement, and Multicultural Education, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), pp. 216-217.

Gender as an Important Element of Identity

Gender, according to feminist theory, not only defines a person sexually it also denotes their status in society. If one is to go on the premise that like others, western societies are gendered (that is individuals are judged and slotted according to their gender), it would be of some significance to determine how factors such as race, class, ethnicity etc. intersect with gender to influence both social and individual identities. For example, according to Russell and Wright in their study of ethnic women and employment opportunities, as a racially distinct person in this society, one's gender tends to affect one's social position adversely: "...while women and visible minority employees encounter barriers to management, visible minority women may be doubly disadvantaged by the combination of barriers of both gender and race." [43]

Mainstream feminist theory is itself a critique of western society's consistent degradation of women based solely on their sex. The increasing societal awareness of the importance of gender would presuppose some sort of recognition on the part of those studying minority group behaviour, that gender in some way affects one's place in society and that in a sexist, racist society an ethnic woman will certainly have more difficulty constructing

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[43]. Roberta J. RUSSELL and Ruth L. WRIGHT, op. cit., p.131.

and sustaining a positive identity than her male counterpart[44]. As Christian points out, such an intersection illustrates clearly that race and gender are not pure categories and should not therefore be studied separately[45]. No one is simply a man or woman, in societies like Canada, the US and great Britain everyone has a racial and sexual identity, even those belonging to the dominant group[46].

These various intersections form the complex identities of individuals in today's world, and in many cases these intersections produce the multiple oppressions that certain individuals must adjust to. Operating on the idea that white women in these societies, while being part of the dominant racial group, are oppressed (economically, socially, politically) based on sexual difference; and men who belong to the dominant group in terms of gender but are racially and/or ethnically distinct are oppressed based on these differences, logically women who are both racially/ethnically different from the dominant group, as well as being the "wrong" gender would have to deal with problems

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[44]. Farah A. IBRAHIM, "A Course on Asian-American Women: Identity Development Issues", Women's Studies Quarterly, one and two, 1992, pp.48-50.

[45]. Barbara CHRISTIAN, "But Who Do You Really Belong To - Black Studies or Women's Studies?", Women's Studies, vol.17, 1989, p.22.

[46]. Marilyn FRYE, "On Being white: Thinking Towards a Feminist Understanding of Race and Race Supremacy", in Marilyn FRYE, The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory , (Trumansburg, New York: The Crossing Press,1983), pp.113-114.

associated with both groups[47]. Perhaps as Ibrahim suggests, they become fourth class citizens, last on the social ladder, coming behind white men, white women, and ethnic men, who in spite of being ethnic, are still men, in a society which favours the male sex[48]. Thus personal accounts like Haruko Okano's "Spring is Here, Mama", speak not just of a self hatred that is racially based, but also of one that according to feminist theory has been part of the socialising process of women for centuries:

> ...I set about saving my allowance towards operations on this flat-chested, slant-eyed person..following the example of the blonde girl in summer camp, I tried peroxide only to end up with a carrot orange patch, ridiculously visible against my own colour..in that landscape the role models of Suzy Wong and Madame Butterfly got mixed up with Cinderella and I married my White Knight...[49]

While this passage illustrates a negative self identity centred primarily around racial characteristics, there is an underlying theme of gender socialization, in the author's desire for plastic surgery, as well as her cinderella-like rescue by the

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[47]. IBRAHIM, op. cit., p. 49.

[48] Possibly, within this fourth class status, there is yet another hierarchy that is based on race, ethnicity, where ethnic women from particular backgrounds are either more or less privileged than other ethnic women. See Daiva K. StASIULIS, "Authentic Voice: Anti-Racist Politics in Canadian Feminist Publishing and Literary Production", in Sneja GUNEW and Anna YEATMAN (eds), Feminism and the Politics of Difference, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing), 1993.

[49]. OKANO, op. cit., p.80.

white knight, both of which - according to mainstream feminist theorists like Naomi Wolf - are a direct result of the adverse relationship that exists between female liberation and the quest for beauty[50] . If society tells women in the dominant culture that their value depends primarily on their looks, then it would follow that ethnic women are given the message that they must try and be like the dominant culture's standard of beauty, which in the case of racially distinct women is not only impossible but self diminishing. As Bannerji points out : " That an Indian woman likes a certain kind of toothpaste is obviously no recommendation for the product and certainly the sexual appeal of a garment is not enhanced by a Sri Lankan model...visual images in that sense are congealed social relations, formalizing themselves in either relations of dominance or those of resistance."[51]

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[50]. According to Naomi Wolf, " ...there is a secret underlife poisoning our freedom; infused with notions of beauty it is a dark vein of self-hatred, physical obsessions...it is no accident that so many potentially powerful women feel this way." (p.10) She also talks about the quest for marriage being represented as a woman's rescue by some man (p.129) See Naomi WOLF, The Beauty Myth, (Toronto: Random House of Canada ltd, 1990).

[51]. Bannerji argues that the scarcity of visual images in terms of south asian women represents a de-humanization of the self; not surprisingly, in a racist society minority women are not used as role models in the media. See Himani BANNERJI, "Popular Images of South Asian Women", in Himani BANNERJI (ed), Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism, and Politics, (Toronto: Sisterhood Press, 1993), pp.144-145.

Robert Macgregor's study of visible minority women in the media points to the important role media and advertising plays in the shaping of identities,"... advertising identifies and promotes the marketing of products by promising specific social identities and by using structured identities in the message...over a thirty year period, visible minority women have been shown in extremely limited roles and associated with a very narrow range of

Gender and its Intersection with Race and Ethnicity

The lack of appreciation for the relevancy of gender in the field of ethnic group behaviour becomes very clear when one contrasts the theories of Richard Alba ("the twilight of ethnicity among Americans of European ancestry..") with Mariana Valverde's provocative article which combines a racial and gendered analysis of why certain groups have assimilated better than others into western society. Alba focuses rather one dimensionally on the twilight of ethnicity among groups like Italians and Portuguese, who due to their racial similarity are now basically part of the dominant culture[52]. While he identifies the racial nature of this integration (that is, their inclusion was based on their being white, rather than their cultural sameness), his analysis stops short of probing into the possible reasons behind what he sees as inevitable assimilation. Valverde on the other hand offers a gendered (albeit much more sinister) interpretation theorizing that the sexual oppression of women and racism went hand in hand during the early years of the century where white women were ostensibly to be protected from "other" races[53]. While she, like Alba notes the

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goods and services." See Robert M. MACGREGOR, "The Distorted Mirror: Images of Visible Minority Women in Canadian Print Advertising", Atlantis, vol. 15 no. 1, 1989, p.139.

[52]. ALBA, op. cit., p.152.

[53]. Mariana VALVERDE, "When the Mother of the Race is Free: Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First Wave Feminism", in

obvious (that racially different groups have not assimilated the way culturally different groups have) she postulates that the absorption of such ethnic groups as the Italians etc. is a way for the dominant group to retain its numbers, and therefore its position of racial power; to do this the sexuality of white women, as the mothers of the race, must be kept under control[54]. This type of dual analysis, incorporating race and gender, is what is lacking in the current literature on ethnicity and race. Ethnic women and their experiences have been consistently ignored or thrown in with the study of ethnic group formation theory which does not allow for their unique situation as women and ethnics in a gendered and racialized society.

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The significance of this chapter in terms of the whole thesis lies in its attempt to understand some of the dominant themes focused on in the (recent) past and current literature on ethnic minority group behaviour, and the way in which this literature has dealt, if at all, with the question of multiple

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Franca IACOVETTA, and Mariana VALVERDE (eds), Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's history, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp.3-21.

[54]. Ibid., pp.3-21.

identities. Since the overall aim of this thesis is to determine the processes by which women who are second generation, ethnic Canadians construct their social and political identities, the breakdown and examination of each of these categories was a necessary introduction. The first section looked at the social and self construction of ethnic and racial identities in western countries like Canada and the US, and the possible differences that existed between race and ethnicity. The highlighting of these differences adds a more complex dimension to the question of identity: the interaction of race (as a physical perception), with ethnicity (seen more as a cultural difference), and how the question of "belonging", in the second generation is constructed differently based on the presence of both ethnicity and race, or just ethnicity. The potential relevance of this distinction will be uncovered in the interviews later on in this research.

After having examined the principal ideas concerning ethnic and racial identity, the chapter moves on to the category of second generation ethnics, and their social and self identities. This section looks at the complex development of second generation identity and how it distinguishes itself from the construction of immigrant identity. It also examines the relationship between the two generations, since this interaction offers valuable insight into some of the problems experienced by young ethnics in a larger societal context. For example, the development of shame vis a vis one's ethnic background appears to be based partly on social response, and partly because of the obvious Otherness of immigrant

parents. Since the feeling of Otherness is a central idea in the thesis, the possible reasons for this alienation needed to be explored.

The last section in this chapter is perhaps the most important, given that this research is interested in ethnic women, not men as possible subjects. The reasons for this choice should be clear in my discussion of the need for gender analysis in the prevailing literature on ethnic groups. Gender is one of the primary characteristics by which North American society defines people; however the legacy of former gender inequality (which historically meant dismissing women's experiences as inconsequential), has clearly left its mark on several areas of research, including ethnic literature, which tends to consistently overlook women's experiences both within and out of ethnic communities. Regardless of whether or not research done in such an area is feminist in its leanings (like this thesis), there needs to be a growing awareness that gender affects the life experiences of all individuals. Clearly this is my reason for including an introductory section on gender, as well as focusing on it as one of the integral components of my overall research.

Much of the literature in the area of minority group formation has focused on the way in which ethnics have integrated with the host society. Also looked at has been the difference between first generation immigrants and their second generation children who - although born and/or raised here - are still perceived as not belonging to the host society. The effects of

ethnicity on social and political identity are hard to deny, but while most authors tend to agree that ethnicity plays a large role in the construction of identity, there are varying opinions as to its negative effect. Alba contends that the assimilation of many "white " ethnics into racist societies is an indication that when one's ethnicity is defined in terms of cultural difference the possibility of integrating one's culture is much easier than for those who are not only culturally different but racially dissimilar as well[55]. Therefore race could be defined as a primary characteristic. Since in most societies people are defined primarily through their gender status, the interaction of gender and race (as two primary characteristics) might hold some very important insights into the study of ethnic groups behaviour given that it offers researchers a vital clue as to why certain members of a racial group tend to have lower self esteem than others.

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[55]. ALBA, op. cit., pp.

CHAPTER TWO

RACE, GENDER AND IMMIGRANT IDENTITY IN FEMINIST DISCOURSES

The previous chapter grappled with questions of ethnic and racial identity in the second generation. Through an examination of the literature available in this area, the central themes of this research were uncovered: the social and self formation of multiple identities in the case of second generation ethnic women, and the impact of this (twofold) construction on their political behaviour. Since the primary goal of this research is to raise questions of how ethnic identity is constructed in second generation Canadian women, as opposed to men, it was necessary to determine whether the research on minorities in countries like Canada, the US, and Great Britain, offered any valuable insight into this gender/race equation. The dearth of meaningful analysis in ethnic studies, on the role of gender in the construction of ethnic identity necessitates a look into other branches of research.

Given the focus of the thesis, feminist research is a necessary choice in order to determine whether the relationship between race and gender is recognized in any significant way and if so, how it is theorized. This chapter attempts to do that, by looking at mainstream feminism and its treatment of the race/gender question. It then examines the women of colour discourse, which sees itself as an alternative to white feminism, and in fact views the intersection of race and gender as fundamental to its analysis; according to theorists in this discourse, this intersection is what

sets them apart from the white middle class feminist movement. Finally, this chapter explores the problems inherent in this minority women's discourse which focuses only on certain women of colour or ethnic women and as a result often constructs the identity of these women in terms of immigration, a stereotype which both excludes non-immigrant ethnic women and perpetuates the image of the "eternal immigrant".

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The Primacy of Gender in Feminist Theory

Since gender as an important part of minority women's identity has been virtually ignored by social science study of ethnic group behaviour, feminism as a discipline geared specifically towards the study of women, would appear to offer more relevant theory to ethnic women. The importance of gender in society has been the foundation upon which rests the legitimacy of the North American feminist movement. All branches of feminist theory are based on the idea that women are in various ways subordinated to men (socially, politically, and economically), and this in turn influences to some extent how they are viewed by

society and how they view themselves[1]. However, the distinctions within the approaches are worth taking into consideration, since they differ on many fundamental issues. While liberal feminism has traditionally been geared towards formal political and legal equality within western capitalist democracy, radical feminism sees the inclusion of women into these intrinsically patriarchal structures as problematic; the destruction of this universal patriarchy is thus the only solution. Like liberalism, socialist and marxist feminism are grounded in the traditionally male ideology of marxism, where the capitalist mode of production determines all human relationships including male/female ones. Perhaps the most self aware of all the approaches is feminist deconstructive or post-modern theory that is inclusive of diversity and difference, but tends toward relativism in its fear of being prescriptive.

Unfortunately, the unifying problem with all these feminist approaches is their ontological focus which constructs gender as the primary oppression[2]. Their male/female dichotomy, a symbol of

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[1]. Kum Kum BHAVNANI, "Talking Racism and the Editing of Women's Studies", in Diane RICHARDSON, and Victoria ROBINSON (eds), Thinking Feminist: Key Concepts in Women's Studies, (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), p.27-29.

[2]. Both mainstream feminism like Naomi Wolf's Beauty Myth, as well as Post-modernist feminist theory like Kroker's focus a great deal on issues of sexual oppression; this type of analysis has been critiqued by other discourses as being exclusionary since it constructs all women's experiences as similar to white, western, middle-class, heterosexual women's. See Arthur KROKER and Marilouise KROKER (eds), The Hysterical Male: New Feminist Theory, (Montreal: New World Perspectives Culture Text Series, 1991).

the privileged and underprivileged respectively, leaves no room for the ways in which race and class influence gender relationships, causing certain women to be oppressed by others. By assuming that gender is the primary source of oppression for all women, feminist analysis on mothering, sexuality and struggles of power, has ignored the vital role that race and class play in these relationships[3]. Furthermore, as Agnew points out, by using white women as the primary frame of reference in their discussions about "women", they have only reproduced the larger social inequalities existing between whites and ethnic minorities[4].

In its defence, recent feminist theory has been known to link the struggles of women with the struggles of disadvantaged groups or nations, as well as to urge a global sisterhood of women. There are of course a number of problems with both these assertions. The latter one is, again, mainly a question of concrete inequality: racial ethnic, geographical and class factors which render certain

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[3]. Sylvester's analysis of autonomy and obligation in Hobbes' social contract (in Leviathan): in suggesting that adult men dominate and conquer women, she fails to note that the female who becomes the servant of the male master through the family is also the mistress of the genderless servant in a Hobbesian society. The oppressive nature of the family is described in terms of white man and woman. The mother as a white woman whose autonomy is strangled by the sexual nature of her relationship with the man; this ignores class and race factors which dictated that the brunt of much caretaking and domestic work (as well as sexual demands by the master of the house), fell on the shoulders of "other" women. See Christine SYLVESTER, "Feminists and Realists view Autonomy and Obligation in International Relations", in V. Spike PETERSON (ed), Gendered States: Feminist (re) Visions of International Relations Theory, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), p.158.

[4]. Vijay AGNEW, "Canadian Feminism and Women of Colour." Women's Studies International forum, vol. 16 no. 3, 1993, p.217.

women more powerless than others[5]. According to Simons such a situation exposes the hypocrisy underlying the worthy goal of female solidarity[6]. This myth of a global sisterhood promotes gender as the main problem, while ignoring race, ethnicity or class,and she suggests that this has allowed white middle class western women the luxury of thinking that their struggles are the most important, conveniently forgetting that their struggles are often to the detriment of other women[7].

Race and Racism in Mainstream Feminism

Historically, the racism within the feminist movement can be illustrated by obvious incidents like support of the miscegenation laws which "protected" white women from Black and Asian men, suspected of wanting to rape or sell them on the white slave market[8]. According to Mohanty, the racism has been more subtle in feminist theory, in the form of language which assumes that "woman"

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[5]. Chandra Talpade MOHANTY, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", Feminist Review, no. 30, 1988, pp.50-78.

[6]. Margaret SIMONS, "Racism and Feminism: a Schism in the Sisterhood", Feminist Studies, vol. 5 no. 2, 1979, p. 388.

[7]. Ibid., p. 388.

[8]. Mariana VALVERDE, "When the Mother of the Race is Free: Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First Wave Feminism", in Franca IACOVETTA and Mariana VALVERDE (eds), Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's history, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, p.14.

is synonymous with white woman, with others falling into such categories as black woman, ethnic woman and so on[9]. According to Frye, such a profound lack of recognition in both theory and practice vis a vis racism or classism in the feminist movement is what has fragmented it, causing black women to form their own feminist group, and later their own discourse, a branch of which is known as the women of colour discourse[10].

Frye in her article "The politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory", offers a thought provoking analysis of the tension between white feminist theory and "other" feminist discourses, suggesting that the very goals of the mainstream movement are racist given white women's relationship with white men, and their desire to be equal with white men, who according to her are at the top of the social hierarchy[11]. This equality, she asserts, entails being first in the dominant racial group rather than second (their current position);her point being that the change in leadership is one which would have no significant effect for non-white women or men[12].

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[9]. MOHANTY, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

[10]. AGNEW, op. cit., pp.217-227.

[11]. Marilyn FRYE, "On Being white: Thinking Towards a Feminist Understanding of Race and Race Supremacy", in Marilyn FRYE, The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory, (Trumansburg, New York: The Crossing Press, 1983), p.121.

[12]. Ibid., pp. 121-127.

The assertion that feminism is a part of a universal struggle against oppression appears to be progressive; however, the consistent lumping together, of terms like "women, minorities etc" begs the question: are ethnics genderless? And if not, why would ethnic women be necessarily ethnic, before they are women, and therefore lumped into the minority category? Simons explores the roots of this peculiar dichotomy when she looks at the work of early feminists like Simone De Beauvoir and Shulamith Firestone, where analogies are drawn between the plight of the slave and the situation of "the woman" (clearly depicted as the lady of the house)[13]. Simons makes the salient point that the perspective of the slave, and the slave woman are never discussed or even acknowledged[14]. Simons, like other feminists in this recent multicultural discourse, advises that these recognitions must be made before feminist theory considers itself to be inclusive. According to her, if the feminist movement hopes to realize its dream of being an international, multicultural movement, it must first confront with honesty, the ethnocentrism and racism on both the theoretcial and practical levels of feminist discourse[15].

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[13]. SIMONS, op. cit., pp. 386-394.

[14]. Ibid., p. 386.

[15]. Ibid., p.396.

Race, Gender and Ethnicity in the Women of Colour Discourse

In contrast to mainstream feminism, the discourse on women of colour consistently incorporates race into its gender analysis, focusing on the multiple dilemmas of women who are oppressed both through their sex as well as their ethnic or racial background. Its theoretical goals are centred around determining what makes these women different from a) the men in their communities with whom they share racial or ethnic discrimination, and b) the women in the dominant culture with whom they share gender inequality. This synthesis has been consistently stressed in the work of black and ethnic feminists like Audre Lorde, bell hooks, and Kum Kum Bhavnani, who point out that the prioritizing of either race and gender is a futile exploration " since they inform each other; all women are racialized and all human beings engendered [16]."

According to Frye, the racializing of white women (or men) is one that has not been part of mainstream feminism's theoretical exploration, perhaps because of their implicit assumption that white is not a colour[17]. In one sense they are quite right, since Frye herself argues that whites have a colour in the *political* sense that is based on their dominant status: " Light skin may get a person counted as white; it does not make a person

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[16]. BHAVNANI, op. cit., p. 40.

[17]. FRYE, op. cit., p.114.
Bhavnani also makes this point when she argues that white women in the feminist movement want to deny the existence of whiteness as a racialised category. See BHAVNANI, op. cit., p.33.

white...whiteness is, it seems pretty obvious, a social or political construct of some sort..."[18]. However, the lack of recognition in traditional feminist discourse that the political construct of colour includes whiteness is not so surprising given its ontological focus on gender as *the* primary social influence[19].

Clearly, the need for a paradigm examining the complexity of female oppression that is based on both gender and race/ethnicity was what prompted the creation of black feminist theory, an offshoot of that being the discourse on women of colour. Interestingly enough, the main focus of such a discourse has tended to be immigrant women, and their difficulties with adjustment, language skill etc. in western countries. Authors like Vijay Agnew, and Himani Bannerji (themselves ethnic women), point to the difficulties of acceptance faced by minority women: difficulties based largely on their immigrant status, which according to

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[18]. FRYE, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

[19]. Elizabeth Spelman in her essay on Nancy Chodorow's concept of mothering attempts to uncover some of the inconsistencies present in the feminist standpoint approach. She points out, quite cogently, that if according to Chodorow, men and women are socialized in childhood to be superior and inferior respectively, then it would follow that non-white and/or ethnic men would perceive themselves and, more importantly be perceived by others to be superior to all women, including white women . Since this is historically not the case, it would suggest that the childhood socializing process includes both gendering and racialising. See Elizabeth V. SPELMAN, "Gender in the Context of Race and Class: Notes on Chodorow's 'Reproduction of Mothering'", in Janet A. KOURANY et al (eds), Feminist Philosophies: Problems, Theories and Application, (Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1992).

Bannerji is apparent through their dress, language, and alien-ness, making them the object of discrimination[20].

Often these women have difficulty developing a feminist identity; as Chow points out in the case of Asian American women, their family structures isolate them from other women, and the element of racism forces gender issues to become secondary to the struggles of the community against discrimination[21]. Alma M. Garcia in her article on Chicana feminist discourse in the US, talks about the problems of being a minority group within a minority group, where ethnic women's gender/race problems are minimized because of the attitudes and expectations of Spanish-American men. Not only should loyalty to the cause of racism against the community be primary, but the question of sexism is almost a non-issue because of what Garcia calls "chicano machismo"[22]. According to her, the only way that these men in a white society can maintain their dignity and self esteem is at the cost of the women in their community; Garcia, like Geok Lin-Lim and other ethnic women writers, sees this as a clear example of the double oppressions of ethnic women, in both mainstream society, as well as their own

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[20]. BANNERJI, "Popular Images of South Asian Women", in Himani BANNERJI (ed) Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism, and Politics, (Toronto: Sisterhood Press, 1993), p. 145, p. 149.

[21]. Esther Ngan-Ling CHOW, "The Development of Feminist Consciousness Among Asian American Women", Gender and Society, vol. 1 no. 3, 1987, p.286.

[22]. Alma M. GARCIA, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980" Gender and Society, vol. 3 no. 2, 1989, pp. 222-223.

communities, where the construction of a positive male identity is often at the expense of ethnic female identity[23].

Immigrant Identity in Ethnic Feminist Discourse

The theorizing of gendered and racially informed experiences in the lives of women has not only challenged exclusionary feminist assumptions, it has offered women of colour and ethnicity a space to articulate their own multi-layered oppressions. Clearly there is no gainsaying the value of research that recognizes the specificity of ethnic women's experiences, and the effect this has on their self identity. However, it is the construction of the word "immigrant" in this body of research that becomes problematic for a number of different reasons. The constant association made between ethnic and immigrant is often inappropriate given the length of time many of these communities have been in their host countries. By defining themselves and others as immigrant women, the writers in this discourse perpetuate the idea that most ethnics are new immigrants to the country[24]. In reality, researchers like Norman Buchignani have traced the history of Asian ethnic communities in North America as far as the last century (1840 for the Chinese and Japanese, 1900 for the east indian Sikh

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[23]. Ibid., pp.222-223.

[24] Neil BISSOONDATH, "A question of belonging: Multiculturalism and Citizenship", in William Kaplan et al (eds). Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. p.377.

community)[25]. Canadian Ethnic writer Neil Bissoondath (whose controversial opinions on Canadian multiculturalism have made him notorious in the whole multicultural debate taking place in this country), makes a noteworthy point when he says that this linking together of "ethnic" and newcomer is detrimental to the development of a proper national identity on the part of these individuals, who will never belong, and will thus always define themselves as something other than Canadian[26] . Socially it can be seen as continuing to foster the image of the permanent immigrant, where as Srivastava asserts, an ethnic individual's background is consistently defined against their Canadianness "so that we are always not-not quite Canadian"[27].

Since most immigrants (in the legal sense of the word) to countries like Canada find adjustment somewhat difficult, the value of research on this group cannot be denied. Again, what is essentially troubling about this research is the constant depiction

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[25]. Norman BUCHIGNANI, "South-Asian Canadians and the ethnic Mosaic: An Overview", Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1979, pp. 113-125.

[26]. The problem with Bissoondath's analysis lies in his critique of multiculturalism as an official policy. Many scholars in the field would challenge this, arguing that rather than attacking what he perceives as an improper solution to the problem of racism in Canada, he should be focusing on the problem of racism itself. His suggestions of complete assimilation into the dominant culture have been described as "pimping the tawdry racist views of colonial powers." See Ray CONLOGUE, "Hoping to Heal Canada's 'Intellectual Sickness' ", in The Toronto Globe and Mail, Monday October 10, 1994, p.A10.

[27]. Aruna SRIVASTAVA, "Re-imaging Racism: South Asian Canadian Women Writers." in Himani BANNERJI (ed), Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics, (Toronto: Sister vision Press, 1993), p.112.

of these communities as permanent immigrant communities. Josephine Naidoo, well known in the field for her research on women of South Asian origin, studies the lives of these women, through the conventional immigrant route: problems of integration because of the stereotypes of these women (strange custom, dress, quite reserved behaviour etc.), or the difficulties they have reconciling their ethnic identity to their new Canadian identity[28]. The article is unfortunately representative of a dominant perspective within the minority women's discourse which continues to place ethnic women into the very categories employed by racist theory. Furthermore, by focusing on the otherness of South Asian women, such an analysis does not include or even acknowledge the presence of South Asian women who have grown up here and whose ethnic identity is more complex than the stereotyped problems of the immigrant woman, which are constructed mainly through her struggle to integrate. Personal accounts, like Irshad Manji's "Dear Mum I'm Sorry" or Anna Woo's "To My Therapist..." offer glimpses into the nature of this second generation identity, and also illustrate the differences between the two groups, contrasting the painful isolation of immigrant Mothers, and the painful self denial of their ethnic/Canadian daughters:

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[28]. Josephine C. NAIDOO, "Contemporary South Asian Women in the Canadian Mosaic", Women of South Asian Origins: Status of Research, Problems, Future Issues", in P. CAPLAN (ed), Sex Roles II: Feminist Psychology in Transition, (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984).

> My Mother never tried to assimilate into the Canadian culture...she did make attempts to learn the English language...[but] She always claimed it was too difficult. I resented her failures. I could never understand what was so hard about learning english. In public I shuddered with embarrassment whenever she tried to speak English. I can see clearly now how the rift was formed between me and my mother, based solely on language. As soon as I had Canadian friends, I abandoned the Chinese language. But being Chinese or part of a minority culture always becomes an issue at some point. "Don't worry" they say. "you're different." "We don't mean you!" I feel a meek sense of victory as if I've won a hard-fought battle. Yet I also feel angry, resentful, hurt. I AM one of THEM that you speak of. It goes on: this pain of not knowing who I am or what I am being judged by."[29]

Distinguishing Between Immigrant and Ethnic

The importance of recognizing that ethnic women have very different experiences, and identities given the often oppressive nature of their ethnic and gender labels, is an undeniably important breakthrough for the feminist discourse. By taking feminist theory and integrating it with ethnic group theory, some significant discoveries have been made, as well as giving a voice to ethnic women, whose presence in the literature hitherto, was fragmented, either as women, or as ethnics[30].

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[29]. Anna WOO, "To My Therapist: It is Hard to Think About My Life", in Arun MUKHERJEE (ed), Sharing Our Experiences, (Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Advisory Council On the Status of Women, 1993), pp.90-92.

[30]. Interesting discussion of people's need to fit ethnic women into either the gender box or the race box. See Barbara CHRISTIAN, "But Who Do You Really Belong To - Black Studies or Women's

Nevertheless, this discourse has some obvious limitations. By employing the dominant culture's categories, through its consistent interchanging of the terms ethnic and immigrant, it has only strengthened the idea that all ethnics are and will always be immigrants (and therefore not Canadians). As Sheva Medjuck points out, it is an ethnocentric assumption that also obscures the economic, social and political problems that minority women face, by assuming that facilities like language training, labour market training, and assimilation into Canadian society will solve their problems[31]. The problematic identities of ethnic women who, having been born and/or raised in this country, have not needed such facilities offers a prime example of how belonging is based on much more than similarity in social behaviour. These women have experienced problems of integration in very different ways from the stereotypical immigrant woman[32]. To lump them together is to deny the existence of a group of ethnics whose primary culture is not mainly ethnic, and yet is still marginalized from the dominant culture to a great extent[33]. It is these women whose voices have not been heard in either the ethnic literature (which examines generational differences but is gender blind) or the feminist women

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Studies?", Women's Studies, vol. 17, 1989, pp. 17-23.

[31]. Sheva MEDJUCK, "Ethnicity and Feminism: Two Solitudes?", Atlantis, vol.15 no. 2, 1990, p.4.

[32]. WOO, op. cit., pp. 90-92.
MANJI, op. cit., pp.193-195.

[33]. Ibid., pp.193-195.

of colour literature, which allows for little recognition of generational differences, and appears for the most part to be oblivious to the contradictions apparent in its studies on minority/immigrant women.

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This research project is interested in ethnic women, and given that the research in the area of ethnic identity formation has consistently ignored the possible significance of gender as a variable, I have attempted, through an examination of various feminist perspectives, to uncover analyses based on possible relationship between race, gender and other socially defined variables. Unfortunately, mainstream feminism has tended for the most part to view these intersections rather myopically, clinging to the belief that gender is the primary element of oppression for all women. This lack of understanding for the multiple nature of oppression allows for little recognition of the unique experiences of ethnic women, both in their own communities, as well as in the dominant culture.

The discourse on women of colour has been revolutionary in its unequivocal assertion that both race and gender are equally

important in the lives of all women, and neither can be prioritized or arbitrarily dismissed as inessential. This relationship, hitherto unacknowledged in either ethnic or feminist theory, has opened up a range of possible experiences and perspectives in the lives of women. Nevertheless, while worthy of much acclaim, the discourse on women of colour and ethnic women, has tended to focus on either the problems of African-American women, or immigrant ethnic women, leaving little room for women who fall into neither category. Examination of African-American women is situated in a racial, and historical context (the legacy of the master/slave relationship), while women belonging to other groups (Caribbean, African, Asian, etc.) are arbitrarily slotted into the immigrant part of the discourse.

The purpose, then, of this chapter was to illustrate the limitations of both mainstream and ethnic feminist theory in their theorizing of women's experiences. Given that both discourses are restricted by their ontological premises, neither is really able to adequately accommodate the experiences of second generation, minority women. Mainstream feminist theory employs a reductionary analysis which sees race as either irrelevant or an add-on, and thus cannot successfully include the voices of women whose lives are informed by both race and gender. And the unexamined assumptions embedded in ethnic feminist discourse, in its perception of ethnicity as being necessarily immigrant not only excludes a segment of the non-immigrant ethnic female population,

it also locks ethnics into a dynamic with themselves and with society, where their sense of belonging is permanently fragile.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNIC FEMALE IDENTITY IN THE SECOND GENERATION

In the preceding chapter, I outlined some of the shortcomings inherent in both mainstream and ethnic(or multicultural) feminism, in order to demonstrate how neither discourse is adequate as a venue for theory that addresses the issues of *non*-immigrant, ethnic women. Mainstream western feminism has tended to focus, sometimes one-dimensionally, on gender as the primary source of oppression for all women. This ignores or minimizes the role played by race and class in western society, and thus excludes the experiences of non-white, non-middle-class women. On the other hand, ethnic feminism (the discourse on women of colour), although employing a race/class/gender analysis, has constructed itself through narrow definitions derived from the dominant culture. Its lack of distinction between ethnic and immigrant not only excludes second generation women for whom a discourse on language barriers, and alien cultures does not apply, but also serves to reaffirm racist stereotypes of who are, and are not "Canadians, Americans etc."

While I draw on the type of multiple analysis that characterizes the women of colour discourse, my focus in this chapter is clearly on an examination of the fragmented self and social identities of second-generation ethnic women, both within

their communities and in mainstream society. Ethnic women's experiences in their communities were only touched upon in the last chapter, in a brief look at Chicana feminists and the problem of *Machismo*. This section attempts a more detailed analysis, exploring the often conflictual relationship between ethnicity and gender identity, and the effect of class on this relationship, all in the broader context of non-immigrant women.

The last section of this chapter looks at theory that situates itself in what is called the politics of identity. By looking at the historical background to identity politics, its emerging role in feminism, as well as some of the problems associated with its linking of experience with political objectives of emancipation, I am attempting to demonstrate the significance of such a discourse as a framework for this particular research project which is both theory driven and empirical.

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Intersecting Ethnicity and Gender in the Second Generation

North American feminist discourse rests on the belief that women are in a position of weakness because they live in a patriarchal society. Ethnic theory offers a similar analysis that substitutes ethnics for women and white for patriarchal. However,

the development of a discourse on ethnic women has engendered debate on whether there exists a relationship between gender and ethnicity that impacts on the experiences of ethnic women, and thus distinguishes them from ethnic men, and white women.

In this relationship, it is worthwhile to determine how gender influences or affects the development and maintenance of a positive identity for ethnic women in their communities. For example, in Latino communities gender and ethnicity intersect negatively, creating a strange paradox, where male ethnic self esteem is maintained <u>despite</u> societal racism, but unfortunately at the cost of female self esteem[1]. Since ethnic men are part of the dominant group only through their gender, their identity becomes very much linked to their power over the women in their community[2]. This behaviour, described by Garcia as *machismo,* seems to apply to several ethnic communities; Shirley Geok Lin-Lim in fact suggests that there is an ethnic/gender split in the relationship between an Asian father, who not only represents the patriarchy, but also the tie to Asian culture, and his Americanized daughter, whose identity as a woman threatens both his masculinity and his ethnicity:

> Through the eyes of Asian-American daughters the father's humiliations...and pathetic struggles against white social authority are both indictments against racism(...an assertion of ethnic protest) ...[and] evidence of patriarchal impotence

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[1]. Alma M. GARCIA, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980", <u>Gender and Society</u>, vol. 3 no. 2, 1989, pp. 222-223.

[2]. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.222-223.

> (and a chipping away of ethnic core identity)...'that intersection, for me, a birthplace...whereas things finished for him there'...in the life story Asian patriarchal identity dies at the very intersection of the birth of feminist consciousness[3].

This same juxtaposing of male ethnic first generation identity with female second generation identity is apparent in Kish Qureshi's "living as other", a painful account of the degradation caused by her East Indian father's restrictiveness. She talks of his fear that he will not be able to control her (sexuality/femininity), and this will bring shame on him, thus justifying his constant reminders to stay within the community[4]. Like the patriarch in Geok Lin-Lim's analysis, his daughter's interaction within Canadian society can only be corrupting: the effect on her femininity will destroy his power over her as a woman, the only power he holds in a racist society.

This type of struggle over female power is present - as white feminists know all too well - in non ethnic communities and families. However, societal racism allows ethnic men to scapegoat feminist consciousness by denouncing it as a cultural betrayal; this forces ethnic women to silence themselves for fear of feeding the racist perceptions of their communities as violent or backward. To some extent, this is a legitimate fear given the western frame

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[3]. Shirley GEOK-LIN LIM, "Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian American Literature" Feminist Studies, vol 19 no.3, 1993, p.580.

[4]. Kish QUERESHI, "Living as Other", Canadian Woman Studies, vol. 13 no.1, 1992, pp.11-12.

of reference consistently used by mainstream feminism. By defining the term woman to mean white woman, the movement justified the claims made by ethnic communities that feminism is part of a paradigm that glorifies white culture and white people, male or female, while at the same time degrading anything non-white[5]. A feminist discourse where issues like the veil or arranged marriage are simplistically viewed as an element of patriarchy that must be dismantled, forces ethnic women to make a choice between gender solidarity or cultural solidarity, since condemning these practices alongside white women is sharing in an attack on their own communities. It is even more difficult for second generation women,many of whom have internalized dominant cultural stereotypes. Often, unlike their Mothers, they themselves believe these practises as barbaric or at the very least, traditional:

> ..I grew up thinking like an American. But in countries like mine, love is considered a transient emotion- and therefore unimportant... I will never agree to an arranged marriage...I have never been attracted to Pakistani men. In my experience, the majority of them see women as their property, an opinion I felt was confirmed when I visited Pakistan as a teenager...I knew then that I did not want to marry a Pakistani man, which to me meant someone who would see me as an ornament or worse a slave. I have always been attracted to blond, blue-eyed men...I like them because they are the opposite of the men my parents expect me to marry[6].

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[5]. Shirley GEOK-LIN LIM, "Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asian American Literature", Feminist Studies vol. 19, no.3, 1993. p.571.

[6]. Shandana DURRANI, "Bridges" in Glamour Magazine, November issue, 1994, p.70.

In Shandana Durrani's account above, the portrayal of Pakistani men is blatantly negative, and calls upon traditional stereotypes of Eastern men. The writer then offers us an image of the "white knight" as a striking contrast to this generic ethnic "badman". While the reality of this type of gender oppression in the lives of ethnic women cannot be denied, the community is more than just a site of oppression for ethnic women, it is also a refuge from racism and harassment that exists in the larger society, of which this writer appears to be unaware[7]. This linking of ethnic culture and the repression of women is clearly problematic for ethnic feminists attempting to theorize the gender/ race/ethnicity connection; it perpetuates the notion that gender is the only source of pain for ethnic women, and it is always at the hands of ethnic men. As in the black community - where there exists a similar conspiracy of silence about black men's physical and emotional abuse of black women - racism, according writers like Geok Lin-Lim and Enakshi Dua, has forced ethnic women to sacrifice their gender needs on the altar of their ethnicity[8]: "in the

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[7]. Enakshi DUA, "Racism or Gender? Understanding Oppression of South Asian-Canadian Women", Canadian Woman Studies, vol. 13 no.1, 1992, pp.6-10.

[8]. According to Dua the rationale behind this is that given the racism in society, the family and community act as a refuge from this and as a result many South Asian feminists argue that the support of cultural practises like arranged marriages that define the Indian community is vital as a form of resistance to racism. Dua argues that this exclusive focus on racism reduces gender relations to cultural norms, without attempting to understand the very real importance of sexual oppression for south asian women. See Enakshi DUA, op. cit., pp.9-10.

intersection of race and gender identity, the woman who represents the urgencies of her gender (her sexuality, her maternality) against a race imperative is in a position to be violently erased. But that is in the traditional master plot of ethnic patriarch as villain and ethnic woman as victim[9]."

Shandana Durrani's article is more than just an "insider" account. Its dichotomizing of Pakistani and American culture follows the master plot of ethnic man as villain and ethnic woman as victim. It not only feeds the racist perspectives of those outside of the culture, but it also constructs ethnic women as helpless and child-like in contrast to white women who as part of the dominant culture are ostensibly more liberated[10].

In order to deconstruct these stereotypes it is important to recognize that in mainstream feminist discourse, "non-western" problems of bride burning, or clitoridectomies are rarely held up against serious problems in North American societies. Yet the definition of violence against women would surely run the gamut from female circumcision in Africa to date rape in American cities. Critical reflection of these problems must generate debate on whether the problem lies in the barbaric and backward rituals of a country, or instead, in <u>state</u> sanctioned practices aimed at preserving the oppressive status quo. The main contrast between the

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[9]. GEOK-LIN LIM, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.580.

[10]. Chandra Talpade MOHANTY, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship andColonial Discourses", in <u>Feminist Review</u>, no. 30, 1988, pp. 57-58.

west and "others" might therefore lie in the fact that violence against women in the west is a social problem, rather than one which is institutionalized. However, it must be pointed out that neither are desirable conditions for women.

Furthermore, feminist outrage over such things as female infanticide, clitoridectomy, child brides, dowries etc. which stem from unexamined assumptions about the "other", offer a one - dimensional view of ethnic women as passive, unresisting and victim-like[11]. Placed alongside larger societal stereotypes which depict ethnic women as exotic and sexually permissive, this only serves as a reinforcement of how different these women are from women belonging to the dominant culture:

> The legacy of the Chinese prostitute and the slave girl from the late nineteenth century still lingers. American involvement in Asian wars continues to perpetuate the image of asian women as cheap whores and exotic sexpots...the "picture bride" image...is still very much alive, as US soldiers brought back asian wives from China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam with the expectation that they would make perfect wives and homemakers[12].

In such a dynamic, how are ethnic women to solve the paradox of ethnicity and gender, without developing fragmented identities? They are caught in a double bind where their dissension confirms

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[11]. MOHANTY, op. cit., p.57.

[12]. Esther Ngan-Ling CHOW, "The Development of Feminist Consciousness Among Asian American Women", Gender and Society, vol.1 no. 3, 1987, p.289.

the worst fears of mainstream society vis a vis ethnics and causes ethnic women to be cast as victims who need to be rescued by a white woman's movement; however, their silence on gender oppression only allows a maintenance of the status quo in their communities where they are second class citizens because of their gender status.

Class As a Variable in the Construction of Ethnic Women's Identities

Interestingly enough, while the word class is used to describe minority women's position in their community and outside of it (as fourth class citizens), little attention has been given to the effect actual class relations have on the gender/race debate. It is important to determine whether class plays a part in the construction of identity, in societies like Canada and the US. The bulk of ethnic feminist work focuses on the intersection between race/ethnicity and gender: the unique situation of ethnic women as a direct result of their double oppression through gender and race/ethnicity. However, scholars like Roxana Ng. and Daiva Stasiulis suggest that in this equation class does play an important role because it falsifies the belief that all ethnic women are equally or similarly oppressed through their racial or gender status. In fact, Stasiulis suggests that one's social class can either temper of exacerbate one's experiences of gender and ethnic oppression:

> ...it is important to distinguish between the forms and effects of racism experienced by wealthy female immigrants from Hong Kong and those experienced by Indo-Chinese refugee women who have few income and job options...[13]

According to Stasiulis, the discounting of class allows both white and ethnic women to assume that they have more in common with those of their own culture than with "others", despite similar class backgrounds. She describes this in marxist terms, as the appearance of a false consciousness which sabotages possible relationships between whites and ethnics based on a commonality of experience: " The major function of racism is to divide the working class so that the proletariat can be exploited more effectively by the capitalists." [14]

Another important aspect of class in this relationship is the way in which class affects societal perceptions of who is and is not an immigrant, since class stereotypes are associated with use of the word immigrant. As immigrant communities, ethnics have a lower social position, and their class status then becomes part of their ethnic status, forming a permanent link in societal perception of ethnics[15]. Roxana Ng, in her work on class and

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[13]. Daiva K. STASIULIS, "Theorizing Connections: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class",in Peter S. LI (ed), Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 292.

[14]. Ibid., p.271.

[15]. Roxana NG, "The Social Construction of "Immigrant Women" in Canada", in Roberta HAMILTON, and Michelle BARRETT (eds), The Politics of Diversity, (Montreal, Quebec: Book Center Inc., 1986), p.268.

immigrant women in Canada suggests that these perceptions play an important role in the treatment of ethnics; according to her the legal definition of immigrant differs quite significantly from its common-sense usage, in that legally one is only an immigrant until one is given citizenship to a country[16]. As she points out the term immigrant is not simply used in its legal sense, it implies a specific class relation, where those who are viewed as immigrants have a stereotype associated with them (" ...the image of a woman who is visibly different, who cannot speak english properly"[17]). This suggests that race, ethnicity, and gender are not the only factors determining status and social identity in society, but that class may play an important part in these relationships as well. While both highly skilled, educated and/or upper class ethnics will be exposed to similar discrimination faced by working class ethnics, the difference of class not only protects and/or slots individuals, it appears to be negatively associated with the image of the permanent immigrant.

Although class as a variable may be less socially immutable in the way race/ethnicity, or gender is, evidently it affects the identity of ethnic women, whether positively or otherwise. This combined with a second generation status, causes identities which must necessarily be fragmented to some extent. We have seen the problems with ethnic politics, which is gender blind, and with the

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[16]. Ibid., p.269.

[17]. At this point, legally, an individual becomes a citizen of that country, and is both entitled to the same rights as "natives" as well as obligated to the same laws. See NG, op. cit., p.269.

women of colour discourse which does not distinguish between immigrant and ethnic women. The need for a discourse which addresses these various intersections might conceivably be filled by what is called the politics of identity: theory based on the life experiences and perceptions of people who have in some way been marginalized or displaced.

The Politics of Identity

Identity politics has its roots in black consciousness and struggle in the sixties[18]. The reconstruction of black identity from negative to more positive (through expressions like "Black is beautiful"), was based on the belief that there exists a strong relationship between one's self identity and the ability to exercise one's rights and privileges in societies like the US or Canada[19]. The political behaviour or involvement of an individual or group was therefore linked to the position that the subject held within society:

> ...the militant assertion of agency and citizenship, the valorization of 'claiming an identity they taught me to despise'...what processes of identity and consciousness produce the female and male political actors?[20]

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[18]. L.A. KAUFFMAN, "The Anti-Politics of Identity" in Socialist Review vol.20, no.1, 1990, pp.69-72.

[19]. Ibid., p.70.

[20]. Nancie CARAWAY, "The Cunning of History; Empire, Identity and the Feminist Flesh", Women and Politics, vol.12 no. 2, 1992,

Identity politics then, according to scholars like Bondi, is about deconstructing, and reconstructing (necessarily multiple) identities in order to dismantle prevailing mythologies that underpin and therefore sustain certain power relations[21]. The discourse has been appropriated by the feminist movement as part of a process which seeks to legitimize the experiences of women which have hitherto been part of what was deemed a purely apolitical world. To some extent it can be seen as a fine tuning of the feminist struggle to both connect the private and public spheres as well as deconstruct them. Feminism has always been about the politicization of the private sphere and all that was deemed personal, and therefore unworthy of public or governmental attention. After all, the re-defining of child-care and housework as unpaid labour, rather than non labour not only demanded recognition for traditional female work, but also politicized the relationships within the family. However, since much of this analysis was based on normative experiences of women in the dominant racial, cultural, and class positions, there remained a whole slew of women's experiences that were not even acknowledged.

Thornton-Dill has suggested that race, class and other such factors must be recognized in feminist identity politics, since

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p.13. Also see Nancie CARAWAY, "The Riddle of Consciousness: Racism and Identity in Feminist Theory", Lois Lovelace DUKE (ed), in Women in Politics: Outsiders or Insiders, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Duke Prentice Hall, 1993), p.17.

[21]. Liz Bondi, " Locating Identity Politics", in Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds), Place and The Politics of Identity, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p.96.

they contribute to economic, ideological and experiential cleavages among women, which in turn lead to differences in social and self perceptions[22]. In order to understand a variety of women's experiences, she contends that it is imperative that we analyze the way in which structures of race, class gender, etc. interact in different women's lives. The incorporation of identity politics into such a framework has provided the necessary context for women of colour and ethnicity, to examine the point at which issues of race, gender, ethnicity, and class intersect, and in doing so, has challenged mainstream feminism's *a priori* assumptions on who is oppressed for what reasons. As Caraway asserts:

> ...the internal deconstructive practices of women who define themselves as different from the 'whitened center' ...those voices of lesbian, African-American, Chicana, Asian, Latina, Arab and Native women join white poor and working class women to allow the edges of otherness to appear. They teach the hubris of allowing any one "unity" to be taken as representative of what is multi, plural, fragmented and protean[23].

Politicized Identity: From Theory to Practice

While identity politics is intrinsically linked to western feminism in its attempt to politicize that which had hitherto been regarded as personal and therefore non-public, it differs in one

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[22]. Bonnie THORNTON-DILL, " Race, Class, and Gender: Prospects for An All-Inclusive Sisterhood ", Feminist Studies vol.9 no 1, 1983, p.138.

[23]. CARAWAY, op. cit., p.9.

significant way, and that is the emphasis on how the feelings and life experiences of marginalized individuals shape them. The experiences and struggles of women whose oppression is multi-layered grounds identity politics in what Caraway describes as "...theory in the flesh...outside the rarefied halls of Academia."[24] As Caraway so persuasively argues, questions about the self, about knowing and being, are not mutually exclusive. There must be some experiential foundation, some perception of the self, before we may act in the world. Thus, according to her, the achievement of identity is a moment of political struggle which then allows an individual to contextualize experiences by linking them to a larger political reality.It is however, she stresses, a moment, one which should be perceived as only the first step towards a political life. The danger lies in believing that what African-American poet June Jordan calls "sitting inside one's sorrows", amounts to an act of political will[25].

According to scholars like Mohanty or Kauffmann, there is always the danger in this type of politics that all it will lead to is a self indulgent politicization of all that is personal and self reflecting, without external political involvement, what Harvey refers to as " ...an endless game of self-exploration played out on the great board of identity."[26] In such a scenario political

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[24]. Ibid., p.8.

[25]. Pratibha PARMAR, "Other Kinds of Dreams" in Feminist Review,no. 31, 1989, p.62.

[26]. David HARVEY, "Class Relations, Social Justice, and the Politics of Difference", in Michael KEITH, and Steve PILE (eds),

activism is perceived as changing one's lifestyle rather than attempting to affect change at a societal level[27]. In addition, the emphasis on celebrating one's own background, or experiences, causes a focus on oneself or those who have lived similar lives and this creates exclusion, so that even in the event of political activism what occurs is what Mohanty describes as "a barred room" where a nurturing space is provided for those who belong; each group has its nurturing space - white, black, lesbian, etc. - without realizing that this illusion of community is a microcosm of a larger society which also bases itself on difference:

> ...while sameness of experience, oppression, culture, etc. may be adequate to construct this place, the moment we 'get ready to clean house' this very sameness in community is exposed as having been built on a debilitating ossification of difference.[28]

Similarly, Kauffman has argued that the idea of organising around one's own oppression has too often only erected barriers to communication and coalition building among diverse groups[29]. Rather than organizing against structures of oppression, exploitation, and exclusion that impact on various segments of the population,

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Place and the Politics of Identity, (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p.61.

[27]. KAUFFMAN, op. cit., pp.77-78.

[28]. Chandra Talpade MOHANTY, "Feminist Encounters: Locating the Politics of Experience", in Michèle BARRETT, and Anne PHILLIPS (eds), Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.85.

[29]. KAUFFMAN, op. cit., p.76.

political groups have constructed their struggle around personal histories of ethnicity, gender, class, or race[30]. Daiva Stasiulis calls this the "closed economy of oppression" where groups vie for most disadvantaged status, rather than focusing on building coalitions for change that will benefit everyone[31].

However, according to ethnic feminist writer Lourdes Torres, identity politics has become the popular target of criticism from feminism of all varieties when in reality it has, for radical women of colour, never meant bemoaning individual circumstances, or ranking oppression[32]. Rather, it has been a politics of activism, based on theory attempting to reveal important differences between women that are based on race and class, differences that demand white feminist acknowledgement. As Bondi points out, while questions of authentic identities and hierarchies of oppression must be avoided at all costs, recognizing the different constructions of identity, and accepting that some are more significant than others in terms of historical domination, is politically essential if women want to forge alliances across racial, ethnic and class lines[33].

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[30]. Ibid., p.76.

[31]. Daiva K. STASIULIS, "`Authentic Voice': Anti-Racist Politics in Canadian Feminist Publishing and Literary Production", in Sneja GUNEW, and Anna YEATMAN (eds), Feminism and the Politics of Difference, (Halifax: Fernwood publishing, 1993).

[32]. Lourdes TORRES, " The Construction of the Self in US Latino Autobiographies", in Chandra Talpade MOHANTY (ed et al), Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), p.275.

[33]. BONDI, op. cit., p.96.

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The previous two chapters were meant to be an introduction to the main ideas in this thesis, as well as a review of literature in the areas of ethnic groups, and more specifically ethnic women. After examining ethnic group literature, mainstream feminist theory, and the radical women of colour discourse, it seems clear that none of these are adequate forums for theory on non-immigrant (eg.second generation) ethnic women. While ethnic literature offered a great deal of insight into minority group identity, it did not appear to recognize the possible effect gender would have on differences in ethnic self esteem or behaviour, while on the other hand mainstream western feminism focuses almost exclusively on gender, leaving out the importance of race, and class, thus excluding the experiences of non-white, non-middle class women. The discourse on women of colour (and ethnicity) had a great deal to offer in the way of a framework of analysis using intersections of gender, race, and (to some extent) class to theorize on ethnic female identity. That particular framework has been used here to look at the unique experiences of ethnic women within and outside of their communities. However, even such ground-breaking theory homogenizes minority women by perceiving them as either African-American or immigrant. This chapter was therefore meant to introduce identity politics as an alternative framework, one which utilizes the race/class/gender equation, but in addition allows more nuance in the interpretation of categories like "women of

colour", "ethnic women" immigrant women" and so on.

Feminist identity politics is theory based on the real life experiences of women of different races, backgrounds etc. It is theory which attempts to establish a cause and effect relationship between our perceptions and experiences of the world and our political behaviour. According to Thornton-Dill, most people do not explain their experiences or world view in terms of their race, gender, class etc.[34] The recognition of these factors and the way in which they affect social relations is perhaps the most essential part of the discourse on identity. Theory grounded in identity politics demands the examination of ontological and epistemological questions of who we are and from where we derive our knowledge of the world[35]. In doing so it compels mainstream feminism to re-evaluate the exclusion of factors like race, and class in its gender paradigm. It questions why it is that national identity and citizenship in nations like the US and Canada with large heterogenous populations, are still being constructed through stereotypes derived from the dominant culture. It is theory that appears to be dynamic in its ability to accommodate a variety of factors interacting in a multiplicity of ways.

The politics of identity, says Caraway, is about practises of deep contextualization, with experiences that are always gendered, coloured , situated, and which then give us the grounds for

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[34]. Bonnie THORNTON-DILL, "Race, Class and Gender: Prospects for an All-Inclusive Sisterhood" , Feminist Studies, vol.9 no 1, 1983, p.138.

[35].CARAWAY, op. cit., p.111.

political struggle and coalition in the real world of shared feminist struggle[36]. Above all, it is not meant to be simply a self indulgent exercise in the exploration of one's psyche without activism, or academic theory that does not translate into practice. Such a tendency towards self aggrandizement on an individual or group level is what identity politics must guard against, especially, as Kauffman points out, in such profoundly de-politicized societies as Canada and the United States [37]. However, the relationship that identity politics establishes between the private and public spheres of life not only validates the importance of self in the construction of multiple oppressions, but is also a promising theoretical framework for this thesis, which is studying the social/self identities of second generation ethnic women in Canada, and how these identities affect their political behaviour.

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[36]. CARAWAY, op. cit., p.21.

[37]. KAUFFMAN, op. cit., p.78.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

The preceding chapter looked at identity politics and its importance as a framework for the study of second generation ethnic minority women. It examined the language of this discourse and why it has appealed to marginalized groups such as women and minorities. But what must be made clear is that identity politics has been more than a tool for those on the outside: it has forged a link between social identity and political power which cannot easily be dismissed or ignored. Identity politics is based on the belief that the construction and reinforcement of a marginalized identity is political,that is, it occurs for particular reasons which are located outside of the individual, and has particular consequences that are external. This suggests that specific individual or group behaviour is a consequence of an identity which is initially socially constructed. The recognition of this, as well as an understanding of why one perceives the world in a particular way, then opens up the possibility of individual reflection leading to a desire for external change. In a discourse which links politics with identity, a discovery of the self becomes a foundation for emancipatory political struggle.

This research is premised on the idea that second generation ethnic women have fragmented identities in which they construct themselves as "other" because society itself has marginalized them in various ways through race, gender, ethnicity, and/or class. These social/self identities are rooted in societal perceptions of who belongs and therefore has rights; and in having these rights, as a result also has power.

Questions of power are clearly political in scope. Citizenship discourse is a forum for the various arguments on questions of rights, power, and inclusion in a society, because we define citizenship through these various elements. It represents the political construction of identity. It is theory that relates identity to the public and political sphere, because the denial of full citizenship (through the denial of national identity), is based on aspects of social identity like race, class, ethnicity, and gender. This chapter explores the ramifications of the relationship between identity and citizenship, and its effects on second generation, ethnic Canadian women. The first section examines definitions of citizenship and the rights and responsibilities that ostensibly follow if one has legal citizenship in a country. The second section moves into an analysis of citizenship and gender, focusing on some of the difficulties women have in being recognized (socially) as full citizens even today. The third and fourth sections look at some of the problems associated with being a citizen of a country when one is also a member of a minority group, racial and/or ethnic; as well as the

question of whether national identity is even possible for ethnic women in a culture that perceives them as non Canadian in some way. Finally, the last section looks briefly at Canada's policy of multiculturalism, which can be seen as the policy side of the theory on citizenship. It is a policy which claims to recognize that Canada is made up of a multiplicity of different groups and types of people. However its persistent focus on the ethnic backgrounds of new Canadians, indicates a lack of awareness for ethnics who are not immigrants, and therefore works to perpetuates the idea of the eternal immigrant.

Given the underlying hypothesis of this thesis, it is essential that the framework linking the fragmentation of identity in these women's lives and their political behaviour be outlined clearly before moving on to the empirical part of this study. The bulk of this research has centred around the construction of fragmented, or at least multiple identities in the women being studied. The possible political effects of this construction on these women are what this chapter is interested in determining. What is their sense of themselves as Canadian citizens? How do they construct their nationality? What are the consequences, if any, of their dual marginalization (as women and ethnics), as far as their definition of political actors and therefore political activity is concerned? And how does the official multicultural policy of this country influence their sense of the political space being given to them as non-immigrant ethnic Canadian women?

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What is Citizenship

Before launching into a discussion of the relationship between citizenship rights and social identity, we must consider what we mean when we speak of citizenship in a country. Starting from the premise that citizenship implies more than just abstract notions of justice and equality for all under the law, is it, as Kaplan suggests participation in a community, democracy, access to employment and land ownership[1]? What concrete rights should members of a community have and what obligations must they fulfil? Who should belong to this community, and who decides this[2]? And what, if at all, is the link between citizenship and nationality, in countries that have heterogenous populations, like Canada or the US?

Clearly what distinguishes citizenship from permanent residency in a country is the following: a) the sense of belonging to a national community and b) the rights and responsibilities that come with being part of that community. The former is more elusive,

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[1]. William KAPLAN, "Countries That Care about Their Citizenship Make Naturalization Difficult - or Do They?", in William KAPLAN, Citizenship Legislation: A Comparative Study of France, Germany, Switzerland, The United Kingdom, The United States and Australia, (Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991), p.18.

[2]. Katherine FIERLBECK, "Redefining Responsibility: The Politics of Citizenship in the United States" The Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol. XXIV no. 3, 1991, p.576.

tied in to abstract notions of social and self-identity, while the latter appears in the tangible form of laws that both protect individuals and groups as well as demand certain things from them. The legal right to participate in the political processes of a country, has historically been based on what Fierlbeck suggests is an exclusionary process where those who have this right are distinguishable from those who do not[3]. The segregation of African Americans under the "separate but equal" law, and the "non-person" status of women until this century are explicit denials of active citizenship and give a powerful testimony to the power held by those who have traditionally defined the nature of citizenship[4]. Clearly then, physical presence in a country does not entitle one to citizenship. Neither does being a morally upstanding member of that society. Legal citizenship in western polities has traditionally been based on certain very specific requirements, many of which were discriminatory.

The achievement of legal citizenship for previously marginalized groups is only one half the equation. De facto citizenship, located in the sense of belonging that individuals feel (as part of a nation's history, culture, etc.), allows the freedom to participate fully in the social, and political life of a country. This freedom is not limited to legal citizenship, but relates as well to broader societal perceptions of who belongs. As Young points out, although all citizens have the right to

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[3]. Ibid., p.578.

[4]. Ibid., p.575.

participate in the decision making processes of their country, certain groups (women, blacks, working-class people and poor people) participate less because their experiences and perspectives are silenced by barriers that are historically informed and structural in nature:

> White middle-class men assume authority more than others and they are more practised at speaking persuasively...increased democracy led to increased segregation in many cities because the more privileged and articulate whites were able to promote their perceived interests against blacks' just demand for equal treatment in an integrated system...social power makes some citizens more equal than others...

Evidently there is an important distinction between legal citizenship and social citizenship. Perceptions of who is a citizen of a country are based on historical possession of legal citizenship; women and minorities - former non-citizens - fought long and hard to achieve citizenship. There remains however, a social structure that does not appear to have caught up to its legal counterpart, and still associates citizenship and its rights with those who have always had them: white middle class men.

Citizenship and Gender

Throughout western history it has been men who were the rule-makers of society, and therefore citizenship was constructed as being the domain of men. Ann Philips contends that defining

citizenship through male dominated area like the defense of the country neatly excluded women, forcing them into the private sphere and allowing the legislation of them as "non - persons" and therefore not *political*[5]:

> ...Marshall wrote in a right to employment as part of his conception of citizenship rights - but did this just at the point when architects of the state were constructing men as breadwinner-worker and woman as dependant -wife. If employment is taken as the mark of citizenship does this mean women are not yet full members, that their citizenship is second class? Such questions give a new feminist inflection to an older socialist suspicion and suggest that the citizen is less universal in scope than he likes to pretend[6].

This feminist analysis of citizenship holds that since political structures were created by men, they are gendered, and this gendering has impacted heavily on societal notions of what it means to be a citizen of a country. As Sarvasy points out, gender differences have historically been used to generate two unequal roles: the non-political citizen-Mother who raised future male citizens imbued with civic virtue, and the political citizen-soldier, who achieved civic virtue through male defined heroic actions[7].

That the political structures of our country were created and

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[5]. Anne PHILIPS, Democracy and Difference, (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p.78.

[6]. Ibid., p.78.

[7]. Wendy SARVASY, "Beyond the Difference versus Equality Policy Debate: Postsuffrage Feminism, Citizenship, and the Quest for a Feminist Welfare State", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol. 17 no.2, 1992, p.332.

designed by white, upper class males is no secret; however the question is this: does that automatically mean these structures are gendered and racialized as a result? Kathleen Jones in her work on citizenship and feminist theory, would argue that they are biased given that citizens and power makers are not disembodied subjects, they in fact have interests which reflect their own biological and psycho-social identities[8]. By collapsing the subject/object distinction she is arguing that individuals do not step outside of themselves, interacting in a completely distant and uninvolved manner, where one's societal position and perspective are set aside. Rather, the socio-political norms of a society are defined by the social identity of the dominant group, who base their definition of "belonging" on their own reality, marginalizing anyone they perceive as different. As Jones contends:

> ...The identification of citizens and the definition of citizenship is derived from the representation of the behaviour of a group with particular race, gender, and class characteristics (white male elites) as the model of citizenship for all individuals. The discursive power of this group includes the ability to define normatively the practice of citizenship. In other words citizenship is delimited conceptually by falsely universalizing one particular group's practice of it[9].

Jones' assertion of the absence of "objectivity" on the part of those in power renders the concept of "equality" much more problematic by definition, since as she points out, social, and

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[8]. Kathleen B.JONES, "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity" Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol.15 no.4, 1990, p.795.

[9]. Ibid., p.784.

discursively defined differences make the granting of the same rights to everyone more likely to sustain a hierarchy of rights instead of a uniformity of status[10]. Therefore in a society where everyone is entitled to the same rights and yet certain members of that society come to be marginalized and not represented politically, the universal nature of those rights becomes insignificant in the face of actual discrimination and alienation. It would seem then that the formal existence of political structures that are user friendly only to certain segments of the population is not incidental. We must question whether such a politics entails the symbolic inclusion of all, and the de facto exclusion of those whose class, race, ethnicity, and gender define them as not belonging in some way.

Citizenship and Race

While women in western political regimes were traditionally excluded from "citizenship" , except through their duties as Mother and wife, slaves and foreigners were not even given that much admittance. This indicates that citizenship is not only determined by gender, but by race, and culture. Even in today's nation-states which tend to be much more ethnically diverse than their predecessors, nationality is still determined by cultural and racial factors. According to Silverman, while first generation

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[10]. Ibid., p.796.

immigrants in France are not considered French, neither are their French born and raised children; their ethnic identity precludes them from being considered citizens in the complete sense of the word[11]. Apparently, nationality plays an important role in determining who is a real citizen and who is not. Since those who are not may still share the same rights as those who are, how does their ethnicity affect their ability to claim active citizenship and therefore a place in the political sphere?

We may find the answer by charting the relationship between social identity and citizenship. According to Edward Portis,a secure self-concept gives ones a sense of autonomy; those individuals who see themselves as not possessing an inner consistency will suffer "ontological insecurity" or "ego chill"[12]. These individuals, threatened by their external environment, will find it impossible to deal with their social reality and must to some extent withdraw from it[13]. The alienation Portis is alluding to is one that may be experienced by ethnics whose sense of themselves as citizens will be affected by societal reaction to their presence, what Taylor refers to as experience of a dialogical character, where we define ourselves through interaction with

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[11]. Maxim SILVERMAN, "Citizenship and the Nation-State in France", Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol.14 no. 3, 1991, p.340.

[12]. Edward B. PORTIS, " Citizenship and Personal Identity", Polity, vol.18, 1985, p.463.

[13]. Ibid., p.464.

others[14]. In this scenario, ethnic groups are more explicitly rejected as being part of the overall national identity, than class based groups or the women's movement. This rejection in turn might have a detrimental affect on their view of themselves as politically efficacious individuals. If one is not recognized as a valued part of society, surely this suggests that ones's impact on that society is of little or no value. In such a scenario, an individual's personal identity, upon which rests their ability to act responsibly as a citizen cannot be divorced from their notion of social identity[15].

If there persists a societal belief that ethnics are not really a part of this nation, then for all intents and purposes *de facto* citizenship is denied to them. They are seen as eternal immigrants, with the term immigrant representing a legal status of non citizen (and not a part of the nation), which translates into a social status even after the legal one has been changed. It is a status based on class, race and ethnicity that constructs certain groups as immigrants even when they are not. This denial of social citizenship may conceivably make the implementation of legal citizenship that much harder. When certain groups and individuals are excluded socially and politically, can a country's structures and institutions (which are not distanced from social perceptions, and are simply practical applications of theoretical beliefs held

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[14]. Charles TAYLOR, Multiculturalism:Examining the Politics of Recognition, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.32.

[15]. PORTIS, op. cit., p.464.

by that society), actually include those who they have deemed to be "others"?

The debates on citizenship revolve around this dilemma. if everyone is entitled legally to the same rights and yet there is still inequality and systemic discrimination and exclusion of certain groups and individuals from mainstream culture, how do we go about reconciling the theoretical rights of citizenship with the inability to practically apply those rights? How does this inability shape or distort group and individual self perceptions of their interaction in that society? Finally, what does it mean to have legal citizenship rights in a country, when one's social identity is still that of an immigrant?

Citizenship and Social Identities

In the realm of modern day politics, the rights of citizenship have been universalized, with those who were previously excluded now having recognition under the law. In spite of this, the debate over citizenship still rages, fuelled by a growing recognition by various marginalized groups that the membership they fought for, still eludes them. This introduces a pertinent argument in the citizenship question, one which scholars like Iris Young and David Taylor have grappled with: do *de jure* rights automatically translate into *de facto* rights or does systemic discrimination still prevent certain groups from achieving equal status? According to David Taylor:

> The liberal tradition of citizenship, resting on an abstract notion of rights and an appeal to universalism has ignored the reality of power...abstract conceptions of rights and entitlements attached to citizenship, then, must come to terms with the underlying structural power relations which underscore practices of both state and market mechanisms[16].

Young argues that those belonging to marginalized groups, like women, minorities or the poor tend to feel disenfranchised and cut off from political culture[17]. While in theory everyone is entitled to the same rights, in reality these rights do not entitle you to equality, and acceptance if you are in some way distanced from the dominant group. She agrees with Jones that this discrimination is systemic: given that participatory democracies are structured to give advantage to those who already hold power, these structures tend to silence disadvantaged groups[18].

However, those who are leery of abandoning the ideal of a universal system of rights make a persuasive argument for the commonality of struggle. While they recognize the existing inequalities and therefore the contradictions between equality under the law and equality in fact, they are reluctant to espouse political struggles based on difference, mainly because they see it as further marginalizing already marginalized groups.

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[16]. David TAYLOR, "Citizenship and Social Power", Critical Social Policy, vol.9 no. 2, 1989, p.20.

[17]. Iris Marion YOUNG, "Polity and Group Difference: A critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship", Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political, and Legal Philosophy, Volume 99 No.2, 1989, p.258.

[18]. YOUNG, op. cit., p.258.

Underlying the universal ideal of "equality under the law" (where justice is blind), is the belief that aspects of one's social persona should not be used as venues for political power. Therefore those groups who claim political power in the name of their (private) disadvantages have made political what should have remained personal[19]. Elshtain, in her book Democracy on Trial, suggests that there is a fundamental problem with merging the private and public spheres, since it forces people to respect other individuals simply because of their disadvantaged social identity[20]. Unlike Young and other advocates of differentiated rights, she believes in the universality of equality, and that using difference as a means of obtaining political power creates more difference and renders some more unequal than others under the law:

> Repudiating the "sameness" of equality for its homogenizing urge, difference ideologues embrace their own version of sameness - an exclusionist sameness along lines of gender, race, ethnicity and sexual preference. Marks of difference, once they gain public recognition,

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[19]. According to Young not only are disadvantaged groups in society discriminated against and singled out as "other", they also are silenced by a formal societal commitment to racial, sexual and other types of equality. Just as it is no longer feasible to be openly racist in this society it is not considered appropriate to "whine" about one's social position or as Cairns describes it "nurse a sense of grievance".See Alan CAIRNS, "The fragmentation of Canadian Citizenship", in William KAPLAN (ed), Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp.208-210. : "The courage to bring discursive consciousness behaviour and reactions occurring at the level of practical consciousness is met with denial and powerful gestures of silencing that can make oppressed people feel slightly crazy." See Iris Marion YOUNG, Justice and the Politics of Difference, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), p.134.

[20]. Jean Bethke ELSHTAIN, Democracy on Trial, (Concord, Ontario: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1993), pp.65-90.

> acceptance...even preferred status and treatment are triumphant. The public world is a world of many "I's" who form a "we" only with others exactly like themselves. No recognition of commonality is forthcoming[21].

Equality with respect for difference is what Elshtain sees as the legitimate political tool; by focusing on the similarity between people, one doesn't have to manipulate one's personal identity, using it as a jump-start to political power.

Like Elshtain, Kallen is concerned with politicizing and constitutionalizing a "disadvantaged" identity. This she feels would simply redefine such groups as different, thereby reinforcing the existing hierarchies between political haves and have-nots[22]. Young's comeback to that would be that citizenship as part of the public sphere is political in nature, yet those who point to a universality of rights deny the existence of these subjective realities, expecting gender, race, class etc. to remain apolitical and part of the private sphere. This dichotomy between public and private life, is one that according to Young constructs the public sphere as a realm of generality where all particularities are left behind[23]. The inclusion of those groups formerly left out of citizenship rights goes hand in hand with an imposed homogeneity that seeks to suppress or minimize group identity, claiming that

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[21]. Ibid., pp.66-76.

[22]. Evelyn KALLEN, "Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada: Constitutionalizing Minority Rights", in Peter S. LI (ed), Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990),

[23]. YOUNG, op. cit., p.255.

equal rights mean equality[24].

This is not however, necessarily what universalists advocate. Far from being regressive or right wing, some of them are concerned with the fragmentation of social identity in the modern world, based on gender, ethnicity, sexuality and all other types of perceived difference. As Elshtain points out, a disadvantaged group like the mentally disabled, while not relinquishing their identity or their goal to be recognized, have pointed out how their similarity to the rest of society as people far outweighs their differences as the mentally disabled[25].

Unfortunately, the argument against a politicizing of social identities based on individual or group difference rests on the assumption that these differences are apolitical to begin with (similar to the categorization of homosexuality as a lifestyle choice rather than a fundamental social identity with very real consequences). It can be argued that just having a marginalized identity is political, since that alienation opens up a space of its own for those citizens who are not part of the mainstream but whose place in society has definite social and legal parameters (minorities, women, working class etc.). It is then further politicized by the particular group's struggle for recognition as a member of that society which is not being respected. Alan Cairns has asserted that the Charter has established a specific political place in society for these others just by defining them as "other"

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[24]. Ibid., p.255.

[25]. ELSHTAIN, op. cit., p.78.

through the terms minorities, women, etc.[26] To what extent has this definition been self imposed? Or has society has slotted them into certain social categories, and if so, what are the political consequences on their self-identity?

Intersections of Race, Gender, and Nationality

Jane Jenson has theorized that relations of power are constructed through what she describes as the universe of political discourse[27]. Within this universe the boundaries of political action are created by limiting the set of actors eligible to participate, by narrowing the range of issues, and so on[28]. In most western societies, this paradigm consists of the dominant culture, and then those who are marginalized and "othered", like ethnics and women; they are part of the culture of alienation and the politics of difference. For ethnics this cultural exclusion is directly as a result of their ethnicity, which has been defined as different. For women this exclusion is based on their sex, which means that although as white women, they are Canadian, they still do not have complete access to knowledge making and thus power. Ethnic women,

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[26]. CAIRNS, op. Cit., pp.208-210. Cairns argues that this forces people to define themselves in terms of their disadvantage. I would disagree however, since clearly they are already defined by mainstream society's rejection
of them as representative of canadian culture.

[27]. Jane JENSON, " Gender and Reproduction: or Babies and the State", Studies in Political Economy, vol. 20,1986, pp.25-26.

[28]. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

lacking the right gender, ethnic background (and in some cases, the right race), are on the fringes of society, and have fluid, perhaps fragmented identities, as women, minorities, and Canadians. However, unlike women of the first generation, they are strongly - if somewhat ambivalently rooted - in a culture that has not accepted them as part of the mainstream.

While citizenship rights along the lines of Elshtain or Kallen's framework do not appear to allow for difference from the homogenizing norm, even theory like Young's, which points out the need for differentiated rights for women, minorities etc. does not address the way in which intersections of race, class and gender overlap in these categories. Certainly such a perspective complicates the whole argument, because it forces us to look at the relationship of groups to each other in the political arena[29]. As Andrew points out:

> ...with the exception of the distinction between gay men and lesbians, each of these groups is categorized in terms of one oppression or exclusion but if we are talking about the political mobilization of real groups, this is not current reality. A more likely example would be lesbian visible-minority women with disabilities arguing that they are being silenced in an organization of visible-minority women with disabilities[30].

The lack of recognition for these multiple identities in the

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[29]. Caroline ANDREW, " Ethnicities, Citizenship and Feminisms: Theorizing the Political Practises of Intersectionality", Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, vol.1 no.3, 1995, p.12.

[30]. Ibid., p.12.

case of ethnic women of the second generation denies the complexity of their identities. As Taylor points out, this nonrecognition or misrecognition can be a form of oppression imprisoning one in a false, and reduced identity[31]. Finally it appears to offer them only one dimensional choices in terms of how they perceive themselves as political beings. Instead we must look at the way in which ethnicity, race, gender and citizenship interact in their lives, asking the following questions: what is the impact of being ethnic, yet rooted intrinsically in a culture that rejects you as different, on these women? How does being a woman in an ethnic community lower your status? How does the creation of a fragmented identity affect your political behaviour, if at all?

While the reality of this socio-political identity cannot be denied, it does not mean that members of a particular group (eg. ethnic women) will be empowered to change their position in society, nor does it mean that they will embrace an identity based on personal disadvantage. What it does, however, suggest is that their social identity has some kind of effect on their sense of citizenship and therefore on their behaviour politically.

Citizenship and the Politics of Multiculturalism

Citizenship theory is very much a political discourse, one which attempts to determine the processes through which legal

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[31]. TAYLOR, op. cit., p.25.

rights and responsibilities in a society translate into practice. The citizenship debates offer valuable material, when examining the current debates on immigration, human rights, multiculturalism etc. in this country. In particular the policy of multiculturalism is very relevant to this particular research because of its focus on the integration of ethnic groups into mainstream Canadian society. In fact multiculturalism, in this context, can be seen as the way in which citizenship theory has worked itself out as a policy.

Multicultural policy, first introduced in 1971 by the Liberal government under Trudeau as a replacement for Canada's previous bicultural framework, was intended to include ethnics in a Canadian identity, while stemming the tide of Quebec nationalism[32]. The policy, which encouraged the celebration of different ethnic heritages within a Canadian identity has over the past two decades unquestionably influenced the debate over citizenship rights, through its persistent focus on non franco, anglo, or native Canadians. Some of the most pertinent questions surrounding multiculturalism, both as a discourse and as a policy, are the following: 1) is multiculturalism divisive in its emphasis on diversity rather than sameness? 2) is it hierarchical in that it differentiates between new and old Canadians, in terms of ethnic and non ethnic? 3) Is it simply an ornamental policy that offers ethnic groups little real political representation and power? 4) Does it encourage ethnic tribalism rather than Canadian loyalty?

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[32]. Augie FLERAS and Jean Leonard ELLIOT. The Challenge of Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada. Nelson Canada: Scarborough, Ontario, 1992. P.153.

and 5) Is it grounded in an exclusionary belief where the recognition of certain groups in society over other groups belies the concept of universal equality?

This chapter has compared arguments on universal citizenship rights(centred around notions of equality rather than difference), with differentiated rights, which suggest that these differences exist and are what cause societal discrimination to begin with; therefore only by fighting for recognition will those with a disadvantaged identity be more equal. Clearly, the debates over multiculturalism revolve around similar questions of difference vs. diversity. Do we celebrate difference, or look for commonality between people? Multiculturalism does differ in one significant way from the citizenship debates in its focus on a type of particular disadvantaged group.It does not include women, disabled, or class based groups but targets the racial or ethnic populations of Canada. Multicultural policy attempts to illustrate that not only do ethnics have rights in Canada, they also make up the very fabric of this nation, which is ostensibly based on the idea of a cultural mosaic: " ...multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage." [33] This brings us full circle back to the relationship between nationality and citizenship, one which

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[33]. An excerpt of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, RS 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.).See Neil BISSOONDATH, "A Question of Belonging: Multiculturalism and Citizenship", in William KAPLAN et al (eds). Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. P.368.

citizenship discourses on gender or class sometimes tend to overlook.

The citizenship of women, gays, disabled etc. in Canadian society is unquestionably problematic, given the systemic discrimination that exists; nevertheless, to some extent these groups are included in the overall framework of a Canadian nation. The outsider status of ethnic and racial groups lies in sharp contrast to this, implying more than just legal or political disadvantage: their actual right to situate themselves in a Canadian context is challenged. This means that vying for political power must be consistently preceded by a defense of their right to participate in the social and political structures of Canada. The image of the "eternal immigrant" surfaces once more, separating ethnics from other disadvantaged groups.

Writers like Bissoondath, and Bell see the problem of national identity lying in Canada's mosaic concept, which emphasizes ethnic difference rather than Canadian unity. Bissoondath describes the following conversation that, according to him, takes place in the lives of ethnics on a regular basis:

" What nationality are you?"

"Canadian."

" No, I mean what nationality are you really?"[34]

It is Bissoondath who suggests that this idea of the eternal

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[34]. Ibid., p.377.

immigrant is what denies ethnics access to the already illusive Canadian identity[35]. In the whole debate surrounding national identity, he contends that ethnic identity and " Canadian identity" are incompatible and an emphasis on the former is what will continue to set ethnics apart from other "canadians":

> It has become commonplace that we who share this land - we who think of Canada as home - suffer an identity crisis stemming from a fragile self perception...the vision that many of us have of each other is one of division...depending on stereotype...[36]

Bissoondath is one of the most vocal opponents of the official policy of multiculturalism, which has come under tremendous attack over the last few years for what its critics describe as its focus on the exotic or different in terms of ethnic groups. Multiculturalism, in the context of ethnic national identity, has been savagely critiqued by Bissoondath as being a "gentle form of cultural apartheid" which continues to divide an already divided country[37]. Critics like Bissoondath and San Juan, who contend that multiculturalism is an example of the "guilty conscience or bad faith of petty suburban liberalism", are explicitly faulting the state for its (poor) involvement in trying to unite a fragmented population[38].

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[35]. Ibid., p.375.

[36], Ibid., p.375.

[37]. Ibid., p.375.

[38]. E. SAN JUAN, Racial Formations/Critical Transformations and Articulations of Power in Ethnic and Racial Studies in the Unites

Clearly the debate has invoked some salient questions of whether first and second generation immigrants properly assimilate or adapt to a country whose official policy emphasizes "diversity" (read difference) and the maintenance of an ethnic identity rather than the development of a "Canadian" one. Opponents of multicultural policy in Canada, like Frideres, stress the importance of relinquishing old ethnic ties in favour of a Canadian identity, arging that the link between a sense of citizenship and a powerful national identity is what Canada already lacks, and this is propounded by the holding on of old ties by the ethnic communities here[39]. In fact, the key difference, according to Kaplan, between the US and Canada in terms of their assimilation of ethnic minorities, is the value that is placed on citizenship and nationality in these two countries[40]. According to him no group of citizens places more value on being American than Americans themselves, and this is helped by the overall efforts of the state which promote common American values, instead of focusing on cultural differences[41]. However, such arguents gloss over similar problems the US is facing in terms of how it defines American values, and culture in a society that is just as ethnically diverse

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States (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1992), p.106.

[39]. James FRIDERES (ed at al), "Becoming Canadian: Citizen Acquisition and National Identity" Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, vol. XIV no. 1, 1987, pp.113-114.

[40]. KAPLAN, op. cit., p.18.

[41]. Ibid., p.18.

as Canada[42]. Western nations with strong national identities, like the US, are based on racialized contructions of identity (eg. the depiction of "all-American" men and women is that of a blond, blue-eyed Anglo-Saxon); therefore, the call to assimilate into the "McDonalds" culture is naive in its refusal to deconstruct who this culture defines itself to be [43]. Such critiques of multiculturalism often fail to recognize that implicit in Canadian or American identity is an incompatibility with ethnicity, which invariably alienates many ethnic groups.

Those who see some merit in promoting the policy, view multiculturalism as an (albeit imperfect), but nonetheless worthwhile effort to make non ethnic Canadians aware that ethnic groups in Canada are not simply transient, that they are indeed a part of the overall Canadian culture. Charles Taylor, in linking cultural hegemony with the diminishment of certain (ethnic) identities, makes a valuable point when he argues that multiculturalism builds on the politics of equal respect[44]. While he in no way idealizes the policy of multiculturalism, he points out that if there are negative consequences on people's identity due to a lack of recognition, then it follows just as everyone must be entitled to equal rights - regardless of race or culture - they

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[42]. It perhaps also ignores the alienation ethnic groups may feel in a country whose racial politics are polarized in terms of whites and blacks.

[43]. I am referring to the fast food restaurant, although of course the fact that McDonald is a surname of people from the British Isles only further emphasises the point.

[44]. TAYLOR, op. cit., p. 68.

should also be entitled to the presumption that their culture has value[45]:

> There must be something midway between the inauthenticity and homogenizing demand for recognition of equal worth, on the one hand, and the self immurement within ethnocentric standards, on the other. There are other cultures, and we have to live together more and more, both on a world scale and commingled in each individual society[46].

The recognition that society on a micro and macro scale is becoming increasing heterogenous is what proponents of multiculturalism seek to impress on us. Susan Wolf in her commentary on Taylor's essay argues that studying other cultures as simply an exercise in broadening horizons, is not even enough; only an active admission that these cultures are part of "our" (that is Canadian culture) is what will break down barriers of race and ethnicity[47]. As she suggests, the politics of recognition urge us to take a closer look at who is sharing the cities, schools and places we call ours: " There is nothing wrong with allotting a special place in the curriculum for the study of our history, our literature, our culture. But if we are to study our culture, we had better recognize who we, as a community, are."[48]

To be an active citizen in a country (that is participating in

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[45]. TAYLOR, op. cit., p.68.

[46]. TAYLOR, op. cit., p.72.

[47]. Susan WOLF, "Commentary" in Charles Taylor, Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition, (Princeton University: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.85.

[48]. WOLF, op. cit., p.85.

the social and political culture), it would seem obvious that one needs to hold a belief that one is part of the country in question. According to Bell, the mosaic as Canada's unifying symbol is problematic given the race and class discrimination which continues to colour the very fabric of Canadian identity[49]. He suggests that Anglo Canadians already have difficulty seeing "others" as Canadian, and this is a serious stumbling block to the resolution of the national identity question, which according to Bissoondath, continues to plague both ethnic and non ethnic Canadians[50]. In the great debate over multicultural policy, Bissoondath and other critics lack a certain awareness of the fact that it is not ethnics who reject the Canadian culture in favour of maintaining their own; rather it is the Canadian culture which rejects them, defining them as other before they even arrive, and forcing them to carve out a niche with other marginalized groups and individuals, where they "belong". Multiculturalism may be a policy which reflects very little desire to change the political status quo, as far as integrating ethnics into mainstream culture, but it is not the underlying cause of ethnic outsider status; racism and ethnic exclusion were a fundamental part of Canadian society long before multiculturalism came on the scene.

Embedded in Multicultural policy is what *appears* to be an unresolvable contradiction: the establishment of a Canadian

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[49]. David BELL, The Roots of Disunity: A Look at Canadian Political Culture, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p.79.

[50]. Ibid., p.79.

identity when immigrants are encouraged to hold on to their previous national identity. This begs the question: are these two so incommensurable as to not even be capable of coexisting as elements of an ethnic individual's background? Furthermore, is Canadian identity so far removed from cultural diversity that it cannot expand to include ethnicity as part of its most positive element? Writers like Buchignani and Iacovetta have chronicled the experiences of "immigrants" to Canada: histories of Europeans, Asians, and others that date back well into the last century. As Brenda Beck, in her book on Indo-Canadian culture points out, instead of focusing on difference, perhaps both multicultural policy and Canadian society should begin looking for similar experiences and common histories shared by ethnics and non ethnics, in the overall history of Canada[51].

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This thesis is an attempt to determine how identities (specifically those of second generation ethnic Canadian women) get constructed, and what impact this has on their political perceptions and behaviour. In chapters one through three, I was

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[51]. Brenda BECK, "Bread Crumbs or Yeast: Indo-Canadian Popular Culture and its Growth Potential", in Milton ISRAEL (ed), The South Asian Diaspora in Canada: Six Essays, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1987).

mainly concerned with the way in which social and self identities are constructed for marginalized groups like ethnics and women. I highlighted some the shortcomings of discourses focusing only on gender, or ethnicity, without an awareness of the multiple nature of certain identities. I also pointed out the problems with theory that recognizes race/class/gender intersections, yet still continues to lump all ethnic women into the category of immigrant woman. Finally I looked at the discourse of identity politics, theory geared towards fragmented and multiple identities, which rests on the belief that there exists for many women, a direct relationship between identity and political consciousness.

Chapter four has attempted to theorize the connection between identity and political behaviour. The focus on citizenship and its link to identity is rooted in the idea that active citizenship is a vital part of the political sphere; given the historical exclusion of certain groups from this arena, based on aspects of their social identity, it is interesting to determine how in modern western nations (where legally citizenship has been extended to these groups), societal perceptions of them as non- citizens still affect their ability to participate fully in the public sphere.

In the first section I define citizenship, breaking it down into two areas: legal and social, and how both these dimensions are played out in the political sphere. I then go on to look at the gendering and racializing of citizenship in western societies, and how nationality is constructed. In these sections I am attempting to illustrate how historically, gender, race, class and other

variables were used to deny citizenship to individuals and groups and even now are what determine political and social power in a society; if this is the case there must then be double the consequences on individuals whose social identity is both ethnic or racial, and female, like ethnic women.

The various debates on citizenship rights are examined briefly, since these debates illustrate the relationship that exists between social identity and citizenship. Those who staunchly support universal rights and equality under the law do not take into account group and individual social identities which play a crucial role in determining who has political power and who does not. The ideal of a universal equality is difficult to relinquish, since it is one of the foundations of liberal democracy. However, the argument can be made that those who point to a need for differentiated rights are endeavouring to address an already existing inequality that will not disappear simply because those who are different, pretend they are not.

The last section of this chapter looks at Canadian multicultural policy, using it as a example of how citizenship theory works itself out as a policy. The various arguments for and against multiculturalism offer examples of how marginalized ethnic Canadians may still be from mainstream perceptions of who is part of Canadian culture. By constructing ethnic groups as new Canadians, multiculturalism has simply reflected these stereotypes, excluding segments of the ethnic population who have lived here for many years, or as in the case of second generation women, were born

and/or raised here.

Both citizenship theory as well as its policy counterpart (multiculturalism) indicate a lack of recognition of the fragmented or multiple nature of identities in a changing world. Such approaches tend to be reductionist in their theorizing of categories like women, visible minorities, immigrants etc. All that these categories suggest is that there is difference within the population, without addressing the nature of these differences. In pluralist societies like Canada, we must seriously question the effectiveness of theory that bases citizenship rights on social identities that are still defined as "other", without attempting to examine and breakdown the construction of these "others".

CHAPTER FIVE

FEMINIST RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

The previous four chapters attempted to lay the theoretical groundwork of this thesis, which is focused on the identity of second generation ethnic Canadian women, and its consequences on their political behaviour. Chapter one reviewed the literature available on ethnic groups, drawing the conclusion that this area of research, while valuable, did not posit any meaningful distinction between ethnic males and females, in terms of their experiences in western countries. Having therefore established the need for gender sensitive analysis in ethnic studies, the second chapter examined both mainstream and ethnic feminist theory as possible discourses which could more comfortably accommodate ethnic women. Both discourses were, however, found lacking in this area of study: mainstream feminism because of its narrow focus on gender as the principal site of oppression for women (with no regard for factors like race and class), and the women of colour discourse because of its categorization of minority women as either African-American (or Afro- Canadian), or immigrant. Use of the word immigrant implies both a legal status, and a social one in the minds of the dominant culture; furthermore, by making constant associations with the words immigrant and ethnic the discourse ignores the lived experiences of non-immigrant ethnic women who do not encounter the same type of discrimination or difficulty as do

immigrant women, and who therefore do not personally identify with this experience[1].

Chapter three looks at the significant differences between immigrant and second generation women, and in attempting to derive a suitable framework for this research, examines the feminist discourse on identity politics, political theory which focuses on the real life experiences and feelings of individuals and groups, and how they play out politically. The link between identity and politics is clearly what grounds this thesis, which therefore finds its most comfortable fit within the above discourse. The possible relationship existing between social and self identity and specific political behaviour is then explored in chapter four where I discuss citizenship and national identity as being fundamental expressions of group and individual political identity. Finally, I briefly examine the debates surrounding Canada's multicultural policy, a policy which can be seen as one possible practical application of citizenship theory.

The theory in these four chapters has been an attempt to flesh out some of the more important aspects of the race, gender and class intersection in the lives of second generation Canadian women. This is done in order to contextualize the actual

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[1]. While it may seem redundant to characterize the identification of an experience as personal what I'm suggesting is that they do in fact identify with the immigrant woman's experience in so far as they have all had immigrant mothers. To that extent they would very much relate to the experience of immigration. However, their specific life experiences as non immigrant ethnics are not those theorized on in the discourse, and it is in this way that they are excluded, and cannot personally relate.

experiences of some of these women (as presented in chapter six, and appendix I), the empirical work around which this thesis is centred. Given the length of time taken for each interview (approximately one hour), as well as the repetitive nature of some responses, it was neither necessary nor possible (due to length constraints on this thesis),to include the details of each respondent's answer to each question. The interviews are therefore presented in a specific format: particular questions are grouped together for convenience with the number of yes and no responses and three or four detailed answers per question, which gives a fairly well rounded sense of each respondent's overall experiences and reflections.

Chapter five - which is neither part of the literature review, nor the empirical section - outlines and explains the methodology used in this thesis. The first section of this chapter looks at the importance of feminist research methods as a new, and exciting alternative to conventional scientific research. It outlines the significance of qualitative research (like this thesis), and discusses the various pros and cons of insider research (also used here). Finally the chapter includes a personal account of my experiences with this type of field work: the problems, as well as benefits that I encountered through my interviewing of approximately 15 people; and the reason why I eventually decided not to include certain interviews.

Feminist Research Methods

There is within feminist scholarship, a plurality of methods, allowing the researcher to decide which is best suited to their particular type of project[2]. This lack of orthodoxy has stimulated intellectual growth and creativity through its trust and validation of the researcher's capabilities and integrity in using very subjective material[3]. While feminist methods have been critiqued by mainstream methodology as biased, primarily because of their "partisan" ties to women and often because of their experiential focus, this has only strengthened the belief within feminist research that a vast epistemological overhauling is needed in both the physical and social sciences.

Traditional mainstream feminist theory has been ground-breaking in its struggle to shift the ontological focus of most western theory and practice from male to female. However this only solved one part of the problem, so that the inclusion of women as categories in scientific and social research became an "add women and stir" principle that is still seen as a viable option in several areas of research including feminist empiricism[4]. Unfortunately, this inclusion (some would say tokenism) has failed

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[2]. Shulamit REINHARZ, Feminist Methods in Social Research, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.4.

[3]. Ibid., p.244.

[4]. Spike V. PETERSON, and Anne Sisson RUNYAN, "The Radical Future of Realism: Feminist Subversions of IR Theory", Alternatives, vol.16, 1991, p.73.

to address the gendered nature of the theories themselves, theories which automatically position (white) men as the frame of reference and continue to apply this framework to women:

> For positivists, expressions of value...cannot be verified empirically, for they merely amount to reports of how people feel...feminist commitments, like anti-racist and gay rights commitments count in such analyses only as values; hence they cannot be permitted to inspire, govern, or justify the results of research projects. To be a feminist is, in effect to conduct value-laden research and hence not to be properly objective[5].

Objectivity and rationality (traditionally male attributed virtues) continue to be used as hallmarks of valid research, research that posits such a sharp subject/object distinction that just by studying women, a woman researcher is often seen to be biased and therefore her results are deemed to be less reliable[6]. The scientific approach to theory - statistical, formal and supposedly value neutral - has been so entrenched in pedagogy that use of "other" material (experiences, feelings, etc) is still is synonymous with some type of partisanship. To be capable of offering pure, unbiased knowledge of the outside world, one has to consciously locate oneself *outside* of this world, what Burt and Code describe as "a view from nowhere"; physically and psychologically impossible to achieve given every individual's own

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[5]. Sandra BURT, and Lorraine CODE (eds), Changing Methods: Feminist Transforming Practice, (Peterborough Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995), p.17.

[6]. Ibid., pp.15-17.

life experiences and perspectives[7]. Nevertheless, science and theory go on believing that this detachment is not only possible but necessary, despite the fact that history has given us numerous examples of how this so called objectivity helped preserve the social status quo: work done by white men which characterized white men as genetically superior to white women and other non white humans and was seen as objective because it was based on this scientific principal[8]:

> These ideals erase connections between knowledge and power; hence they lend support to a philosophical and commonsensical conviction that knowledge properly so called is as neutral - as politically innocent - as processes thought to produce it...[but] in decontextualized research, sanitized examples tend most commonly to be abstracted whether by chance or design, from the stylized experiences of the privileged, then to be presented as exemplary of knowledge "in general"[9].

Feminist methodology attacks the epistemological bases of scientific objectivity, suggesting that the relationship between knowledge makers and power holders is symbiotic, and the existence of theory extolling the virtues of one group, while claiming to be objective is not coincidental in any way. The inclusion of the "other" into mainstream research practices which still operate under a false belief in " the God-trick" is no real inclusion at

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[7]. Ibid., p.15-16.

[8]. Mariana VALVERDE, "When the Mother of the Race is Free: Race, Reproduction and Sexuality in First Wave Feminism", in Franca IACOVETTA, and Mariana VALVERDE (eds), Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's history, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p.7.

[9]. BURT and CODE, op. cit., p.16, 18.

all[10]; a research method that dismisses those "other" experiences as unimportant and non-quantifiable unless done through traditional scientific methods must be deconstructed, and its own biases uncovered.

With the exception of feminist empiricism, feminist epistemology in the form of standpoint, post modernism or feminist critical theory rejects traditional scientific approaches to knowledge seeking[11]. These approaches, in stark contrast to positivist methods, emphasize the importance of recognizing one's own perspectives and biases, thus allowing the audience to judge whether the relationships theorized about are based on integrity, rather than pseudo-objectivity[12]. By breaking down this "whitemale" theory of knowledge, feminist methods have given greater legitimacy to women's voices and other voices on the margins as well, who as Burt and Code point out are invisible in the data, and cannot find a way to make their experiences count[13] In this new scenario, their

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[10]. Code's reference to what Donna Haraway calls "the God-trick", allowing the escape of specific bodies and experiences that impose themselves on all human knowledge. See Donna HARAWAY, Simians, Cyborgs, and Woman: The Reinvention of Nature, (New York: Routlege, 1991), p.189.

[11]. While standpoint,like post modernism and critical theory offers a much more sophisticated analysis on gender and its role in social structures, it tends towareds universalizing claims which impose a false sense of similarity on female oppression. This has sustained the erroneaous belief that gender analysis alone can act as a lens through which all other oppressions (eg. race and class) can be understood, and it has also ignoed the ways in which cerayin women are privileged over other women and sometimes other men.

[12]. REINHARZ, op. cit., p.258.

[13]. BURT and CODE, op. cit., p.20

marginal status no longer precludes their being part of the "grand narrative" just by virtue of the fact that as oppressed or powerless groups (and individuals), their perspectives are that much more biased than those in power; as if being in power was somehow strongly linked to nobility and integrity of character. As Reinharz suggests, by making the invisible visible, and bringing the margin to the centre, women, both white and ethnic, are legitimizing their own experiences through feminist methods; certainly a living proof of the power of theory in relation to practice, especially for those who believe that the gap has widened irrevocably[14]. As Pamela Moss argues:

> "A feminist method builds on experience and accepts subjective experiences as valid forms of existence...In addition to subscribing to the notion of constituted realities, a feminist conception of social science contends that which is experienced can be known, and that which can be known, can be changed."[15]

Celebrating Subjectivity: Qualitative Research and Insider Status

Unlike much feminist empiricist work which relies on statistics and more formal methods of information gathering, qualitative research focuses on personal experience, through unstructured interviews and participant observation[16]. This type of

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[14]. REINHARZ, op. cit., p.248.

[15]. Pamela MOSS, "Focus: Feminism as Method", The Canadian Geographer/Le Geographe Canadien, vol. 37 no.1, 1993, p.48.

[16]. Ibid., p.49.

research, clearly a distinguishing feature of feminist methodology, is very often based on a personal experience or question that informs the researcher's particular quest for knowledge; because of this blend of intellectual and personal, feminists doing qualitative research do not seek to distance themselves either from the subject being studied or the reader, and as a result, as Shulamit Reinharz point out, their work often reads as "...partly informal, engagingly personal, and even confessional."[17]

Perhaps this is the most significant aspect of qualitative feminist research: its unashamed assertion that the experiences and thoughts of the researched, the researcher, and often, the audience, are an integral part of the work being presented. These experiences become not only an asset, but a necessity and even a source of legitimacy[18]. In suggesting not only that the personal is political, but that the political should be derived from the personal, feminist researchers have turned the positivist scientific method on its head, affirming the need to go beyond description and explanation, to be part of the research process and realize the necessity for change[19].

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[17]. REINHARZ, op. cit., pp.257-260.

[18]. REINHARZ, op. cit., p.263.

[19]. MOSS, op. cit., p.49.

Qualitative Research: An Insider's Perspective

Feminist methodology is about forging strong links between knowing and doing. Feminist qualitative research, as part of this project uses personal experiences and questions as the basis for an intellectual project. Still, much of feminist theory appears abstract, and often far removed from practical questions of emancipation; the need for both theory and practice does not become immediately obvious, until we realize the cause-effect nature of the relationship between knowing and doing. As Andrew points out: " ...nothing is so practical as a good theory...The way people react is linked not only to the specific situation but also to the vision they have of the relationships between ideas; being conceptually clear helps people to understand relationships and enables them to use this understanding to guide their behaviour[20]." Obviously, as feminist insider research, this thesis is the result of my own attempts to a) more clearly understand the construction of my (gendered, racialized) identity and its possible impact on my political behaviour, and b) determine whether this relationship is possibly not unique to me, but a result of a much larger socio-political reality.

When I first set out to define my parameters, the definition of the word ethnic (not necessarily synonymous with racial

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[20]. Caroline ANDREW, "Ethnicities, Citizenship and Feminisms: Theorizing the Political Practises of Intersectionality", Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, vol.1, no.3, 1995.pp.66-67.

minority) still included ethnic groups that are sometimes considered immigrants: Italian, Greek and other similar European backgrounds. However over the course of this thesis, I decided not to include these groups for several reasons: to begin with, out of four people interviewed in these groups, only one said they had experienced discrimination, and that, on a linguistic basis. None however, said they had experienced actual racism; all said they felt completely part of Canadian culture and felt well represented politically, and socially. This difference was expected since my theoretical findings had suggested that such groups have been more accepted because of their lack of racial difference. However, what was unexpected was the lack of comprehension I encountered from other participants who asked why I had chosen to include those specific groups and not other white ethnic groups, and what in fact was my criteria for this selection process of ethnic women. I had initially chosen these groups as a possible contrast to non-white ethnics, and an example of the importance of race privilege (that is, being included in the dominant culture's racial identity), and in this I was not proved wrong; however retrospectively it was clear that my criteria for choosing these groups was indeed fuzzy, and since a limited time and space precluded the possibility of expanding my range of participants any further I chose to narrow my focus to only visible minority ethnic women, given both my consideration of race as being a fundamental part of gender identity, as well as my own insider status as a racial minority.

One of the most significant aspects of this status struck me

during my interviews, when the subjects displayed little self-consciousness even during questions about their experiences of racism in Canada, and their subsequent feelings of alienation. Although most of the women I interviewed did not come from my specific ethnic background, there was still a sense of ease: according to a majority of them, they knew I would empathize with a large part of their experiences, both in society as well as within the family and community. I was greeted with a complete lack of antagonism or wariness from my interviewees, and often a great deal of warmth and support for this research; and for my part I experienced a similar (unusual) lack of embarrassment in asking sometimes very personal questions.

While I saw little self consciousness regarding the relatively intimate nature of the questions, what was apparent was the desire many of the participants had in making their point articulately. Several of them asked me to turn the tape-recorder off while they attempted to reword their sentences, and they often made excuses for what they perceived was an inability to properly answer my question. In fact the formality of the interview was solely as a result of the taping process, and once the interview was officially over and the recorder was turned off, the participants talked more freely and at length about the topic in general, something they seemed to feel was inappropriate during the interview, because of perceived time constraints[21].

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[21]. Examples of this: "turn the tape-recorder off while I'm thinking of my answer; am I going over the time limit?.."

The Interviews

The participants were contacted through friends, and colleagues, as well as through the University of Ottawa (through organizations). The interviews themselves lasted approximately forty minutes to an hour, and were tape recorded so that I could later transcribe the results to print. Although I attempted to include as many diverse ethnic backgrounds as possible, I did not obtain as many as I would have liked, one reason being that some of the members of on campus groups I contacted were leery of being involved in the study. In addition, since the participants were often contacted through mutual acquaintances, this narrowed my possible pool of participants. All the interviews finally included are of visible minority women, eleven of whom were university students, with the remaining four having already graduated from university. Of these eleven women, nine came from social science backgrounds, and two from the physical sciences. Since all the participants have finished or are in the middle of formal university education, the interviews are from a more narrow social base than I would have originally liked. While there was some class difference, I am certain that the perspectives of non university educated women would have offered an interesting comparison, and perhaps called into question some of the class-based assumptions found in the literature and supported by the interview results.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Chapters one through four of this thesis looked at theory that relates directly to second generation ethnic Canadian women; chapter five outlines the particular methodology used: fifteen qualitative interviews on the subject in question. This chapter offers an analysis based on the theory in the first four chapters, and how it played out in the actual interviews. Questions of race, class, gender, and identity are looked at, using the interview material provided in the appendix. Since the interview questions themselves represent various themes running through this research, this analysis is divided into the sub-sections used in the interview process: 1) ethnic and national identity 2) feminism 3) ethnic female identity 4) class 5) immigrant and second generation identity 6) multiple and fragmented identities and 7) citizenship and political behaviour.

Ethnic and National Identity

The eight questions in this section attempted to draw people out about their sense of themselves as ethnic and/or Canadians. As well I was interested in how they saw mainstream perceptions of them as constructed and maintained. Clearly Kitano's point about non-white ethnics not assimilating as easily because of their

racial distinctiveness is correct. 15 out of 15 people said they had been questioned about their nationality, and where they came from, and only 4 people answered Canadian, with two of those people saying that sometimes they gave only their ethnic background. Only 4 people gave a hyphenated answer (_____ - Canadian), but 5 people answered that they gave only their ethnic background. At the start of the interviews, very few of the respondents saw this type of inquiry into their national identity as being problematic, many of them saying that people were curious and knew you were Canadian, they just wanted to know what background you were from. One person pointed out that most people did not realize the political significance of asking your nationality as opposed to your ethnicity. While this may very well be true, it raises an important question: does the absent of a deliberate or conscious motive belie the significance of nationality rather than ethnicity framing everyday questions that are asked mainly of racial minorities? Given the entire question of cultural acceptance, and how social definitions of who is a Canadian are constructed, one can recognize this behaviour as exclusionary, without subscribing to a belief in any malice of forethought on the part of those asking.

A small number did find it offensive to be constantly questioned about where they came from when it was clear that they had native rather than recently acquired knowledge of the culture, customs and languages of Canada. According to those 5 people who said they did not feel accepted by Canadian culture, and even 3 of the others who said they did feel they belonged, the general

feeling was that they had to regularly prove that they indeed were as Canadian as anyone else:

> RESPONDENT O: I said earlier that in a way I think I will always be a stranger to this society until the day people meet me and don't feel like they have to ask me where I'm from any more. The day I won't have to prove myself constantly. Even by being a black female going to her Phd and always having to prove to people that I'm just as intelligent...
>
> E: I know people who were born here and somehow we always feel we are strangers because we're visible minorities, so at first sight, people will always see you as coming from somewhere else. In many cases you still have to prove yourself...
>
> N: During my adolescent years, it hindered my development as an individual because everybody kept hounding me about the fact that I was different, that I looked different (not that I sounded different), and it led to feelings of inferiority; difference became something negative. It happened all the time when I was younger and as I was growing up, and when I entered university I discovered that there are ways of dealing with this positively.

The results appeared to both corroborate and contradict much of what was said in the first part of chapter one in terms of the development of a negative self identity in the face of societal prejudice and exclusion. For example, while 13 people said they had experienced racism of one kind or another, a majority of 8 people said this racism had not affected their ability to feel as if they belonged here. Since the experience of racism itself is situated in a discourse on Canadian identity (who is and is not Canadian), the respondents must therefore have <u>consciously</u> constructed their sense of belonging to Canada in spite of possible exclusion on the part of the dominant culture. Many of the respondents felt that Canada

was their home and they were attached to it; as such, there is a dual reality to their lives in their sense of themselves as Canadians, and societal perceptions of them as not quite "Canadian"; this duality (and in the case of some, their own lack of offense at having their nationality questioned) strongly reaffirms a point made in chapter one: in order to avoid Portis' "ego chill" (chapt 4, p.10), the conscious assertion of a positive identity is necessary to function in racialized and gendered societies.

Also significant in this self construction of a positive Canadian identity, was a lack of definitive criteria respondents gave in order to explain feel accepted. Class privilege was perhaps one (and this only in the case of some respondents); however, even there it appeared to be less in terms of being accepted and more about being protected through one's class. Certainly many of the women, at the beginning of the interview, felt there was no strong relationship between their lack of political power and their sense of belonging. While 11 people (in the sixth section on political representation), said they did not feel represented and included in the mainstream political life of this country, 10 people in the first section said they felt accepted and a part of Canadian culture, two statements which appear somewhat in contradiction with each other, at least if we define being part of a culture as: a) political representation and voice b) social visibility and acceptance and c) inclusion into the "grand narrative" of that particular country.

Although initially respondents' reason for their sense of belonging were vague at best, as the interview progressed many of them qualified their early responses. For example, while many of the respondents had answered that they felt accepted in Canadian society, their feelings of belonging were slightly more complex than that, given that 3 people said they found Canada intolerant, and 9 people said they saw a great distinction between tolerance and acceptance. This suggests that people started out the interviews saying they felt much more accepted than their later responses seemed to indicate, perhaps both to avoid sounding "ungrateful and paranoic" (see chapt.4, p. 14, for Young's comment on the silencing of minority complaints through formal societal commitments to equality), and because they had genuinely not thought out the contradictions in their own experiences in Canada which were positive at certain levels, and less so at other levels.

Two points were noticeable about the comments and answers in this section. One was that Bagley's suggestion (chapt 1, p.8), that second generation children were more likely to blame themselves or accept responsibility for their failures than their parents, appeared to be possibly true, in the case of certain respondents who, although they had experienced racism, and non-acceptance from mainstream society, still felt that Canadian society was tolerant and multicultural and that they "had never had any real problems" trying to succeed:

(Is it easier for white women or asian men?) I: I think so but it also depends on who they are and how intelligent they are, but I can't really say it would be easier.

D: ...I'm a minority but I'm in favour; in Engineering if you're a female minority, you've got it made so I have no complaints. If I were a white male I might have complaints...Sometimes I have problems but I think it's because I'm shy, I don't think that if I were white I'd go talk to people more.

Of the 8 people who said racism had not affected their ability to feel Canadian, one qualified it by saying she knew her place here and knew she would have to fight harder as a black woman. Another discussed her levels of comfort in terms contrasting Multicultural Toronto with Ottawa, which she felt was very white. One person suggested that she herself did not find it difficult as an ethnic and a woman, but realized it was hard for <u>other</u> ethnics and women, especially for <u>other</u> women of colour. However, respondent C specifically said that negative societal perceptions had forced her to carve out a positive self identity:

C: I was called a pakki in school so much so that I beat up one of the boys in grade three, and was suspended for 3 days. But growing up with parents that were strong and educated, I've always been able to turn it on its head, which has been a powerful tool for me, and I've come to realize as I get older, I'd rather deal with it head on than deal with the systemic and more subtle notions of it...all it's done is harden me into this notion of what my identity is. So my work is on identity politics. My experiences have very much formulated the way I react to people, and what I've chosen to study and my politics. So in a way, I feel very privileged to be a woman of colour, it's an empowerment in itself.

Again we return to the need to consciously assert both a positive identity as well as a positive perception of Canadian society even in the face of social exclusion. This may be the only answer when faced with more chilling alternatives: Portis' prediction of ontological security and an inability to function properly in society, resulting in a withdrawal from that society; or Haruko Okano's bleak scenario where the struggle to belong ultimately causes one to be consumed by society's continued devaluing of one's ethnic identity: " I came to believe that there would never be a place for me in this world. All my thoughts, my feelings, my gifts...cultural, racial, and as a human being had been deemed without value."[1]

Bagley has argued that second generation ethnics have a specific minority identity within the dominant culture that defines them, unlike their parents who still define themselves more in terms of where they came from and where they still consider to be "home". This appears to be true judging from the results of question 3, where respondents are asked whether there is a tie to the country of origin. 9 people said yes (two of them saying more so now than when they were younger), some having gone back at some point to visit, or at least intending to one day[2]. Even those who

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[1]. Haruko OKANO, "Spring is Here, Mama". In Arun MUKHERJEE (ed), Sharing our Experiences, (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women: Ottawa, Ontario, 1993).pp.78-81.

[2]. Out of those 9 who felt a strong tie, only two people mentioned that they saw themselves as maybe someday going back to live, and neither of them had been born in Canada.

said no felt a strong tie to the culture, because of parental influence. While the latter group seemed to have no particular feeling for the country in question, they did not overtly distance themselves from their ethnic roots, and in fact some of them felt connected to those of their background living here: " I've never been there since I was four, the myth of the homeland is more, but I don't necessarily feel a tie to it as much as I feel a tie to my diaspora community that I've developed here." (resp. C)

For the second part of the question, did they feel a strong tie to Canada, 14 out of 15 people said yes, and interestingly enough the person who said no, had not experienced racism here because of her fair skin. Her reason for not having any particular ties to Canada she explained in terms of her ability to acquire other values and languages from different countries, and her interest in these cultures; her lack of strong attachment to Canada was therefore not due to social marginalization. This means that out of the other 14 who answered that they did have a tie, only one had not experienced racism (as a light shinned ethnic); 13 others had and yet still felt very much connected because they were born and/or raised here, and therefore saw Canada as "home":

> O:...I realize that in many ways I do think like a Canadian (I hesitate to use the term "Canadian" because I'm supposed to be Canadian), when I'm with my Quebec friends I do laugh at their jokes. I'm very much a part of this culture...
>
> C:...in a way I feel I am part of a Canada, but it's restructuring and reformulating a new notion of the Canadian ...identity...

> N: Canada is my home first...the way I think is Canadian. If you compared me to a woman the same age, same background but growing up in Korea, there would be a huge difference in our thinking and talking, our reasoning...

This Canadian identity, theorized in the literature as being a major distinction between second generation children and their immigrant parents, is perhaps one of the most striking elements of second generation identity, and quite conclusively demonstrates the need to address this generational difference in a discourse on ethnic women.

Feminism

While the interview questions in this last section offered some valuable information on non immigrant ethnics, the gender identity of the respondents and its complications vis-a-vis ethnic identity had not yet been grappled with, since as I pointed out in chapter one, the literature in this field tended to be gender blind. In chapter two, I discussed some of the main problems with using mainstream feminism as a framework of analysis for this research. First among these was its one dimensional focus on gender as all women's primary form of oppression. This approach still characterizes much of mainstream feminist theory, and is exclusionary simply by virtue of its *a priori* assumptions on the relevancy of race, and class in the lives of "other" women: "By now, Western society is laden with prejudices based on gender, race and other factors...however it is gender which is most fundamental

and which provides new sources of theory and understanding...". This type of arbitrary dismissal could theoretically make women of colour distance themselves from the idea of mainstream feminism; the following section was therefore both an attempt to introduce the relevancy of gender as a fundamental aspect of identity, as well as to draw out respondents views on mainstream and other feminism.

Overall, a majority of respondents said they considered themselves some type of feminist, and there was a fairly strong acceptance of feminism as being important and necessary. However, equally noticeable was that the importance of gender as a single category was not the general opinion, and most people either during this section or at another time in the interview connected their belief in women's rights with their belief in minority rights as well, several of them using the term woman of colour. I did observe that those women who did identify themselves as feminists were either politically active (mainstream politics, mainstream feminism, ethnic politics, or minority women's issues), or wanted to be, while those who did not consider themselves feminists were not for the most part politically active[3].

These general trends might indicate that while feminism as an ideology has appealed to minority women, these women are also aware that as ethnic women they have different issues which require their feminism to be race inclusive. While 9 people did say that they were feminists, and only 3 of those people defined themselves as

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[3]. Two of these respondents were active in ethnic politics.

feminists who saw race, and class as being an equal part of the equation, the other 6 also suggested at different points in the interview that as women of colour they could not automatically define gender as the primary source of their oppression, and that their feminism was very much one that allowed them this larger space. As far as choosing their ethnicity over their feminism, or vice versa, four people said outright that this would not be a viable option for them, given that they were both women and racial minorities. 1 person said she had never really thought about it, another said, in theory her race, but in practice it has always been her gender, and one woman said that if you had to pin her down to a primary form of oppression it would be her race, whereas white women would always say their gender. However, overall it can be said that these 9 feminist women defined their feminism as being about more than just gender oppression.

Among the 6 that said no, there seemed to be fairly negative views of what feminism was: stereotypes of man-hating, radical, feminists. One woman said she was not that type of feminist, and that feminism went overboard sometimes, but that she supported it in general. Another gave a similar definition of feminism and said she would feel comfortable with anyone as long as they were not feminists. Other responses were that women have a lot more power than they give themselves credit for, especially white women (this was from a black woman), and another woman said that she did not really encounter problems with sexism in her social, educational or work life. Out of these 6 people, 5 had experienced racism, and 4

of them indicated that they saw racism as being a much bigger problem in their lives. At the same time all 6 made reference to the possible difficulties as an ethnic woman in their communities, presumably from sexism. The connection between this sexism and the feminist movement's fight against sex oppression, was clearly not made however, as the following excerpts indicate:

> G: (are you a feminist?) no...(later on in the interview)...It's very limiting, a burden? maybe, because there are expectations on lebanese girls to get married and pursue a family career, there's nothing in the community that encourages women to pursue other alternatives.
>
> J: (Do you consider yourself a feminist?) no...It's harder for females politically in the sense that I want to become Prime Minister one day and first of all I have two strikes against: I'm black and I'm female...there's these stereotypes of women in politics like they're all these big feminists, and they're all old maids and not married, and if it's a woman talking she's being heartless and cold, whereas if it's a man then he's being suave and charismatic...
>
> M: (Do you consider yourself a feminist?) no, women have a lot more power than they choose to acknowledge, especially white women who make up the majority of the feminists who are out there...black men have it the hardest of anybody and that usually comes back on black women. They're our fathers, brothers, husbands etc. and whatever pain they feel is usually taken out on us.
>
> F: (are you a feminist?) no. I think that just because we're females doesn't mean we should always be treated specially...everyone should be treated equally, and I object to being treated unequally in the workplace...there's an extent to what muslim women should be like, from head to toe, well I can see that in Egypt but here you shouldn't have to do that...

The answers in the section on feminism indicate that for the most part, many of these young ethnic women who are feminists do

not necessarily feel alienated from mainstream feminist ideology, despite its reputation of having been racist and exclusionary in many ways. They do however see their problems as stemming from both race and gender and therefore embrace more of an inclusive feminism. These women tended to be politically active, or at least wanted to and planned to be at some point in the future.

For those respondents who did not see themselves as feminists, they were for the most part not politically active, and therefore defined feminism in narrow and often stereotypical ways. The two women who were not feminists and were politically active in ethno-cultural activities were both black women, perhaps significant given the historical exclusion of black women from white feminist theory and practice, and the subsequently conflictual relationship white and black feminism has had.

There were however, noticeable contradictions in the answers of non-feminist respondents; some of these contradictions indicate that while these women dislike the idea of feminism, perhaps because of their stereotypical view of it, they are for the most part, aware of some type of limitations on themselves because of their gender, whether in mainstream society or in their own communities and families. The next section looks at some of the problems given by both feminist and non feminist respondents in terms of their social identity as ethnic <u>women</u>.

Ethnic Female Identity

The previous two sections on ethnic identity and feminism only determined how respondents saw themselves a) as ethnics in Canadian culture, and b)as women in Canadian culture. This section was an attempt to determine the specificity of their experiences and identity as ethnic women, since regardless of whether the respondents said they were or were not feminists, they themselves saw a distinction between their experiences, and those of white women and ethnic men.

In chapter one, I looked at ethnic literature as a possible framework of analysis for this thesis. Unfortunately the main problem with this area of study is its lack of gender specific material, as well as a lack of acknowledgement that gender is even an important aspect of ethnic identity construction. The results of the interviews demonstrate the vital importance of including gender: most of the respondents felt that as ethnic women they have a very different, and sometimes more difficult identity than ethnic men. This identity is examined closely in chapter three, which looks at ethnic women's problems in their own communities and families, as women, and their dual identities as women and ethnics in mainstream society, which at times can be both sexist and racist. Also examined are questions of community and family as a shelter from racism despite the gender problems, and the difficulty in grappling with two aspects of oneself that are often a disadvantage in the dominant culture.

These ideas seem to be substantiated to a large extent in terms of the interviews. Sexism in the community was a problem that almost every respondent mentioned. For example, when asked whether it was difficult to be a woman in their community, 12 people said yes it was, either to a certain extent, or quite a bit (with one of those people suggesting that she herself did not encounter problems; however, in the same breath pointing out the ways in which other women are oppressed.) The two people who said no, respondents "F" and "I" may have contradicted themselves slightly as the following excerpts from later or earlier on in the interviews indicate:

> F: I'd be comfortable with anyone who wasn't a feminist..I'm happy the way I am, never come across any problems being Muslim and a woman... (If you were politically involved what would interest you? Women's issues? ethnic issues?) Women's issues more than ethnic issues,well, maybe ethnic as well because they don't allow for female immigrants to go as far as they'd like because they're culturally different, because they're women and ethnics, and that's not fair.
>
> I: Not now. I don't think so. I can only tell you what I experienced, but I think for a boy to have a girlfriend before going to university is dangerous, you get a lot of criticism, and for a girl, well now it's no big deal, but when I was younger my grandmother used to stand in front of the door and not let me out of the house past 6 p.m. She could be seen as a tyrant and outrageous but it's really no big deal...there might be a little more freedom for men than for women.

Of the 12 who said that it was in some way harder or more complicated for them in their communities, 7 of them talked of the sexism in the community or family that they had to face, through such demands on them as marriage and children, or restrictions like

dating and sex. The remaining 5, while not explicitly citing sexism as the problem, talked of similar restraints on them, because of familial or community expectations:

> N: Korean men will treat Korean women a certain way not because they're women but because they're Korean women...Korean men are coddled. I find that's the way with most Asian families, East Indian, chinese etc. They put more emphasis on the man. They are coddled to the point where they believe women should take care of them.
>
> D: It's not hard, but maybe what I do is not as accepted. It's big time " What is she doing? She has to work and then she just can't drop and have children!"

Clearly, for most of the respondents, their identity as ethnic women in their community was based on traditional ideas of marriage and children. Particularly revealing was the consistent mentioning of cooking in their descriptions of the demands placed on them by their communities and/or families. When examining the idea of food as a symbol of particular cultures (raised by a respondent), we may also find that very often this idea is tied in to women's positions in the family as wife, Mother and domestic; furthermore, in immigrant communities it appears as if this type of social pressure (to be Wives, Mothers, etc.) is exerted through the definition of ethnic women as the guardians of cultural heritage:

> J: ...sometimes when I'm with a group of white people, let's say they're talking about food, like hamburgers, and pancakes. And that's not my food. Foods are a big thing, because just what you eat defines you. If I was always eating fast food black people would say " She don't know how to cook? How she gonna take care of her man when she grow up?"

N:...I call myself Korean-Canadian because my parents always made it clear that my roots and my character, my honour, my whole reason for existence is rooted in my culture. I know the language, I know the customs, I know how to cook the food, I know how women are supposed to act in our culture as opposed to men, and what the female responsibilities are.

H: (stereotypes of Goan women within the community)...very domesticated, good at making traditional dishes and sweets, they're also expected to want a lot of children and put their careers second.

C: The one thing that used to bother me as a child was that the women would all end up in the family room or the kitchen, and the men would be in the living room. Are these stereotypes because everyone does them? It's what becomes, so these are the stereotypes of the diaspora community, <u>not</u> the country of origin.

From the above answers we can assume that ethnic female identity in such a context is shaped not only by the sexism in the ethnic community and/or family, but also through particular interaction with the dominant culture, which appears constantly as a threat, in terms of both racism and demands of assimilation. Fear of the loss of culture implicitly demands that as an ethnic woman you stay within your community and follow its traditional guidelines for women. As the literature in chapter three argues, and the interviews clearly illustrate, ethnic women whose lifestyles do not correspond with community, and familial norms - and this is so often the case with women raised in Canadian society - are seen as not only threatening to the established social order, they are also seen as cultural betrayers: " ...being a mother, having a family, is incredibly important, perpetuating the race...staying true to your religion..the whole idea about dating (forget about interracial dating), I mean we still have arranged

marriages. I've had relationships outside my parent's knowledge, and other things like alcohol and drug use that they don't know about..." (respondent C)

In terms of ethnic women's double disadvantages in mainstream society, 9 out of 15 people believed they were doubly oppressed, given both the racist and sexist elements existing in Canadian society as a whole. Of those 5 who said no, one suggested that a few years ago she would have said yes, but now in the new global market, where being Asian is an asset, she wears her ethnicity proudly (the possible benefit of her gender status was not addressed, leaving me to assume that in mainstream society she would have in the past felt more oppressed by her race than her gender.) One person argued that it would not necessarily be easier if she were a white woman, and maybe only a little easier if she were an Indian man. She felt that her difficulties stemmed from her own personal inadequacies (Respondent d). This type of answer again seems to fit in with Bagley's point about the internalization of social exclusion, where minority children believe it is their lack of hard work, initiative, personality etc. that causes their difficulties in white, western societies, rather than systemic, racism (and sexism). An extremely important point was made by one respondent who suggested that as a middle class, university educated person she had access to certain privileges, and therefore it was too simple to say that she was left out all the time. Two others said they did not experience any problems with sexism, one of them despite the fact that she stated that she was one of a

handful of girls in her program, and the other despite the fact that she said that as a nurse she was looked down upon by the doctors, her explanation for this being that it was a status thing rather than a gender thing. Neither respondent appeared to question why A) she was one of the few women in her program to begin with, or B) that traditional gendering of such careers as nursing may cause doctors to treat nurses (who at least until recently have been mainly women) in a particular fashion. Both woman had earlier said they were not feminists, and did not particularly support a feminist agenda.

What was also interesting were the cultural stereotypes respondents gave (question # 13), to illustrate mainstream society's perceptions of women from their particular background. Most of the Asian stereotypes included passive, and domestic, with both the Asian and Arab including Exotic, and promiscuous or sexual in some way. The Caribbean sterotypes also included sexually promiscuity, but according to the Guyanese, Haitian, and Trinidadian respondents (in contrast to perceptions of asian women), they are seen as loud, feisty, emotional and not capable of using logic because of their tendency to fly off the handle. It is evident that these stereotypes are not based simply on race, but are directly related to the intersection between particular racial identities and sex roles in our society. Regardless of specific ethnic background, it appears as if ethnic women may be consistently seen as more sexual than white women, and sometimes more promiscuous. Asian women are stereotyped as passive (eg.

Docile Asian picture brides), while black ethnic women are seen as aggressive and emotional rather than logical. Feminist theory has argued that similar stereotypes have been used at one time or another in history to oppress and subjugate women. In answer to my question in chapter two - are ethnic genderless? - clearly they are not, and societal stereotypes used to "other" ethnic women, are based on the construction of specific social identities that are both gendered and racially informed:

> J: In elementary school you have to speak one way, and we were still speaking in a west indian way. So what happened was that they automatically put my sister into special education even though we had been born here. My teachers were always after me to speak a certain way. One time I wanted to go to the bathroom and my teacher wouldn't let me go until I said it the "right way". I told my mom who talked to the teacher and the teacher said" well you know we have to teach them to speak proper English", and my Mom was really upset and said "they already speak proper English". Before that the teacher was speaking very slowly to my Mother and using easy words because ...there was that immigrant stereotype "oh she must stay home and cook, clean, she's not educated" then the teacher found out my mom was a teacher also and suddenly she was treating her with respect.

According to those respondents who had experienced both racism and sexism, issues of race and gender could not be prioritized in a meaningful way, while those who had suffered only one type of discrimination chose the one they had experience with. Most interesting was the respondent "F" who said she had experienced neither racism nor sexism, felt comfortable as a Muslim woman in mainstream society, and did not believe in feminism. She was also the one respondent who was not born here but did not see herself as

an immigrant. Nevertheless, when later asked what a possible area of political interest might be, she said immigrant women because "they" (she did not specify who she was referring to), did not allow them to go as far as these women would like to go.

Class

The previous sections clearly illustrated that the respondents' sense of themselves was affected by their social position as ethnics, women and ethnic women. The majority of them felt that they faced more, or at least different types of difficulties, from ethnic men and white women. However, several of them suggested that they also came from a position of privilege in terms of their class and/or educational background that did not allow narrow definitions of themselves as "victims". Early on in chapter one, I looked at such possible factors as class and education which either exacerbate or temper a de-valued ethnic identity in western societies. Chapter three goes into this in greater detail looking at Stasiulis' theory on the importance class plays in the lives of ethnic women, in terms of possible acceptance and integration, as well as the difference that class makes in terms of distinguishing between upper class ethnic women, and working class ethnic women. This is overwhelmingly illustrated in the interviews: 11 people said that class was still a significant factor in Canada, and 3 others said to a certain

extent. Even the lone dissenter admitted that in certain social situations she could see class as a factor. Out of those 12 who were middle or upper class, 10 said that their class had protected them, an 11th saying possibly (earlier in the interview she actually stated that her suburban background had shielded her from a lot of racism and prejudice). One said her working class status had not protected her much, and another said this same status, along with being a single mother (and the steroetypes that follow this identity) meant that she had to combat more class prejudice. Of the two people who said that nowadays everyone is treated equally, one said that her class had not protected her because of her racial difference. Being black she said, made people think of her as an immigrant or lower class. The idea of immigrant as a class status, which Ng talks about, was brought up briefly or alluded to by more than one of the respondents, especially in their discussion of the stereotyping of their communities. These examples (the first two from black women, and the last stated by two Korean women who defined their families as middle class, but not professional), are illustrative of the class biases that Ng has suggested inform racial and ethnic stereotypes: " ...all black men are going to rob you...", "...they're violent", "Koreans all own variety stores...". The former group is seen as being poor, the latter as being immigrants who come here and open up stores. However, in the case of Asian respondents, their discussion of stereotypes also included class based ones that were less negative: hard-working, quiet and peaceful, smart (or nerdy, as one girl put

it), and often educated. In contrast to this was one black woman's perceptions of how society sees her as a smart black woman:

> J: I'm a confident person and people always say I'm brilliant. I'm smart and I do well in school but sometimes I wonder if people think I'm brilliant just because they see a black woman and all of a sudden the expectations drop so that when they talk to me they think I'm smart. Sometimes because they're judging me by a lower standard. I wonder if people don't expect black women to be smart...

Evidently all the respondents in some way or another feel that class is an important factor in people's lives, and a couple of the respondents pointed out at different times in the interviews, that their immigrant parents came here so that their children could have a better life, something that is, again, linked undeniably with the shifting of class positions. It must be reiterated that this respondent pool is atypical in that twelve of the respondents were university students at the time of the interview, and at least two of the other three had university education, so their class and educational positions give them a particular perspective. However, it is striking that class - which most of the literature perceived to be slightly more peripheral to the race/gender question in the lives of these women - was, according to the respondents, an undeniable and (in a majority of the cases), highly positive factor in their interaction with the dominant culture. While many of them vouched for the existence of racism and sexism in their own life experiences, those who had class privilege felt that this privilege

did not allow them to rigidly define themselves as victims of social oppression:

> B: (Has your class protected you?) Yes absolutely; anyone who is in the lower class has to deal with more discrimination. Yes I'm privileged here.
>
> H: Yes, definitely. I think class discrimination predominates because people tend to look down on the poor the most...
>
> K:...being poor is the worst thing because you're hated and despised in a way that you wouldn't be as an ethnic woman.
>
> C: ...I have certain opportunities. I am a woman, I am of colour, but that can be sidelined because I've had the option to find so many opportunities and buy so many opportunities, buy my way into, to look a certain way, to make certain choices because of my class.
>
> L: ...I'm also middle-class, I've got university education, I've got access to certain privileges too, and I think it would be too simple to say that I'm left out all the time.

Immigrant and Second Generation Identities

The answers in this section indicate that a majority of respondents regard themselves as second generation, non immigrant women, who have a great deal in common with their mothers but do not identify with their experiences of immigration to a foreign country. Again, most of the respondents see themselves as Canadian, and even those who defined themselves as immigrant women (because they were not born here), felt Canadian and did not relate to their

parents immigration experiences. In fact their identities and their experiences were almost identical to those ethnic women who were both Canadian born and raised.

The question of distinction between immigrant and ethnic identity is perhaps one of the most crucial because this thesis is based on the premise that there exist non-immigrant ethnic women whose voices are not being heard in immigrant discourse, and that these second generation ethnic women would not identify with an identity or a politics which defines all visible minorities as newcomers. The interview results appear to substantiate my claim to a large degree. While most of the respondents could identify with problems of integration based on language skills, and unfamiliarity with the customs of Canada, this was mainly because they had seen their parents go through this.

9 people said they did not see themselves as immigrants, and of these 9, 8 people were born here. The other person was not but said that the term immigrant applied to someone who has just come here, wheareas she'd been here for 20 out of 27 years[4]. One person seemed unsure whether the term immigrant applied to her, and asked for a definition, another said she did not consider herself an immigrant but she supposed other people might because her Mother was one, and even if they did consider her an immigrant, how would that bother her?

Of the 6 who said they saw themselves as immigrants, 4 were

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[4]. This was the also the person who had never experienced racism.

not born in Canada, although all had been raised here. Two of them said that they felt that way not because they had not been born here, but because people always made them feel that they came from somewhere else because of the way they looked. Another said she considered herself an immigrant woman, because a part of her would always be with Morocco, but also because she saw all Canadians being immigrants in some way, except for the indigenous population:

> B: I think that everyone here is a stranger to this land except the indigenous peoples...I feel very comfortable living in Canada and I assume that in some people's eyes I'm Canadian but there's a part of me that will always be with Morocco, so I can never be completely Canadian...Immigrant woman is a term and a discourse that I think applies to women who have recently come to Canada, but I don't think I would fully understand what they go through. Sometimes I feel like this country is a pitstop for people from Europe, Africa, Asia, wherever, so we're all immigrants.

Of the other two (both of whom were born here), respondent " L " said she felt like an immigrant because she had left Canada to go to Europe for a few years and had made the choice to come back. The other person said that she felt like an immigrant sometimes because of the food people ate here which she could not identify with (as mentioned earlier, this respondent defined food as an important element of culture).

It appears as if overall, those ethnic women who were born here had a much more solid sense of themselves as non immigrant/ Canadian women, whereas those who had been born elsewhere, despite coming here as children, and in many cases not being able to remember their birthplaces, still felt that they were immigrant women. Nevertheless these women did not identify with their

parent's experiences of immigration (language, job skills, integration, etc.). 14 of the respondents said they had not experienced the same specific problems that their parents had. The 15th person said that although her parents came here in their thirties, they were highly educated, spoke English perfectly and had no trouble integrating, and therefore her experiences did not differ much from theirs. Ironically, this person was not born here and said she considered herself an immigrant, yet claimed that other people did not see her as an immigrant, and that because of her Canadian accent and complete integration, they assumed she had been born here. When I asked if perhaps they assumed that she had been raised here if not native born, thus explaining her "Canadianness', she said no, that they saw her as being born here and therefore not an immigrant like her parents. I found this a particularly odd statement given that it denied the very reality of her own existence as a "naturalized" and yet extremely integrated ethnic Canadian woman.

Despite the distinction of being born elsewhere and simply being raised here, none of the respondents stood out as less integrated than their born-in-Canada counterparts. Their experiences were identical to those experienced by "real" second generation women: They spoke the same, dressed the same, behaved with similar "Canadian" mannerisms and described themselves as completely integrated, and knowledgeable about Canadian culture. However their birth in another country made them unquestioningly accept the label of "immigrant woman", once again convincing proof

of the powerful affect that social identity has on our self definitions, whether we are aware of it or not.

Between these women and their parents, there were some very significant differences. While most of the respondents cited food, culture, and social expectations as similarities (as well as the experience of racism), the differences were striking because of the obvious clash between western and non-western values. Dating, sex, interracial relationships, alcohol and drug use, and traditional female roles were mentioned by a majority of the respondents, as well as their parents' dislocation from Canadian culture, through language difficulty, unfamiliarity with the customs, and social marginalization. 14 of the 15 respondents said that they were much more integrated than their parents,clearly indicating that there is a whole segment of the population which does not fall into the experiences theorized on in the traditional immigrant woman discourse, regardless of whether or not they were born here. This is significant because as Medchuck points out, constructing ethnic identity as immigrant identity simplifies the whole experience of being "other" in the dominant culture, reducing immigrant problems to a question of social integration when in reality it is also a question of racial exclusion[5]. If of 10 respondents who were born here, 9 experienced racism (with the 10th having light skin and not being visible), then evidently the fact that they were born and raised here, with a complete knowledge

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[5]. Sheva MEDJUCK, "Ethnicity and Feminism: Two Solitudes?" , in Atlantis, vol.15 no. 2, 1990, p.4.

of Canadian society, and the same rights as other born and bred Canadians, did not make as much of a difference as it should have. Indeed they experienced the same type of racism that the respondents who were not born here did: racism based not on their "strangeness" as far as clothes, language, and social skills went, but on their identity as racially different ethnics:

> A: (Does it bother you to have people lump your experiences with those of immigrant women like your Mother?) Yes, because I know why they're doing it. It bothers me because how can they lump a Canadian citizen with women who come from other countries and feel completely dislocated. It's because we all "look the same".
>
> C: It's annoying just by virtue of the fact that in order for them to ask me where I'm from they have an image of what a Canadian looks like, and if I don't fit into it, what am I supposed to derive from that other than that the only thing that I wear that's any different from them is the colour of my skin...I do feel Canadian but I feel I'm constantly having to prove that I am, whether it's where I'm studying or where I'm working, there's always this notion that you are more of the "other" than they (white people) are...that's upsetting just knowing the history of Canada, be it Chinese-Canadians on the west coast who have been here for how many generations, or its aboriginal peoples. There's still a notion that it is white Anglo-saxon (male, middle class, and heterosexual) and this is the norm to which I'm constantly compared. This is problematic for me especially in this day and age.

It appears as if the interview results confirm that one of the overwhelming characteristics of minority identity in the second generation is their socialization in a society that defines them as minorities or ethnics. Unlike their parents, most of whom were raised in a country where they were part of the dominant culture,

at least in terms of race, the respondents do have as Bagley suggests, a specific minority identity, and ironically enough, according to Russell, this identity offers less self esteem in the long run than their immigrant parents. As both scholars suggest, immigrant parents often experience more overt racism and exclusion, (something which many of the respondents pointed out), but what may be a reality judging from some of the answers, is that immigrants may have a stronger sense of themselves to draw upon, because they have a clearer perspective of social exclusion, while their children (and this perhaps can be seen in section one) tend to internalize. According to Bagley, they see themselves as responsible for fitting in, and blame themselves more for failure to succeed rather than seeing it as a systemic issue:

> J: Everyone has an equal chance, it's how you use your resources and your opportunities, because it's all in your mentality. If you work hard you can get anywhere. Obviously the lower you are, the more you have to push, the more frustrated you get,then you're going to give up easier.
>
> M: My parents don't see racism as much as I do, well they do, but they're more accepting of it, whereas I get mad. They look at it as "that's just life, move on"...(does it bother you when people see you as an immigrant?) white people? No because they don't know any better. I look at it as "think what you want, I know better, I know where I'm going." I don't waste my time trying to get into the mind-set.
>
> D: It hasn't been that bad (the racism), well it's always bad but it's just what other people say, not groups. I tend to brush it off, because it's one person's word...I don't have a problem with those categories...I'd rather not be, but I <u>am</u> a visible minority so it applies...

Evidently, the illustration of such crucial differences between immigrant and second generation women indicates the need for ethnic feminist discourse that is inclusive of all ethnic women. The lumping together of visible minority women into the group immigrant means that regardless of whether one is born, raised, or newly come, our identity as immigrants has less to do with our experience (or lack of experience) with immigration, than with the colour of our skins, and is therefore by definition racist. As one respondent who was born here, pointed out:

> L: ... when I'm with people who respect it as part of the complexity of my experience that's okay. It is very much a part of me. But by the same token I hope that these people understand that as being part of themselves, that for example if they are white, that they understand immigration to be a part of their own history. But to be forever immigrant for the next ten generations - that bothers me. And I know that happens.

Multiple and Fragmented Identities

The overwhelming opinion among the majority of respondents was that they did indeed have multiple, and in many cases, fragmented identities as a result of their social status as ethnics, women and ethnic women. Much of the fragmentation, and/or multiplicity lay in the area of family and community expectations versus those of mainstream society. The often irreconcilable differences between the cultures causes ethnic/Canadian women a great deal of tension because of an inability to situate themselves in what one

respondent described as an essentialist notion of herself. What was most noticeable about the responses in this section, was that those women who were politically active, had the most to say about their fragmented and/or multiple lives, while the majority of those who were not politically active did not see this multiplicity in such complex or even negative ways.

The first three chapters of this research attempted to demonstrate that there were difficulties in situating my study within the discourses of ethnic identity, mainstream feminism, and the women of colour discourse, because of their respective limitations. In the third chapter, I move on to identity politics as a possible framework: its recognition of multiple identities, and the strong link it sees existing between identity and political behaviour, dovetails neatly with the relationships that this thesis is seeking to establish.

There are a number of interesting arguments that identity politics as a discourse makes: one is that in a racist, classist, sexist (etc.) society, the development of negative and fragmented identities, is perhaps inevitable; such a society demands that we fall into single categories like "woman" ethnic" " racial minority" " disabled" etc, categories which are essentialist in nature and inadequate as descriptions of who we are. But, according to theorists in this discourse, such negative or fragmented identities can also be reconstructed, what Michelle Cliffs

describes as "reclaiming an identity they taught me to despise[6]" . This reconstruction and consciousness on the part of the individual or group will then lead to a raised awareness of their identity as being socially constructed and thus not unique to them. Such a realization eventually engenders some type of political action that seeks to change and redefine traditional societal boundaries and definitions:

> We are the Hyphenated people of the Diaspora whose self defined identities are no longer shameful secrets in the countries of our origin, but rather declarations of strength and solidarity. We are an increasingly united front from which the world has not yet heard."[7]

When asked what they would like to be identified as (other than woman), the respondents gave answers like Canadian, Black, Muslim, hyphenated cultural background. Some of them felt this categorization was restrictive and would not describe them as whole people. What was most interesting was that all 15 people said they had either multiple or fragmented identities (11 people saying fragmented), that were caused by their ethnicity and gender, as well their bicultural lives. 7 of them said that this fragmentation was negative, and even those who said it was not, agreed that at one time or another (especially in adolescence), it was difficult to deal with. 2 of those who said they had multiple identities, and

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[6]. Michelle CLIFF, Claiming an Identity They Taught Me to Despise, (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press).1980.

[7]. Audre LORDE, A Burst of Light, (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books), 1988, pp. 57-58.

all 11 who said they had fragmented identities, agreed that this was related to a larger political reality, and not just a function of their personal lives. The question of straddling two very different worlds, as children of immigrants (who themselves may have a much less complex idea of their identity), was mentioned many times, as well as the problems of racism and lack of complete acceptance:

> O: I think I've integrated many things in the sense that sometimes I don't even realize I'm always fighting to prove. I just do it. I internalize. It's when I stop to think about it that I realize that this type of internalization has to stop, and I must emancipate myself from mental slavery.

> J: It used to be difficult to reconcile all those identities. If I'm talking to certain people and then certain others. This is a white man's world and you got to play whitegame until you make the rules, and that's when you can be black and be the way you are really. Sometimes it's hard to play by those rules and try and belong.

> N: It's been difficult because people who aren't of colour (and there are a lot of them in this country) don't understand the duality of my life. They don't understand why I have to lie to my parents about where I'm going. I'm 20 years old I shouldn't have to do that...there are many things ...and people from both cultures that I love, and trying to reconcile those identities has been really hard. Sometimes I'd cry myself to sleep at night because my dad and I...or my boyfriend and I wouldn't see eye to eye, because my boyfriend wouldn't understand the pressures that I go through as a Korean daughter. Lately it's been alleviated a little bit because there have been more artistic works coming out that express this duality and frustration...people are getting more of a sense...of the Asian woman's experience...it makes my life a lot easier because people can actually see something concrete and they can relate it...but growing up, my god, I can remember days... when the frustration was just so much that I didn't want to go

> home...When school was done I'd hang out...by myself, not socializing with anybody. It can be really detrimental because you don't feel you belong anywhere.

Again, this section has corroborated one of the overall premises of this thesis, that second-generation women have very different experiences of acceptance, and exclusion from their parents. The answers in this section on multiple identities all demonstrated that many immigrant parents come here with fixed ideas and traditions that they and their communities follow. However, the children they raise here are caught between both their parent's ideas, and mainstream society's notions of what they should be doing and being. Choosing one (which is what necessarily must sometimes happen), may often mean alienation from the other; there is a tremendous personal struggle involved in trying to integrate these various aspects of oneself. It was obvious that although some of the respondents felt it enriched their lives to be ethnic and female, the majority of them obviously found it in some sense a pressure, and for some even a painful, and negative aspect of their lives). Their choices are either to struggle against the essentializing demands of a society that bases much of its social interaction on categories, or find themselves comfort zones where their fragmented identity is one of many, and hence allows them room to transcend those boxes. Much of the criticism against identity politics as a discourse has been against the cultural, racial, sexual etc. cliques that form within feminist women of colour struggles: Mohanty's "barred room", where you belong only if

you are like the others. Granted, this type of exclusion is to be avoided, but such an analysis perhaps does not fully examine or explain the need for this type of space, where - unlike mainstream society and the community/family - ethnic women are not forced to squeeze themselves into narrow constructions of identity that do not fully address who they are:

> C: Extremely fragmented. You're constantly jammed with this notion that you are an essential identity, you choose one. This idea of being fragmented and not staying true to one identity, being disobedient to your family, your community, staying true to your feminist notions,...your anti-racist practises, or ethno-cultural activities. It's difficult and it takes a toll, but at some point you make a decision to say "these are my politics, these are what I believe in, and I'm not going to define myself for you and don't you try and pigeonhole me...
>
> L: ...Okay if there's one place that's home it's Toronto. That would be because there are communities of people, most specifically Asian lesbian, and also people of colour lesbian and gay artists, where I don't have to explain that whole journey. So it's a space which is neither a throwback to some essentialist notion of being chinese or ethnic, nor is it an assimilationist demand, implicit or explicit, that I be just the same, but different, if you know what I mean.

Clearly, as the above quotes illustrate, in a world that clings to static definitions of identity, the fragmentation of self identity may be almost inevitable in the case of second generation ethnic Canadian women. What remains to be seen is the way in which this fragmentation and multiplicity play out in the political behaviour and perspectives of the women interviewed. What, if any, is the link between identity and politics; are those who espouse the celebration of these marginalized and fragmented identities as

the beginnings of political consciousness and action (and therefore change), justified in their claims that the reclaiming of those despised identities that Lorde talks about is the first step to political empowerment? Or is Kauffman correct in believing that in the modern world, the search and discovery of one's social and self identity as a positive thing is nothing more than self indulgent and apolitical exploration that benefits no one, perhaps not even that individual?

The Politics of Identity: Political Behaviour and Citizenship

While this research in no way offers any broad generalizations about ethnic Canadian women's identities, it does however attempt to determine the extent to which self identities are shaped by social perceptions and realities, as well as illustrating how second generation women's experiences differ to a large extent from those immigrant experiences traditionally looked at in the women of colour discourse. In the previous sections which examined the results of respondents' various identities as ethnic, women etc. I tried to determine whether any general patterns emerged when looking at respondents views on nationality, class and the whole immigration experience. Finally, I examined the question of fragmentation as a positive and negative element in the lives of these women.

The question of identity construction might be seen as

essentially sociological in nature; however it offers some interesting insights into what motivates certain types of political behaviour on the part of the groups being studied. The main argument of this research is that political consciousness does not take place in a vacuum, and that the motivational factors behind activity or non activity can be located in individual and group perceptions of being part of a given society. Assuming this is the case, the role identity plays in who will and will not participate politically, and how they do so is of paramount importance, and is one of the foundations of identity politics discourse.

In chapter four, I looked at the way in which identity might inform the political behaviour of those who are marginalized in some way from mainstream culture. Notions of legal versus social citizenship are discussed as important manifestations of national identity, as well as the way citizenship affects one's participation politically. Finally I examine multiculturalism in Canada as a policy example of citizenship theory, and the pro's and cons of a policy that continues to stress diversity rather than sameness. The results of the interviews were fairly consistent with the theory in chapter four. A majority of the respondents said they did not feel well represented as ethnic, women or ethnic women, and those who did feel represented were not politically active themselves. Surprisingly, less people felt their rights as citizens of the country were precarious, even those who were politically active. The lack of political representation did not appear to some of them as inconsistent with the belief in de facto citizenship

rights, since most of them seemed to define these rights as standard human rights rather than societal acceptance and inclusion. However, their belief in their rights as citizens was perhaps not so surprising in light of the fact that many of them in the first section despite their experiences of racism felt accepted in Canada, and did not find it offensive to be asked constantly what nationality they were. These two factors implicitly (and explicitly in the case of overt racism), construct them as "other," questioning their citizenship and the right to situate themselves in that Canadian identity. Nevertheless, for many of the respondents this connection was not made, even those who were politically active.

11 out of 15 people said they did not feel well represented as ethnics, women, or ethnic women. Of the 4 who said they did, two had never experienced racism in Canada; one said there was more representation nowadays, and all four said they were not politically active in any way [8]. Again, of those 4 who said their citizenship rights were secure in theory and in practice, and the 2 who said they had never been tested but had no reason to believe that they would not be secure, 5 of them were not politically active.

11 people said they did not feel represented as ethnics, women, and ethnic women. 8 of these people were politically active in either ethnic, feminist or mainstream politics. Of the other 3,

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[8]. One person said they would like to be and another said they were more interested in world politics.

2 said they would like to be when they had some time, and one said although she was underrepresented, there was no reason to believe she would not be treated fairly in the mainstream. The other respondent was a non politically active person, who did not feel represented, but was not terribly concerned, and had no desire to be active, at least in the near future.

Of the 11 who were active, 9 people seemed to feel that their citizenship rights were not secure, which indicates that political consciousness forces one to question assumptions that others would take for granted. Those who felt that their rights were not secure, saw systemic racism and exclusion as undermining the theoretical privileges that, ostensibly, they as Canadians have. These answers crystallize what appears to be a profound tension between political activity and citizenship, where those who do participate are less secure about their rights as Canadians than those who do not.

There is a definite correlation between being politically active,and feeling that you were under-represented and your rights are not secure. In fact, 4 out of 7 people who were not politically active were also the same respondents who had said they did not define themselves as feminists; 2 out of these 4 had never experienced racism, while the other two had never experienced sexism. These 4 respondents saw Canada as being tolerant and open-minded, despite the lack of representation a couple of them felt:

> D: I feel at home maybe because all of Canada is multicultural...(Do you feel politically represented etc?) no, not at all. I don't know of any Indian Politicians. I don't think I've ever been asked my input.

I:(Do you feel part of mainstream culture?) yes I think so. (do you fell well represented as an asian etc.?) I think so. I mean there are no Asian MPs I don't think. but things are going well in terms of business and equal opportunity...Theres a lot of chinese, a lot of indian, a lot of black, and I guess it all boils down to how open Canada is; they say they're so politically correct etc. but I still don't know if they would accept having an Asian as part of their government.

Again, in terms of identity being a motivating factor for political involvement, 11 people said yes, and of those 11, 7 were already active, with 2 others wanting to be. One of the four people cited above said that she was not interested in being politically active, but that if she were, the fact that she was ethnic would stop her from going into mainstream politics which she felt would not accept an Asian as a member of the government. The one person who seemed unsure, and expressed an interest in immigrant women's problems was also the same person who had never experienced racism, and did not see herself as a feminist; she also felt well represented politically. Another person said partly but that she was interested in more than just black or feminist issues. The 2 who said no, were not politically active to begin with. Therefore out of the 11 people who felt their identity affected their politics and their political behaviour, 8 were politically active in mostly ethnic and gender related areas, and 2 people wanted to be. Interestingly enough, the 3 people who were not politically active also did not feel as if their identities were fragmented:

D: A lot of multiple identities, although not political. Socially because my values are different, more like my parents values..(Is it a problem for you? or negative in any way?) not really.

F: (Do you have multiple identities?) Yes (is this difficult?) No it's not that complicated. I've never had any problems with it.

I: (Do you have multiple identities?) perhaps, when I have to interact with Chinese people, when I have to interact with white Canadians and other ethnic backgrounds, but I try... I'm pretty much the same through every interaction; well maybe a little my family because they expect certain things of me, being a girl and being my age and I don't agree.

Clearly, being politically active indicates some level of raised consciousness, and those who were politically active also had a greater awareness of their own identities as ethnic women in Canada. These same respondents for the most part (and including the three people who wanted to be more active), saw questions of societal racism, sexism, and demands for assimilation in more complex ways than those who were not politically active (see respondents G,D, I, F). Overall it appears as if identity played a crucial part in most of the respondents' political behaviour, even those who were not active, simply because their reasons for not being politically active tended to be based on a relatively unconscious feeling that as ethnic women there were more barriers to face.

CONCLUSION

The first four chapters of this research were an attempt to critically examine the theory available in the area of ethnic women. In chapter one, I looked at social and self constructions of ethnic identity in societies like the US and Canada, and the problems with theory in this field which does not incorporate gender as a possible part of identity building. I then moved on in chapter two, to study two gender oriented discourses: mainstream western feminism, and the women of colour discourse. However, in the case of the former, their focus on gender precluded any real attempt at understanding the complex interaction between factors of gender, race, and class. The latter discourse, significant in its attempt at a more holistic analysis based on intersections of gender, race, class, etc., does nevertheless exclude in one important sense: its preoccupation with immigrant women, and its consistent linking of immigrant with ethnic. There are noticeable differences between immigrant women and second generation women that this discourse appears unaware of, and these differences are uncovered in chapter three. As well chapter three looks at the discourse of identity politics as a more suitable framework for this particular research than simply ethnic studies, feminist theory, or the women of colour discourse. The question of multiple and fragmented identities is examined, and the ways in which life experiences, through the reclaiming and celebrating of marginalized identities can often translate into political consciousness and

activism. Given that this thesis posits that there is a relationship between identity and political behaviour, it can comfortably situate itself in a discourse on the politics of identity. Finally, because this research is focused on questions of political behaviour, the issue of national identity for ethnic women, as well as their perceptions of themselves as citizens in this country are looked at: the questions of legal versus social citizenship and their relation to political behaviour, the debates surrounding these questions of citizenship, and the brief overview of multicultural policy, an illustration of citizenship theory in practice.

Race/Class/Gender Identities in the Second Generation and the Effects on Citizenship and Political Behaviour

This thesis has centred around two important themes: a) the necessity for theory that recognizes generational difference, and in doing so, does not define ethnic groups through a monolithic immigrant experience and b)the clarifying of the relationship existing between social/self identity, political behaviour and citizenship. The interviews, which attempted to substantiate the above two premises, generated some fascinating conclusions about second generation identity, some of which were briefly looked at in chapter six. For example, while scholars in the field saw maintaining a strong Canadian identity in the face of societal racism and exclusion as being problematic for ethnics, the majority of those interviewed felt a very profound attachment to Canada. The

often subtle but still perpetual lack of acknowledgment of ethnic groups as Canadians seems to have forced the interviewees to consciously assert their (ethnic-Canadian) identity as positive, a process which researchers have argued is necessary to function normally in a society. There was a strong sense of belonging that either glossed over, or truly transcended problems of racism and exclusion for most of these women; in fact, although at times it appeared a little forced (putting on a good face as it were), clearly the vast majority of interviewees felt a natural attachment to Canada as their home and the country where they had lived all or most of their lives. The conflicting reality of feeling comfortable in a country which regularly marginalizes you is perhaps one of the most important aspects of second generation experience. Unlike their parents whose lack of integration can be partially blamed on their initial life experiences in another country (thus alienating them from Canadian culture), the interviewees appear to be alienated, through race alone, from the very culture they base their initial life experiences on. Despite this, they - much more so than their parents - feel themselves to be very ethnically Canadian, a duality which constructs itself simultaneously, as both indivisible and mutually exclusive.

For those respondents who were politically active, their construction of themselves as Canadians was by no means uncritical. For the most part they appeared aware of the contradictions inherent in a self defined identity that socially is constantly challenged from the top down. If identity is constructed

dialogically, that is partly in interaction with oneself and with others, maintaining their positive identity may very well be a daily struggle. However, unlike the nonpolitical respondents, their Canadian identity tended to be more political in the sense that they felt they had a right to it and would (and did) defy narrow, racialized perceptions. For those who were not particularly politically active or conscious, their definition of "belonging" was equally defiant, but it lacked the critical awareness of the other respondents. The latter, in perceiving the gap between self identity as a Canadian and social identity as an immigrant based real acceptance on a) political representation b)regular and positive media images and c) mainstream definitions of who a Canadian is rather than on social interaction, which in many cases was class related (the white liberalism of the suburbs).

It is evident, judging from most of the responses that the specificity of experiences was due to the interaction of race/ethnicity, gender and class in the lives of the respondents. It verified an earlier hypothesis of this thesis that the failure of ethnic scholars to include gender as an important unit of analysis rendered much of their work incomplete, and at times inaccurate. One of the most interesting results of the interviews was the way in which the identification of ethnic culture in Canada appears to be based both on class and job related stereotypes as well as cultural symbols like food, dance, dress etc. The latter are associated with women, and their positions within the family as wives, and mothers; interestingly enough, these symbols also

characterise much of immigrant women's class positions and job status in the outside world where immigrant women have traditionally been caretakers, nurturers, and domestics for white families. Feminist theory has for a long time recognized the gendered nature of certain "pink collar jobs" , but it is quite possible that in the case of immigrant women, jobs and class status are both gendered and racially informed by the feminized cultural symbols associated with particular ethnic groups.

The question of class position is a fluid one when distinctions are drawn between immigrant and non-immigrant women. The vital role that class plays in the lives of second generation women came as a surprise, given that theorists in both ethnic studies, and ethnic feminism (with the exception of scholars like Stasiulis and Ng), tend to focus more on issues of race, or race and gender respectively, and even then have incorporated it into their analysis from an immigrant women's perspective. The interviews corroborate much of what both Ng and Stasiulis have argued: that class stereotypes are both ethnically and racially informed, and that class difference is a huge factor in the respondents life experiences. Early on in chapter one, it was suggested that social class, education and the like were powerful enough to either offset or exacerbate racism, and sexism in a particular society, and <u>all</u> the respondents indicated in various ways that this was a reality for them. More importantly many saw the changing of their class position as being part of the whole immigration process (their parents coming to Canada so that their

children would have a better life). Moreover, there is reason to believe that one of the few things that distinguishes immigrants from their children in mainstream society's perceptions, is the natural expectation that second generation children are not limited to specific class based and ethnically informed jobs. It must be pointed out that middle or upper class status appears to have only tempered the respondents' experiences of exclusion, rather than completely protecting them from it (and in fact a few respondents brought up the class stereotype of ethnics as being a financial burden or a threat because of their success in Canadian society). Nevertheless, those respondents who were privileged class-wise saw this as a combined result of their class position which allowed them access to integration in a specifically non immigrant way, and their native upbringing which endowed them with the social, and linguistic skills to not only be more privileged than working class ethnics (or whites), but more privileged than their middle class, but immigrant parents.

The important distinctions between immmigrants and ethnics can be also be seen in the social and community expectations of immigrant and non immigrant women. Immigrant women are not expected in any real way to assimilate (or blend in), and it is difficult for them to do so anyway, given language difficulties and/or accents, customs, values etc. Their behaviour in the community tends to be based on traditional demands that they themselves may not necessarily question. However, their daughters, either born or raised here are expected socially to be as "Canadianized" as

possible (barring racial similarity), and from the interviews we can see that they are. At the same time their "Canadianness" (dress, values, behaviour etc). is often not acceptable to their communities and families, who expect to raise Canadian daughters who are still completely ethnic[1].

Both Qureshi, and Geok Lin Lim (see chapter three, p.63) contend (and the interviews clearly illustrate), that the "corruption" ethnic women are warned against has everything to do with their oppressive gender status in their own communities. Moreover, it is the combination of gender, race, and second generation status that oppresses them: they are expected to show different faces to different people in their lives, causing the fragmentation that, I am convinced, differentiates them from both (non-immigrant) ethnic men, and immigrant women. While second generation men may experience similar expectations from community and family, their gender protects them from many oppressive demands and practices. The majority of respondents described family and community conflict in terms of their identity as ethnic Canadian women. Expectations of abstinence in terms of premarital sex, alcohol and drug use, dating, as well as demands placed on these women to be good ethnic daughters who married men from their own

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[1]. Qureshi describes this attitude exactly in her discussion of her relationship with her father: "...Canadian...an unwanted, unclean, corrupt influence that I was to be protected from...I was told by my father that I should not trust Canadians, especially Canadian men, who, if given the chance, would corrupt me beyond redemption." Qureshi, "Living as Other." Canadian Woman Studies, Fall 1992 (volume 13, no.1). York University: Inanna Publications. pp.11-12

background, and then raised families point to a restrictiveness on female sexuality that is all too familiar to western feminist theory. Although their prescribed role as the bearers of the culture is also part of immigrant female identity, there is less likelihood of first generation women choosing alternative lifestyles that do not correspond to the expectations mentioned above.

That identity is shaped by the combination of such forces as ethnicity, gender, and generational difference is perhaps the most striking and noticeable conclusion to be drawn from the interview results, thus confirming my hypothesis that there is no space in either ethnic studies, or the immigrant women's discourse for the experiences of these women. Most of the respondents lived the triple burden of being a woman in a sexist society, an ethnic in a racist society, and an Canadianized ethnic woman in one's own community and family. All these factors preclude a textbook set of experiences from childhood through adolescence to adulthood, giving rise inevitably it would seem to identities that are neither uncomplicated nor comfortable at times. In the case of most respondents (those who felt their identities were multiple and/or fragmented), the tension existing between their (second generation) Canadian identity, and their very gendered ethnic identity, alienates them from much of the theory on ethnicity and gender.

Identities as Political: Feminism, Citizenship and Political Behaviour

The relationship between identity and political behaviour posited in the theoretical part of this thesis was substantiated to a certain extent, in that respondents who were more politically active tended to be those who had a higher level of consciousness about their life experiences as gendered, racialized beings, while those who had not theorized on the sometimes problematic and contradictory nature of their identities, were women who were not active and furthermore did not see a driving need for political representation and activism. In fact, even as they acknowledged their own experiences with racism and exclusion, and their invisibility as ethnic (women) politically, these respondents saw the former problem as isolated and the latter as coincidental rather than systemic, and as a result felt themselves to be fairly accepted as Canadians.

Respondents' answers in terms of their perceptions of national identity did not directly indicate an awareness of citizenship rights either as involving representation and voice, or as being integral to their identity as visible minority women. Every respondent had been asked "what nationality are you?" and according to some respondents, this illustrated mainstream society's assumptions of their "otherness" ; at the same time this was not deconstructed to translate into society's (often itself unconscious) questioning of their identity as Canadian citizens. To this extent, the importance of citizenship as a possible unit of

analysis in determining perceptions of power, political behaviour and inclusion did not noticeably present itself in the interviews, other than as a simple question of legality (for the majority of respondents, rights were defined through the legal possession of citizenship status).

Furthermore, the link made in chapter four between citizenship theory and multicultural policy was not manifested in the interviews. While multiculturalism was mentioned by most of the respondents in either negative or positive terms, multiculturalism as a question of the inclusiveness of Canadian citizenship was not raised in terms of its hierarchical construction of new (and by implication, old and therefore established) Canadians. What did present itself noticeably in respondents' views on multiculturalism was, again, the strong link between political consciousness and critical awareness of the policy's good and bad points.

Indeed, the contrast between those women who were or wanted to be politically active, and those who saw it as less important informed almost every area covered by the interview process. Even more interesting was that all those in the former group considered themselves to be feminists of varying descriptions, although most of them felt that they could not separate their gender problems from their race ones. This strongly supports the feminist methodological aims of this thesis that raising consciousness is the first step towards political efficacy. The link between experience, knowledge, and power, which characterizes both feminist research and identity politics is very much present in the lives of

those respondents who were politically active, and challenges many of the assumptions in the literature about self awareness becoming self indulgent, and apolitical (see chapter three, pp.76-78). In reality, this is not validated at all by the interviews, since those respondents who were neither feminist nor politically active were much more self involved than the previous group, and felt no real pressure to work for change since their own present circumstances were satisfactory.

Concluding Thoughts on the Politics of Identity For Second Generation Ethnic Womenn

The parameters of this study were based on the assumption that race, class, and gender intersect in specific ways in the lives of second generation ethnic Canadian women; and that this intersection constructs multiple and often fragmented identities that are unique to them. These identities then impact in varying ways on the political behaviour and self perceptions of these women. While my study was limited (due to time and length constraints) to a small number of women, certain theoretical relationships posited in the literature did in fact reveal themselves in the interview process.

However in my construction of what informs the particular identities I was looking at, I did not include the possible impact of sexual orientation, and as a result in retrospect, I realize that this thesis is based on completely heterosexist assumptions, ranging from what I listed as inter-generational conflicts over

dating and sex, to my interview questions which took for granted the sexual orientation of the subjects in question. The entire issue of sexual orientation only emerged in my second to last interview, where the interviewee in response to my question about problems of racism, sexism etc. mentioned that her status as a lesbian woman of colour was equally marginalizing. The particular privilege of being straight in a straight world has been one that, until now, did not enter into my consciousness; not surprisingly it gave me a whole new understanding of white feminist theory's traditional lack of awareness concerning race, since clearly it is much easier to conceptualize our oppressions than our advantages.

That my own experiences have completely shaped this thesis is a statement of the obvious, that I make nonetheless when I return to the question of second generation ethnic female identities. The theorizing of this fragmentation of identities was born out of a need to see my experiences reflected in the literature that claims to represent me as an ethnic woman, and as a Canadian. Most of all it developed from my lifelong frustrations with what one respondent so eloquently called the demand to "dial an identity". In society's drive to understand the world around us, we have constructed and clung to narrow definitions that do not illustrate the complexity of that which we are attempting to understand. For women like myself, those interviewed, and many others who straddle some or all of these one dimensional categories it often feels as if we have fallen through the cracks in a world that denies our reality by telling us we have to be one thing or another, but we cannot be

both, and we can certainly never be more. Hopefully the theorizing of this fragmentation will increase our awareness of the limitations of these reductionist categories, and provide the impetus for a new discourse which more adequately reflects the diversity of identities and experiences among ethnic women in Canadian society.

APPENDIX I:RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

INDEX OF RESPONDENTS:

A: KOREAN-CANADIAN
B: MOROCCAN-CANADIAN
C: INDO-CANADIAN
D: PAKISTANI-CANADIAN
E: HAITIAN-CANADIAN
F: INDO-CANADIAN
G: LEBANESE-CANADIAN
H: GOAN-CANADIAN
I: CHINESE-CANADIAN
J: TRINIDADIAN-CANADIAN
K: INDO-CANADIAN
L: CHINESE-CANADIAN
M: GUYANESE-CANADIAN
N: KOREAN-CANADIAN
O: HAITIAN-CANADIAN

RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

1. Have you ever been asked the question: "What nationality are you?"

15 out of 15 people said yes, with responses ranging from of course, to all the time and constantly.

2. If the answer is yes, how did you respond?

A) Did you describe yourself as a Canadian?

- 2 said yes

B) hyphenated Canadian?

- 4 said yes

C) Did you simply give the ethnic background you were from?
- 5 said yes

RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS:

A: Canadian. (why?) Because I was born here and all of my experiences have been within these borders. I speak very little

Korean and my first language is English.

C: Two ways. If it's just for information and someone is curious and it's nature of the dialogue, I will say my parents are from India but I was born in Canada and am Canadian. But just to be facetious sometimes I will say Canada, and they'll say "No, where are you really from?", and I'll get as far down as Alberta, the city, the street, and they still don't get it.

D: Indian. I never say Indo-Canadian, not unless they ask me citizenship.

H: Goan-Canadian. (why?) Because I'm a Canadian citizen and my background is Goan. Usually if I just say Canadian that doesn't give the person enough information and they'll say "Where are you from originally?"

I: Canadian (why?) because I was born in Canada, and I just recognize myself as Canadian. everybody else in Europe is surprised. they'll openly say to me that they don't think of me as Canadian because of the way I look. Friends of mine here know I'm Canadian.

K: The reason I don't answer "Canadian" is because they know and you know that they want to find out where you come from. but in my heart I'm a Canadian.

L: Well my responses depend. More and more I just can't answer it by saying I'm chinese or I'm Chinese-Canadian, because like any other question I find that most of the time it's not a question that invites an engagement with me as a complex person but it's a way of reducing me to a category.

3. Whom do you feel a strong tie to:

A) The country of your origins?
- 7 said yes, 6 said no, 2 said before not at all, but lately more so

B: Yes I do. Most of my family other than my parents are still

there. The land of Morocco is within me and will never go away.

E: Yes because I haven't been back but that's where my roots are. My parents, my grandparents, they grew up there. My education is from my parents so culturally there is a strong tie.
B) Yes, also I grew up here, this is the country i really know. But somehow I feel I need to go to Haiti and then it will be easier for me to be more assertive about my Canadian citizenship. There's a lot of good things about Canadian society but I don't really know the country I come from. It's like something's missing from who I am, kind of incomplete.

B) Canada?

- 14 said yes, 1 said no

f: Sure. Canada is now my home. I've been here for 20 years and I'm twenty six.

L: I've had to work at it. Finally I do feel that this is my home.If there's one place that's home it's Toronto. That would be because there are communities of people, more specifically Asian lesbian, and also people of Colour lesbian and gay artists, where I don't have to explain that whole journey. So it's a space which is neither a throwback to some essentialist notion of being chinese or ethnic, nor is it an assimilationist demand, implicit or explicit, that I be just the same but different - if you know what I mean.

4. Have you ever experienced racism and discrimination in Canada?

- 13 out of 15 said yes, 2 said no.

- out of those who said yes, one person said that it wasn't openly as far as she can remember but she is sure it has been done, one person said not to a large extent, but yes.

- out of the two people who said no, one was of Lebanese origin and the other of East Indian. Neither were "visible" (they both had white skin). The East Indian in fact attributed her lack of experience with racism to the fact that she was "fair-skinned", and so people don't know she is East Indian. She added that many of her East Indian friends had been victims of racism.

F: Never. Probably because I don't look east Indian. I'm fair, so people don't think I'm Muslim or anything.

L: Yes, more explicitly when I was younger. Not so explicitly in recent years...school-yard bullying and stuff like that. What I do feel is kind of a silencing. A lack of myself being reflected. Having grown up in the suburbs - that's a prime example of a place that doesn't like to have the boat rocked and I think that my very existence is rocking the boat.

5. If yes, has it affected your ability to feel that you "belong" here?

- Out of 13 people who had said they'd experienced racism, 5 said yes, it had. 8 said no.

a: Yeah, it's kind of made me paranoid because if you think of like. Well I've had over racism, where peoples have approached me and said things to my face; and then I've had the systemic racism, where me wanting to be a journalist - my skills are only needed when the issue is a race issue or something with racial conflict in it, and it's like "oh you'd better put 'A' on the story because she's an expert on that issue." that really pisses me off. People identify me by my race for sure.

G: Being Lebanese has affected feeling of belonging. I was born and raised with one set of cultures (lebanese) and integrated into Canadian society, there have been barriers. The cultures clash, there's no commonality between them and at one point you feel one resistance to being allowed into one culture when you have all this cultural baggage that belongs to another culture. It's been hard to integrate.

M: No, but I feel that I know my place. It doesn't make it harder for me to live here, but I know where I stand. I know no matter how much we use this multiculturalism thing, the reality is that white males are in power, and as long as they're in power things are going to come harder for me...I accept my place and i realize that as a black woman i have to work harder than a white person, that less is expected of me, but I don't have to live (down) to those expectations.

6. Do you feel accepted, and a part of Canadian Culture?

- 5 said no they did not. 10 said yes, they did.

E: Not necessarily, no. (Is it because you were not born here?) No. because I know people who were born here and somehow we always feel we are strangers because we're visible minorities, so at first sight people will always see us as coming from somewhere else. Many times you still have to prove yourself...when you go looking for a job, or relationships with others, sometimes you feel as if others can be straightforward that you're not Canadian, that you're different, that you belong to another society; sometimes it's not so direct but you can still feel it. It is said politically that Canada is a multicultural society and we're all Canadian but I feel like we always have to prove ourselves and educate people about being Canadian, so there's an ambiguity there. It is not as tolerant as it could be. there are two speeches going on: the politically correct speech, it is a multicultural society and people are more aware day by day that it's fact and we have to live with the diversity of culture that there is in Canada, but deep down inside if people had a choice (because there is no choice, it's reality), would that be the speech they'd be giving?

M: In a way I kind of feel that we're used. When it comes to propaganda I think Canada flaunts its immigrants and its ethnicity; when comparing themselves to other countries they say "well look at us, we're so tolerant and multicultural". But I think the reality of everyday life in Canada is not really that way. It's not as comfortable, and they're not as tolerant as they make themselves out to be.

7. Do you feel Canada is tolerant and accepting of other groups, for the most part?

- 3 people said yes. 3 people said no. The remaining 9 felt that there was a distinction between tolerance and acceptance, being allowed to be her and being welcomed:

A: I think Canada's tolerant but only to a certain point. It's like until these groups of people overstep their given boundaries as soon as they excel more or they prove something that old Canada never thought they could do before. That's when they like to reassert themselves. When I say "they" I guess I mean the white establishment. They like to re-affirm who is in charge and who is really Canadian.

B: No I don't I believe the Land of Canada isa inherently racist from the formation of this country, and it never changed. It's just gotten worse. It's more subtle: institutionalize racism.

D: Yes in my experience. But I've always grown up in the suburbs, and everybody there has always been tolerant and no questions asked. I've had it easy.

F: Oh yes, I think so, especially here in Ottawa, there are so many different cultures.

H: Multiculturalism is a policy that Canada espouses but as to whether Canada is really tolerant, given its recent changes in immigration law, I don't think it is. they only like people who are basically rich. You have to pay 960$ just for an application fee. They're tolerant of people who improve the economy.

8. Are there areas of your life where this answer would differ (social life, political, life etc.)?

- 11 said yes. 4 said no.

A: I feel more accepted because I'm educated. I only feel accepted in this country because my family is a middle class family and because I speak fluent English and I'm educated, not because I'm Korean.

9. How do you feel about Canada's official policy of multiculturalism?

A: Well Koreans are new Canadians in the sense that their experience is not as far back in Canada as the Chinese and Japanese, but it bothers me when people look at me and associate me with immigrants because my parents came here and they contributed to this society; I'm a manifestation of their contribution.

B: I think that part of the government is very racist. I don't think immigrants are welcomed wholeheartedly, and invited to live

here and it is made very difficult for them to adjust, purposely. The ministry of multiculturalism or immigration, whatever it is now, is racist, putting prices on people's heads when they come in, like they're cattle. On top of that some Canadians feel these people are a burden, that they're the problem in terms of the economic crisis. I'm sick of hearing about it, and I'm fed up that it's blamed on the immigrants. It's the same thing in Ireland and France and other places. Everyone blames the immigrants because there's no real attempt to make something happen. There is so much institutionalized racism in the government and all around that I can't take multiculturalism seriously.

H: It is a good thing, its to be promoted because it makes Canada an interesting place. There's a lot of diversity. We can learn a lot from other cultures and it breeds tolerance.

FEMINISM

10. Do you consider yourself a feminist? If the answer is NO, please skip questions 13, 14, and 15, and go on to 16.

6 said no. 9 said yes.

- out of the 6 that said no, one qualified it by saying that she stuck up for herself socially but wasn't into picketing.

-of the 9 who said yes 1 qualified it by saying it depended on which feminism but according to her own type she was.

D: No. Well not an extreme feminist. I stick up for myself when I'm being discriminated against as a woman, but I'm not with the picket signs in front of parliament.

F: No. I think just because we're females doesn't mean we should always be specially treated. I can see it in some instances but sometimes they go overboard.

I: No. Honestly the issue hasn't really come up for me. I'm in a field where it's majority men, industrial design. There are a lot more male designers, but I've never found discrimination in my class and at work so maybe that's why I'm not such a hard core feminist. I do agree that things have to be equal between men and

women, but I don't preach it.

11. What is your definition of feminism?

A: My personal feminism would be something like wanting to persuade other people that what I think as a woman is important. Things like that - wow this is really hard - to advocate for women's rights, for example women should be represented in the media, especially women of colour because they've been misrepresented and under-represented. Either they're not there or if they are, they're exoticized, they're not treated with respect, they're not treated as individually-minded strong women.

C: Beyond defining feminism in it's liberal, radical, Marxist form, feminism for me is more of an ideology or a way of living your life. Feminism for me is something that's all inclusive, not judgemental, voice, representation, the idea of just not accepting, but being able to critically challenge certain stereotypes and looking at systemic discrimination barriers or what is out there impeding people from living their lives the way they want to.

D: feminism is females fighting for their rights to be equal. Sometimes it gets a little to out of hand, they go overboard. But as long as they're fighting to be equal that's great.

F: Everything is centred around females, as far as jobs, pay, whatever. Sometimes it's out of control. That's how I see feminism nowadays.

H: My feminism means that women should not be treated as equals to men because if that were the case then women would suffer even more discrimination. They have to get an extra boost, and in order to do that, women need to support other women and there must be a political change for there to be a level playing field.

12. Are you a feminist first, and a person of ethnicity second or vice versa? Do you feel it is difficult to be both, and if so, why?

Is it difficult to be a feminist in your community?

- of the 9 who said they were, here are some of the following answers:

H: Yes. Now you're expected to pursue a career and almost every Goan has a pretty high level of education now, so that's the one thing everyone expects of you; from the time you're little everyone always asks "What are you going t do when you grow up?" So they have their goals set pretty high. But to be a feminist , yes, it's difficult because a lot of men don't see a conflict between women getting power and women having a family, women having their own ideas. They think they can all, mesh together, and the women should just go along with whatever the men say.

ETHNIC FEMALE IDENTITY

13. What are some of the stereotypes associated with members of your ethnic community? Are there specific stereotypes of men and women in your community you see as informed by both gender and race?

B: Anti-US (which a lot of us are for good reason), anti-colonial. "those muslims" who oppress women which some fundamentalists do, but not all muslims. For women they are lazy, exotic, promiscuous, think of the Arabian nights, and the way Arab women have been seen since then.

C: They smell. Their houses smell like spices. Their sexist, rude, don't treat their women well. South Asian women are submissive, quiet, obedient.
(Are these stereotypes based on both race and gender?) Definitely. Well yeah, this is true of whether it be Japanese culture in terms of submissive women. But it's not true for me anyway. I mean my mother is so loud. You go into a room full of Indian women and you're lucky if you get any word in edgewise. The men are the ones cowering in the corner.

D: Yes, especially because I'm soft spoken and shy, that seems to perpetuate their stereotypes of passive East Indian women.

J: All black men are going to rob you. Black women are outspoken, feisty, we don't think straight because we're so emotional, we just blow up. Everything that comes out of our mouths is out of anger, not logic.

14. Is it difficult to be a woman in your community? What are some of the problems you have encountered?

- 13 said yes.

- 1 person said not for her specifically but, for others yes.

- 1 person did not respond directly to the question at all, despite several attempts to draw her out:

A: Yes, well my community is very patriarchal and it even goes down to my own family. I'm the youngest daughter, I have an older brother and that's looked upon as like, well he is more of a priority than I am. If you take it in a larger context women like me who are trying to get a career in a nontraditional field (journalism), it's not really encouraged. And the fact that I live with roommates, one of whom if a man, even though it is platonic,k it is not looked at as very decent. There is a lot of stress on marriage and kids. I mean "be smart and have an education but settle down sooner or later."

C: (Ethnic men are privileged?) Definitely, I mean, there's the whole issue of incredible sexism in the community. I only have a sister, and I've often had this discussion with my father. Had he had a son, I think my life would have been very different. Had I been raised in India my life would be very different... had I been raised in Malta, just outside of Toronto, I'd be probably married, and not finished my education just because of class issues, sexism and perceptions of what's a woman's role and a man's role is.

15. As an ethnic woman are you doubly oppressed by both your race and gender?

- 5 people said no.

- 9 people said yes, with answers ranging from definitely, to in some ways, and at certain times

- 1 person said they were not sure, but maybe, she had more to deal with, not necessarily more oppressed.

A: I mean a Korean man has to only worry about how people are reacting to him because he is Korean. For me I have to always keep two sides on guard. I totally act differently, I'm always shifting gears and adjusting to people...I wish I could be more consistent but I can't. when I'm with my family...at work...

C: Oh I would even make it a triple oppression in terms of demands of your family and community and then supposedly trying to be this notion of Canadian. Extremely fragmented. You're constantly jammed with this notion that you are an essential identity, you choose one, and this idea of being fragmented, and not staying true to one identity, being disobedient to your family, your community, staying true to your feminist notions, staying true to anti-racist practises, or ethno-cultural activities. It's difficult, and it takes a toll, but at some point you make a decision to say, "these are my politics, these are what I believe in, and I'm not going to define myself for you and don't you pigeonhole me".

D: Not really. At times, but nothing all that serious, even though I'm a big-time minority: there's only two girls in engineering. But no one's discriminated against us. The only time I feel discriminated against is in baseball: because you're a girl you get that attitude, and if you're an ethnic girl it's even worse because you get that stereotype of the uncoordinated little indian girl, and then when you get up and hit the ball they're all like "wow" whereas if it was a white girl it'd be different.

G: It's very limiting, a burden? maybe because there are expectations on Lebanese women to get married and pursue a family career, there's nothing in the community that encourages women to pursue other alternatives. There's a pull by the society in which I live, demands made also on me as a Canadian born lebanese. They clash. It makes for a busy responsible life, and because of those two it's even harder to develop you own character. a lot of people as a result don't push. It's hard because with cultures like the lebanese it's either/or, no in between, no medium. You either follow the lebanese way or you don't. There's no acceptance if you try to bring something new in. Maybe that's why I feel more comfortable in Canadian society because there's allowances for that: you can bring in your ethnic and cultural experiences and be just a human being.

H: Are minority women worse of than ethnic men and white women?) They're worse off now with the current political climate. Everybody's trying to say there should be not more quotas etc. so for a visible minority woman she has two things to deal with: a) the fact that she's a woman and b) the fact that she's a woman of

colour. So that could be a barrier to employment...when employers look at you they think "Is this person going to take maternity leave, bear children; generally they see women as not as reliable as men, just in terms if their biological makeup, and then being a person of colour you could potentially encounter racism. I can't say you would definitely.

16. When there is a clash between sexism and racism, what issues take precedence, gender or ethnicity?

- 5 people didn't feel it made sense to separate either gender or race issues since they were oppressed by both.

- 1 person seemed unsure of which she would feel was more important, and then suggested that the problems of immigrant women would be an area of interest for her.

- 1 person said sexism, not racism since they haven't experienced the latter

- 1 person said racism because she hadn't experienced sexism

- 1 person said intellectually it would be racism, and the community must stick together, but in reality she has put feminism over that.

- 1 person did not answer the question properly, despite repeated attempts to draw her out

- 1 person said it depends on who is talking

- 2 people said race but also included gender as an important second

A: I don't know which takes more priority, the race thing or the gender thing for me. I think they're about equal; because if I'm with a group of ethnic men I still feel oppressed, and if I'm with a group of white women I'm more. I guess my feelings are stronger for the race issue, the colour issue, than the gender issue, but the two are there very strongly for me, so I can't separate.
It's difficult because you always have to be aware of how people are reacting to you. It's the old argument of the double-edged sword. Not only do we have to deal with the fact that we're oppressed as women, but we're oppressed because we're women of colour.

B: In this society if you are "other", it's difficult enough for both men and women; you band together. I think somehow racism comes first for me. I think it's difficult when times are hard, and you're being discriminated against and hearing racist comments. Seeing your ethnic background being accused of terrorism and knowing what is in people's minds. It's difficult because you have to dispel these myths, and that takes times, and you have to face ignorant people. But I can't say I'm not happy with who I am, it is part of who I'm supposed to be. I'm going to be busy for the rest of my life. I also think that gender, race and class are balanced out. When sexism and racism clash it's difficult because I see myself as a Moroccan woman first before anything so I don't know how to separate those two. I think they go hand in hand.

C: I find if someone was to say to me what is the primary form of oppression you suffer from, it's definitely my race. I always feel it's my race. Whereas white women will always say their gender and ethnic men their race. They don't have the experience of race, just because they are majority and dominant.

G: Yes because being a lebanese woman in a lebanese context is not the same as being a woman in the Canadian context. There are a lot of restrictions placed on Lebanese women to pursue a career, an education, whereas to be a Canadian woman I have all the freedom to do whatever I want, well, given my own limitations and different expectations from the two cultures.

H: I'd say both are important. You can't separate one from the other, especially if you're both a woman and a minority. If I was just a man of colour I'd say racism was more important because I wouldn't face the issue of sexism, and a white woman would face gender issues not race. If I was a white male of course, well... anyway for me personally both are important.

17. With whom do you feel the stronger bond with: White Canadian feminists? Canadian ethnic women who are also feminists? Women with the same background as yours who are not feminists? Men from your ethnic background?

- 2 people said not feminist for sure, one of them specifying that ethnic women not necessarily from her background, and possibly ethnic men (it depended)

- one person said ecologists,because she was one

- 6 people said other ethnic women, and 5 of these six said ethnic

women who were feminists. two of these women specified feminist ethnic women from their own background

- for 3 of these 6, white women who were feminists were a second choice

- One person said black men, because there were things she shared with them that other non-blacks could never understand

D: White women who think the way I do, but even more so with ethnic women who think the way I do. Not at all with ethnic women who don't think the way I do. (explain) Because we have more in common, culturally. I have a lot of both ethnic and white friends and in some situations I can relate better to my ethnic friends, like family situations. I don't have to explain.

F: Someone who wasn't a feminist, either ethnic or white. I'd actually feel comfortable with anyone if they weren't a feminist.

H: white Canadian feminists because I've grown up here and I've had a lot of white friends. People from my background who aren't necessarily feminists don't really want the same things I do, and of course Indian men I sometimes feel I have nothing in common with them. (Indian women who are feminists?) yes I have a strong bond with them because we have other issues in common, not just gender, but also cultural similarities.

C: It's interesting because a group of us started a feminist journal called "Hysteria". After its first six months of production we were charged with issues of racism and heterosexism. The make up of the collective, just by virtue of the women involved and who wanted to participate, were a group of white women and myself and another Indian-Caribbean woman. So we were the only women of colour. At that point, other women of colour had stepped in but they wanted to create their own caucus. So a "Woman of Colour" caucus was formed, but I stayed with "Hysteria", stayed with the women's collective, and stayed with the "Women of Colour" caucus. My problem then became though, the hierarchy of privilege, and what does it mean if I'm a woman, if I'm of colour, if I'm disabled. Does that give me more knowledge and less privilege and that puts me on top of that hierarchy? If women and race came up against each other, because I was a part of NAC for a while and I've been a part of a lot of organizations that have fragmented because of this, I would like to think that there is a meeting ground at some point, because it's basically the idea that, well, "what are you here for?"

CLASS

18. Is class still a significant factor in Canada?

- 11 people said yes, definitely.

- 3 people said to a certain extent

- 1 person said they had not seen much of class divisions in Canada, but in a social setting could relate

F: I haven't seen too much of that. Sure if you're in school and you're a minority and you don't dress or don't have the money to dress the way everybody else dresses, sure they're going to treat you differently. I can see it being a big element, because when you're in university and school - the friends you hang out with - you might not want to hang out with a minority who doesn't dress the way you do. It looks like he's a lower class person. (not that I'm like that but...).

K: Class is very important: it is one of the greatest evils and one of the last to go...being poor is the worst thing because you're despised in a way that you wouldn't be as an ethnic woman.

19. What class background are you from?

- 10 people answered middle-class

- 2 people said upper middle-class

- 1 person said working class, single Mother

- 2 people said working or lower, middle-class

20. Do you feel that class plays an important role in your life? do you think this affects the way in which other people relate to you?

- 11 people said definitely that their class had affected their life. 10 of them said it has protected them, either to a great, or lesser extent. 1 of them said it had affected her negatively because she was a single Mother. One also mentioned the class differences within her community which separate people.

- 2 people said that nowadays everyone is treated equally. Out of these two, one of them said that socially her class has not protected her: because she is Black, people still see her as being "an immigrant" or of a lower class

- 1 person said possibly (she was not sure), but that she did not know anyone from other than a middle class background so she couldn't tell. The same individual however, earlier in the interview alluded to the protection her class had given her by saying that growing up in the suburbs meant she had received a lot of protection from ignorance and racism, and that the lower classes might be less tolerant because of jealousy.

- one person said maybe but, it did not benefit her much

A: Yes it has protected me. But I'm not thinking that they've accepted me, I'm thinking that they'll just be more tolerant of me because I'm middle class. (do you have it better than a working class non educated white man?) No I don't have it better. He's got some things that he doesn't have to deal with the way I do so it all balances out.

B: Yes absolutely, anyone who is lower class has to deal with more discrimination, I'm privileged.

D: Yes, because it is not just my experience. Things you hear, it sounds like the lower classes might be less tolerant, maybe because of jealousy, so you're singled out.

H: Yes definitely it has protected me. I think that class discrimination predominates because people tend to look down on the poor the mist. (Do you have it better than a working class white man?) That's a hard question. No because sometimes people will just look at you and they'll assume ceratin things about you. For example I don't look what my background is. I've been mistaken for Native Indian and along with that goes a lot of stereotypes so in that sense if you're poor, or not of a high educational background, they assume you're illiterate. They don't assume I'm an immigrant and along with that assumption (of immigrant) goes the stereotype of poverty. So I wouldn't say I have it better off than a poor white male because he could dress well, and he'd be socially perceived as being an upper class person.

K: It has absolutely made a difference in my life. i've had the luxury of thinking about these issues and wanting to change things. Working class people are too busy trying to survive. Intellectualizing is incredibly remote to them. Belonging to the middle class keeps me safe and gives me respect which I would not have otherwise because I'm a woman and a woman of colour, and therefore am more vulnerable.

M: I don't know if it's my class or my upbringing. I think I just realized at a young age I'd have to work really hard to be successful...maybe being lower middle class helped me, but I never got any handouts, because I'm black, and I'm baffled at the way white people think that minorities have it so easy, and get handouts. It's just not true.

IMMIGRANT AND SECOND GENERATION IDENTITY

21. Do you consider yourself an immigrant woman?

- 9 said no. Of these 9, 1 seemed uncertain and asked how I defined immigrant. this person was in fact both born and raised here, as were 7 of the others. The person who said no and was not born here, said she did not see herself as an immigrant because she had been here for so many years (20 out of 26). This is also one of the people who had never experienced racism in Canada.

- 5 said yes. Of these 5, 4 were not born in Canada (although all had been raised here). One person was born here but saw herself as an immigrant for various reasons (see respondent)

- 1 said sometimes. This person was born and raised here.

A:... I grew up knowing what to do because it was put out for me as a child, whereas my parents felt totally dislocated: everyone looked different, they acted different. (So are you more integrated than they are?) Yes for sure. They can't even read properly. They can read the Korean newspaper, but not English, and we can't talk about a lot of issues because they just can't read about them.

B: Immigrant woman is a term and a discourse which I think applies to women who have recently come to Canada, but I don't think I would fully understand what they're going through. Sometimes I feel that this country is like a pitstop for people from Europe, Africa, or Asia, or wherever, and so we're all immigrants.

F: No, because I've been here for so many years.

H: Not in the sense of a recent immigrant woman, but yes, I guess. Because I did come from another country. (So if you had been born here you wouldn't feel like an immigrant woman?) that's right.

I: No. But usually people will always address me as chinese and therefore an immigrant.

22. What are some of the similarities and differences that you and your parents have, in terms of your experiences in Canada?

Similarities included: food, culture, language, cultural ties, social expectations

Differences: values: dating, sex, interracial relationships, alcohol and drug use. Traditional female roles: career expectations, marriage and children. Integration: immigration process, dislocation from Canadian culture and society, language difficulty

A: I think immigrant women go through a lot more.

C: The whole idea of dating. Forget about interracial dating. I mean we still have arranged marriages. I have had relationships outside of my parent's knowledge, and other things like alcohol and drug use which they don't know about. See, this is a dichotomy because you're living one life outside of your home and then another within your home. You're constantly lying. The whole issue of life experience. Life experience is you get an education before anything else, get married to a nice person, and maybe see the world with them if they're willing, being a mother, having a family is incredibly important, perpetuating the race is important, staying true to your religion. These are things I do agree are important but you shouldn't do it in an effort to create an essentialist pocket or ghetto in order to distance yourself from something else.

F: Canada is their home, they have no intention of leaving. But "Home" is always going to be where they came from, where they were born. But for me, "Home" is here now because I don't remember anything there. I was only there a couple of years.

G: My parents, as other immigrant parents take what they want and leave what they don;t want, whatever is convenient for them. Whatever clashes we leave it outside the house. It's a protection, a way of keeping lebanese culture strong, it's what they know, not

changing into a new society, and not knowing what to expect. As a born Canadian I knew, because I had gone through all the stages growing up here, at every level of Canadian society. I can perceive what is going on, they can't. By the time they came here they weren't willing or maybe able to integrate.

L:Immigrant parents, at least have an expectation that there is something they have to fit into, so you work at it, and let go of old baggage and make a home here. And you're kids are part of an assimilation. The children are a big motivation for having come, and a big focus for this kind of dream for their own lives. and I think a lot of times the kids go right along...it's a kind of seamless passing of the torch. In that sense the kids do become as mainstream as is possible.

M: My parents don't see racism as much as I do. Well they see it but they're more accepting of it: they look at it as "that's just life, move on." whereas I get mad.

23. Does it bother you when people ask what your nationality is, or see you as an immigrant woman?

- 7 people said no it did not bother them. Of these 7, 6 of them had been born here, and of these 6, 2 women pointed out that because they were visible minorities people tended to associate them with immigrants, and one of them later on in the interview contradicted herself because she admitted this link between immigrant and ethnic offended her.

- 5 people answered yes. Of these 5, 3 of them had themselves defined themselves as immigrant women.

- 2 people said it depended on who was asking, and the situation; one of these two also said that if it meant being perceived as an immigrant for 10 generations because you were visible then yes it bothered her.

- 1 person said that people did not see her as an immigrant after they spoke to her because she was well integrated and had no accent. She said they saw her as being born here, not just raised her. This person was not born here (although she was raised here) and she herself had previously described herself as an immigrant.

A: (does it bother you when people lump you together?) yes, because I know <u>why</u> they're lumping us together, and it bothers me because how can they lump a Canadian citizen in with women who come from other countries and feel totally dislocated. It's because we "all look the same".

B: I don't think it should matter when you're first introduced to

someone, and I think that too many times it sounds like I'm exotic, being from Africa, and the whole notion that comes with that. yes, depending on who it was. Being an immigrant is a legal status, and legally I'm a Canadian, but people don't want to see me as a Canadian. I do consider myself Canadian, but people continue to push on me that I'm never quite as Canadian as them, and it's mostly white people. When it's other ethnics, it's a different atmosphere, a lot more comfortable, because we can relate.

C: Yeah, it's annoying just by virtue of the fact that in order for them to ask me where I'm from they have an image of what a Canadian looks like, and if I don't fit into it what am I supposed to derive from that, other than the only thing that I wear that's any different from them is the colour of my skin. That's upsetting just knowing the history of Canada, be it Chinese Canadians of the West Coast who have been here for how many generations, or it's aboriginal people etc. there's still a notion that it's white Anglo-Saxon (male, middle class, heterosexual) and this is a norm to which I am constantly compared. This is problematic to me especially in this day and age.

G: (Anglo and Franco Canadians, do they see you as Canadian?) No, there are so many problems between them that anything that adds to these problems are clashes. Doesn't make a comfortable picture at all. But Francophones are generally more tolerant than anglophones because of their own cultural differences.

H: Well after people talk to me they don't really think I'm an immigrant woman; most people think I'm born here (or raised here?) no born here because I don't have an accent. They perceive my parents to be immigrants but not me.

I:Someone could call me an immigrant because my mother is from Hong Kong. I wouldn't be insulted because why would I? What harm does it do to me?

L: It depends on who it is. I don't interact with a lot of mainstream people to tell you the truth. So when I'm with people who respect it as part of the complexity of my experience that's okay. It is very much apart of me. But by the same token I hope these people understand that as being part of themselves, that for example if they are white, that they understand immigration to be a part of their own history. But to be forever immigrant in the next ten generations - that bother me. And I know that happens...I know there are seventh generation African Canadians, and fourth generation Chines Canadians who are asked where are you from, look what " an immigrant ought to look like" even by people whose parents were immigrants...a way of categorizing "undesirables".

QUESTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND BEHAVIOUR

24.Do you feel well represented politically: as an ethnic? As a woman? As an ethnic woman? Are your needs being served or presented in some way?

- 4 said yes. Of these 4, 1 said more and more now (see respondent).

- 11 said no

D: No, not at all. I don't know of any Indian politicians. I don't think that I've ever been asked my input.

H: Definitely not. Because there are hardly any East Indians in politics. (Do you see that as significant?) yes. Well, the fact that if you don't have representation you don't have a voice. You'd have to bring it somebody else's attention and they might not see your issues as their own, so they might not do anything about it, or they wouldn't do it on their own naturally.

C: B) Just because you have women in parliament as we know, the reform party, that doesn't necessarily mean that they are speaking for women's issues. I have a problem with the whole term women's issues because they're not women's issues, they're human rights issues. So in my mind if you have a group of people who aren't pro-active, preventive, or progressive, I would say right now in the present system I don't feel well represented as a woman, but having more women in place I would not feel that way either, it's a matter of the politics of the individual.

L: Between the Bloc Quebecois and the Reform Party, no. Not in federal politics. And with the conservative government in Ontario, no.

M: Hell, no. I;m a double minority. I'm a woman and a black. And in all these areas, blacks, women, and black women are not represented at all. And it seems so strange to me because black women at least more than black men are in universities; we're getting degrees etc. I think that we're qualified and there's more of us now who are qualified than before but we're still not being represented and included.

25. Are your rights secure as an ethnic and a woman? Do you have the same citizenship rights as everyone else both in theory as well as in practice?

- 8 people said no. Of these 8, 5 were born here, 3 were not.

- 4 people said yes

- 1 person said it depended partly on your personality and adaptation process and partly on race, if people were influenced by this factor.

- 2 people said their rights had never been tested, but they had no reason to believe it would be otherwise.

A: No, not at all. I see people looking at me, other people see as, if not a burden, then a threat. It's one of the two. Either I'm taking jobs away or I'm sapping the social system.

C: As long as I follow the rules, as long as I play the game, as long as I don't make myself too apparent or too visible, as long as I blend in, sure, but I think the moment that I would choose to do something which is perceived as radical depending on the system or institution that I'm in, I would have to say, no, it doesn't translate into social citizenship. You've got to go along.

H: It depends on your circle of friends, and your community, and your church and people who associate with, I guess. But it doesn't mean that because you're here with papers, that you'll get accepted everywhere. It also depends on your personality and how much you're willing to adapt, if you adapt at all, and how you present yourself. (does it have anything to do with the way society perceives you in terms your racial background?) Definitely. It depends on if people are influenced by such factors, but if they're not...(Is society as a whole influenced by such factors?) I think to an extent yes.

26. Are you or have you ever been politically involved in one or more of the following: mainstream politics, Feminist activism, Ethnic politics etc. If yes,Specify which one(s), and explain what motivated you to join that (or those) specific areas of participation.

- 7 said no. Of these 7 1 was doing a degree in political science, but said she specialized in international politics so she keeps up more with that.

- 8 said yes. Of these 8, 2 were involved purely in ethno-cultural activities, and had mainstream political interests. Another one was involved in OPIRG and saw ecology as her primary political focus right now, although she was also involved with the Women's centre, and Immigrant and Visible Minority Women Against Abuse. Four others

were involved in both gender issues, and ethno-cultural activities, and of these 4, 3 were actively involved in Feminist women of colour activities

D: No, not just yet, maybe when I get a bit older and I'm working. School is all I think about now, and I'm a minority but I'm in favour: in Engineering if you're a female minority you've got it made, so I have no complaints. Maybe if I were a white male I might have some.

27. if no, what were your reasons for not participating politically?

- of the 7 that said no, 4 said that right now politics did not interest them, and they were busy with school, work, etc. 3 said they would like to be in the future and specified the following as options: feminist work, working against poverty, black feminism and other global issues, and Korean women's issues

28. Do you think your particular identity as ethnic and/or female had anything to do with your political choices and behaviour?

- 11 people said yes. Of those 11, 7 were politically active, 2 wanted to be, and 1 said she was doing her own thing and was not interested, but that if she were, her race would influence her not to involve herself in mainstream politics because despite Canada's supposed openness, she did not know if they would really accept an Asian in their government.

- 2 people said no

- 1 person said partly, and that if she was involved politically she would be interested in more than black or feminist issues (as a haitian woman).

- 1 person seemed unsure, but said that ethnic and women's issues were important because of female immigrants' problems here. Interestingly this person did not see herself as a feminist and was also the person who said that she would be comfortable with anyone except a feminist.

B: Everything to do with who I am, and my identity, but also what is going on around me has affected me, and made me feel like I have to do something about it.

C:(Is there a strong link between identity and politics?) Oh, yes.

(How do you define yourself?) All of these things somehow speak to the self and how you can say "what I do or what I believe in is something that I really believe in."

E: You cannot just out things into little boxes, I think both issues I would like to touch on but I don't want to be confined to one or the other. I'm concerned about other issues. the important thing is to try and find the right balance.(Is it difficult to be as involved as you would like?) You have to think about it twice unlike if you were male and white. You really have to be committed because it is twice as hard.

G: No, I've never given it much thought because I consider myself first as a human being.

H: Yes it does. I feel that women of colour especially, and in my community must be represented in the legal profession so that we can help other people in our community and also people from other communities that might be experiencing the same types of issues. I feel that a lot of people might feel awkward about going to a white lawyer that could possibly have nothing in common with that person, and just laying out their life story to that person about what's bothering them. I feel they could relate better to me.

M: Yes it does. I believe that black students need to have a voice because they don't really. I've heard people say " why should there be a Caribbean Association? Then there should be a white students association!" Give me a break. Everything in our society, our governments, universities, student councils, they're all about white people and white opinions.

FRAGMENTED IDENTITY

29. If you had to be identified as only one thing other than a woman, what would it be? A canadian woman? A _____(ethnic background) - woman? A feminist? Explain.

- 1 person said feminist

- 3 people said Canadian

- 3 people gave their cultural background, one of them saying she'd like a hyphenated description

- Other answers included: lawyer woman, citizen of the world, human

being, black woman, Muslim.

A: I'd like to be looked at as a Canadian woman. Not because I want to assimilate but because I don't think that just because I look different I don't share the same experiences - well I don't share some of the experiences but - well, I would like to not have to qualify my Canadianness because I look different. because I have the same rights and privileges as everyone else.

D: Canadian woman. So long as the person I'm defining it to realizes Canada is multicultural. If you were talking to someone as little more ignorant then I'd say Indian woman.

L: I can't. I think that's unnecessary surgery on my identity. But if you need to check off a box, I guess the flavour of the month is lesbian.

K: None, I'm a woman, a person. Everyone of these categories is so restricting.

30. As a woman with multiple social and political identities, do you ever feel your life is fragmented? If the answer is No, skip questions 34, and 35. Is this fragmentation a positive or a negative in your life?

- 11 people said fragmented identities, mainly because of their bicultural lives. Of those 11, 7 spoke of this fragmentation as negative and/or difficult to deal with, especially in the adolescent years and less so now. Of the other 3, 1 said that it would be nice if this fragmentation were celebrated socially and she could be all these different things without having it be a problem for anybody. the 2 remaining said they saw it as a positive thing, and a strength.

- 4 people said a lot of multiple identities, but not fragmented. 1 person said they made a big effort to make sure this fragmentation did not take place.

A: Yes. When I'm out with a Korean students association party I;m very aware of myself as a woman, and let's say I'm out with a white crowd or a party, I feel very aware of being Korean, so I have to adjust accordingly.

C: Definitely, but this fragmentation is what gives you strength and an ability to look at the world in so many different people's shoes. (You're going to transcend those single categories of woman,

ethnic etc.?) I'm going to have to because it's me, it completely informs me, and it informs every decision I make and I think it makes me a better person.

E: Yes and no. I pull a lot of strength from those difficulties I have. Those who don't have these difficulties sometimes don't have the strength to fight for what they want.

F: I'm happy the way I am. I've never come across any problems being Muslim and a woman. Yes I have multiple identities, but no it's not that complicated. I've never had any problems. (Do people categorize you?) Well, different people act differently. I've met people who think it's interesting to have a friend with a different cultural background. I've never known anyone who didn't accept me for who I was. People seem, if anything, more interested in knowing what kind of background you come from.

K: You don't belong anywhere, you're in limbo and that gives me a freedom, but there are moments of isolation and loneliness.

L: ...It's really disorienting. Multiplicity is great. It can be subtle, it can be rich. (but) being fragmented - having to juggle or having to choose, or having to dial an identity - is very draining.

31. Is this fragmentation unique only to you? Or do you relate this to a larger political reality?

- of the 4 people who said their lives were not fragmented, 2 saw this multiplicity of identities as related to a larger reality

- of the 11 people who said they had fragmented identities, all 11 said they related it to a larger political reality, and that it was not just a function of their personal life experiences.

G:.All these different ways we categorize ourselves now. It makes for a very fragmented identity not just for me but for other people. I try not to limit myself, and be categorized as one thing. I want people to see me for everything that I am; that's the way we should perceive each other.

C: The fact that you know is a unique thing. It makes it a political reality. It determines the way you live or don't live your politics. It's a unique thing to me, but also to a lot of people.

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