“Where Are You Really From?” Gender, Race, and Subjectivity in the Lives of Indo-Fijian Immigrant Young Women in Canada and the United States of America

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Winnipeg

Abstract

Within Indo-Fijian immigrant communities in Vancouver, Canada and Sacramento, U.S.A., some young women have struggled daily with questions of who they are. This research documents ethnographically how they have created, constructed, and negotiated identities as a result of their experiences as immigrants in Canada and the United States. While these young women negotiated subjectivities as racialized young female immigrants in a multicultural, or diverse, society, their decision regarding where they belong on the racial hierarchy of North American culture is at the forefront of these negotiations.

Drawing on my ethnographic research in the form of participant observation at a number of cultural and athletic events as well as in-depth individual interviews with 18 young Indo-Fijian immigrant women in Vancouver, B.C., and Sacramento, California, I discuss how subjectivity of immigrant girls is constructed as a result of conflicts around culture, race, nationality, intergenerational conflict, and gender. By focusing on young women I attempt to contribute to feminist insights within the study of youth by acknowledging the experiences of youths' gendered lives. Subjectivity then, for these individuals extends beyond the choices of adapting to their post migration North American culture or remaining loyal to their Indo-Fijian culture. I propose that the racialized world of the youth denies these young women freedom to self-identify themselves. By using the native ethnographer approach as well as using auto-ethnography, I demonstrate that subjectivity is a complex and multi-faceted concept and, its expression is influenced by social domains, and that changes over time and space dependent on specific social situations, environments, and settings.

Acknowledgements:

First, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Susan Frohlick (University of British Columbia) for her guidance and support throughout this entire process. Dr. Frohlick's patience, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge was a motivation for me during the course of my PhD career. Thank you for your countless hours of revisions and advise on my dissertation and for reiterating to me that my research is important and worth writing about, even at times when I doubted it myself.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Robert Phillips (Ball State University) and Dr. Lori Wilkinson (University of Manitoba), for going above and beyond the requirements of committee members. Both Dr. Phillips and Dr. Wilkinson, provided amazing feedback and support during this process and helped me see what I was really trying to portray.

Finally, I am extremely grateful to those who contributed to my research, without whom this dissertation would not have been possible. I would like to thank my young research participants who took the time to meet with me and give me their unique insights and personal experiences of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant young woman in North America.

Thank you to the University of Manitoba Graduate Studies Fellowship, Faculty of Arts Scholarship, Faculty of Arts Endowment Fund, Pamela Mason Scholarship, Carla Thorlakson Graduate Fellowship and Bursary, Dianne Grant Scholarship, and other travel bursaries and awards provided by the department of Anthropology, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba Graduate Student Association, and Faculty of Arts over the course of my PhD, without which my doctoral research would not have been possible.

Dedication:

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving parents, Hasrat and Chandra Ali, for your words of reassurance, optimism, and unconditional love throughout this process. And also for the numerous ways in which, throughout my life, you have actively supported me in my determination to find and realize my potential.

To my inspirational sister, Shahriza, for her continued encouragement and counsel in everything that I do.

Lastly, to my dear husband, Zulfi, who has never left my side. A very special thank you for your sensible and emotional support.

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Preface: From A Tropical Paradise to Winter Jackets

It was 1988, one year after the military coups of 1987 in Fiji, and my family received paperwork to immigrate to Canada as landed immigrants. In Fiji, my mum worked for the United Nations as a cartographer and my dad had his own cement business. We lived in the capital city of Suva in a house that my parents designed and contracted to build. We were well off- or comfortable. We had nannies, drivers, and housekeepers but, due to the chaos and instability in Fiji, however, my parents decided to uproot their entire lives to provide better and safer lives for my older sister and me.

My parents decided to migrate to Vancouver, British Columbia because my dad's mum and three of his siblings were already there. My parents thought since there was family already in Canada it would ease our transition a little more than picking a destination where they did not know anyone. They wanted the support system. We arrived in Canada on September 8, 1988, and we moved into my grandmother's very crammed house, with my dad's brother and his family of five, my dad's sister and her family of four, my dad's youngest brother, and my dad's youngest sister's two kids (his sister passed away two years prior).

Soon after, it was as if our world turned upside down. My parents applied for jobs, for all of which they were overqualified. To earn an income, my father worked graveyard shifts at 7-11, the convenience store, and my mum found some freelance work as a cartographer. My sister started grade one at the elementary school where seven of our cousins attended, but I was too young at only four, so I stayed home with my grandmother and my younger cousin. My parents were determined to make something of their move and worked hard and within six months they were able to rent a one-bedroom apartment to move out of my grandmother's crowded house.

The early years were hard for my parents. I realize that now, but they never let that be known to my sister and me. We were given every opportunity that they could afford to give us. My dad continued to work graveyard shifts so he could get my sister and I ready in the morning and take us to school. Soon after our move into the apartment, I had started kindergarten and only had half day of school, so my dad would pick me up at 12:15pm. My mum cut both our hair short so my dad could just brush our hair without fussing about styling it in the mornings. My dad picked out my clothes and got me dressed every morning, which meant I was usually in stockings, a dress, and a winter jacket. This lasted for about a year and half, until we were able to move once again.

My parents worked hard and their determination paid off, as we heard a lot of similar stories of immigrant families being resilient and not willing to give up. They saved up and were able to get a mortgage from the bank, and, soon after, we moved into a two-bedroom house in the Killarney district of Vancouver. Later, we moved about three more times before we settled in a three-bedroom home, where my sister and I each had our own room. I was in grade four when we moved into the home where I spent the rest of my young life before moving away to attend graduate school in Mississippi.

Chapter One: Introduction

"Where are you really from?" This is a question I have been asked all of my life. I understand the question is about my race and ethnicity. I was born in the Fiji Islands and migrated to Canada at the age of three years old. Despite being raised in Vancouver, Canada, I often get asked where I am from, whether I am in Canada, the United States, or around the world. I have medium-dark skin, dark wavy hair, and dark brown eyes. I believe I am Canadian, but I am also Indo-Fijian. To many, I am racially ambiguous. So, I am often asked some version of these questions, such as, "Where are you from?" "Where are you really from?" "Where are your parents from?" As a child, I thought I was the only one ever asked this question, making me think that I do not belong or at least think that I do not look like I belong. When I say I am Canadian, further explanation is always needed because to others I do not look Canadian. This always made me think, what does Canadian look like? I am reminded of a story of what Canadian looks like to others.

In 2009, I travelled to Istanbul, Turkey with my friend, born and raised in Vancouver, blonde haired, who was blue eyed, and pale skinned. We were in the Grand Bazaar shopping and one vendor struck up a conversation with us and asked us where we were from. My friend replied, "from Canada." He accepted that answer from my friend and then turned to me and asked me, "Where are you from?" I replied the same as my friend. "I'm from Canada." He then said, "No, where are you really from?" On some occasions, mainly when I am in Canada, I would say that I am Indo-Fijian but because I was abroad I insisted that I was Canadian. He then got irritated and said, "Okay then where are your parents from?" To him because I was not pale or White skinned or light haired I did not look Canadian. I would time and time again question my sense of self whenever I was asked this question. It would send me into a tailspin,

questioning if Canada is such a multicultural nation why is my appearance not taken to be Canadian? Was I alone in these thoughts?

As a result of my experiences, issues surrounding race, subjectivity, and gender for Indo-Fijian young women as immigrants within Canada and the U.S. are what inspire my line of research. This project is an ethnographic study of the lives of eighteen Indo-Fijian immigrant young women living in Canada and the U.S. Eleven of them were first-generation immigrants who migrated from Fiji to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada or to Sacramento, California, United States of America when they were children. Seven of them were second-generation Indo-Fijian immigrants born in Canada or the United States to Fiji-born parents. More specifically, I look at gender and subjectivity and how these eighteen women negotiated their subjectivity as ethnic minority newcomers in one of two different countries and contexts of settlement, one that considers itself multicultural (Canada) and one that considers itself "diverse and free" but is known as a melting pot of assimilationist tendencies (United States) (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Lee 2005; Sriskandarajah 2017).

Canada, along with the United States, continues to struggle with how to incorporate visible minority newcomers into social, cultural, and economic life as evidenced by the racialized forms of discrimination that persist, and that directly affect these newcomer immigrant populations (Hynie, Guruge, and Shakya 2012; Lee 2005; Shahsiah 2006). As I argue in this dissertation, within a context of unacknowledged racism, the desire to form a sense of self around the predominant western categories of identification that include nationality, gender, ethnicity, and race often becomes difficult to fulfill.

In this dissertation, I refer to youth as a fluid category more than a fixed age group (I explain more in Chapter Two) and when I refer to "immigrant youth" I am including both first-

generation and second-generation immigrant youth or young people, defined below. This is because when soliciting research participants it was difficult to only add first-generation immigrant youth as part of my study; only a small population of first generation immigrant youth exists because of the initial migration after the military coups of 1987 in Fiji most were born in either Canada or the United States. Most immigrant young people are challenged to overcome obstacles of migration, as a result, they try and create a positive individual self, based on differing notions and expectations presented by a multitude of sources such as pre-migration and post-migration societies, racial, cultural, and national lines (Erikson 1968; Herman 2004). First-generation immigrant youth are those who were born in Fiji and have migrated to Canada or the United States. Second-generation immigrant youth are those who were born in Canada or the United States to parents or guardians born in Fiji. Their parents migrated to Canada or the United States being born in Fiji.

In 1998 Fiji had given constitutional recognition to the rights of sexual minority groups by recommending that Fiji's *Bill of Rights* include a clause prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (George 2008). However, in Indo-Fijian community this is still not represented in the private family domain. All of the research participants were born to two heterosexual Fijian born parents married to each other. I did not intentionally exclude people who might have only one Fijian born parent or who were offspring of lesbian or gay parents. There might be a difference in having two versus one immigrant parent, but this was not something I explored in my research. According to Zill (2016), most non-European immigrant families that migrate together migrate with two immigrant parents who are married, that stay together, even after they migrate despite socio-economic hardships, and this may be a reason why the research participants were born to two versus one Indo-Fijian immigrant parent.

Including both first and second-generation immigrant young people in my doctoral research provides me with a sufficiently large cohort of research participants. Since the number of first-generation Indo-Fijian young people in North America has decreased since the 1990s, including second-generation immigrants gives me a larger sample size for my research. Including second-generation immigrant young people adds depth to my research because of differences in the experiences between first-generation and second-generation, I will discuss this in later chapters. The migration flow from Fiji began to slow down in the late 1990s because the majority of Indo-Fijians primarily migrated closely before and after the 1987 military coup. Furthermore, based on my own experience as a first-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant, I have intimate knowledge of how immigrant youth face similar issues with respect to subjectivity and racialization.

My master's thesis research, carried out in 2010, looked at the experiences of first generation Indo-Fijian immigrant young women attending high school in Vancouver, British Columbia. I found that this group of young women had organized their daily lives in such a way that their expressions of ethnic and racial identity were different at home than they were in the spaces they occupied in school. Previous scholars conducting research with immigrant youth in contemporary western societies theorize the phenomenon to be cultural hybridity (Asher 2008; Stross 1999). A culturally hybrid person embodies the expectations and qualities of the multiple cultures in which they are involved. Hybridity can be seen in terms of "interlacing of the global and the local, a way of understanding the symbolic and material collisions and fusions that mark the new global landscape" (Durham 2004: 156). The concept of hybridity has been widely critiqued because it places immigrant youth within a model where limitations exist because the framework lacks movement beyond the temporary and the contingent as it does not analyze how

people caught between cultures actually negotiate a sense of self (Werbner 1997). Furthermore, the hybridity concept does not justify Indo-Fijian immigrant youths' existence in terms of their rights to both Indo-Fijian and Canadian culture simultaneously. Also, the hybrid frameworks neglects gender, religion, and intergenerational differences, as these are important aspects of youth identities the model does not present a complex examination of the pressures and influences facing immigrant youth (Ewing 2006; Rajiva 2005; Werbner 1997). Yet postcolonial scholars argue that it is best deployed to conceptualize identities of those who occupy a "third space" or "culturally "in-between spaces" (Ewing 2006: 266). Findings from my master's research in Vancouver with Indo-Fijian immigrant young women challenge the argument that immigrant youth in Canada are necessarily forging hybrid identities. I argue, instead, that immigrant youth were pressured by "internal" forces, that is - within their ethnic and cultural communities, as well as "external" forces, such as their non-Indo-Fijian peers, to subscribe to one cultural identity over the other. I felt that in my research my participants did not relate to the notion of a third space because they were always forced to choose between their Canadian/ external culture or their Indo-Fijian/ internal culture. Furthermore, the conceptual term hybridity refers to the situation when the person embodies the beliefs and expectations from both cultures and does not adequately deal with the contradictions that may exist in each culture. However, in my master's research in this specific case study, this was not the result, which I thought called for a rethinking of hybridity. Furthermore, another significant problem with hybridity is that it presupposes that both the original identities were somehow "pure." By this I mean that there is no monolithic "Indo-Fijian" or 'Fijian" or "Canadian" identity, so the pureness is nullified. Ewing (2006) points out that "hybridity" as an analytical term does not allow a view of how identities are genuinely negotiated, the concept of hybridity was not helpful or pertinent to Indo-

Fijian youth as I understood their identities.

As a result, my doctoral research is situated in subjectivity rather than hybridity. More specifically, I employ scholars such as Ortner (2006), Blackwood (2010) Biehl, Kleinman and Good (2007) and look at how experiences, practices, situations, and memory influence subjectivity for Indo-Fijian immigrant young women in Vancouver as well as Sacramento. Both sites are important because as was evident from my master's research, there are multiple layers and influences on subjectivity that were left to investigate more fully in order to capture a holistic view of how immigrant youth and young people understand, create, and portray themselves. I felt that there was a void in academic literature on young Indo-Fijian women's experiences of migration to Canada and the United States. In fact, there are no academic accounts or narratives on solely the topic and specific group. I believe my research will illuminate the unique struggles and triumphs these individuals undergo when trying to find a place to belong in Canadian and American society post-migration. However, as I will highlight in this dissertation, this is not the only reason why I chose Vancouver and Sacramento as research sites. These two sites are pertinent because I take an auto-ethnographic approach. As a result, I will also be talking about the differences of Canadian versus American identity. This dual focus has emerged out of my own experiences as an Indo-Fijian immigrant and dual U.S.-Canada resident, and it has taken me some time to understand the implications or connections between the two places and my own transnational subjectivity, which forms the central undergird to the entire project.

Rationale for Choosing Vancouver and Sacramento:

The reason why I chose Vancouver and Sacramento to conduct research is related to my methodology. The project has biographical roots; I am an Indo-Fijian immigrant who was born

in Fiji and grew up in Vancouver. Being a first-generation immigrant, especially a daughter and young woman, growing up and attending school in Canada was a challenge. I felt pressure to abide by Fijian cultural norms and expectations while simultaneously balancing expectations from the mainstream Canadian culture. Researching within my ethnic community provides me with insights into the familiar rather than "a discovery" of "the other" (Chawla 2006). As is now clear in anthropology, it is difficult to separate a researcher's private life from ethnographic fieldwork. A classic example of this is Elenore Smith Bowen's ethnographic novel *Return to Laughter*, in which she wrote about her personal experience while studying a village in Africa. It contains her ethnographic recounting of her personal triumphs and failures while documenting the profound changes she undergoes throughout fieldwork (Bowen 1964; also see Chawla 2006; Keaton 2006).

Conducting research in one's own community provides a way to embrace the familiar rather than trying to separate it because this familiarity provides humanity in the research and fieldwork process. Hence, I chose Vancouver as the primary site to conduct this type of research so that I could take advantage of being close to the "familiar," and to draw on, and launch from, my own experiences of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant and migrating from Fiji and growing up in Vancouver (Chawla 2006). The decision to add Sacramento as another research site came later, after course work, after candidacy exams, and after my first draft of my dissertation research proposal, but follows from the epistemological foundation in anthropology that the anthropologist's personal life is not separate from our constructions of the field. Since 2006, I have been in a relationship with a young man, a second-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant who was born and raised in Northern California, and in May 2014 we were married. As a result, I have spent a lot of time in Sacramento, California. Furthermore, following my marriage to Zulfi,

I spent nearly every other month in Sacramento and, while there, I noticed the large Indo-Fijian community present in Northern California. Consequently, including Sacramento gives me the opportunity to look at both Canadian and U.S. locales and compare and contrast experiences of creating a sense of self for Indo-Fijian immigrant young women. I have been able to look at multicultural policies in Canada and compare those with the assimilationist-melting pot tendencies of the United States and how these have influenced the formation of subjectivities for the research participants.

Furthermore, although my reasons for choosing both Vancouver and Sacramento as research sites are largely biographical, the common histories and connections between these two sites are also paramount: Together the two cities possess the largest populations of Indo-Fijians in North America. According to the 2008 Canadian census data, there were approximately 24,441 individuals who listed Fiji as their former country of permanent residence and had immigrated officially to Canada. Of these, approximately 95% were Indo-Fijians and 17, 200 of these individuals live in Vancouver and its lower mainland. In the United States, according to the 2010 Census, there were 32, 304 Fijians living in the U.S., with 19, 355 living in the state of California, primarily in Northern California. The relatively large size of the population has better allowed me to explore my research questions about subjectivity among Indo-Fijian young women than a smaller population would allow. Also, because in each of these cities there is a high density of Indo-Fijians living and interacting with many diverse immigrant cultures and North American cultures, these were ideal sites for a study of how young Indo-Fijian immigrant women positioned themselves within cultural diversity and forged identities and self-hood in wider societal contexts where they were ethnic minority immigrants.

Immigration to Canada and the United States:

Canada was a popular migration destination because of the changes instituted in the Immigration Act of 1967. At that time, Canada removed the previous discriminatory immigration practices that prevented people all over the world to migrate. As a consequence, a shift in Canadian immigration patterns occurred the result being that there were fewer migrants from Europe and an increase from Asia, Africa, Oceania, and the Middle East (Roy 1995; Sharir 2002). In 1971, Canada declared *Multiculturalism* as an official policy (Belanger and Verkuyten 2010). I refer to Sunera Thobani, a leading feminist sociologist whose research includes, but is not limited to, critical race theory, Indigeneity, and postcolonial feminism, as a key scholar whose work fits within my own emerging analysis of identity formation for immigrant youth in a multicultural society. Although, critical of *Multiculturalism*, Thobani recognizes that the *Multiculturalism Policy* was seen as a mode for managing internal differences of people who are within the nation and to be able to accept these differences and live harmoniously by accepting cultural differences (Thobani 2007). Furthermore, *Multiculturalism* recognized the cultural and racial diversity of all immigrants and was a means to acknowledge their freedom and right to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage in Canadian society (Gagnon 2000). *Multiculturalism* as a government policy allowed the nation's self-presentation on the global arena as urban, cosmopolitan, and innovative by promoting racial and ethnic tolerance (Thobani 2007). The implementation of *Multiculturalism* as an official policy was meant to redefine Canada's national identity to suggest that the nation's commitment to valuing cultural diversity (Thobani 2007).

Like Canada, the United States was also a popular migration destination for Indo-Fijian immigrants because of immigration policies that emerged post-second World War. The United States has had four major periods of immigration (Bryant 1999). The first wave began with the

colonists of the 1600s that established the nation and reached a peak just before the Revolutionary War in 1775; in this wave people primarily came from England but other colonist also came from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Ukraine and Wales (Bryant 1999). The second wave of immigrants to the United States began in the 1820s and continued until the depression of the early 1870s, in this wave close to 7 million immigrants entered the United States; most of them came from Northern and Western Europe (Bryant 1999). The third wave was the largest as about 23 million immigrants migrated to the United States between the 1880s to the early 1920s (Bryant 1999). This third wave brought people from all over the world but the majority of arrivals were from southern and eastern Europe (Bryant 1999; Lee 2005). Finally, the fourth and continuing wave of migration began in 1965 because of changes in United States Immigration laws (Bryant 1999). The 1965 Immigration Act set a limit on immigration from the Western Hemisphere, for the first time in U.S. history and increased the number of immigrants from Asia, Africa, Middle East and Oceania (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015). This wave of migration is the most significant wave in respect to my research because this wave has influenced the research participants in this study as all the research participants and or their parents and guardian have migrated to the United States post-1965 as a result of the more liberal immigration laws. Immigration policies of both Canada and the United States will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter on Background: Immigration Policies in Canada and the United States.

Theoretical Framework:

My doctoral research has been heavily focused on influences of subjectivity among young Indo-Fijian immigrant women. More specifically, I look at the construction of a sense of self and how it relates to immigrant youth's sense of belonging in a new country or post migration country by

drawing on nationality, racial, cultural, and gendered subjectivity. Since a sense of self is formed through these multiple axes of national, racial, cultural, and gender, these multiple layers do not exist separately as ready-made pieces to fit together to form one's identity, but rather they exist through actions, experiences, and interpretations of ideas. Borrowing from Ortner's (2006) ideas of how behavior is shaped and defined by external and internal social and cultural forces, I have applied this idea to see how Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's identity are influenced by such forces. The data I gathered through ethnographic research methods has been analyzed for the connections that are formed through the multiple axes of race, gender, culture, and nationality and will be discussed in the research findings chapters to follow. But for now I will discuss the theoretical framework used in my research with Indo-Fijian immigrant young women.

Borrowing from the Giddens' (1991) school of thought on identity, where he highlights that identity is a symbolic construction, which aides in people to find a sense of self in their own place in time and to preserve continuity. Identity is conceptualized as being socially constructed and comparative (Hall 1996; Shahsiah 2006). Identity, then, is seen as a social process that is in a continuous state of development, and it derives meaning from social relationships and practice (Hall 1996; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Conversely, identity is also influenced by social forces beyond one's control. Furthermore, identity in terms of identification with one's own culture and a sense of self of the way an individual is to live in a given socio-cultural environment is influenced by the possibility of choice due to its multi-dimensional expressions of race, gender, class, and nation (Giddens 1991). Understanding the experiences of racialized immigrant youth, along with the development of their identity post-migration is important because it provides information of the way that many youth face issues and challenges particular to this period of life

and different from their adult immigrant counterparts. For example, racialized immigrant youth have to cope with a new environment not only in and around their community and at home but also at school where clear differences may be marked (ESL learners). Notably, however, this is not related to any inherent deficiencies in youth, but rather to the social organization of youth. Below I discuss, different theories and how they are appropriate theories to apply when researching Indo-Fijian immigrant young girls in Canada and the United States.

Structuration theory helps understand the experiences of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's construction of their subjectivity, identity, and agency. A prominent scholar in this area of structuration that I rely on is Anthony Giddens (1984), who developed the concept of structuration (Gibbs 2011). Structuration theory aims to offer perspective on human behavior based on a synthesis of structure and agency (Giddens 1984). As a framework, Giddens' (1984) structuration theory understands how individual agency and social structures affect an individual's choices in life. Structuration theory attempts to integrate both the complex relationship between human agency and the constraints of structures (Giddens 1984).

I employ structuration theory to draw attention to the structures of family, school, and Canadian and American society and look into how negotiations of these structures reveal research participants' identity and subjectivity. The two components of structuration theory are agency and structure, and it acknowledges the interaction of meaning, standards and values, and power and advances these relationships between these different aspects of society (Gibbs 2011). The structural component of the theory argues that the behaviour of individuals is largely determined by their socialization into that structure (Gibbs 2011). For example, that of conforming to societal expectations regarding social class. The agency component of structuration theory argues that individuals have the ability to exercise their own free will and

make their own choices (Gibbs 2011). So, an individual's agency is a reflection of their own choices and is influenced by structure and structures are maintained through the exercise of agency (Gibbs 2011). Structures are the rules and resources that help place order in our lives (Giddens 1984). As a result, structuration theory attempts to understand human social behavior by settling the competing views of structure and agency (Gibbs 2011; Giddens 1984). This is done by being able to study the process that takes place at the crossroads between the actor and the structure (Gibbs 2011; Giddens 1984). Structuration theory "allows one to understand both how actors are at the same time the creators of social systems yet created by them" (Giddens, 1991: 204). For my own research, the research participants operate within the context of rules produced by social structures and we will see this throughout this dissertation. For example, the research participants create their own identity through structures like race, religion, gender norms, educational aspirations, and cultural expectations. Structuration theory, as it is situated in both social structures and agency, demonstrates how individuals negotiate their identity based on social supports and constraints, individual agency, and cultural forces (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015).

I also draw on the works from anthropologists like Asher (2008), Desai and Subramanian (2003), Durham (2004), Hall (1996), and Keaton (2006) who have studied the process of identity formation among newcomer/ immigrant youth populations in North America or the global North. More specifically, I have drawn in the literature review, chapter three, on how these anthropologists look at the intersections of gender, culture, race, and nationality when discussing the creation of a sense of self among immigrant youth. Finally, in my dissertation I employ a feminist approach to study the experiences of young Indo-Fijian immigrant women. I understand that there are multiple strands of feminist theory, and the three main points of feminism are;

women have been oppressed throughout history, women's experience is crucial to an adequate account of reality, and gender equality is essential for a peaceful and just society (Mahowald 1997). Taking this into consideration what has been useful to me in this vast realm of feminism is cultural feminism in particular, because this strand of feminism compliments the positive aspects of what is to be the female character or feminine personality (Alcoff 1988; Tanenbaum 2010). Cultural feminism also points out how encouraging masculine behavior hurts society and cultures, but how it would benefit by encouraging feminine behavior. The idea correlates to Indo-Fijian immigrant young women because male and female experiences of immigration differ based on expectations of masculinity and femininity by parents, guardians, society, and culture. Moreover, cultural feminism is a movement that overhauled radical feminism of the late 1960s and 1970s and it pursued to transcend differences of race, class, and sexuality by way of focusing on women's commonalities and building an alternative, women-centered culture (Tanenbaum 2010). It is a theory that applauds the difference between women and men and attempts to validate the undervaluing of female attributes (Tanenbaum 2010). Furthermore, Durham's (2004) thoughts on interpreting women's experiences in which she uses an inductive approach where significance is given to the ways in which shared experiences are voiced in discourse. By focusing on women's specific migration patterns and experiences it gives a better idea of their own experiences of migration than their male counterparts and gives an outlet to explore such social dynamics. More specifically, we are able to look at the implications of the intersections between gender and other axes of difference for understanding immigration.

In my research issues surrounding race and racism are very significant discussions for the research participants. The current debates surrounding race and racism are beginning to intensify still following the current racial climate in both Canada and the United States. As a result, I

employ critical race theory into my analysis. Critical race theory emerged as a body of work in American legal scholarship in the late 1980s as an examination of society and culture as they relate to categories of race, law, and power (Darder 2011; Harris 2015). Critical race theory focuses more on race and society (Darder 2011). Legal scholars such as Derrick Bell and Patricia Williams argue that there needed to be a critical analysis of race and society and critical race theory was meant to fill this void (Bell 1995; Darder 2011). Critical race theory challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism by examining how theory and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups in society (Solorzano and Yasso 2001). Critical race theory recognizes that racism is engrained in the everyday systems of society and it proposes that power structures are based on White supremacy and White privilege, which perpetuates the marginalization of people of colour and racialized people (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Solorzano and Yasso 2001). Here, White privilege refers to the number of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that are tied to with being a member of the dominant White race (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). By using narratives to illuminate and explore experiences with racial oppression and racialization, critical race theory can help make sense of the research data that I collected with Indo-Fijian immigrant young women and how they navigate their world(s) based on such experiences.

Subjectivity:

In this section I look at this notion of identity formation and its outdatedness and then introduce subjectivity as a possible replacement. I follow this by doing a number of things when discussing subjectivity and how it pertains to immigrant youth research. First, I define subjectivity by borrowing from Blackwood (2010), Fischer (2007, Luhrumann (2006), and Ortner (2006). Second, I look at how youth formulate subjectivities based on experiences of being immigrants

in Canada and the United States. Finally, I highlight my research interests when studying subjectivity among Indo-Fijian immigrant youth in Canada and the United States.

In my research, I look at what influences or what factors are involved in identity formation among young Indo-Fijian immigrant women. However, this notion of identity is somewhat of an outdated analytical term in studying immigrant youth post-migration, because identity can be an ambiguous term that has been overused in many different contexts and purposes (Buckingham 2008). It is easily overused because the term involves both similarity and difference, as identity implies a relationship with a social group of some sort and by having a relationship with one group, its sets up a contrast with another group (Buckingham 2008). "When we talk about national identity, cultural identity, or gender identity, for example, we imply that our identity is partly a matter of what we share with other people" (Buckingham 2008:1). Essentially, what I am interested in is young Indo-Fijian immigrant women's identification. I discuss how these multiple identifications with others, on the basis of social, cultural, and gendered, national characteristics, as well as shared values, personal histories, and interests shape their personal selves. More importantly looking at one's personal self, who they are (or who they think they are), how this may vary according to their surroundings, social situations, certain post migration motivations, and the lack of choice that may be involved in freely defining themselves (Buckingham 2008).

As mentioned above, it is now argued that identity is an outdated analytical term when studying immigrant youth, as a result the anthropology of subjectivity has been a better fit or an alternative notion to discuss immigrant youth's identification of themselves. Furthermore, subjectivity as a concept is not new in fact, since the 1960's subjectivity has been an important concept in academia, as it has been dominated by theories of the self (Blackman, Cromby, Hook,

Papadopoulos, and Walkerdine 2008; Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). The study of subjectivity can help understand how people change because they are able to deal with transformations through major cultural meanings and practices (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Hence, the importance of subjectivity in my research.

Anthropological use of the term subjectivity refers to the emotional, mental, and physical life of the subject (Luhrmann 2006). Subjectivity is the process by which people forge and negotiate a sense of self by way of experiences and behaviours (Fischer 2007). Another definition of subjectivity can be borrowed from Ortner (2006:107), who argues that subjectivity is "the ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought, desire, and fear that animate acting subjects." Ortner's definition is about how thought, desire, and fear influence the subject, whereas, Luhrmann's definition is the actual emotional, mental, physical life of the subject. Furthermore, I concur with Evelyn Blackwood's (2010) definition of subjectivity wherein she refers to subjective positions to refer to culturally constructed and ideologically dominant social categories within which individuals are positioned. Subjectivity is a concept that is related to agency, selfhood, and reality where individual's experiences, beliefs, and behaviours shape who they are (Chawla 2006). Subjectivity is the sense of self; it is the way that individuals perceive themselves relative to the subject positions they occupy (Blackwood 2010). In other words, people occupy different subject positions at different times and places. In my research I have been using subjectivity in place of identity because as Blackwood (2010) suggests it offers a more dynamic perspective on the processes and influences of selfhood. Subjectivity is an embodied and materialist approach to personhood. Subjectivity, then, is seen as a social process that is in a continuous state of development, and it derives meaning from social relationships, experiences, and practices (Hall 1996; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007).

Subjectivity refers to an essential individuality, individual experiences, and the consciousness of an individual's perceived status (Biehl, Good, and Kleinman 2009). Researching immigrant youth's subjectivity can lead to an understanding of their life process and affective states of being (Biehl, Good, and Kleinman 2009). Furthermore, a cultural approach to subjectivity has information about human nature, social processes, agency, and culture which may prove to be important when studying Indo-Fijian immigrant young women because as Geertz (1973) has argued culture shapes the behavioral environment and those who inhabit said environment, along with people's moods and motivations. Anthropology understands subjectivity by examining the symbolic forms of how people represent themselves to others and themselves (Biehl, Good and Kleinman 2009). This idea of the influences that are involved in people's representation of themselves to themselves and others is what inspires my research and taking an approach of subjectivity has proved to be justifiable. As a result, this dissertation will concentrate on my research participant's subjectivity, more specifically this idea of creating subjectivity with an emphasis on experiential subjectivity. Experiential subjectivity refers to the study of individual extremes of experience and how it can provide insights into affect, memory, and other subjective self-processes (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Experiences shape our-selves and our worlds and where symbols, both cultural and social interactions influence our experiences (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Moreover, experience has a lot to do with our personal realities as it also has a lot to do with individual translations and transformations of these realities (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos and Walkerdine 2008; Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Experience, then, takes place within certain social places and spaces and is complex from the shifting demands of everyday life within these spaces (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Furthermore, as Kleinman and Fitz-Henry (2007: 54) state "experience is the

medium through which people engage with the things that matter most to them, both individually and collectively…" thus experience is at the core of creating and finding one's subjective self. Additionally, culture itself can be seen as a site for the production of subjectivity, so a focus on culture and experience can help understand one's position in society through cultural experiences (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos and Walkerdine 2008). Finally, subjectivity is the experience of the lived multiplicity of positioning, and recognizing this multiplicity of human conditions, we confirm that our subjectivities are always in flux and open to transformation and this is what I look at in my research (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos and Walkerdine 2008; Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007).

Taking a youth-centered perspective, I have looked at how immigrant youth were formulating subjectivities where and when youth are assigned subordinate positions (Keaton 2006). In other words, while many immigrant young people are seen as the "other" in Canadian and American society, youth express agency through the claiming of an "ethnic-racial minority" identity regardless of the domination they experience by being othered (Keaton 2006; Lee 2005). This dissertation is the exploration of the experiences of immigration of subjects, that being a small group of Indo-Fijian young women. More specifically, I examine the complex ways in which the research participants' inner states reflected their lived experience within their everyday worlds (Biehl, Kleinman and Good 2007). Using *In the Interpretation of Cultures* as a starting point, I follow Geertz's (1973) cultural approach to subjectivity and subjectivity-oriented theory. In my research, I view subjectivity as constituted by actions, practices, experiences, or meanings. Using an anthropological theoretical standpoint to understand subjectivity, I analyze symbolic forms like practices, situations, memories, and experiences through which individuals represent themselves to themselves and how they represent themselves to others (Biehl, Kleinman and

Good 2007). I adhere to the idea that subjects embody culture, and have access to their different worlds through a set of symbolized practices (Biehl, Kleinman and Good 2007; Geertz 1973).

My goal in my research is to analyze the subjectivity of Indo-Fijian young women, studying the experiences and other self-processes like memory, actions, and behaviours related to their immigration experiences (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007).

Consequently, meanings are created through specific experiences, then, as an anthropologist I must look at these experiences and how they have influenced subjectivity of immigrant young women in my research study (Spiro 1996). I am using subjectivity to denote how individuals or groups come to understand themselves in experiences, behaviours, and meanings (Spiro 1996). In this theoretical framework, subjectivities are ever-changing, are multiple, and are always in negotiation, which implies power is central. Subjectivity also differs in important ways to identity as an analytical term in that identity is the product of psychological and cultural processes by which one constructs a sense of self whereas subjectivity refers to the experiences, behaviours, and meanings by which one constructs a sense of self (Hall 1990; Weedon 2004). I am interested in subjectivity that is created from experience; the kind of experience that I am looking at in my research is the experience of being an immigrant in both Canada and the United States, the experience of being racialized, and the experiences of gender inequality. Experience, then, takes place within certain social places and spaces and is complex from the shifting demands of everyday life within these spaces (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Furthermore, subjectivity is shaped by social and cultural spaces (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulous and Walkerdine 2008; Fischer 2007). Subjectivity, in this view, can be a term for agency, because through particular experiences one creates a sense of self; however, agency also involves wider social processes. As Blackman et al (2008: 14) state, “The concept of subjectivity

not only serves as a way to understand and tackle neo-liberal power relations and inequalities but it could in a paradoxical way reinforce them." This can be the case because neo-liberal power may establish social order through inferiority and "Otherness" and many immigrant young people are often in that category (Blackman et al. 2008). Subjectivity as an analytical term helps us understand experiences through which Indo-Fijian young women change because of their encounters and struggles with their multiple worlds that they belong, by which subjectivity can be a platform for individual self-expression (Fischer 2007).

As mentioned previously I am interested in the meaning and experiential basis of subjectivity, individual and lived experiences, and the understandings that can affect, memory and other self-processes. Experience, as I have defined in my research, refers to interpersonal communication and engagements, how, why, and where things happen (Blackman et al 2008; Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Furthermore, experience involves practices, negotiations, and interactions with others with whom we are connected (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Looking at the experiences of being an immigrant in Canada and the United States offers insight into the process of self-identification. Kleinman and Fitz-Henry (2007) state that, symbols and social interactions influence our experiences which in turn influence our subjectivity. This notion of experience and lived realities will be further developed in the literature review chapter. For the purpose of this introduction, I want to stress here the importance of looking into experience and how it is the means through which people engage with the things that matter to them the most, both individually and collectively (Blackman et al 2008; Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Moreover, subjectivity is an aspect of being a subject that people feel, think, and experience and can include identity but also performance, emotions, and other states of being a subject.

Scope and Objectives:

Gender affects migration, such that men and women in many immigrant communities experience migration differently (Henry and Tator 2010; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). While some issues regarding identity formation are relevant across genders or transgender, others are very gender specific (Anisef and Kilbride 2003). A gendered analysis contributes new insights into how Indo-Fijian young women must negotiate subjectivities through the social and cultural processes by which femininity is constructed. Furthermore, in this dissertation I examined how *Multiculturalism* in Canada has influenced immigrant youth's subjectivity by their behaviours, situations, and experiences of being an immigrant in multicultural Canada. While *Multiculturalism* brought important progressive changes into Canada, there were and are some fundamental flaws, which can also be attributed to the United States cases as well. One flaw relates to the racialized and racist language used in the emergent multicultural discourse. "Visible minority," "people of color," and "racialized people" are terms that many immigrants are not comfortable with because such categories openly stigmatize a people by placing them into what they consider to be an undesirable population, they are not part of the mainstream population (Shahsiah 2006). In this dissertation, I address how such terms influence one's sense of self, how they view themselves and the experiences one has with *Multiculturalism* in Canada and diversification in the United States. Many who are categorized and referred to by such terms feel that it is an attempt made by the hegemonic majority of Euro-Canadians and Euro-Americans who established the *multicultural* policy and other immigration policies to place control over them and assert their own dominance (Shahsiah 2006).

When researching the experiences of immigrant youth from non-Anglo or non-European nations, how they create, construct, and negotiate their current subjectivity as a result of their

settlement experiences as immigrants in Canada and the United States is an important question to explore because it gives us insight to who they are and how external and internal processes influenced their way of thinking and acting. This can be done by looking at aspects of immigrant youth's self-understandings and how they identify themselves and are influenced by educational, societal, emotional, and familial expectations as well as issues of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, and religion. I am using this idea of "self-identifying" in my work; however, the notion of self-identifying is not clear-cut. I am interested in better understanding how it is that immigrant youth have difficulties in expressing themselves in terms of national, ethnic, and individual identities but also with respect to their parents' expectations of upholding Indo-Fijian values and cultural norms, as well as with the post- migration society's expectations because the process can inform us about their current selves as there are many complex layers to their subjectivity (Keaton 2006).

Research Questions:

The main issue that I am addressing is experiences and performances of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant in Canada and the United States. These experiences and performances influence subjectivity. Most broadly, using ethnographic methodology this study seeks to address how Indo-Fijian immigrant young women negotiate, embody, perform, and understand a sense of self, as categorized by both their North American culture, and their Indo-Fijian culture. More specifically, I am interested in how socio-cultural factors influence national, racial, cultural, and gendered subjectivity. To examine my broad themes, I pose the following questions:

1) What are the norms of femininity for young Indo-Fijian women as expressed by parents and guardians in the Indo-Fijian community? What role does intergenerational conflict play in expectations surrounding norms of femininity at home and outside of the home?

2) How have experiences of racism or racial conflict in Canadian and American society influenced the way young Indo-Fijian immigrant women create a sense of self and their subjectivity?

3) How have cultural expectations (from parents/guardians, family members, and other community members) shaped Indo-Fijian immigrant youth's subjectivity in North America?

Understanding young Indo-Fijian immigrant women and their experiences and behaviours can provide a better perception of their subjectivity and of the processes of immigration and the challenges that these young people face in their host country. The broader Indo-Fijian population has a unique history of displacement and non-belonging, which, I suggest, profoundly influenced their subjectivity in North America. As I have mentioned, Canada and the United States continue to struggle with how to incorporate racialized immigrant people into social, cultural, and economic life because racialized forms of discrimination are still very evident, which directly affects many immigrant populations. Within a context of unacknowledged racism, forming any aspect of subjectivity, whether it is national, gendered, ethnic, or racial, often is influenced by these experiences, which are most often negative. This negativity carries on into immigrant youth's personal lives too as they experience gender inequality and strict familial expectations. My argument is that Indo-Fijian young women have particular struggles based on their displaced position in life and they have had to navigate through these struggles to establish a sense of self.

My research attempts to address the issues and struggles these individuals endured as they tried to negotiate the multiple demands placed on them by Indo-Fijian culture and Canadian and American (multi)culture while trying to exert agency and control over their identity. As a result, the rest of this dissertation is an attempt to highlight the specific geographically,

culturally, and historically situated experiences of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women in Canada and the United States.

Outline of The Dissertation:

Chapter 2: Background: Immigration Policies in Canada and the United States

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of immigration patterns to Canada and the United States as well as immigration laws both past and present. I also provide a brief overview of *Multiculturalism* in Canada and both the pros and cons of such a policy.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

In this chapter I discuss some of the published literature about immigrant youth in Canada and the United States. I also discuss the problems of defining immigrant youth and then provide a definition as a solution to these problems in my research. I will discuss the intersections of youth, subjectivity, gender, culture, race, racialization, nationality, educational achievements, and intergenerational expectations and how these intersections influenced my research and research participants.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter I address the methods I utilized to conduct research. I describe in depth my research methods, including what qualitative methods I chose to use and why. This chapter will also include a brief biography of each of the research participants and our meeting(s) together.

Chapter 5: "Where Are You 'Really' From?": Subjective Experiences of Racism

In this chapter I will bring in my theoretical framework when discussing the experience of being an (first or second generation) immigrant in Vancouver and Sacramento for the Indo-Fijian young women I researched. This chapter emphasises the unique context and their experiences of being a racialized immigrant in Canada and the United States, by providing insights into their

self-understanding within the racialized world they live in. I will discuss subjectivity in the sense that as active agents, the research participants are shaped by social and cultural spaces to which they are involved. Consequently, relating to subjectivity and how subjectivity maybe an outcome of experiences I discuss the social exclusion that the research participants faced in Canadian and American society as a result of being Indo-Fijian immigrants. This chapter looks at social exclusion at its most local level (e.g., peers, at school, teachers, other authority figures) and how it plays an essential role in explaining how these young people become locked into conditions of exclusion and how it influences their self-identity and their subjectivity.

Chapter 6: Situating Racism and the Similarities and Differences Between Canadian and U.S. Participants

This chapter serves to situate the research participants in the greater racial and racialization politics. I also discusses the climate in Canada and the United States following the 2016 U.S. election and how notions of difference were exacerbated because of a White supremacist leader. Furthermore, this chapter addresses the similarities and differences between the Canadian research participants with the American ones.

Chapter 7: "Girls Have a Reputation to Keep:" Negotiating Expectations and Desires of Femininity Across Different Contexts

This chapter is centered around personal experiences with both the self and involvement within the home and family. This chapter investigates familial expectations of Indo-Fijian young women, by discussing the experiences of gendered inequality between male family members versus female family members. I will address the strategies these young women used to circumvent and often defy these expectations as most of these young women did not willingly or have the desire to abide by the Indo-Fijian gendered norms expected by family members.

Conclusion

This chapter will bring the discussion to a close with a summary of my research findings and possible future research that can be done in this field to obtain a better understanding of Indo-Fijian immigrant young people's experiences with migration, subjectivity, and racialization.

Chapter Two: Background: Immigration Policies in Canada and the United States

Migration and immigration are worldwide phenomenon that involves millions of people and most countries around the globe. There are more individuals who live outside of their country of origin now than at any other time in history (Sharir 2002). Overall, international migrants make up 3.3 percent of the world's population (Connor 2016). Furthermore, since the Coup of 1987 in Fiji more than 100,000 people have left the islands and migrated over-seas (Field 2009). Immigration has been viewed in a number of lights, from a source of problems and strife to opportunity and hope for individuals and society (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder 2006). Many individuals decide to migrate because their homeland nation is under immense turmoil and/ or the chance to immigrate offers opportunity to grow, build, and be safe in a new land (Knight, Roegman and Edstrom 2015). Desai and Subramanian (2003) and Knight, Roegman and Edstrom (2015) suggest that immigration is the result of a number of factors, including a chance for better lives, for better economic positions, for safer lives, for healthier lives, for better educational opportunities, for family reunification, as well as escaping from civil war and/ or military coups. The historical context that gave rise to the migration of Indo-Fijians to Canada and the United States is vital to understanding how they understand their uniqueness as a social group post migration.

Background of Indians in Fiji (Indo-Fijians):

Fiji is an Island country in the South Pacific Ocean and was first inhabited by peoples of Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and New Guinea (Lal 1992). The descendants of these inhabitants are referred to as the Indigenous Fijians but more popularly in Fiji as Native Fijians. Fiji became a British Crown Colony in 1874. In 1879, indentured laborers were brought from South Asia, primarily India, to work on the local plantations (Kelly 1995/1998; Goss and Lindquist 2000; Lal

1992). The indentured labourers included people from the lower social strata in India, they were pushed into migration as a result of prevailing socio-economic conditions (Pande 2011). Approximately 1.5 millions Indians were indentured in total, including 61,000 to Fiji from 1879-1916 (Goss and Lindquist 2000). Migration as indentured labourers provided the prospect of better livelihood options in Fiji (Pande 2011). However, as we will see in later chapters this form of labour migration created notions of difference and subsequently helped further substantiate British imperial rule (Thomas and Clarke 2013). The indentured labourers and their descendants are referred to as Indo-Fijians or Indians. Fiji experienced a rapid Indo-Fijian population growth between 1921 through 1936, because of an increase in Fiji-born Indians. With the population growth Indo-Fijians possessed the drive to better their current situation by demanding a more advanced standard of living than previously experienced (Lal 1992). As Indo-Fijians asserted their demands for the same rights, Native Fijians then proposed shutting down all permanent immigration from India to control increasing Indo-Fijian social and political strength (Lal 1992). Since the arrival of Indians in Fiji, land and race have always been important issues regarding the socio-economic life of all Fijians (Pande 2011; Voigt-Graf 2008). In 1987 tensions between the native Fijians population of 46% and Indo-Fijians population of 49%, continually manifested themselves in social and political unrest, which lead to two military coups that year. The proximity and the competition for resources and land rights between the two groups led to a deep social divide on the islands. In the weeks following the coups there was much chaos, rioting and instability on the island. Native Fijians were at direct odds with Indo-Fijians, both on the street and in parliament (Pande 2011). Some Native Fijians resorted to violence and looting against the Indo-Fijian community. The coup changed the history of Fiji, as the issues of the rights and privilege of Native Fijians in a society with large immigrant or mixed populations was raised

(Lal 1992; Pande 2011). Tensions grew between traditional customs and institutions, and about the use of military force to overthrow constitutionally elected governments as many non-native Fijians saw their loss of democratic power (Lal 1992; Pande 2011). The argument was that Native Fijians were concerned about the sacredness, preservation, and protection of their cultural heritage, since Fiji is their only homeland (Lawson 2004). The Native Fijians did not want to give up their power and have their homeland changed by the Indo-Fijians. The Fiji-born Indians outlook was that they wanted to be represented, as Fiji was also their only homeland because they no longer had a connection to India (Pande 2011; Voigt-Graf 2008). Many Indo-Fijians who have lived in Fiji for several generations no longer retain contacts with India and have grown increasingly distant from their ancestral homeland and its culture (Voigt-Graf 2008).

As mentioned previously, in 1987 there were two military coups in Fiji (Kelly 1998). The first coup was on May 14 1987, and the second coup was on September 25 1987 (Lal 1992). Both coups were headed by Native Fijian, Sitiveni Rabuka, the military leader of Fiji (Lal 1992). However, the second coup was more professionally implemented and tightly controlled. Overseas travel for Fijian citizens was banned, a curfew was employed, and communication beyond Fiji was either cut off or under military control (Lal 1992). Fiji was in another state of turmoil as Rabuka decreed himself head of an interim government (Lal 1992: 293). On September 29 1987, after the second coup, Fiji left the British Commonwealth when it declared itself a republic (Kelly 1998; Lal 1992).

In hindsight, as historians have argued, the division and feud between the Native Fijians and the Indo-Fijians as well as other immigrants was a result of a colonial rule that produced a state structure characterized by political and administrative segregation (Lawson 2004). During the colonial era in Fiji, race relations were a reflection of British colonial policy, where they

viewed and treated native Fijians and Indo-Fijians differently and minimized their contact as much as possible (Voigt-Graf 2008). Even with independence, "issues of racial or ethnic identity infused virtually all aspects of social, political, and economic life, and were enshrined institutionally" (Lawson 2004: 535). Therefore, the tensions only grew after independence in 1970, finally erupting in the coups of 1987.

Because of economic and social instability, many Indo-Fijians migrated to other parts of the world including Canada and the United States. For many Indo-Fijian families the uncertainty that followed the military coups of 1987 were the main reasons for migration, Canada and the United States were popular migration destinations because of their immigration policies.

Immigration in Canada and The United States:

The number of immigrants in Canada and the United States has grown immensely over the last few decades and this increase is likely to continue in the upcoming decades (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014; Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder 2006). In fact, about one-fifth of the world's immigrants reside in the United States (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014). Canada and the United States used immigration as a method to build their nation (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014). In the upcoming sections I will provide a brief overview of the literature on the history of immigration to Canada and the United States.

i. Brief Overview of Immigration in Canada*:*

Canada has a unique heritage of settlement as a nation insofar as it was largely settled by immigrants from northern Europe (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014; Li 1996; Ongley and Pearson 1995; Sharir 2002). The various *Immigration Acts* have changed Canada in terms of inclusion, exclusion, definition, and acceptance of individuals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, cultures, and nationalities. In this section, I will highlight how scholars have identified how

specific *Immigration Acts* in Canada have been used as a method of inclusion and acceptance of certain racial, ethnic, national, and cultural backgrounds while simultaneously barring others who are not from these preferred categories.

Since the inception of the country, white, English and French-speaking immigrants have dominated all aspects of the social and political scene (Sharir 2002). Only when it was beneficial for these settlers did the government allow individuals from other nations to immigrate to Canada. This was true during the 1880s when recruitment began for Chinese immigrants who were visibly different but seen as a cheap source of labor (Jakubowski 1997). Only Chinese men were able to migrate to Canada to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, these Asian immigrants were appealing due to their large supply and cheap cost (Jakubowski 1997). There was also a gender bias because Chinese women were not seen as suitable to address the labor demands effectively barring them from migrating with the men. Furthermore, it was a means of control because if women also migrated it would create a higher chance of them producing Chinese babies. It was during this time that race and discrimination in relation to Canadian immigration law and policy formation became a significant issue (Jakubowski 1997; Sharir 2002). Subsequently, Canadian policies tried to control immigration of Asian and non-White individuals by implementing such mechanisms as the *Chinese Exclusion Act,* the *Gentleman's Agreement,* the *Anti-Opium Act* and the *Continuous Journey Stipulation,* which drastically reduced the number of Asian immigrants to Canada (Jakubowski 1997; Kelley and Trebilcock 1998). The predominance of Whites was further sealed in 1910, when the Canadian government passed the *Immigration Act* that established "the right to prohibit immigrants of any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada" (Ongley and Pearson 1995: 770). This act

deemed white-English speaking peoples as superior and encouraged their migration to Canada, while excluding individuals from non-White nations.

Immigration to Canada increased in the decades after the Second World War when immigrants from the United States, The United Kingdom, and other European countries were favoured (Jakubowski 1997; Li 1996). In 1952 Canada revised the original i*mmigration Act*, which gave power to designated immigration officers to determine who was admissible and acceptable by Canadian regulations (Li 1996). Between 1946-1954, Canada admitted approximately one million immigrants from Europe (Li 1996). As migration increased, the *Immigration Act* was used to enforce barriers to the migration of other ethnic groups and people from non-predominately White nations (Sharir 2002) and an anti-Asiatic bias emerged (Ongley and Pearson 1995). These immigration policies were racist and discriminatory, intended to preserve the British character in Canada as exclusion and inclusion were based on their racial and national background (Jakubowski 1997). Although Canada was and is a sovereign nation and has the right to admit or deny admittance to any individuals for any reason as they did display in such policies, these biased Acts remained in place for almost 50 years, until 1962 when Canada adopted the *Post-War Immigration Policy*, which also maintained control of immigration from Asian countries (Campbell 2000; Li 1996).

In the 1960s, Canada aimed to amend the country's discriminatory past immigration legislation by improving its international standing with non-White countries within the Commonwealth and United Nations (Campbell 2000; Jakubowski 1997; Ongley and Pearson 1995). Canada moved from racially discriminatory legislation to a universalistic system of migrant assessment (Li 1996; Ongley and Pearson 1995; Thobani 2007). The *Immigration Act* of 1962 attempted to eliminated racial discrimination by requiring educational skills or other

qualities for entry to Canada, regardless of skin colour, race, or national origin (Jakubowski 1997; Kelley and Trebilcock 1998), with the aim to fulfill labor market needs (Jakubowski 1997; Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Rajiva 2006). The *Immigration Act* of 1962 placed Canada as one of the most accepting and judgment-free nations at the time. Five years later, the *Immigration Act* of 1967 eliminated race, nationality, and ethnicity as bases for immigrant selection and codified the first immigration point system (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014; Jakubowski 1997; Li 1996). The point system established an evaluation system where points were given for: education, training, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, knowledge of French or English, relatives, and available employment opportunities at destination (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014; Jakubowski 1997). The point system was deemed to mean equality for all potential immigrants to Canada because admissions were assessed under the same set of standards regardless of race, religion, or nationality (Hawkins 1988; Jakubowski 1997; Li 1996).

After changes in immigration laws post 1960s, emigration from Europe declined and Canada began to rely increasingly on non-European countries for immigrants (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Li 1996). The biggest class of immigrants was family reunification class immigrants and the country saw an increase of migrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Roy 1995; Rajiva 2006; Sharir 2002). By 1992, the elimination of racial discrimination of past immigration law and policy formation had become a priority because the Canadian government was pressured to eradicate overt racism from the "newly implemented multicultural policy…from well-organized, politically active and increasingly influential minority groups, human rights activists and lawyers and the international community" (Campbell 2000; Jakubowski 1997: 19). However, as Thobani notes, "the elimination of overt

racial categorization in state policy occurred only after the whiteness of the ‘nation ‘and its ‘citizens’ had been consolidated by the policies of the previous era” (Thobani 2007: 147). In other words, only when the White elite population was established and their power was solidified, did policy makers and government officials seek to diversify Canada, since by this time non-White immigrants would not pose a threat.

While Canada was integrating the new (immigrant) face of the nation The Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* came into effect in April of 1982 (Li 1996). The Charter aimed to improve the status of women and minority groups in Canada by guaranteeing fundamental freedoms and rights of individuals by recognizing that all citizens of Canada have democratic rights (Li 1996). These rights include the right to life, liberty, and security, the right to vote, mobility rights, and equality rights that assure legal equality, and equal protection and benefits of the law without discrimination (Li 1996). Although the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* highlights that all people must be treated with equality and respect by the 1990s this rarely happened (Driedger 1996; Li 1996). People were treated differently on the basis of ethnicity, race, and religion (Driedger 1996), which contradicted the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

A range of literature analyses how Canada’s immigration practices pre-World War II have been discriminatory, exclusionary, and racist (Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Rajiva 2006). After the Second World War the racial and national restrictions eased, which allowed for a non-explicit set of admissions criteria (Jakubowski 1997; Kelley and Trebilcock 1998; Rajiva 2006). *The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) of 2002 presented a framework for immigration into Canada by foreign residents (Bill C- 27 2002). The IRPA’s objectives were to support and assist in the development of minority peoples in Canada, to support immigration in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada, to see that families

may be reunited in Canada, and to promote successful integration of immigrants into Canada (Bill C- 27 2002). The various *Immigration Acts, The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act,* along with the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* changed Canada throughout the years in terms of inclusion, exclusion, and acceptance based on racist and discriminatory policies to finally adopt universalistic policies, which has shaped Canada's direction towards equality within immigration.

ii. ***Multiculturalism* in Canada:**

Post 1960s, an increase in Asian, Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, South American, African, and other non-European immigrants shaped Canada in terms of pluralism and diversity. In 1971, during Pierre Trudeau's administration, Canada declared *Multiculturalism* an official policy. Trudeau envisioned a method to prevent a nation from separating (Ongley and Pearson 1995). The *Multiculturalism Policy* was the official response to the Bi and Bi Commission (Bilingualism and Biculturalism), seen as a mode of managing internal differences within the nation to be able to accept and live harmoniously by accepting cultural differences. It was an attempt to legislate acceptance of others (Thobani 2007). *Multiculturalism* went beyond trying to harmonize French-Canada with English-Canada, the policy recognized the cultural and racial diversity of all immigrants and was a means to acknowledge their freedom and right to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage in Canadian society (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015; Gagnon 2000). The official policy of *Multiculturalism* suggests that racial inequality no longer exists because each racial and ethnic group informs a part of the multicultural mosaic that is recognized for its unique cultural value in Canada (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015; Thobani 2007). According to Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb (2015: 143), "White societies such as England and Canada that have been increasingly faced with immigration by non-White

populations from around the world, *Multiculturalism* has been understood to offer the perfect solution for how to create a more harmonious and integrated society."

Thobani's critique of *Multiculturalism* argues that *Multiculturalism* was adopted in Canada to distinguish itself from the assimilationist 'melting pot' tendencies that were common in the United States as well as to highlight Canada as an accepting and prejudice-free nation (Thobani 2007). Furthermore, *Multiculturalism* allowed the nation's self-presentation on the global arena as urban, cosmopolitan, and innovative by promoting racial and ethnic tolerance (Thobani 2007). The implementation of *Multiculturalism* as an official policy was meant to redefine Canada's national identity to suggest that the nation's commitment to valuing cultural diversity (Thobani 2007).

Being the first country in the world to adopt an official policy of *Multiculturalism* established Canada at the forefront of peaceful coexistence that "cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity" (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Garcea, Kirova and Wong 2008; Wood and Gilbert 2005: 680). The Act promoted policies, programs, and practices that guarantee that Canadians of all origins have equal opportunity in Canadian society (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Ralston 1998). It was a policy and Act that reflected the response to a force in Canadian society to refine the mosaic concept and to stress the integration of immigrant, refugee, racialized people, and people of visible minorities into Canadian social, economic, and political life while simultaneously retaining their historical and cultural heritage in Canadian society (Harris 2009; Roy 1995). As a result, *Multicultural* societies are valued for their diversity in an increasingly globalized world (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015; Thobani 2007).

As a result of the numerous *Immigration Acts* post 1960s a diversity of ethnic groups living in Canada who held different cultural and religious backgrounds, norms, and practices and were expected to share the country (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Esses and Gardner 1996; Rajiva 2006). The different ethnic groups were not expected to assimilate to a set of so-called "Canadian" norms and practices; rather under the policy of *Multiculturalism*, as mentioned above, were encouraged to preserve their unique cultural backgrounds in Canada (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Esses and Gardner 1996). *Multiculturalism* was meant to promote positive feelings in the sense of belonging and respect for people with different cultural values and ultimately result in a common shared identity in which people were accepting and tolerant of one another. This would be achieved by sharing resources, communities, laws, and spaces in Canada. However, *Multiculturalism* has come to challenge what it means to be Canadian (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015). As I will demonstrate below, the implementation of *Multiculturalism* has further displaced immigrant populations and women immigrants because it has done little to combat issues of racism, inequality, and gender equality (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Entzinger 2010; Ralston 1998).

iii. *Multiculturalism* and Gender:

Cultures are infused with different practices, norms and ideologies regarding gender (Okin 1999). Gender equality was assumed in official Multicultural discourse but was not explicitly addressed by government provisions (Ralston 1998). Hence, a gendered analysis may offer a more complete perception of *Multiculturalism* in Canada in terms of how it shapes people's lived realities. Ralston (1998) suggests that *Multiculturalism* has constructed gender relations and the legal and social dependent social status of immigrant women. In many minority immigrant cultures there is a strong gender component in family relationships and family

dynamics based on patriarchy that continue post-migration (Bannerji 2000; Desai and Subramanian 2003; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007; Volpp 2001). Non-Western immigrant women are often situated within cultural contexts that force their subordination (Volpp 2001). Sexist cultures facilitate women's subordination through a variety of practices too subtle for the law to recognize (Kallen 2003: Okin 1999; Phillips 2007). Furthermore, the oppression and subordination of many immigrant women in non-Western cultures and minority cultures can be explained through several avenues: the history of colonialism, representation of the feminist subject, the limits of liberalism, and the use of dual reasoning (Volpp 2001). Proponents of *Multiculturalism* are being selective in terms of what they want preserved.

Control by men over women in domestic life and life outside of the home positions men to determine the group's central beliefs, practices, and interests to further their own position (Bannerji 2000; Okin 1999; Rajiva 2005). As a result these women grow up without a strong sense of self-respect and self-esteem (Kallen 2003; Okin 1999; Phillips 2007). Under such circumstances group rights are seen to be anti-feminist as they limit the ability of women and girls to live lives equal to men and boys (Okin 1999; Rajiva 2005). That said, when these groups/cultures migrate to a liberal state or to a multicultural nation, advocates for group rights for minorities fail to understand that cultural groups are not monolithic; these advocates tend to focus on the differences between groups rather than the differences within them. They also pay little attention to the fact that many minority immigrant cultural groups are themselves gendered (Bannerji 2000; Okin 1999). Defenders of *Multiculturalism* and minority groups overlook connections between gender and culture that are lacking in discourses of *Multiculturalism*, because of the evident cultural subordination of women in many non-Western cultures (Okin 1999). Culturally approved norms and practices that may be repressive to women can remain

hidden at home and from the post-migration society because *Multiculturalism* establishes minority cultures to preserve themselves; however, this may not be in the best interest of many women who belong to that culture, in fact these group rights can endanger immigrant women (Kallen 2003; Okin 1999;). For example, individuals from cultures who practice controversial customs like female genital cutting, polygamy, and child marriage insist that these customs are necessary for the control of women and understand that these customs continue on the insistence of men (Gruenbaum 2006; Okin 1999). It is true that men play a large role in these controlling practices however, through male dominated influences women perpetuate these practices too. So, post-migration to a Multicultural nation, culturally sanctioned practices that are oppressive to women can remain hidden in the private sphere of the home (Bannerji 2000; Okin 1999). Defenders of *Multiculturalism* have not yet addressed the problematic connections that can arise between gender and culture (Okin 1999). As it stands now *Multiculturalism* allows for too much control and power to particular elite or dominant men to dictate women's behavior and bodies because the policy does not look at the inequalities within the minority culture since the policy was not created with the experiences in mind of those who represent women or girls as the subordinate members of the group. *Multiculturalism* as an official policy and Act was intended to respond to the needs of the cultural minority, but in order for it to create an equality based system for all it must take urgency in sufficiently representing less powerful members of such groups (Entzinger 2010; Nakhaie 2006; Okin 1999). As a result, in many respects *Multiculturalism* has failed especially for many minority immigrant women as I will explain below.

The intersections of race and gender impact many immigrant women's lived realities post migration, not only at home and within their cultural community as highlighted previously, but

also in their lives outside of the home, in the public spectrum. Many immigrant women face situations that are unique to them as immigrant women of color, as visible minority women, or as racialized women (Ralston 1998). These women have to navigate certain obstacles that are unique to them based on an Euro-centric gendered hierarchy where they experience discrimination as they are treated below the status of second-class citizens (Henry and Tator 2010; Ralston 1998). In this dissertation discrimination is defined as the unjust treatment of different categories of people based on the grounds of race and sex. These women experience discrimination outside the home based on their English language proficiency, their education and work experience prior to migration, and when obtaining a job post migration (Ralston 1998; Volpp 2001). This discrimination of immigrant women stems from being different (Bannerji 2000; Ralston 1998). Many foreign-born women experience being "different" from many other Canadian women, that social and political construction indicate the significant markers of difference (Bannerji 2000; Ralston 1998). Canada refers to many of its female immigrant population as visible minorities, women of color, or racialized women, thus this underlining of visible characteristics are markers of cultural difference (Bannerji 2000; Ralston 1998). This difference is understood to mean inferior, racially subordinate, outsider, and of second-rate to many of the white-privileged majority (Ralston 1998: Volpp 2001). Being categorized as other and different from the dominant Anglo-Canadians hinders many opportunities for immigrant women (Nakhaie 2006; Ralston 1998; Thobani 2007). Social characteristics, such as education, obtaining work, and job security, are connected to these cultural markers of difference (Nakhaie 2006; Ralston 1998; Thobani 2007). In Ralston's (1998) study of South Asian immigrant women in Canada, she highlights how being an immigrant woman has affected employment opportunities because these individuals are often competing with the ruling class and are

constantly unemployed or underemployed and overlooked based on their visible characterization for jobs despite having the proper qualifications and aptitude. *Multiculturalism* fosters inequality, as it does not address experiences of being a constant outsider and gender inequalities within the class structure of Canada (Bannerji 2000; Harris 2009; Nakhaie 2006; Ralston 1998). From a youth sociologist position, Harris (2009) argues that *Multiculturalism* is to promote co-existence with diversity of all kinds, but co-existence is not realized because the 'other' is created on the basis of difference. Ralston (1998:25) states, "In reality, *Multiculturalism* policies have tended to construct and reconstruct gender inequality within a racist class structure. Immigrant women of color remain alienated from 'the ruling apparatus' of society".

As mentioned previously, in 1982 Canada passed its *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which stated that every individual is equal and has the right to the equal protection and benefits of the law without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability (Driedger 2003). Like the official policy of *Multiculturalism*, the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* also fell short of ensuring equal protection and equal benefits to women, and minority groups (Li 1996). Li (1996) suggests that various groups, among them women and minority groups continue to face unequal opportunities and institutional barriers in Canadian society, due to their outsider status and the charter has not ratified this social inequality that is linked to such group characteristics because it lacked further development which inhibits the initial proposed rights and freedoms.

Multiculturalism as a policy and act was meant to accept cultural differences as part of the national fabric of Canada. In reality *Multiculturalism* has displaced many immigrant and minority populations and has led to inequality and social fragmentation, which ultimately leads to a decrease in intercultural tolerance.

iv. Brief Overview of Immigration in the United States:

Like Canada, immigration has tremendously affected the disposition of the United States. As a result, the United States owes its existence primarily to the many waves of immigration that occurred (Passel and Fix 1994). The United States' diverse peoples have come from all over the world, as they have been brought together by a number of historical occurrences, such as colonialism, the slave trade, in hopes of territorial acquisition, and finally voluntary international immigration (Gerber 2011). The United States has had four major periods of immigration (Bryant 1999). The first wave began with the colonists of the 1600's that established the nation and reached a peak just before the Revolutionary War in 1775; in this wave people primarily came from England but other colonist also came from France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Ukraine and Wales (Bryant 1999). Shortly after the Revolutionary War and as a result, in 1789 The United States established itself as a nation and has since experienced constant immigration (Gerber 2011). The second wave of immigrants to the United States began in the 1820's and continued until the depression of the early 1870s. In this wave close to 7 million immigrants entered the United States; most of them came from Northern and Western Europe, mainly from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Bryant 1999; Passel and Fix 1994). This wave of migration peaked in the early 1870's-1880's when a little over 5 million immigrants arrived on U.S. soil during this period (Passel and Fix 1994). The third wave was the largest as about 23 million immigrants migrated to the United States between the 1880's to the early 1920's (Bryant 1999). This group of immigrants came from all over the world but mainly they came from central and southern Europe, including numbers from Italy, Poland, and Eastern Europe (Bryant 1999; Lee 2005; Passel and Fix 1994). The first decade of this wave in the 1900's saw more than

9 million immigrants to the United States (Passel and Fix 1994). However, because of World War I and limiting legislation of the 1920s brought an end to this wave of immigration (Passel and Fix 1994). Additionally, the Great Depression and World War II effectively cut off the remaining flow of immigrants to the United States (Passel and Fix 1994). Furthermore, in the first three waves of immigration to the United States approximately 35 million Europeans migrated between 1820 and 1920 (Gerber 2011). Following the end of World War II immigration to the United States began to grow steadily again (Gerber 2011 Passel and Fix 1994). Hence, the fourth and continuing wave of migration began in 1965 because of changes in U. S. Immigration laws (Bryant 1999). Changes in the immigration laws in 1965 opened the door for the United States on an equal, regulated basis to the non-European world (Gerber 2011). Furthermore, this wave for the first time in United States history accepted immigrants from outside Europe, the new wave of immigrants came from Asia, Latin America, Pacific Islands and elsewhere around the global south (Gerber 2011). The fourth is the most significant wave in respect to my research because this wave has influenced the research participants as all of the research participants in the United States migrated post 1965 as a result of the more liberal immigration laws. Like the Canadian context, the United States also had similar exclusionary laws.

American law and policy have been implemented to structure and at times limit immigration (Gerber 2011). The foundation of the United States was built on immigrant labour forces. As various immigrant groups provided valuable labor to establish the American economy (Gerber 2011). For example, after the Mexican-American War 1846-1848, California was seized and admitted to the United States and the Californian Gold Rush began (Gerber 2011). Since California was isolated in terms of transatlantic shipping and without rail link many immigrants

from China and South America came as labour forces to construct the railroad line that would connect the West coast with the East coast (Bryant 1999; Gerber 2011). Chinese immigrants especially provided valued labor in the gold mines, farms, and the construction of the railroad. However, this influx of immigration from China was ultimately confronted by a severe economic depression in the 1870s, as white labour workers felt their standard of living was being threatened by the low wages accepted by the Chinese labourers (Gerber 2011). The growing influence that Chinese immigration was a threat to economic status of the white population in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which would end Chinese immigrant and in hopes lead the population of Chinese already present to eventually disappear by re-emigrating (Bryant 1999; Gerber 2011). The Chinese Exclusion Act was regularly renewed until made permanent in 1904 (Bryant 1999; Gerber 2011). This act was one of the most substantial exclusionary acts that aided in the evolution of American immigrant law and policy that was a tool for massive racial production that sought to use state power to define the demographic and cultural character of the United States (Gerber 2011). Furthermore, as law structures immigration, it also structures the organization of societies.

The 1891 Immigration Act, which was a revised version of the 1882 Act, was an explicit statement of centralized power (Gerber 2011). The 1891 Act established that certain classes of individuals were unfit to enter or become U.S. citizens, the United States only wanted those who could care for themselves without the assistance of others and who were medically fit, this meant no diseases as each individual was subject to a medical exam upon arrival, all in hope to be able to support the economic growth of the country (Gerber 2011).

In 1907 in California and the West Coast, Japanese immigration increased in the United States as these immigrants were a source of useful labor. However, unlike the Chinese, the

Japanese were considered less of a threat to wage scales to the dominant white people of the United States (Gerber 2011). But like the Chinese the Japanese people were deemed not able to assimilate based on American standards, which lead to a quota system or better known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, that was negotiated between President Roosevelt and the Japanese government as Japan was on its way to becoming a Major world power after winning a war against Russia (Gerber 2011). As a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement, Japanese immigration to the United States dwindled and since Korea was then under Japan's control, immigration from that country was also limited (Gerber 2011). The Japanese who immigrated to the United States were prohibited from land ownership as they were not allowed to become legal citizens, however, because many Japanese immigrants had children born in the United States they went around the law by registering their property under their children's names (Gerber 2011). These individuals were barred from becoming citizens under the 1795 Naturalization Law, which stated that naturalized citizenship was only reserved for white people (Gerber 2011). This lead to the racialized conditions of the nation as confrontations about who was considered white became a forefront issue (Bryant 1999; Gerber 2011). Japanese, South Asians, Burmese, Malaysians, Thais, and Koreans were not considered white and were denied citizenship and land holdings according to this law (Gerber 2011).

On another note the status of Mexicans was more favorable than the Asians, the racial status of Mexicans was different following the Mexican American War (1847), as they became part of the American nation after the southwestern territory and northern Mexico was conquered (Gerber 2011). Between 1910 and 1920 the number of Mexicans in the United States tripled to approximately 652,000, and these Mexicans were made citizens, thus ultimately declared White (Gerber 2011). Moreover, Mexican lineage was declared European, via Spain conquering

Mexico, despite Indian ancestry of Mexicans, as a result affirmed whiteness and their Citizenship (Gerber 2011). However, at the street level, Mexican Whiteness was questioned, as these new immigrants were widely seen as dirty, uneducated, and lazy; everything that opposed Whiteness (Gerber 2011). As a result, in the 1920s the federal government implemented a head tax on Mexicans entering the United States as an attempt to decrease Mexicans crossing the border by denying visas on the grounds that these individuals were not able to assimilate and would become a burden on the state (Gerber 2011). The case of Japanese and Mexican immigration highlights the racist nature of acceptance, inclusion, and exclusion based on the needs and furthering of the nation.

American immigration history also experienced immigration based on the quota system, which was a numerical formulation introduced to limit certain groups from migrating to the United States (Bryant 1999; Gerber 2011). This began in 1907 with Congressional establishment of the Dillingham Commission that was an investigation of contemporary immigration (Gerber 2011). The commission's result seemed to be in favour of immigrants as it acknowledged that immigrants work hard and make many sacrifices to achieve self-improvement despite substandard working conditions, it also rejected ideas of how immigrants' children were inherently stupid, and finally rejected the notion that immigrants were more likely to be criminals than Americans (Gerber 2011). Nonetheless, based on racialist pseudo-science the commission's ultimate report endorsed limitations on immigration, suggesting "as its primary means to that end a literacy test, which was approved by Congress in 1917" (Gerber 2011: 41). As a result, in 1921 the Emergency Quota Act was introduced which maintained the ban on Asians and limited European immigration to 3 percent per year (Gerber 2011). However, the law was not experiencing the desired effect of the limiting numbers that were initially established, as

a result, the more extreme Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 was passed which pronounced that immigration was to be limited to only 150,000 annually from the entire world (Gerber 2011). This new quota went into effect in 1929, when voluntary international population movements began to decline dramatically, the depression of the 1930s, totalitarian regimes in Europe that banned migration, and finally World War II (Gerber 2011). As a result, the United States grew from an open immigration policy to a carefully constructed system that controlled, discriminated, and prioritized potential immigrants, based primarily on race, class, and adaptability (Gerber 2011).

During the 1940s the United States was under a lot of scrutiny as a result of the rivalry between the United States, and the Soviet Union (Gerber 2011). The movement towards an immigration reform came to light as a consequence (Gerber 2011). Re-thinking the quota system was at the forefront of these reforms, the McCarran-Walter Act was the first major immigration legislation postwar, however it only revised the 1924 Act (Gerber 2011). This new act abandoned the Whites-only policy but it still kept a quota system where it only assigned 150,000 spots of the entire Eastern Hemisphere and continued limited legal access for Asians (Gerber 2011). However, following the war there was massive displacement of people all over the world, and for the United States as the nation that emerged from the war as the world's leader and richest had to make an effort to relieve such displacement of people (Gerber 2011). As a result, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 which was later renewed in 1950 admitted 250,000 visas over two years for refugees from around the world and 450,000 displaced Europeans (Gerber 2011). There was a European bias, however this was amended in the acts of Congress in 1953 and 1957 that eventually shifted the admittance of refugees from Europe to Asia (Gerber 2011). Furthermore, in 1959 after the Cuban Revolution 215,000 Cuban immigrants were admitted

through the same strategy (Gerber 2011). In 1965 the Immigration and Nationality Act was introduced, also known as the Hart-Celler Act that finally eliminated the previous prejudice quota system that was in place (Chin 1996; Gerber 2011). The act removed the bias for white only immigration which had been a central element of American Immigration and nationality law since the 1790s (Chin 1996; Gerber 2011). The aim of this new Act was to diversify the nation so that the new immigration stream would make America a "majority-minority" nation (Chin 1996). The law took effect in 1968 and it changed the underlying principles to which people were previously admitted into the United States, national-origins quotas were removed, as well as all references to race as a selection principle, hence this change in legislation led to a change in the American demographic (Gerber 2011). Following this new law people from Asia, South, and Central America, the Caribbean, sub-Saharan and northern Africa and the Middle East migrated to America in belief that immigration offered opportunities they could not obtain in their own country, as a result they migrated to the United States to a wealth of opportunities (Chin 1996; Gerber 2011).

V. U.S. Immigration and Gender:

Not only did the United States have a racist immigration past, but also a gendered one too. In 1855 Congress formally passed the principle of derivative citizenship, which assured that a woman's status was dependent on that of a man, either her husband or father (Gerber 2011). Ultimately a woman's status and worth was defined and determined by that of a male to whom she was related to (Gerber 2011). A woman who was not an American citizen was only able to gain citizenship when marrying an American citizen. Conversely, if a woman was already a citizen and married a man who was ineligible for citizenship, she lost her citizenship when she married (Gerber 2011). However, "after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the

Constitution enfranchising women and, in effect, creating a political status for them independent of men, the Cable Act of 1922 and a series of amendments to it in the ensuing decade were passed to address the situation" (Gerber 2011: 34). Moreover, this Act established that marriage by a woman who was an American Citizen to a non-citizen no longer taking the loss of her citizenship (Gerber 2011). This gave women their independence and status separate from that of their men counterparts, women were now seen as individual agents in their own right.

Chapter Conclusion:

There are many reasons people migrate to places other than their birth country. Many individuals decide to migrate because their homeland nation is under immense turmoil and/ or the chance to immigrate offers opportunity to grow, build, and be safe in a new land (Knight, Roegman and Edstrom 2015). However, as we can see in past immigration policies in Canada and the United States immigration was a means for nation building, to promote cultural homogeneity (Akbari and Mac Donald 2014). Post-World War II, immigration policies have undergone immense changes in both Canada and the United States to promote policies of inclusion and diversity (Akbari ad Mac Donald 2014). We see that in Canada *Multiculturalism* was implemented as an official policy to amend the previously discriminatory Acts to foster cultural acceptance of difference as part of the national fabric of Canada. In reality though, *Multiculturalism* has displaced many immigrant and minority populations and has led to inequality and social fragmentation, which ultimately leads to a decrease in intercultural tolerance. In this chapter I highlight the many immigration acts and policies that were created or adopted by Canada and the United States and how each has shaped the current landscape of each country today.

Chapter Three. Literature Review

Intersections of Youth/Young People, Gender, Culture, Race, and Nationality:

Because no published literature on Indo-Fijian immigrant young women in Canada or the United States exists, I draw on case studies of other minority immigrant populations within Canada, the United States, and Europe to inform my research. I draw on a number of different scholars like Abdel-Shehid and Kalman- Lamb (2015), Cole and Durham (2008), Desai and Subramanian (2003), Keaton (2006), Knight, Roegman and Edstrom (2016), Lee (2005) Rajiva (2005), and Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) who address the intersections of youth, gender, race, culture, and nationality. These intersections are important when discussing Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's experiences because these intersections allow for the investigation of significant everyday social interactions of young immigrant women's' daily lives.

Defining Immigrant Youth and Young Immigrants

Youth and its related categories lack clear definition and thus are difficult categories to define (Bucholtz 2002; Cole and Durham 2008). Because of the lack in clarity in the definition of youth, the terms youth, adolescence and young people are often used interchangeably. This slippage reflects the ambiguity of the categories in society today. The lack of clarity of such categories is related to their social underpinnings as they can be based on social circumstances, cultural position, chronological age, and/or physical and biological circumstances. For instance, the United Nations defines youth in two ways: Firstly, by official age brackets, as persons between 15 and 25 years of age and; secondly, in some circumstances the ages can range from 15 and 35 years of age (Kirmse 2010; Tyyska 2005). It is not clear as to why in both definitions age 15 is the beginning of youth, as the fixed baseline, while the aging out of youth parameter is fluid. The UN understands that the definition of youth changes with circumstance, circumstances

related to one's changes in socio-cultural, financial, and/or economic settings (UNESCO 2017). From a UN perspective, youthhood is a psychological-social age situated between the development phases of childhood and adulthood. Following a western American-Eurocentric universalistic psychological perspective on childhood, the UN declares that this stage of development is qualitatively different from adulthood (Skager 2009).

Biological definitions of youth concur with the UN definition, youth is viewed as a natural state, naturally unfolding, and age-prescribed, without the influence of culture (Bass 2008; Bucholtz 2002; Cole and Durham 2008). Consequently, youth are seen as little adults or at a stage prior to adulthood and not as a distinctive group. Using this perception, youth are valued for the future of their lives in adulthood rather than for their presence in the current world (Bass 2008; Caputo 2001; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998; Sriskandarajah 2017). As a result, people who are youth by this definition are not acknowledged as creative and competent social actors capable of making decisions; instead they are perceived to exist within a temporal and liminal state of being (Bucholtz 2002; Caputo 2001; Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998).

Biological, physiological, developmental psychological, anthropological, and sociological definitions, identify youth as a cultural and social stage; as a period of social learning, autonomy, and being able to contribute to socio-cultural values, behavior, and society (Bucholtz 2002; Caputo 2001; Hardman1973; Schlegel and Barry 1991; Thomas and Clarke 2013). Anthropological approaches tend to be holistic and therefore places youth and youthhood within socio-cultural systems (Bucholtz 2002; Jensen 2011; Kirmse 2010; Tyyska 2005). For example, in any given culture people may be seen as youth because of their cultural practices, regardless of age (Bucholtz 2002). Bucholtz (2002) gives us an example in terms of how youthhood is expressed differently in different cultures, she suggests that in Soviet Russia

economic circumstances has pushed many young people to become wage earners signaling the end of their youthhood. Therefore, ethnographic research can highlight how youthhood may be a stage of life but one that does not necessarily echo early development of adult culture (Ares 2010; Bucholtz 2002). In other words, anthropologists make the distinction between chronological age and cultural age. Cultural age is culturally constructed and thus anthropologists such as Cole and Durham (2008), Durham (2004), and Bucholtz (2002) believe that cultural age definitions should be fluid to fully grasp experiences within particular cultural contexts. In cultural age cultural aspects may define adulthood marked by a rite of passage. For example, getting married is a cultural rite of passage into adulthood, in many South Asian cultures because there is no set age that one needs to get married. Because rites of passage can be performed across chronological age, whether it be age eight to twenty or more (Bucholtz 2002; Durham 2000; Hardman 1973). In contrast to western medical notions of youth as a set chronological/biological age, according to anthropology the parameters of "youth" are shifting and adjusting cross-culturally to incorporate different age sets into the social category of youth, based on particular cultures, cultural expectations, and practices in each culture.

Anthropology as a discipline recognizes the cultural importance of youth as a stage of life because youth is a time where young people are making important contributions to society (Pufall and Unsworth 2004; Schlegel and Barry 1991). These contributions are made by actions that are based on social and cultural meanings by intentions, motives, beliefs, rules, discourses, and values (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Furthermore, within anthropology youth are not seen as in-between childhood and adulthood, or in a transitional period; rather, youth refers to engaged social actors who make important contributions to society (Schlegel and Barry 1991). Youth "create and inhabit cultures of their own making, cultures that in significant measure are

independent of and are distinct from those of the adults with whom they live" (Hirschfeld 2002: 612). Anthropologists recognize emotional and behavioral experiences that can be associated with and mark off a specific stage of life for youth. Thus, anthropological research strives to understand the lived experiences of youth from a cultural perspective through detailed descriptions of what they say, do, and how they interpret themselves as active members of society, their own actions, their worlds, with their own words (Schlegel and Hewlett 2011; Skager 2009). In my research I take this anthropological approach by defining youth as a more fluid category than a fixed age group. Youthhood is a time where Indo-Fijian young people make important decisions and contributions to society. Most importantly the research participants used the categories "youth" or "young people" when referring to themselves. I assume that they used English words when rereferring to themselves because there is not an equivalent word in Fijian Hindi that refers to youth, there is a Hindi word for youth, Javannee, but again this word is in proper Hindi and not Fijian Hindi, so it was not used by the research participants.

i. Gender and Culture:

Immigration is a gendered process, meaning cis-gendered men, cis-gendered women, and trans-gendered members of immigrant communities experience migration according to gender norms of femininity and masculinity (Henry and Tator 2010; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). In this section I look at issues surrounding gender and culture for immigrant young women and draw from Rajiva (2005), Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb (2015), Desai and Subramanian (2003), and Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) who explore the differences in experience between female immigrant youth and their male-counterparts. A gendered analysis offers an analysis of the experiences of immigrant young women and their subjectivity that is attentive to gender differences in cultural contexts (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Stritikus and Nguyen

2007). While some issues regarding identity formation are relevant across genders, other issues are gender specific (Anisef and Kilbride 2003). For example, some young immigrant women from South Asian communities often encounter more difficulties than men with intergenerational conflict within their home in the post-migration period, which, in turn, determines how they behave, their social interactions, and their participation in Canada and American society, this intergenerational conflict will be discussed further.

According to literature by Rajiva (2005), (2006) and Desai and Subramanian (2003) on gender, immigration, and culture, show that the deleterious effects of patriarchy are sometimes reproduced in the post-migration lives of immigrant young women from South Asian countries living in Canada and the United States.• In many South Asian immigrant communities living in Canada and the United States, as well as in the communities of origin, patriarchy fosters intergenerational tension within the home where double standards exist for sons and daughters (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Rajiva 2005; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). According to Desai and Subramanian (2003) and Rajiva (2005), as youths from South Asian communities grow older when living in Canada or the United States, gendered family dynamics impose different constraints on girls' activities outside of the home (Orellana 2009; Rajiva 2005). Women of the family are often expected to assume traditional norms of femininity, while young men are often given more opportunities and freedom to discover life outside of the home. Therefore, literature

• A person's gender is the complex interrelationship between body, identity, and socio-cultural factors, it is not just the assignment of sex. In my own research when addressing gender, the binary understanding of gender (i.e., exclusively masculine or feminine) is the common notion. In my research gender refers to the roles, behaviours, activities, and opportunities that Canadian and American society considers appropriate for girls and boys, and women and men. However, I do recognize that gender interacts with, but is different from, the binary categories of biological sex.

on South Asian communities living in the United States and in Canada has shown that young women's social activities, such as hanging out with friends or being outside of the home can be under careful scrutiny by parents (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Rajiva 2005; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Many young women from South Asian backgrounds encounter problems with their parents, argues Rajiva (2006), because the youth realize the double standard that is in play. This body of ethnographic research argues that the young women come to understand, while growing up in Canada, that Canadian culture is different from their South Asian culture, but parents expect the young women to abide by the South Asian cultural notions about socio-cultural reproduction being the women's responsibility (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Rajiva 2005; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). This literature on South Asian immigrant families and gender dating from 2005 to 2015 makes the overall point that many immigrant families are concerned about passing on their traditions, norms, and culture to their daughters who are expected to preserve these norms and practices for future generations (Rajiva 2005; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007).

Scholars have shown that older generations from South Asian and Middle Eastern communities tend to abide by a binary notion of gender that associates femininity with social reproduction and chastity (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Keaton 2006). Consequently, within South Asian communities and families' daughters are seen as the custodians of homeland culture and traditions, a notion that justifies why such controls are enforced by authority figures within the family (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Anisef, Kilbride, and Khattar 2003; Desai and Subramanian 2003; Durham 2004; Shahidian 1999). Within South Asian immigrant communities in Canada and the United States, parents exercise a great deal of control over daughters' sexual activities by policing activities that they deem to be sexual in nature. Activities such as dating

and “sleepovers” may threaten their daughter’s virginity (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Durham 2004; Keaton 2006). Scholars Rajiva (2005) and Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015 argue that the emphasis on female chastity by parents of young immigrant women from South Asian communities is a method to resist the demands of the mainstream society and to reaffirm the women’s self-worth in the face of racial, class, and gendered subordination, but which also serves to closely bind young immigrant women to traditional patriarchal practices (Stritikus and Nguyen 2007).

The control of daughters by South Asian, Middle Eastern, and African parents raises an important issue discussed in the literature related to immigrant girls’ negotiation of newfound “freedoms” in spaces such as school and work (Odger, Frohlick, and Lorway 2019; Rajiva 2005). As immigrant young women grow up being “exposed” to the norms of Canadian society, this so-called “exposure” becomes problematic for the immigrant communities whose beliefs and norms are opposed to certain Canadian and American adolescent practices (Rajiva 2005). In their study of African immigrant young women in Winnipeg, Canada, Odger, Frohlick, and Lorway (2019) suggest that peer pressure and popularity might play a role in how one behaves and adapts to Canadian culture. While immigrant young women aim to find new mobilities of movement, they also have to deal with pressure to be accepted by non-South Asian, i.e., Canadian peers at school as well as their parents and communities at home. Some young immigrant women, then, come to embrace or search out the apparent freedoms offered by North American cultural norms and are willing to fight with their parents while others resist those freedoms in order to avoid confrontation with their parents (Desai and Subramanian 2003). A central finding in the literature, therefore, is how South Asian, and African immigrant girls growing up in Canada and the United States negotiate aspects of their homeland culture while feeling the desire to fit into

the host county's cultural norms (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Odger, Frohlick, and Lorway 2019; Rajiva 2005; Rajiva 2006).

ii. Age of Migration:

Age of migration may also be an influencing factor on gendered norms and racialized norms of mobility and other freedoms. Anthropologists and sociologists alike claim that age of migration is connected in the construction and regulation of racialized and gendered identities (Frohlick, Migliardi, and Mohamed 2018; Rajiva 2005). When immigrant youth are at the forefront of research they tend to be "regarded as always already in a state of arriving—not only arriving to adultness but to a host country, that is, to an already defined place" (Frohlick, Migliardi, and Mohamed 2018; 167). Rajiva (2005: 26) suggests that age of migration structures belonging in that immigrant youth arrive in a context of difference and they are seemingly more "fragile and more open to confusion". Frohlick, Migliardi, and Mohamed (2018) suggest that the receiving/host country is perceived as static and that immigrant youth may be regarded as subjects who need to adapt to a dominant culture, but they claim within the process of migration and settlement immigrant youth are remodeling spaces of inclusion and exclusion. As for my own research, 11 of my 18 research participants were born in Canada and the United States, one was born in Australia to Fiji-Born parents and migrated to Canada at the age of 16, and the rest were under 14 years old, one as young as a few weeks old when they migrated to Canada or the United States. I did not hone into the age of migration and how it may impact Indo-Fijian immigrant young woman as part of my own research because of the mere fact that more than half of the research participants were born in Canada or the United states.

iii. Race:

This sections looks at how race, racism, and racialization affects subjectivity for young immigrant women in Canada and the United States. I draw on literature from Desai and Subramanian (2003), Kallen (2003), Keaton 2006, Lee (2005), Orosco (2016) and Shahsiah (2006) who all look at racialized identity development for immigrant young people from South Asia, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East who now reside in Canada, the United States, or Europe. The time period that is covered in the literature is from the 1990s to the 2010s. Scholars Lee (2005) and Shahsiah (2006) argue that for many South Asian, Asian and African immigrants, they enter Canada as a society where race has always been central to the national discourse on identity and where non-White people, including youth, identify themselves primarily based on their race and racial backgrounds. According to Kallen (2003), social constructions of race, such as skin color, and other phenotypic differentiations have been the key markers utilized to discriminate against ethnic minority immigrants in Canada by the majority White population (Kallen 2003). The body of scholarship I draw from focuses on how skin colour determines how South Asian immigrant youth in Canada, the United States, and France are treated in regards to what they can access and what opportunities that are available to them; also because skin colour determines their quality of life (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Keaton 2006; Lee 2005).

Anthropological studies show that many racialized immigrant youths who migrate to Canada and the United States experience discrimination and prejudice based on their physical appearance, which affects the formation of their personal self/identity (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Rajiva 2005; Shahsiah 2006). Shahsiah (2006) in her study of foreign-born, non-White youth in Toronto argues that visible identity markers, such as skin colour and hair, are important for the social construction of the “other”. As well as physical markers that racialize difference, language

is also key to the othering processes, argues Shahsiah (2006) and Anisef and Kilbride (2003). Terms like “visible minority”, “people of color” and “racialized people” openly discriminate immigrant populations by placing them into an “undesirable” category (Keaton 2006; Shahsiah 2006). Shahsiah (2006) asserts that many non-White immigrant youths living in Canada, specifically Toronto resist terms of othering because they construct the youth as being inferior and helpless within the wider society. Keaton’s (2006) ethnography examines racialized exclusion experienced by non-White immigrant Muslim girls from Arab and Africa living in the impoverished Parisian outer-cities from 1995 to 2004. Keaton’s work outlines the contradictions that gendered immigrant Muslim youth face in their everyday lived reality of racialized distinction and discrimination. Lee’s (2005) work in the 2000s on Hmong immigrant youth in Wisconsin shows that non-white immigrant youth learn to negotiate their identity within a racial hierarchy where minorities are placed at the bottom and white people are placed at the top. As a result, as shown by Asher (2002), whose research looked at South Asian immigrant youth living in New York, many immigrant young people search for approval from those in power, usually White people, thus participating in their own racialized marginalization (Orosco 2016).

Race and Gender are interlocking oppressions, as indicated by scholarship with non-White immigrant youth done by Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb (2015), Keaton (2006), and Rajiva (2006). Interactions with peers at school and in and around the community, many immigrant young women are provided with perceptions of themselves that often forces them to negotiate between the wider society, peer networks, and family dynamics, this is further exacerbated for non-White immigrant young women as they consult where they belong on an already in place racial hierarchy (Durham 1999; Orosco 2016). This can affect youth settlement in unpleasant ways as it often pressures non-White immigrant youth to conform to Canadian or

American cultural expectations (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Orosco 2016). For example, in Durham's (1999) research of South Asian immigrant girls in the southwestern United States , she suggests that youth in the South Asian immigrant community use television and other media sources to negotiate local and national cultural nuances that cross their lives, especially in terms of family and peer groups. Furthermore, she suggests that female youth appear to be susceptible targets of detrimental images of femininity. In Durham's (1999) research carried out in the 1990s, many immigrant young women used the media to reconstruct principles of heterosexuality in regards to their physical appearance, gendered goals of marriage, and maturity. However, in Durham's analysis, she argues that such representations of femininity are restrictive and unrealistic and they focus on physical beauty that is virtually unattainable (Durham 1999; and Durham 2004). Durham (1999) concludes that as young immigrant people grow older this need to fit in and be accepted becomes more salient, and many non-White female immigrant youth turn to the media and other peer networks as a resource for the development of their identity.

Many immigrant girls receive convincing messages from their new host community about acceptable notions of their physical appearance and how their gendered identity should be constructed based on the color of their skin, and their physical features (Durham 1999). Furthermore, Durham (1999) in her research argues that in Western society individuals with darker pigmentation can be seen as hypersexualized beings as a result of being cast as the "Other" (Durham 1999). This becomes problematic because simultaneously being "cast as hypersexed objects of desire and wholly undesirable objects of revulsion, their presence is influenced by both erotic desire and racist contempt" (Durham 2004: 144). For example, Durham's (1999) case study explores notions of how Western society's expectations of

immigrant sexual identity work in relation to broader discourses of adolescent female sexuality. Race, then, inhibits their social mobility because many immigrant young women are typecast to fit the role of the "Other" because of their skin color and gender. Durham's (1999) work in the southwestern United States argues that the wider American society via media and other external sources suggest that South Asian immigrant young women are sexual beings and must engage in erotic notions of sexuality, as a result of their darker skin color. The many forms of media, and the new host community offer the elements out of which individuals are influenced to form and perform their subjectivity. Through the literature in this section I have demonstrated how the social construction of race and gender and other social factors shape immigrant young women's subjectivities.

iv. Nationality/ National Affiliation: Canada

Immigrant youths often have difficulties in expressing their current national identity (Henry and Tator 2010; Sardinha 2011; Shahsiah 2006). Scholars such as Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb (2015), Desai and Subramanian (2003), Garcea (2008), and Shahsiah (2006) argue that national positioning is often frustrating for many non-White immigrant youth from various countries like Africa, China, India, and the Middle East because they are constantly told by the dominant Anglo-Canadian society that they are different and outside of "Canadianness". This space of difference can create a barrier to potential claims to a new nation (Sardinha 2011). In a cultural geographic study done in Toronto, Canada by Shahsiah (2006), she explains that when foreign-born, non-White immigrant youth were asked by strangers and the general public, where they were from, they became frustrated. Shahsiah argues, "being asked to self-identify by strangers in effect was a question of self-categorization and being forced into a box" (2006: 23). Consequently, the immigrant youth from Shahsiah's (2006) study consider themselves citizens of

Canada, and, thus, they define themselves as Canadians, but only when they have to tick a box for governmental forms or for citizenship purposes. They often will not, however, openly call themselves Canadians, whether they consider themselves Canadians or not despite their official citizenship (Shahsiah 2006). Even though, as Shahsiah (2006) has argued, many foreign-born, non-White immigrant youths in her study consider themselves Canadian, they are not convinced that they can use this as a public identifier. These individuals do not think they have the right or the authority to use Canadian as part of their identity, they equate Canadian with Whiteness, distinguishing themselves as immigrants from "them", the Canadians (Shahsiah 2006: 44). For example, when asked about their nationality, they conceptualize being Canadian as a privilege; a privilege given to those that were born in Canada (Sardinha 2011; Shahsiah 2006). Furthermore, in the body of research by Shahsiah (2006), they found that many immigrant youths found it difficult to call themselves Canadian because naming themselves Canadian implied a sense of belonging, and, although they did consider some part of themselves as Canadian, most did not feel that they have the right to call themselves Canadian because of their "other" status in Canadian society (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Moosa 2012).

Shahsiah's (2006) study in Toronto with foreign-born, non-White immigrant youth who immigrated from various different countries like India, China, Mexico, and Pakistan addresses how youths identify themselves as Canadian when it is to their advantage (Shahsiah 2006). In Shahsiah's (2006) study of foreign-born, non-White immigrant youth growing up in the Toronto area, a number of research participants explained that many would call themselves Canadian if they were traveling abroad. Shahsiah (2006; 44) also argues that there is another notion of immigrants being Canadian, that of the "essence" of "Canadianness." "Canadianness" means that immigrants adhere to what indicators or characteristics they associate with Canadian nationality.

In other words, being Canadian is actually a subjective identity, and many immigrants feel that this is open to interpretation. Shahsiah (2006) says that the onus of the interpretation is placed on the individual and they distinguish between being and becoming Canadian. The youth in the study also made a distinction between becoming Canadian and being Canadian, the crux of which was whether a person was born in Canada (Sardhina 2011; Shahsiah 2006). Many immigrants in the Toronto study admitted their Canadian status, but did not agree that they felt "Canadian-Canadian", since "Canadian-Canadian" refers to a person born in Canada (Shahsiah 2006: 28). However, this too is a complex label because even when youth are born in Canada but have immigrant parents, they still do not consider themselves rid of their immigrant identity so they are never truly "Canadian-Canadian." According to Shahsiah (2006) being Canadian was described in inclusive ways, through detached notions of loyalty, legality, citizenship status, ancestry, ethnicity, or place of birth. Other scholars have raised this issue. According to Shahsiah (2006), based on her research with foreign-born and non-White immigrant youth in Toronto, Canada to "become Canadian" is only possible when newcomers are accepting of and accepted by the dominant society. Specific to Canada, immigration scholars note that Anglo-Canadian core culture, who determines who is accepted, is determined by Whiteness (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Sardinha 2011; Shahsiah 2006). Hence, identity formation then is also influenced through these notions of acceptance and belonging, immigrant youth have limited choice in determining where they belong because it is already determined for them by the dominant White core culture in Canada.

As this literature shows, the intersections of race, gender, culture, and nationality play a fundamental role on identity formation among immigrant youth from different countries like

India, China, Africa, and the Middle East, as these youth negotiate and express a range of racial, gendered, cultural, and national identities.

v. Nationality/ National Affiliation: United States

According to one study carried out in the United States with youth from China and Hong Kong, Chinese and Hmong immigrant youth who migrated to North Carolina in the United States had difficulties expressing identity in terms of nationality, national affiliation, and national identity. In this study of Chinese and Hmong immigrants who have settled in North Carolina, Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni (2011) suggest that ethic and national labelling for immigrant youth is an influence of the geographical setting in which they reside. Labelling includes a number of factors. For example, the social reception of the immigrant's receiving community, racial discrimination in and around the community and at school, and ethnic diversity of the community, are all factors that can structure Hmong and Chinese immigrant youths daily experiences and fundamentally shape the way that youth define themselves (Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni 2011). In the United States immigrant populations have primarily settled in population-dense metropolitan cities where resources for immigrants may be readily available (Kiang et al. 2011). North Carolina as a settlement site is diverse in nature, which ensures to some extent a normative claim to multi-national/ multifaceted forms of ethic identification, as a result the Hmong and Chinese immigrant youth may feel freedom to use a combination of ethic and national labels (Kiang et al. 2011). These immigrant youths may be inclined to use a multinational, multifaceted or even hyphenated forms of identification. Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni (2011) argue that those who settle in densely populated areas and where immigrant communities have established themselves have a variety of resources available to them during the integration process. In contrast, immigrant youth who migrate to areas without diversity may

have an adverse experience. As a result, due to the loneliness of being an ethnic minority, youth's ethnic status may be more noticeable in communities where immigrants have not previously resided (Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni 2011; Phinney 2003). Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni's (2011) case study of Chinese and Hmong immigrants who have settled in North Carolina, a new immigrant receiving state, shows how the youths used their heritage and home country's labels reflective of their ethnic background rather than American ones. Furthermore, Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni (2011) argue that Chinese and Hong Kong youths who settled in low immigrant population-dense towns or rural areas were affected by immigration because of limited resources and infrastructure to support immigrant youths' integration into these non-traditional immigrant receiving communities.

Generational differences can also influence immigrant youth identification. The study of youth from China and Hong Kong living in North Carolina show how age and generation influence immigrants' choice of labels (Kiang, Perreira, and Fuligni 2011). First generation, also known as foreign born youth, were likely to use birth country labels or other ethnic heritage labels to identify themselves. Second or third generation immigrants, born in the United States, used multi-ethnic or hyphenated labels that mixed ethnic identity along with U.S. identity (Kiang et al. 2011).

Chinese and Hong Kong immigrant youth in North Carolina, United States, were repeatedly asked by schools or governments to think about who they are in terms of their national and ethnic selves in the form of official documentation (Kiang et al. 2011). When asked to complete official documents for school or to translate for parents for visa or other governmental documents, youth had to think about the different ethnic labels that best defined themselves according to specific guidelines (Kiang et al. 2011). Furthermore, in the United

States people are given only one box to select when filling out these official documents, this influenced their ethnic identity and attachment to the United States because they are often forced to choose a box that blatantly identifies that they are different from the accepted majority or they have to choose a box that they do not necessarily agree with. Kiang, Perreira and Fuligni (2011), suggest that identity for immigrant youth is also influenced by official United States national discourse on where and how immigrant youth are supposed to fit within the racial and ethnic hierarchy of the country.

Social Processes and Subjectivity:

A number of social processes influence a person's sense of self and expression of identity. I discuss three major social processes encountered by immigrant youth as documented by anthropologists and other scholars.

i. Attending School:

Attending school plays a large role in immigrant youths' lives. School serves as a major place outside of the home for the development and initial formulation of beliefs, ideas, and thoughts regarding subjectivity (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Interactions with peers and others in school settings can be the first social interactions outside of their family/community where immigrant young people come to understand themselves as different and encounter discrimination based on a myriad of factors, such as language limitations, skin colour, gender, racial origins, ethnic background, or cultural practices (Keaton 2006; Shahsiah 2006; Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Reynolds and Orellana 2009). Because school is an extension of the state, it is the site for the imposition and amplification of the dominant migration culture (Bourdieu 1977; Keaton 2006), exposing racialized youth to ethnic jokes, racial slurs, threats, harassment, and physical assault (Lee 2005; Shahsiah 2006). The school system often excludes

the realities of many immigrant young people. Demeaning stereotypes are perpetuated, causing immigrant youth to lose faith in the school system's capability to help them battle discrimination and difference (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Keaton 2006). Peer groups from similar cultural, racial, and ethnic backgrounds can create a sense of belonging (Janzen and Ochocka 2003). Shahsiah (2006) argues that school is one place where individuals make a distinction between "us" (immigrants) and "them" (dominant society). Many immigrant young feel the need to use these as terms of separation (Shahsiah 2006). Yet the act of self-identifying and the imposition of an identity are distinct, and how others perceive them may be different than their own self-image (Kallen 2003; Shahsiah 2006). Immigrant youth want agency in identity construction (Phinney and Rotheram 1987).

ii. Addressing Race, Racism, and Racialization:

Scholars like Thomas and Clarke (2013) and Hage (2011) suggest that not only is race socially constructed, it is influenced by space, place, and racial hierarchies. The social construction of race is to describe patterns of physical and genetic difference among people (Satzewich 1998). Accordingly, race and racial difference emerged as a consequence to 16th century economic transformations that created what is now known as the modern West (Thomas and Clarke 2013; 308). Although race as a scientific category has been debunked, it is symbolically and socially significant especially when immigrant youth are bombarded with ideas of where they fit and do not fit as a result of their skin color and other phenotypic differences (Hall 1996; Henry and Tator 2010; Satzewich 1998). Race is an important divider in Canadian and American society alike, and it influences significant inequalities and social relations (Henry and Tator 2010). Thomas and Clarke (2013; 306) suggest that there are complex ways in which people understand or perform their racial identities by "mobilizing knowledges gleaned both from the particularities

of their local circumstances and from the range of ideas and practices that circulate within their public spheres". Thus, racial distinctions are embedded in social life when the racial "Other" is conceptualized (Thomas and Clarke 2013). Hage (2011) argues that the symbolic structure of society in Canada, the United States, and Europe has a place for those Othered defined by negative characteristics. Negative characteristics for non-White populations include being labelled as dirty, lazy, and unsophisticated (Hage 2011). Being the "Other" in Canadian and American society has influenced the spaces that non-White immigrant young people occupy because they are limited in the power to name themselves freely as they have already been placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy (Thomas and Clarke 2013; 312).

Canada and the U.S. are societies in which social race comes to justify and clarify existing divisions of difference (Henry and Tator 2010; Keaton 2006). In other words, racialized barriers explain how colour consciousness operates in the subordination of people based on their racial background (Keaton 2006). Racism is grounded in a belief about the real and natural division of human populations into discrete races (Satzewich 1998). Anthropologists define racism as a set of beliefs and practices predicated on the invalid assumption that some human populations are innately superior to others and that human groups can be ranked in accordance with presumed superiority or inferiority (Kallen 2003).

Post-migration to Canada and the United States many non-White immigrants have to endure discriminatory labels based on their skin colour and racial background. Canadian society along with American society contributes and continues to use such labels as "visible minority" "aliens" and "people of color" based on ethno-cultural characteristics that are perceived to differ in undesirable ways from dominant British-Canadian and American norms (Kallen 2003). Anthropologists and sociologists acknowledge that racialized categorizations of immigrants are

socially constructed on the basis of various combinations of physical, cultural, and behavioral criteria (Kallen 2003; Keaton 2006). These two disciplines are concerned with how such labels and categorizations influence people's perceptions of themselves and how these labels and categorizations explain and address such social constructs. Anthropologists and sociologists are particularly drawn to symbolic struggles over classification and representations indicative of identity politics and they are able to acknowledge that discursive practices of identification, labeling, and classification construct notions of difference and Otherness, which many immigrant youth/young people have to deal with post-migration (Keaton 2006).

In recent years, there has been a push in anthropological and sociological academia to move away from such discriminatory labels of visible minority and people of colour to a more approved term of racialization or racialized people (Kallen 2003; Vasquez 2010). According to Vasquez, racialization refers to at least two processes. First, racialization refers to the belief that differences in skin colour or other racially implicit characteristics explain social differences (Vasquez 2010). Second, racialization refers to the practice of imposing racial assignments on others and linking those racial attributions with differential expectations and value assessments (Vasquez 2010).

Anthropologists are interested in the process of racialization, more specifically looking at the explanation of group boundaries and identities by reference to the term "race" (Satzewich 1998). This anthropological perspective is useful when looking at identity for Indo-Fijian immigrant young women because experiences of racism and racialization are relevant to many immigrant youth identity. Satzewhich (1998) has looked at the ways in which immigrant youth/young people in Canada have adopted an identity, whether externally imposed or self-defined or a combination, that revolved around characteristics such as skin colour that reflects a

process of racialization. As the racial "Other" in multicultural societies, racialized youth have to fight for validity (Hage 2011). Addressing race, racism, and racialization directly relates to experiences of the research participants and how they experience and deal with discrimination and prejudice as immigrants in Canada and the United States.

i. Intergenerational Expectations for Young Immigrant Women:

This section delves into intergenerational conflict that arises as a result of immigration. From a sociological perspective Zhou's (1997) research of non-White immigrant youth in the United States, argues that migration presents a clash between social worlds, especially for young people. Immigrant youth experiences with alienation, racism, difference, and belonging are different from those of their immigrant parents (Rajiva 2005; Zhou 1997). Rajiva (2005) in her study with racialized immigrants in Canada argues that the primary explanation for intergeneration difference is that parents arrive in a context of difference, whereas their children grow up in a context of difference. Many racialized immigrant youth's identities are more fragile and more susceptible for confusion because they experience difficulties in belonging because they struggle with issues of racism, exclusion, and prejudices (Rajiva 2005). Rajiva (2005), and Zhou (1997) stress that most often immigrant children quickly become non-traditional, moving away from their birth culture or parent's culture as they adapt to North American norms their parents cannot keep up with. According to Desai and Subramanian (2003) with their research with South Asian immigrant youth in the greater Toronto area, this adaptation produces a fear in parents that their children will become too non-traditional and not abide by their homeland/ ethic cultural norms. The relationship between parents and children becomes stressful because parents want children to retain the homeland culture and traditions while their children are trying to understand the mainstream culture and trying to fit in (Berrol 1995).

As mentioned above, according to Henry and Tator (2010), Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) immigration is a gendered process and there is a pertinent layer of gendered influences to one's identity. For example, Asian and South Asian immigrant young women often encounter more difficulties within their home and with family post-migration, which leads to different models of social interaction and participation in Canada and the United States (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007).

Desai and Subramanian (2003), Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) suggest that construction of patriarchy post-migration not only continues for many Asian and South Asian immigrant adults, but it is reproduced in the lives of immigrant young people, as well. This concept often creates intergenerational tension within the "home" where double standards exist between male and female young people (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Here, the home refers to one's private family dwelling where parents, grandparents, siblings, cousins, and/or aunts and uncles reside and share their daily lives. Generally, in South Asian Indian/ Indo-Fijian cultures, the women of the family are expected to be the caretakers of the home, made up of predominantly heterosexual married couples and their children (Bannerji 2000; Desai and Subramanian 2003). As a result, parents are more concerned about their daughters adhering to homeland cultural values and customs than their sons. In fact, women's responsibilities as cultural custodians increase upon migration (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Moosa 2012 Rayaprol 1997). Consequently, the issues regarding intergenerational conflicts between parents and youth are more common in female youth/ young people (Desai and Subramanian 2003). As immigrant many youths grow older, gendered family dynamics impose different constraints on young women's activities outside of the home (Orellana 2009). While immigrant male youths are often given more opportunities and freedom to discover life outside of the home, female youths'

social activities are usually under careful scrutiny by parents (Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Problems arise when young immigrant women realize the double standards that are apparent and they understand that not all cultures, especially their North American culture, adhere to the same cultural notions about socio-cultural reproduction being the women's responsibility (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). Often extreme insistence and adherence to culture and tradition is a reflection of power in Canada/U.S. rather than something intrinsic in the culture of origin or its traditions (Desai and Subramanian 2003). From a community development perspective, Desai and Subramanian (2003) argue that notions of North American cultural values and norms are pitted against those of the origin culture, particularly in response to power relations and the threat of losing the origin culture's identity (Desai and Subramanian 2003). In other words, immigrant parents are essentially reacting to threats of cultural eradication, and, as a result, they become more controlling and impose increasing demands primarily on their daughters (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) reaffirm this notion and suggest that many immigrant families are concerned about passing on their traditions, norms, and culture to their children and daughters are often expected to preserve these norms and practices for future generations.

However, South Asian and Asian immigrant parents are reacting to more than just cultural eradication. In particular, the notion that sons and daughters are created differently and, consequently, should assume different responsibilities, is one that resonates with parents. Consequently, as mentioned previously, young women in the family are seen as the custodians of homeland culture and traditions, the expression and participation of sexual activity and sexual relationships are prohibited and are another reason why such controls are enforced by authority figures within the family (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Anisef, Kilbride, and Khattar 2003; Desai

and Subramanian 2003; Durham 2004; Shahidian 1999). Parents exercise a great deal of control over their daughters' sexual activity by policing activities that they deem to be sexual in nature, and, in particular, activities that may threaten their daughter's virginity (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Durham 2004; Keaton 2006). Such activities may include but are not limited to: attending slumber parties, having male friends, hanging out with friends, attending school dances, and dating. In Durham's (2004) socio-cultural anthropological study of South Asian immigrant girls in a small town in the United States, she notes that preservation of Indian culture, tradition, heritage, and honor are tied to the women heirs of the family and the assurance of her chastity. Keaton (2006), like Durham (2004), in her anthropological study with African Muslim female immigrant girls growing up in France, highlights that issues of sexuality caused the most conflict in intergenerational relations because any misconduct in this area may undermine the family's values. "In immigrant traditions, a girl, like a boy, represents the family, but the girl represents the family's honor" (Keaton 2006: 172). Resulting in the regulation of female sexuality as it becomes a main preoccupation of male and elder family members, which is influenced by, gendered norms of mobility and sociality (Keaton 2006; Shahidian 1999). Stritikus and Nguyen (2007) suggest that the emphasis on female chastity by parents of immigrant young women is a method to resist the demands of the mainstream society and to reaffirm their self-worth in the face of racial, class, and gendered subordination. However, as this is a means to counter their own cultural norms from those of the mainstream culture, it actually attaches young immigrant women to traditional patriarchal practices (Stritikus and Nguyen 2007).

Education (Orellana 2009) and psychological (Suarez-Orozco and Todorova 2003) viewpoints suggest that even when activities are not overtly gendered, they may become gendered because of the nature of the strong gender component in family relationships. Young

women in an immigrant household may play many roles associated with social reproduction or regeneration (Durham 2004), such as translator, childcare provider, and/or household caretaker and may feel obligated to do chores and understand themselves as helping out the entire family by doing so (Lee 2005; Orellana 2009; Suarez-Orozco and Todorova 2003). Still, many of these young women are discontent when it comes to gendered expectations, and this influences their position post-migration (Lee 2005).

Parents try to control what their daughters do outside of the home, whereas many of these young women feel that at school and in and around their community they are able to exercise their "freedoms." Freedom, in this context, represents everything that the home life does not. Defined, freedom entails being able to socialize, having friends of the opposite sex, dating, being able to hang out with friends after school and on weekends, attending school functions such as dances and camping trips, attending friend's parties, and/or being able to have or attend sleep-overs (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Some immigrant young women, then, see the apparent freedoms offered by North American cultural norms while others feel the pull to negotiate and create a reality that is inclusive and non-controversial (Desai and Subramanian 2003). In other words, immigrant young women negotiate aspects of their homeland culture, but still feel the need and want to take part in the host county's cultural norms.

The study conducted by Desai and Subramanian (2003) on South Asian immigrant youths in Toronto is important when researching parallels to my own research because they focus and address many of the same questions and issues that surround Indo-Fijian immigrant youth in Vancouver and Sacramento. Desai and Subramanian (2003) argue that it is vital to understand the gap that exists between mainstream socio-cultural values in relation to power as experienced by immigrant parents and their realities in Canada and the United States. According to Desai and

Subramanian (2003) immigrant parents are bombarded with external forces of dominance by the host nation and continually have to legitimize their values (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2003). Immigrant young women, then, must negotiate and create a new reality that is inclusive of both because they are reacting to the dominance enforced by their parents as well as societal structures of dominance (Desai and Subramanian 2003).

As mentioned briefly, dating is not allowed and controlled because in South Asian immigrant cultures dating is not accepted by the parents because "dating" does not exist in the culture that the parents come from (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Rajiva 2005). For example, in their study of Tamil migrants to Toronto, Canada, Morrison, Guruge and Snarr (1999) acknowledge that for young immigrant women dating was absent until their exposure to Canadian norms of dating and going out. However, since coming to Canada dating was a significant occurrence for these young women (Morrison, Guruge and Snarr 1999). Desai and Subramanian (2003) argue that parents do not support the idea of their daughters dating because it symbolizes an erosion of cultural values, parents deem it as an act of wildness supported by North American culture. In Canada and the United States, youth is a period for discovery, identity building, and curiosity and these practices and process that Canadian and American society take for granted (i.e. dating, drinking, parties, dances, and wearing certain types of clothes) are frowned upon and actively prohibited by South Asian immigrant parents and guardians (Rajiva 2005). But immigrant children attending school in Canada and the United States are exposed to dating for recreation, to find someone for the future, and love marriages, thus South Asian immigrant parents fear that their children might not only select their own mates but also might choose someone from a different ethno-cultural, racial, or religious background (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Immigrant parents fear that if their children find a mate that does

not come from their homeland that their cultural norms, values, and expectations will not be passed down to the next generation. The fear once again for parents is that their children will lose their ethno-cultural identity because they are constantly exposed to the norms and expectations of the host culture (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Rajiva 2005). Hence, the immense control parents place on their children is a reaction to these fears as to what dating will lead to.

Immigrant youths vary on a number of dimensions: in their origins, where they come from, how long they have been in North America, the nature of the community in which they currently reside, and the degree of contact they have with their home country (Suarez-Orozco and Todorova 2003). These differences matter in how parents raise their children in North America (Suarez-Orozco and Todorova 2003). Immigrant children have many family obligations because their aid is necessary for the success of their entire family trying to adjust to new societal demands. Here I discussed parental expectations regarding cultural and gendered norms, in the next section I will be discussing parental expectations regarding education.

Educational Achievements:

In this section I examine the literature on parental expectations of their immigrant children in regards to their education, language barriers for immigrant young people post migration, and the difficulties of fitting in at school for young immigrant women in their new host country.

i. Parental Expectations

Parents of immigrant children understand that one of the main benefits in coming to Canada or the United States is the educational opportunities available for their children (Abada, Hou and Ram 2009; Desai and Subramanian 2003; Dyson 2005; Lee 2005; Rumbaut 1997). Dyson (2005) notes that parents realize the academic benefits for their children and many parents have aspirations for their children to earn advanced degrees. Immigrant parents realize that completing

high school and going beyond high school to university is critical to live a better quality of life (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001). “Formal schooling has become a high-stakes goal for the children of immigrants. For many of them, schooling, is nearly the only ticket for a better tomorrow” (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001: 124).

Immigrant youth sometimes have different perspectives on migration than their parents. As Jasso (1997) discusses, we expect children of migration to be passive receivers of the environment that they are exposed to by their parents. However, immigrant youths’ vision is influenced by a number of life interactions (Walters, Phythian, and Anisef 2007). For example, if an immigrant young person migrated at a later stage in life they clearly notice they are different, and this realization makes an impact on their lives (Walters, Phythian, and Anisef 2007).

ii. Language:

Attending school plays a large role in an immigrant youth’s life. These young people already face a number of pressures, both from their family and the new society in which they live (Desai and Subramanian 2003). One pressure that they experience is from their teachers (Lee 2005). Teachers label students with titles like “good” or “bad” student. Teachers see the students who are “good” as students who are enrolled in more difficult classes and have a pro-school attitude, as ones who do not challenge the school culture, structure, and who are friendly with other staff members and students (Lee 2005). Lee (2005) notes that these labels reveal a bias towards White students and that immigrant students are rarely put in the “good” student category because they are still learning English or the current school norms. Teachers are not always sensitive to these challenges and often view immigrant students as lazy, less intelligent, and more susceptible to getting into trouble (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001).

Language, especially, poses particular problems for immigrant youths. Van Tubergen (2006: 147) acknowledges that the acquisition of a second language is a dynamic process, "immigrant groups enter their destination with a certain amount of skills in the second language, they gradually learn the language, and they ultimately reach a certain level of proficiency". Lee (2005) and Suarez-Orozco and Todorova (2003) in their research suggest that English is often a second language for many immigrant youth, and while in school these individuals are usually directed to English as a second language (ESL) classes. There is a stigma that surrounds the ESL programs that is projected onto many immigrant students (Lee 2005). Many teachers think that individuals enrolled in the ESL classes are usually part of the "bad" student category, because the individuals are not academically adjusted. Suarez-Orozco and Todorova (2003) argue that this attitude is because many educators do not understand the needs of the immigrant child.

iii. Fitting In:

The school setting and interactions with school peers are where immigrant youths first experience being different (Hynie, Guruge, Shakya 2012; Shahsiah 2006). Many immigrant young people are self-conscious around individuals their age, and they do not want to be solely judged by their external appearance (Shahsiah 2006). In addition, immigrant youth's self-image may be in contrast to how others perceive them (Shahsiah 2006). In other words, how they view themselves may not be how others view them. Shahsiah (2006) argues that school is one place where individuals make a distinction between "us" and "them". As discussed earlier, for many immigrant youths "us" usually signifies only immigrants and "them" the dominant society. Many immigrants make this distinction because they hold a kind of differentiated sense of self-consciousness, they feel the need to use these as terms of separation (Shahsiah 2006

Desai and Subramanian (2003), studying immigrants in Canada, discuss that young women have different challenges in fitting in at school than do boys. Girls face challenges of being accepted by their own cultural group as well as the dominant cultural (White) group, whereas boys show that they come together regardless of their inherent diversity (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Desai and Subramanian (2003) suggest that young immigrant women who have been in Canada longer strive extremely hard to fit in with peers that are not from their own cultural group. These girls fear that if they support new immigrants coming into their group that they may be shunned by their current non-immigrant group, because of this fear, girls oftentimes are not willing to fraternize with other immigrant young women (Desai and Subramanian 2003). In consequence, many of these girls might be seen by their own immigrant peers as acquiring some kind of pseudo-White status (Desai and Subramanian 2003).

Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) suggest that there are two distinct forms of adaptation for young people, psychological adaptation and socio-cultural adaptation (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder 2006). Defined, psychological adaptation is the degree to which an individual is satisfied with their life and their self-esteem (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder 2006). Socio-cultural adaptation is how an individual adjusts to school, how they feel about going to school, and how they adjust to their new culture (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder 2006). According to Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) female immigrant youths have poor psychological adaptation, as they are generally unhappy with life satisfaction, have low self-esteem, and have psychological problems as they display more symptoms of psychological distress in terms of depression and anxiety. However, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) suggest that many young immigrant women have better socio-cultural adaptation than their male counterparts, because they adjust better to school in terms of academics and going to school.

There are two general outcomes when young immigrant women attend school in Canada and the United States (Lee 2005). I am not suggesting that there are only two main outcomes, there may be others and my research with Indo-Fijian young immigrant women in Canada and the United States will explore this notion but for the purposes of this literature review I will be discussing the aforementioned outcomes as it is what's dominant in the literature. Lee (2005) argues that many young immigrant women are confronted with the choice of whether to adapt to their host culture or to remain faithful to their homeland culture. Lee (2005) also notes that this decision is reflected in all aspects of their school life, home life, and community life. Traditional immigrant youths are defined as having preserved their cultures, and non-traditional immigrant youths are defined as individuals who have lost their culture (Lee 2005). Desai and Subramanian (2003) and Lee (2005) suggest that educators view the immigrant youths who adapt, on the non-traditional youths as being the best outcome, whereas the parents view their children who remain traditional as a positive outcome. Parents want their daughters to remain traditional because they consider those individuals to be respectful and obey their parents, and it will keep them out of trouble (Keaton 2006; Lee 2005). Lee (2005) contends that traditional girls follow parental rules and expectations and they follow their parents' lead in only selectively adapting to the host country's cultural norms. Traditional girls, however, face the additional stress of dealing with the dominant culture's characterization of their homeland culture as problematic (Lee 2005).

In this section I borrow from Lee (2005) with her research in the United States and Desai and Subramanian (2003) with their research in Canada. According to Lee (2005) immigrant young women who are categorized as non-traditional attempt to distance themselves from the foreigner image. They recognize the process of adaptation as requiring and achieving social distance from their traditional culture (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Lee 2005). For example,

non-traditional young immigrant women, may attempt to alter their dress code to that of mainstream society in an effort to fit in and be accepted (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Lee 2005). They wear make-up and color their hair, and even sometimes wear colored contact lenses to appear white in their appearance (Lee 2005). Non-traditional girls also believe that it is their decision and only theirs when it comes to selecting a partner for marriage (Lee 2005: 103). Still, Lee (2005: 103) notes that within the group of non-traditional girls that she studied, there was a split. One subset only changed their appearances; they still obeyed their parents, performed household chores, and took care of their younger siblings (Lee 2005). This group still followed their parents' expectations and took their education seriously, but only occasionally questioned notions of their homeland cultural norms (Lee 2005). The second group within the non-traditional immigrant female group is the "over-non-traditional" (Lee 2005). These girls not only changed their physical appearance but also resisted their parents and their authority as well as their homeland cultural gender norms (Lee 2005). Lee (2005) argues that these individuals want gender equality and want to be treated with the same respect as their brothers and other male counterparts, who in their homeland cultures are typically entitled to a lot more freedom.

This section highlights the struggles that are involved in educational achievements and expectations young immigrant women endure as immigrants, where cultural values and norms may differ from their homeland culture, school can be a source to excel academically, while simultaneously trying to figure out where one belongs in this socially constructed environment.

Chapter Conclusion:

This literature review chapter has been an overview of the available literature out there on immigrant youth in Canada and the United States and is the base to which I start my own research and present my own findings in regards to the specific experiences of immigration for

young Indo-Fijian women. Although, I have attempted to address the literature available on immigration and youth it is not inclusive of all the academic literature available as that would be an unachievable task. The literature that I have included highlights the main issues associated with immigrant youth's experiences of migration.

Chapter Four. Methods

School and ESL: My Own Experience

While there was much diversity when I grew up in east Vancouver, the diversity did not translate into my everyday lived reality. I always felt like people didn't understand me or they were able to fit me into a box however they wished, my teachers in particular. I always felt like my kindergarten teacher was a horrible person because she never gave me the time to explain myself. She would interrupt me and was, in general, a rude person. I resented her very early on because English is my second language and Fijian Hindi is my first. I understood English and was able to speak, but, often, it would take me a moment to translate in my head from Hindi to English to be able to respond to her questions. She did not allow me the time to translate and respond. Rather, she assumed I was quiet or, worse, not willing or able to answer her.

One day at school we were having a brussels sprouts tasting day. I had never had them before and was a bit nervous about what they were. I asked my parents the night before if I was allowed to eat them. My mom assured me it was a vegetable and okay to eat. The next day at school, my class lined up in alphabetical order to get our brussels sprouts. Since my last name started with an 'A' I was the first one. My teacher asked if I wanted cheese on my brussels sprout, which was unexpected. I took a few moments too long to answer, and she dismissed me without cheese and started serving the next person.

Without cheese, the brussels sprouts tasted like feet to me and I was unable to finish. Years later I was having dinner at a friend's house and they had brussels sprouts as a side dish with cheese, I gave it another try and it was actually good. If my kindergarten teacher only gave me the time and opportunity or if she had the cultural sensitivity that I wished she had to let me decide without dismissing me, I would have had a different opinion and a positive experience.

The treatment that I received from my kindergarten teacher was common throughout my first elementary school, with the exception of my grade one teacher. My grade one teacher, Mrs. Smith, was a sweet elderly woman who took the time out to listen to me and understand my needs. We had a spell-a-thon that year at school where we received a list of words to learn and people monetarily pledged us on the number of words they thought we would be able spell correctly. The day came for the spell-a-thon test and I had studied hard. I had learnt all 25 words and was confident I would be able to spell each one correctly. Once we were done the test, we were to take the test over to Mrs. Smith for her to review. She reviewed my test, and then looked up at me and asked me if I was sure I wanted to hand it in. I, then, looked over my test and noticed a silly mistake I had made. I said, "no," and she smiled and gave me back my test to make the necessary correction.

This level of attention and understanding, however, was not experienced with my grade four teacher. From the first few weeks in her class, I came to realize she thought the extra attention I needed from her was a burden, and, as a result, she put me in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes (despite my fluency in English). Because I had gone through kindergarten, grade one, grade two, and grade three in regular classes without a problem, I thought it was bizarre to be placed suddenly in a ESL class. She automatically assumed that I had a problem speaking English! I remember feeling embarrassed each time I had to leave my classroom to go into the ESL classroom because everyone knew where I was going. I felt that people thought I did not understand English or that I was unintelligent. For the most part, I remember being in the class and not understanding why I was there. The words that we were learning I already knew, I could recognize them, put them in context, and spell them. I soon realized that I did not belong in that class. I thought, perhaps I did need an ESL class but not the

one I was currently in, maybe I needed an advanced ESL class. This issue was not addressed throughout the rest of my time in ESL.

I stayed in the ESL class until I was half way through grade four when I transferred schools. Obviously, being put in ESL caused many negative issues and emotions. ESL has a certain stigma attached, and I felt the program hindered me at school. Instead of ESL being beneficial for me, it became problematic in that it distanced me from mainstream school, making it even more difficult to fit in.

Trying to explain this now, I believe my teacher had subjected me to racism or prejudice. I had a number of older cousins at that school and all of them who had that teacher were required to take ESL classes, and those that did not have her for a teacher, ESL was not mandatory. Furthermore, I believe my mum thought it was a case of racism as well, I did not learn about this until years later when my mum expressed to my teacher that she thought I did not belong in that class. My grade four teacher told her that not only did I belong in ESL but she thought my older sister did as well. Mind you, this teacher had no academic interaction with my sister as she never taught her. My mum told me that she exchanged some words with her and transferred us to a new elementary school. In my new elementary school, I was not required to take ESL classes.

Lack of Representation in Academic Literature:

This research endeavor was inspired by my own experiences of immigrating as a child to Canada and, later on in my adult life, to the United States. These experiences always made me think that I was different because of my skin color, because of the languages I spoke, and because of my parents' expectations of me. Therefore, it may come as no surprise that when I was admitted into graduate school, first for a master's degree and later for a doctorate, I decided my research topic

would be the experiences of first-generation and second-generation Indo-Fijian young women in Canada and the United States.

I soon realized that there was a shortage of Indo-Fijian young immigrants' voices in anthropology. Outside of a few sources, such as Buchignani's (1980, 1983, 1987) work concentrates on the social and self-identities of Fijian Indians in Vancouver and Voigt-Graf's (2008), work investigating the relationships of Indo-Fijians to their ancestral homeland, both in Fiji and following their secondary migration to Australia. Aside from these there is a general lack of Indo-Fijian immigrant youth representation. Although, Indo-Fijian socio-culture has its origins in diverse Indian roots it has also incorporated unique features influenced by aspects of Native-Fijian life or essentially the oceanic way of life, in areas such as food and even the unique dialect of spoken Hindi (Pande 2011). I believe Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's experiences and voices will lend important insights to the anthropological record and academic literature.

Methods:

Auto-Ethnography and the Insider Approach:

In this section I define auto-ethnography, its importance and how it can be used to strengthen anthropological research. I also address the benefits of an insider approach to anthropological research. I rely heavily on Coffey (1999), Denshire (2006), Reed-Danahay (1997), Young and Meneley (2005) who all write about auto-ethnography as an essential method of reflexivity in anthropological research and writing. Auto-ethnography is a type of autobiographical personal narrative in which one examines one's own life in order to depict a way of life; it connects the personal world with one's cultural world (Denshire 2006). Anthropological auto-ethnography as a method refers to a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context and asks an

individual to think ethnographically about the discipline and the research they conduct (Reed-Danahay 1997; Young and Meneley 2005).

Auto-ethnography is also referred to as "life writing" as it tells about a culture while simultaneously telling about a life where the anthropologist is the autobiographical subject (Reed- Danahay 1997). Auto-ethnography, then, combines both ethnography and autobiography (Reed- Danahay 1997). In this approach auto-ethnography requires the integration of one's own life experience (the researcher) with the experiences of other individuals in the ethnography (the researcher's research participants) (Reed- Danahay 1997). As a method of autobiography, auto-ethnography oftentimes includes confessional stories (Coffey 1999). According to Coffey, "The confessional has been coined as a mode of ethnographic representation that emphasizes the writing of the self into the process of research" (Coffey 1999: 116). In my dissertation I will be bringing in my own experiences and reflections into this form of research data.

Auto-ethnography is an innovative genre of anthropological writing which allows the anthropologist to step back and examine their research as it places the anthropologist within the research they conduct. It allows for reflexivity which is an important aspect of anthropological writing (Langness and Frank 1981; Young and Meneley 2005). Often this reflexivity becomes a fundamental part of the research one does as an insider (Colic-Peisker 2004). With the post-modern critique the objective observer position of standard ethnography was questioned. Auto-ethnography arose as an answer to those critiques and generated "a renewed interest in personal narrative, in life history, and in autobiography among anthropologists" (Reed- Danahay 1997:2). An auto-ethnographer in anthropology is one who crosses boundaries that may not have been done in the past (Reed-Danahay 1997). By using the insider approach the anthropologist is able to understand the informants because they share similar backgrounds, languages, and culture.

This approach allows the anthropologist to put themselves into the data by incorporating observations and experiences in the field (Ghodsee 2016). The concept of auto-ethnography is centered on the multiple nature of the self and it presents new ways of writing about social life (Reed- Danahay 1997).

In recent years there has been a move made by some anthropologists to focus their fieldwork on what they consider their home (Jacobs-Huey 2002; Messerschmidt 1981; Motzafi-Haller 2004). Ethnographic research done in one's home and own society may be essential for anthropology because the insider ethnographer is able to gain a fuller understanding by benefitting from belonging to the group they study (Messerschmidt 1981; Young and Meneley 2005). This is possible because the insider ethnographer is aware of the internal workings and specific cultural nuances of their own culture, and, therefore, is able to draw meaning out, whereas an outsider may not understand the full cultural context behind certain actions.

As is now clear in anthropology, it is difficult to separate one's private life from ethnographic fieldwork, and conducting research in one's own community provides a way to embrace this notion rather than trying to separate it. Another benefit from conducting research within one's cultural community is that it encourages reflexivity. Anthropologists recognize that what separates them from the individuals that they study is not an elemental identity, but their own intellectual preoccupations (Young and Meneley 2005).

The insider position leads to creativeness and innovativeness (Messerschmidt 1981). Insider ethnographers have brought satisfaction and a sense of belonging by studying what they consider their own community, culture, and society (Colic-Peisker 2004).

The fundamental criteria for my auto-ethnography is that I possess the internal attachment and membership that can lead to permanent self-identification within this group that

is recognized by both parties, the research participants and as well as myself (Reed- Danahay 1997). I believe that the use of my personal story and the research participants' narratives create the intersection of the personal and the social that offers a new vantage point from which to make a distinctive contribution to the social sciences (Ghodsee 2016; Laslett 1999). Furthermore, conducting research in my own culture may seem simple, but it is challenging in the sense that I may take what the research participants have shared as fixed and universal due to our similar shared experiences (Schlegel and Hewlett 2011). In these instances, I have tried to provide the research participants their own voice (Schlegel and Hewlett 2011). Providing them their own voice required a constant negotiation of my position and legitimacy within my research, and, as a result, I chose to add my own voice in this dissertation as a means to not cloud research participant responses. My voice will focus on my own experiences as an Indo-Fijian immigrant.

Auto-ethnography and auto-ethnographers explicitly depend on memories as data, as remembering is part of the process of analysis. In this dissertation, I do just that because my experiences as an Indo-Fijian immigrant to Canada has inspired my research and my personal history and memories are what I want to share as it influenced who I am and my subjectivity throughout the years. I offer my perspectives and my experiences that are a consequence of my migration experiences.

In my case, I do consider myself as a native and direct insider to the people and culture of my research because I have been a part of this community and continue to be. However, there are aspects of my privileged researcher role that may be looked at as an outsider or can be problematic from the participants' perspectives, which I discuss and go in depth about later in this chapter.

Auto-ethnography and the insider approach is a method in an anthropological study of a set of issues relating to me, the anthropologist and the research participants as well as the multiple cultures involved (Reed- Danahay 1997). I tell personal accounts of being a first generation Indo-Fijian in Canada and my experiences with racism, gendered inequality, intergenerational issues, and subjectivity. I will focus on is what Reed-Danahay (1997) recognizes as ethnic autobiography, which entails personal narratives that are written by members of ethnic minority groups. This genre is characterized by the anthropologist addressing personal experience in ethnographic writing known as autobiographical ethnography (Reed-Danahay 1997). Since I recognize myself as an insider ethnographer, I will be utilizing this style of writing by sharing my experiences and how it has influenced my research. Working in what I call my home and my own society has provided me with insider knowledge as I reflect on my experiences growing up. "Anthropologists are increasingly explicit in their exploration of links between their own autobiographies and their ethnographic practices (Reed-Danahay 1997:2)." As this method of research and writing is an outlet for me, the anthropologist to tell my own story of my life history.

Youth and Young People as Research Participants:

The anthropology of youth emphasizes the notion that young people are independent social actors, embodying and shaping a cultural category as opposed to a stage in the transition to adulthood (Bucholtz 2002; Caputo 2001; Daniels Emily, Harnischfeger, Hos, and Akom 2010; James and James 2008). In this project, I considered Indo-Fijian immigrant young people to be experts of their lives and of their own experiences. Youth research highlights young peoples' ability to make choices about the things that are important to them, and the research process can

help them to express their own ideas—and this is the case with many immigrant youth and their post-migration experiences, as well (Delgado 2006).

The target group for my ethnographic research was Indo-Fijian immigrant young women who reside in the lower mainland of Vancouver and the greater Sacramento area. Due to my familiarity with these cities and the Indo-Fijian communities there, my choice of these two field sites allowed me to gain access to these particular youths' lives relatively easily. In addition to my personal ties with these two cities, I chose to focus on Vancouver and Sacramento because these two cities possess the largest populations of Indo-Fijians in North America (Swain 2010). My own family migrated to Vancouver in 1988 because my paternal grandparents were already there. This is common for many immigrants: My grandparents migrated to Vancouver because my grandfather's brother was already there, for example, and my grandfather's brother migrated because his brother-in-law was there.

I used qualitative ethnographic research methods in this project. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) propose that ethnographic research, central to anthropology, attempts to gather first-hand empirical accounts and interpret the social and cultural organization of research participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:8) state "in order to understand people's behaviour we must use an approach that gives us access to the meanings that guide their behaviour." My research utilized two main methods: participant observation and in-depth ethnographic interviews. Madden (2010) suggests that ethnographic interviews allows for personal reflection while conducting research, as it allows one to keep their personal perspectives in balance. Madden (2010) pays close attention to the concept of "home" where he discusses his own research. Madden (2010) explains that the familiarization in an area in which he grew up and outlines his realization that as an ethnographer conducting research at home can

be a concern because it is an expectation that can oppose the importance of taking an ethnographic stance to the familiar. This notion offers new openings about what ethnographic interviewing can be as I look into what is familiar (e.g. Indo-Fijian young immigrants like me) rather than what is different. These research methods have allowed me to capture, in their own words, some of the experiences and stories of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant young woman in North America.

Ethnographic Interviews:

Delgado (2006) suggests that ethnographic in-depth interviews are one of the best methods to understand youth and young peoples' lives, interests, and their needs. As noted above, the interview process provided a method in understanding the research participants' sense of life experiences, beliefs, and worldview, all in their own words (Durham 1999; Keaton 2006). The questions I asked in the interviews and the resulting conversations were important because they demonstrated youth's interest in being perceived as their own person, rather than being clumped into the same categories as their adult immigrant counterparts. Furthermore, interviews yielded a wealth of data and raised some difficult issues about my research informants' thoughts, experiences, and activities because interviews created the opportunities to converse at a personal level (Keaton 2006). Additionally, the interview is a process in which youth are provided an opportunity to express themselves vocally, which is important in anthropology as we often look for the meaning in what people say, how they say it, and how they view their social worlds (Durham 1999). For these reasons, ethnographic interviews were my primary method of data collection.

Although ethnographic interviews were open-ended, I used an interview guide to navigate the process and ensure my main research questions were answered (See Appendix A).

While the youth were not involved in developing the interview guide in the interviews I followed the lead of the research participant and used the interview guide as a guide. A guide leaves the ethnographer and research participants free to follow new and different leads.

Participant Observation:

Using participant observation and interviews are methods contemporary anthropologists also use when conducting ethnographic research with young people. Contemporary anthropologist such as Deborah Durham and Jennifer Cole study youth culture using participant observation as a means to seeing how youth are creative cultural agents. Deborah Durham utilizes participant observation with youth research participants in Botswana during the 1995 protests over the murder of a student, where she argues that youth should be examined as social shifters of society in that they are dynamic and ever changing based on situations and culture (Durham 2008). Furthermore, Jennifer Cole (2010) through participant observation and interviews examined the relationship between youth and social change in urban Madagascar addressed how young people imagined their future through colonial rule. These ethnographic approaches to studying youth culture by contemporary anthropologists like Durham and Cole gives credence to studying forms of identity and subjectivity, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and religion. As a result, my own methodology is situated in and draws from not only their work but other contemporary anthropologists like Delgado (2006), Foner (2003), Keaton (2006), and Orellana (2009).

Participant observation is the foundational method for ethnographic research and the essential and defining method of research in cultural anthropology (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). By definition, “participant observation is a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied” (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:2). Participant observation is a manner in

which researchers take part in the day-to-day lives, activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of individuals as a means of learning the specific aspects of their routines, their culture, and how they construct their social worlds (Caputo 2001; Delgado 2006; DeWalt and DeWalt 2011), which in turn is a means to anthropological knowledge and analysis. Ideally, this method allows the researcher to enter the world of the research participant and to spend non-structured time with them otherwise not possible (Ambert, Adler, Adler, and Detzner 1995), but of course this is not always possible especially because the anthropologist is a role of power and authority.

I carried out all of my participant observation at public events. I knew some of the event attendees but certainly not all of them. Some of them knew my family or me, and I often attended these events with friends and family members who were aware of my double role of community member and anthropologist. My aim was to carry out participant observation at a few different locations and circumstances over the course of 7 months and across both field sites. In total, I attended thirteen events between May 2015 and November 2015.

The main events and locations included three annual Fijian festivals in July and August of 2015 (one in Vancouver, one in Hayward, California, and one in Modesto, California). These festivals were a celebration of Fijian culture and included traditional Indian and Native dances and skits, as well as Indian and Native foods (such as fried cassava, ice blocks (strawberry or orange flavor ice cream made with heavy cream), and palaou (a mixture of rice, meat, and garam masala). I also attended the annual 2015 Fijian men's soccer tournaments both in Sacramento and Vancouver, where teams were named after different cities in Fiji and the players on those teams were from those cities or their parents or grandparents were from those cities. In addition, I attended an annual Fijian Muslim mother-daughter dinner and fashion show in Vancouver. Held at an Indo-Canadian banquet hall, the event included Indian food and a fashion show with

Indo-Fijian traditional outfits. Finally, between both cities I attended three public religious ceremonies, three wedding ceremonies, and one "sweet sixteen" birthday party. Since these were events that I would normally attend or else have access to as a community member, I was able to enter these spaces where young women were co-attendees (by "co" I am referring to the fact that I was also an attendee). These events that I chose to attend were all culturally and family dominated and therefore these specific spaces have shaping effects on identity.

Related to my age (at the time 30 years-old) and appearance, I fit in at these events and seemingly gave the youth little reason to inquire about me. At these public events, I took advantage of blending in with the crowd in order to observe youths' behaviors. My roles did change at each social engagement, however. For example, at the mother-daughter dinner and dance and at the 16th birthday party, I reproduced norms of femininity within the Indo-Fijian community where I dressed how a young woman was expected to dress. As a result, I may have shared similar experiences with many of the other young women attending whose performances of femininity matched my own. Similarly, at the soccer events I did the same because young women in the community do not play at these tournaments; we attend the events for support of our immediate family and significant others. However, if young women are not married or are not attending with parents they are forbidden to go to soccer tournaments as parents deem them inappropriate for young women. It was only appropriate for me to attend these soccer tournaments because I was married and my husband played in the matches.

In my own experiences with participant observation I had to be aware of my surroundings at the events I chose to conduct participant observation. I used an auto-biographical method at the events I attended, using myself as the research subject. Otherwise, for public events any researcher can attend and conduct participant observation because the public nature does not give

anyone the sense that they are owed privacy. But at the events that were not public like the birthday party people expect privacy and I gave them that by not recording any names or identifying information.

At each event outlined above, I observed how young Indo-Fijian women interact with one another in their own peer groups, as well as with elders. I made note of language used and paid particular attention to if they spoke primarily English or Hindi, or a mixture of both, and if they code switched. Finally, I observed their attire, taking note of what they wore at each social gathering. I did not record any names or identifying information whatsoever and therefore this is not a breach of privacy. I took field notes on a small notebook about body language, dress, and languages spoken. Ghodsee (2016) argues that descriptive and vibrant fieldnotes provide the foundation of vibrant and descriptive ethnography as fieldnotes are invaluable when anthropologists sit down to write their ethnographies. I also noted (and took pictures of) factors such as décor and layout of each event in hopes of being able to imagine each event when I looked back on my notes or when I reflected on the event itself.

As a member of the Indo-Fijian community, it is important to reflect on my presence at these events, and, specifically, to examine my attire and what I wore in my attempts to fit into to each social situation. Since I have attended similar events in the past, I knew the appropriate attire to wear to each event. For example, at the BC Muslim Association Mother Daughter Dinner and Fashion show, I wore a red, green, and gold accent Indian anarkali (a long dress going past my ankles with matching pants underneath) outfit, which was acceptable as the fashion show consisted primarily of Indian couture outfits. At the weddings, religious ceremonies, and the 16th birthday, I wore similar outfits of Indian attire. At the soccer tournaments, along with the Fijian festivals, my attire varied depending on if I was in California

or British Columbia. Since the events in Northern California occurred in the summer, I usually wore a dress or loose pants and a top. In Vancouver I wore jeans and a short sleeve top, as these events were more casual.

I stress that participant observation and the ethnographic interviews are not separate strategies, rather participant observation occurred at the ethnographic interviews, which were often carried out in people's homes or else in public spaces. While the dissertation utilizes interviews extensively because they provided data about difficult issues facing research participants, I also rely on participant observation a great deal. All of my descriptions for the contextual information and the setting up of places was gleaned from many hours of participant observation over the duration of my fieldwork.

Social Media for Recruitment

Given the important role media plays in many youths' daily lives, I decided to utilize social media, primarily Facebook, as a recruitment strategy. Following research protocols against "lurking" on social media, I used Facebook predominantly as a means to contact potential research participants. I used Facebook as an advertisement platform, but in a private manner where I wrote out a brief blurb about my research and sent it to a couple of research participants that I had already interviewed for my dissertation for them to pass on to others who might be interested in participating in my research. This method was used in both Vancouver and Sacramento, and I had success in gaining research participants this way. See Appendix C for the advertisement text. I also used Facebook as a tool for staying informed about upcoming social events that were related to the research, such as the BC Muslim Association Mother Daughter Dinner and Fashion Show.

Timeline of Events:

Before I set out to conduct my research I obtained approval from the Joint Faculty Institutional Research Ethics Board (JFREB) at the University of Manitoba. After I received ethics approval in August of 2015, I began networking in both Vancouver and Sacramento.

By the end August 2015, I conducted my first interview in Vancouver, B.C. I continued on a steady basis of conducting 2 interviews a week until I completed a total of 10 interviews by the end of September 2015 in Vancouver. I then went to Sacramento, California at the end of September 2015 to conduct my remaining interviews. Gathering research participants in Sacramento took more effort than in Vancouver, in large part because I was more familiar with the Indo-Fijian community in Vancouver than in Sacramento. In Sacramento, I conducted a total of 8 ethnographic interviews. The social circles that I used to recruit for these interviews were my husband's family and friends. He recommended a number of people to contact, but I wanted to be more fluid about the first contact. In other words, I wanted to meet people first and give them more information about my research before they agreed to participate. Since I was rather new to the family, I thought it might be an awkward conversation over the phone. Hence, this is why interviews took much longer (nearly 6 months) in Sacramento than Vancouver. I completed all of the interviews by mid-March 2016. I transcribed the interviews and completed the transcriptions by July 2016. I then began a process of coding and analyzing the information I collected.

Coding and Analysis:

I used open coding. Open coding includes labeling concepts, defining, and developing categories based on their properties and is generally used to analyze textual qualitative data (Khandkar 2009). Once I transcribed each interview I looked for distinct concepts and categories in the data,

which formed the basic units of my analysis. In other words, I broke down the data into main headings and then into subheadings. Primarily, I focused on the text to define concepts and categories in my research. However, the text may have been influenced by my research questions that was reflected in my interview guide. There were a number of overarching themes that kept coming up during the coding of my interviews that interested me.

According to Dewalt and Dewalt (2011), the words spoken in an interview often develop into a concept or into a set of concepts. For example, if research participants constantly talked about dating, dating became a concept. I coded each interview based on the themes that I noticed reading over and analyzing each interview transcription or themes that I anticipated in my research questions. The concepts and categories included: norms of an Indo-Fijian young woman, freedoms, education and educational aspirations, religion, encounters with race and racism, nationality, social exclusion, norms of femininity, gendered inequality, examples of subjectivity and identity formation, and finally intergenerational conflict. I coded each interview based on these themes. The main headings and subheadings then formed the basis of the dissertation chapters.

Research Participant Selection:

To fulfill my research goals of highlighting youths' voices, I aimed to include a total of 20 Indo-Fijian immigrant young women from both the greater metropolitan Vancouver (10 participants) and Sacramento (10 participants) area. By the end, however, I concluded with a total of eighteen research participants. With the combination of my 18 interviews and my fieldnotes from the participant observation, I feel I have sufficiently rich data to give voice to a range of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women and convey knowledge about their experiences. I am confident that I reached saturation with 18 research participants because there was enough data collected to

ensure my research questions can be answered. Furthermore, in qualitative research the depth of the data is often more important than the number of participants interviewed because a small number of rich interviews can have the importance of dozens of shorter interviews (Burmeister and Aitken 2012).

The eighteen women that I interviewed come from working-class or middle-class families where their parents or guardians, some young women were raised by other family members than parents, work either full time or part-time. Working class is a socioeconomic term to describe individuals in a social class marked by jobs that provide low pay, require limited skill or physical labor, and have reduced education requirements (Foley 1989; Na, McDonough, Chan, and Park 2016). Typically, they work in "blue collar" jobs including hospital employees, manufacturing, retail sales, and food service. Foley (1989) suggests that working-class people construct their own distinct ways of life that are rooted in activities that they participate in, such as soccer games and the labour force. However, once settled in North America these individuals have worked hard and have made advancements and I would categorize them as middle-class, those that are not rich but also not poor, who own their own home (Na et al. 2016). The major difference between working-class and middle-class is that working-class is to denote those who work in lower paying jobs that do not require higher education and middle-class are those who have some college education who hold jobs with some economic stability (Na et al. 2016). The women I interviewed did not specifically refer to their backgrounds as either working-class or middle-class, I extracted this from the information they gave me about their family and what their parents or guardians did for work, when they immigrated, where they lived, and the jobs they hold now, and if they have their own home. Working-class and middle class are categories that I am placing on the research participants, which are contestable and fluid categories as

families' income, job types, and situations change with immigration and settlement.

The women participants are all considered to be "visible minorities," defined by the Government of Canada as individuals, other than First Nations peoples, who are non-White in race or colour (Statistics Canada 2017). Meaning the colour of their skin is not White vis-à-vis dominant society in either Canada or the United States. Research participants did not necessarily identify using the term unless they were asked to on official government documents and I will address this in more depth in chapter Five. With respect to sexuality, I asked them specifically how they identified themselves sexually and all the women identified as "straight." Eleven of the research participants were single and living with their parents or guardians. The exceptions were Fanya, Ayvah, Nala, Aisha, Alma, Annisha, and Mamta, who were married and lived with their husband.

My approach to selection can be considered a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling. As Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte (1999: 233) describe, convenience samples are "so called because they are selected from any group conveniently accessible to the researcher." The advantage of this approach was I had a number of possible research participants who wanted to partake in my research because they heard about my research through other friends or family members. A disadvantage was that I was unable to reach beyond my own social networks and into parts of the Indo-Fijian communities that did not actively participate in Indo-Fijian cultural activities. I began by recruiting young women from various social gatherings such as weddings, birthdays, two Fijian festivals in Vancouver, the annual mother-daughter dinner and fashion show, and through personal relationships (e.g. various family and community members). In Sacramento I managed to recruit immigrant Indo-Fijian young women from various methods either at the social gatherings in Sacramento, such as birthday parties,

weddings, annual Fijian festivals, various Fijian soccer tournaments, or from personal relationships.

My strategy for gaining access to the women and their social worlds was developed out of the previous rapport I had established with young women in my community. I was able to gain access, as I possess the language skills, personal ties, and community involvement because I am a member of this community. More specifically, I was able to speak to family members (i.e., cousins and second cousins) who were willing and excited about participating in my research or else they knew someone who would be interested in my research. Therefore, snowball sampling was the main recruitment approach. In the end, my selection could best be described as a convenience selection, which means that the majority of study participants were amassed through my own network of friends, family, and contacts.

Before I ventured out in the field I understood that conducting research with my relatives as my study participants may give rise to issues of how to protect anonymity and confidentiality, as well as how to manage and amend power relations (Wiles et al 2006). Aware of these potential problems, I was careful to avoid them in my attempts to provide confidentiality and anonymity for all the research participants to the best of my ability. This included not addressing their real names and physical characteristics in my writing as a means to ensure their safety and confidence (as highlighted in my Research Ethics Board Research Protocol application). My relatives and friends were not particularly concerned about anonymity, and some were even okay with me using their real names. However, I was protective of them because I wanted to protect family knowledge and I did not want their close family and friends to recognize them. Mainly, I aimed to ensure their confidentiality and felt that anonymity was a means by which the research participants would feel comfortable with the information they shared.

I also carefully considered selection criteria for research participants. My basic criteria were age, gender, and self-identification of being a first or second-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant. The participants' ages ranged from age seventeen to age 26. Before I began my research, I chose these parameters because I was aware that women over eighteen years would be more likely to participate in my research since they did not have to gain permission from parents or guardians to do so. For the two research participants that were seventeen years old, I received consent from parents and/or guardians for them and assent from them. I knew from experience that parents are extremely protective of their young daughters and would not likely give me consent to speak with them openly about issues of gender, sexuality, and race. Therefore, seventeen years old to 26 years old is a range that meant the majority of participants did not require parental consent to participate in the research, since the age of majority is eighteen. As I discussed in chapter two the debate surrounding the definition of youth, I reiterate here that youth is a difficult category to define because in an anthropological context youth-hood is a more fluid category than a fixed age group. A wide age range is acceptable when defining youth because the category may be based on social circumstances, socio-economic position, and cultural position instead of chronological age. In the Indo-Fijian community seventeen to 26 years old age range of youth makes sense because individuals are still considered youth if they live with parents, attending school, have a family of their own (like many of the research participants), if they are financially dependent, as there is no real cultural rites of passage. Educational level varied across the cohort, ranging from attending high school, having a high school diploma, to holding a bachelor's degree. One participant was completing her master's degree. Religious backgrounds of participants varied. Thirteen participants were Muslims, four were Hindu, and one was Christian.

The relationships I had established with my informants were both professional and peer-like. I made an effort to make them feel comfortable by telling them a few of my own experiences and expressing how and why I decided to undertake this research. For example, I met Aisha while I was Indian clothes' shopping in Surrey, British Columbia, a major city about 20 kilometers outside of Vancouver, where many Indo-Canadian communities have settled since the 1960s. Her mom owned the store where my mom and I were shopping. Our mothers began talking and Aisha's mother mentioned that Aisha was in school getting her master's degree. My mom then explained that I was in graduate school as well. Promptly, Aisha's mom called her over to meet me. Aisha and I had much in common with our educational ambitions and when I asked her if she would be interested in participating in my research with Indo-Fijian immigrant young women growing up in Vancouver, she expressed excitement for the topic by saying that there is a lack of academic literature in that field. I set up a meeting with her a couple of weeks later. Our interview lasted over 3 hours. I conveyed to Aisha, as I did with my other research participants, that one of the key reasons for my research was in wanting to learn about the experiences of other immigrant young women and, in particular, wondering if they had similar experiences growing up in Canada and the United States as I did.

In other words, I did not distance myself from the research question and instead placed myself centrally within its motives and aims. I did this to create mutual trust, as we may have had the same experiences or I expressed my understanding of their particular experiences. If it was similar, I shared my own background, which sometimes blurred the boundary between anthropologist, academic, subject, and informant. I believe this similarity is important to discuss here because I did find that most of the research participants' stories were similar. I am not sure if it was my aim to find similar experiences that might have impacted what people told me or if it

was a commonality of growing up Indo-Fijian in North America. Regardless, I did find that most of the research participants shared many similarities growing up in Canada and the United States and I will share more in the chapters to come.

The women I selected for this research were not intended to be representative of the entire Indo-Fijian immigrant young women population of Vancouver or Sacramento, nor would that be possible given the small sampling size and my sampling approaches. Their experiences give some indication of the broader patterns of Indo- Fijian-Canadian/American young women.

Interviews:

The interviews were conducted at many different locations, including at the participants' homes, coffee shops, (primarily Starbucks as for many of the young women in my study a regular part of their day was to grab a cup of coffee), and restaurants. I let the participants select where they would feel comfortable meeting for the interview; if they had no opinion at all I would suggest a coffee shop. I used a hand-held tape recorder so that I could give my full attention to research participants rather than having to take extensive notes. I took brief field notes during the interview, noting such things as body language, any hesitance or unwillingness to elaborate on certain questions, as well as if the research participants were shy and not very talkative about the subject at hand. I kept the noting taking to a minimum. Instead I jotted a few notes down after the interviews were over so that the participants weren't uncomfortable during the interview. In some circumstances I also talked with some of the women off tape. This either happened before or after the recorded conversation as a result of something that we had talked about earlier but they felt better discussing such issues off tape.

Brief Biography of Research Participants:

It is anthropological convention to use pseudonyms for research participants (Bernard 1988; DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). I, too, followed this convention. I did not ask them their names during the interviews and do not use them in my dissertation or other reports. In the consent forms that the research participants signed I gave them the option to come up with their own pseudonym or I would choose one for them. Some participants provided me with a pseudonym and for those who did not I chose from traditional Indo-Fijian names keeping in mind their religion, as Indo-Fijian names have religious significance.

Research Participants in Vancouver:

This section introduces the research participants in Vancouver, British Columbia. By introducing the research participants, I hope to humanize them in the eyes of my readers. Furthermore, by describing the research participants I provide insights and background to what they say in later research chapters. I provide essential details about their family to give insight to their particular position within the family unit as maybe this has influenced their experiences. In the biography I address where parents, guardians, and research participants receive their socialization. Specifically, by "socialization" I mean childhood socialization. I deemed this important to mention because it gives some idea about the social norms that might have influenced them while growing up in Fiji or in North America. I also describe their clothing as I thought this provides clues for how femininity is performed. These descriptions were my attempt to help understand the research participants. Furthermore, I present contextual information so that my readers can better understand the research participants.

Aliyah:

My meeting with Aliyah took place in her family home, where she lives with her parents, her two older brothers, and her paternal grandparents. Aliyah is 18 years old and was born and raised in Vancouver. She was attending university and working part-time when I met with her. Her mom, dad, and grandparents were all born in Fiji and migrated to Canada in the 1980s. Her mom migrated to Canada with Aliyah's maternal grandparents and her dad migrated with Aliyah's paternal grandparents. Most of Aliyah's parents' formal schooling was done in Fiji; however, they finished the last two years of high school in Vancouver. Her parents were married in Vancouver. She attended both elementary school and high school in Vancouver. On the day of our interview only her grandparents were home. She wore a white t-shirt with black sweat pants and her hair in a bun at the top of her head. She seemed relaxed. We sat in her family room on her brown leather couches with no one around to disturb us.

Aisha:

Aisha met me at a coffee shop, Starbucks in New Westminster, British Columbia, which was the middle point from my home in Vancouver and her home in Surrey. Though I was willing to make the journey to Surrey from Vancouver, about 45 minutes away without traffic, Aisha insisted on meeting halfway. A 26-year-old woman who was born in Surrey, Aisha has one younger sister. Both her mother and father immigrated from Fiji in their early to mid-twenties. Her parents' formal education was completed in Fiji. The majority of Aisha's schooling occurred in Surrey. She did attend kindergarten, grade one and grade two at a private Muslim school in Richmond, as well as grades nine through eleven at an Islamic boarding school in England. These are important aspects of her upbringing and we both deemed it important to be included. Aisha was working at a local university as a student coordinator and was living with her husband

and two children, one daughter and one son. On the day we met, she wore a loose fitting plaid shirt and jeans. She had glasses on with her long hair loose and open. We sat inside the coffee shop in a quiet corner. We were there for about 3 hours and not one person bothered us the entire time we were talking.

Reshma:

I met Reshma at her family home in Vancouver, where she lives with her maternal auntie (her mom's sister), uncle, and cousin. Reshma is 19 years old and was born in Australia. The guardianship of the children of siblings overseas is a common occurrence within the community. Reshma spent most of her adolescent years in Australia and she is an only child. She migrated from Australia at the age of 16 to come live with her auntie and uncle, as they became her legal guardians following the passing of her mom. Reshma's parents were both born and raised in Fiji; they migrated to Australia in the 1980s. Her maternal grandparents were also born and raised in Fiji but they migrated to Vancouver in the early 1980s. When I spoke with Reshma, she was not working or going to school because she was waiting on some legal paperwork to be processed. On the day we met, Reshma invited me into her family home. We sat on the couch and talked in the living room. Reshma wore a pair of blue skinny jeans and a black basic t-shirt. She seemed to be a little bit shy, but once we began talking she opened up in her demeanor.

Rayann:

I met Rayann at her family home in Surrey one afternoon after work. She lives with her mother, father, younger sister, brother-in-law, nephew, and niece. Rayann is 24 years old and was born and raised in Vancouver. She has one older brother and a younger sister. Her parents migrated from Fiji in the 1980s separately with Rayann's grandparents. Her parents were married in Vancouver. All of her mother's and her father's formal schooling took place back in Fiji. Rayann

attended both elementary school and high school in Vancouver. She was working as a legal assistant when I met her. On the day of our meeting, Rayann wore grey sweatpants with a green t-shirt. We had our conversation in her room on her bed, because she deemed it the only place that would provide privacy away from peering ears of her family. Furthermore, sitting on a bed together and talking was not unusual among the research participants, as it connoted familiarity and comfortability. This was a common thread with most of my participants feeling like their bedroom was the only place for us to talk openly. Rayann and I sat across from one another.

Alma:

Our meeting took place at Alma's family home in Surrey where she lives with her mother, father, husband, sister, son, and infant daughter. Alma is 25 years old and was born and raised in Vancouver. She has an older brother and an older sister. Her parents migrated from Fiji in the mid-1980s and all of their formal schooling and socialization were done in Fiji. Alma attended both elementary school and high school in Fiji. When we spoke she was on maternity leave from a receptionist position at a hospital. On the day of our meeting, Alma wore black sweatpants with a white semi-loose fit t-shirt. Our conversation was held on her bed as she played with her daughter. Again, Alma thought her bedroom would be a suitable place to talk as it provided privacy from the rest of her family.

Amina:

Amina and I met at a restaurant in Burnaby, British Columbia. She is 23 years old and working full-time as a bank teller. Amina is a middle child, with an older sister and a younger brother. She was born in Fiji and migrated with her parents and siblings to British Columbia when she was 10 years old. Her parents were divorced when she was 12 years old; she grew up with her siblings and her mother as the primary authority figure. Amina spent most of her elementary

career in Fiji. However, she went to high school in Surrey. On the day we met Amina was wearing a black knee-length dress with a denim jacket on top. We sat across from one another outside on the patio of the restaurant on a four-person table. Amina seemed very much at ease talking to me as she was very open about her experiences of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant in Canada.

Annisha:

My meeting with Annisha took place at her home in Vancouver where she lives with her husband and two daughters. She is 24 years old. Annisha is the eldest of three children. She has a younger brother and sister. Annisha was born in Fiji and migrated to Vancouver with her parents and siblings when she was 8 years old. In Canada, she grew up in the same house as her parents, siblings, paternal grandmother, paternal uncle, and two cousins. She attended most of elementary school and all of high school in Vancouver. When Annisha and I met, she was on maternity leave with 3 months left before returning back to work. On the day we met, we sat on her formal living room floor across from one another where her eldest daughter interrupted us once, as she was curious to know what we were doing. On that day, Annisha wore black fitted sweatpants and a basic loose grey t-shirt. She was open and very candid about her experiences of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant in Vancouver.

Evelyn:

Evelyn met me at a coffee shop, Starbucks, at the middle point from both of our homes in Vancouver. She was working that day but decided she had a couple of hours before her shift to meet and talk with me. Evelyn is 21 years old and currently working as a care aide in a local hospice. She lives with her parents, younger brother, and younger cousin at her parents' family home in Vancouver. Evelyn was born and raised in Vancouver. Her parents were born and raised

in Fiji and migrated to Canada in the late 1970s. Evelyn attended both elementary school and high school in Vancouver. On the day we met, Evelyn was wearing mint green hospital scrubs. We sat in the corner of the coffee shop, which was extremely busy and loud, as it is a popular location. Although the coffee shop was extremely busy and loud, we were able to hold a very in-depth and engaged conversation.

Mamta:

I met with Mamta at her home in Vancouver where she lives with her husband. She is 20 years old and a full-time university student while working part-time. Mamta was born and raised in Vancouver. She is the youngest of 3 children, with two older brothers. Her parents were born and raised in Fiji and migrated from Fiji in the 1980s soon after the military coups of 1987. Mamta attended both elementary school and high school in Vancouver. On the day we met Mamta wore a white printed shirt with blue skinny jeans. We sat in her living room across from one another on her couch comfortably talking.

Falisha:

Falisha and I met at her parent's family home in Vancouver where she lives with her older brother, mother, and father. She is the youngest of 3 children. She has an older brother and an older sister. She is 23 years old and is currently working at a hair transplant company. She was born in Fiji and migrated with her parents and siblings when she was 4 years old. She went to both elementary school and high school in Vancouver. On the day we met, Falisha was wearing a jersey knit black knee length dress. We sat in the family room of her house on the couch across from one another. At first she was a little stand-offish with her answers. They were very brief and to the point. But soon after she warmed up and elaborated about her experiences.

Research Participants in Sacramento:

This section introduces participants living in Sacramento, California.

Larissa:

My meeting with Larissa took place at her parent's home in Elk Grove, California, a suburb of Sacramento. She was born and raised in Northern California. She has 3 siblings, including two brothers and an older sister. Her parents migrated from Fiji in the 1980s where they received most of their early socialization. She is 24 years old and is currently working in the cell phone tech industry. She attended both elementary school and high school in Fairfield/ Vallejo, California. On the day we met, she was wearing fitted black yoga pants and a grey fitted shirt. When we first began talking, we were sitting on the dining room table in her parents' secondary kitchen. After being interrupted once, we moved to the garage, where there was a couch. We sat on the couch across from one another.

Nova:

Nova and I met at her parent's home in Sacramento, California where she lives with her mother and father. She is 23 years old and works at a hospital lab. She has four siblings, three older sisters and a younger brother. She, along with her sisters, mother, and father, were born in Fiji. Nova migrated with her parents when she was less than a year old, so most of her socialization happened in California as she attended elementary school, high school and university in California. On the day we met, she was wearing navy coloured pajama bottoms and a white t-shirt as she had just woken up after a night shift at the hospital lab. We sat in her bedroom, she was on her bed and I was sitting on a desk chair across from Nova. She seemed completely at ease during our entire conversation as she was candid in everything we talked about by adding jokes and sarcasm too.

Nala:

My meeting with Nala took place at her parent's home in Sacramento, California. She is 21 years old and is currently on maternity leave. She has four siblings—two older sisters, an older brother, and a younger brother. Nala was born in San Jose, California. However, the rest of her family, with the exception of her younger brother, were born in Fiji and migrated in the early 1990s. Nala attended elementary school, middle school, and high school in northern California. On the day we met she was wearing blue skinny jeans with a white tee-shirt. We talked upstairs in her parent's room while her mother watched her baby girl in the family room downstairs. We sat on the bed across from one another. Nala indicated to me that she was completely at ease and open with me by leaning in when she talked to me.

Ayvah:

Ayvah and I met at her place in Elk Grove, California. She is 24 years old and was born in Orange County. She currently works for a collections agency doing accounts receivable in Northern California. She has an older brother, a younger sister, and a younger brother. All of her siblings and Ayvah were born in California. However, her parents were born and raised in Fiji, where they received most of their socialization. She currently lives with her husband and son in Elk Grove, California. On the day we met she was wearing black skinny jeans and a teal shirt. We sat in her garage on the sectional couch across from one another talking. At first she seemed a little nervous because she was fidgeting with her hair and then her nails, but she soon opened up and the conversation was free flowing.

Shirley:

Shirley and I met at a coffee shop near her house in Sacramento. She is 25 years old and was born in Fiji. She was 3 years old when she migrated with her mother, father, younger brother,

and younger sister in the 1990s. Shirley has four siblings—two younger brothers and two younger sisters. She went to elementary school, middle school, and high school in northern California. She is currently working for the state of California and lives in Sacramento with her husband and two kids. On the day we met, she was wearing relaxed fit jeans with a black shirt with white embroidery. We sat on a circular table outside of the coffee shop on a patio. Shirley was very talkative and open during our entire conversation.

Sanna:

My meeting with Sanna took place at a local chain restaurant in Sacramento. It was Sanna's idea to meet at a restaurant because she felt it would give us more privacy than her house could offer. Sanna is 17 years old and is currently in her senior year of high school. Sanna was born and raised in Sacramento to Fiji-born parents. She is an only-child and lives at home with both her mother and father. She has also attended both elementary school and middle school in Sacramento. On the day of our meeting, Sanna was wearing black skinny jeans with rips throughout the leg and a white short-sleeve top. We sat at a table outside during lunch but the restaurant was not busy. Sanna was nervous it seemed because she would giggle after her answers to me, but when our conversation got going she spoke with ease throughout, making me feel that she was being honest.

Fanya:

Fanya and I met at her apartment in Sacramento one afternoon after she got off work. She was born in Fiji and migrated alone when she was fourteen, without her parents and two brothers, to California to live with her aunt and uncle and four cousins. She is married and lives with her husband and two children, a boy and girl. She is now 24 years old and works as a bank teller. In Fiji, before she migrated to the United States, she lived with her mother, father, and two younger

brothers. Her parents sent her to her paternal uncle and aunt's house to live in the United States in order to take advantage of what they believed to be more opportunities for a better life than what they could offer her in Fiji. Once she migrated to the Unites States, she lived with her uncle, her aunt, an older male cousin, two younger female cousins, and a younger male cousin. She attended elementary school in Fiji and finished high school in California. On the day we met, Fanya was wearing a long black maxi dress with neckline detailing. We sat in her living room on the couch across from one another. She spoke about her experiences quite openly.

Amira:

Amira and I met at her family home in Elk Grove, a suburb of Sacramento, after school on a weekday. She was born in Hayward, California and lives with her father, step-mother, brother, and step-brother. Her father and step-mother were both born in Fiji and migrated separately in the early 1990s. She is 17 years old and is currently a senior in high school. She moved to Elk Grove with her parents in June 2015. She attended elementary, middle, and most of high school in Hayward and attended her last year of high school in Elk Grove. On the day we met, Amira wore a basic white shirt and blue skinny jeans. We sat at the kitchen table while she ate a gyro sandwich as an after-school snack. To me it seemed like she spoke with openness because we were home alone at the time.

Table of Participants:

Name:	Location:	Age:	Religion•:	Generation:	Marital Status:	Living at home with parents
Aliyah	Vancouver	18	Muslim	Second	Single	Yes
Aisha	Surrey	26	Muslim	Second	Married	No
Reshma	Vancouver	19	Christian	First	Single	Yes
Rayann	Vancouver	24	Muslim	Second	Single	Yes
Alma	Surrey	25	Muslim	Second	Married	Yes
Amina	Surrey	23	Hindu	First	Single	Yes
Annisha	Vancouver	24	Muslim	First	Married	No
Evelyn	Vancouver	21	Hindu	Second	Single	Yes
Mamta	Vancouver	20	Hindu	Second	Married	No
Falisha	Vancouver	23	Muslim	First	Single	Yes
Larrisa	Sacramento	24	Muslim	Second	Single	Yes
Nova	Sacramento	23	Muslim	First	Single	Yes
Nala	Sacramento	21	Muslim	Second	Married	Yes
Ayvah	Sacramento	24	Muslim	Second	Married	No
Shirley	Sacramento	25	Muslim	First	Married	No
Sanna	Sacramento	17	Hindu	Second	Single	Yes
Fanya	Sacramento	24	Muslim	First	Married	No
Amira	Sacramento	17	Muslim	Second	Single	Yes

Insider Status and the Privileged Researcher Role:

The fundamental challenge of being an insider ethnographer is not being able to gain sufficient distance from my research (Abu-Lughod 1991). In other words, there has been a constant battle of comparing and sharing my own experiences with the research participants and, thus, my voice may have been mixed with their voices. As a means to amend this issue I have incorporated my

• I added the research participant's religions in this table to provide context, as there are three main religions present among the Indo-Fijian population; Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. However, many of the traditions associated to religion was lost or distorted during the indentured period in Fiji (Willard 2018)

A predominance of Muslim participants (13) and minority of Hindu (4) and Christian (1) women took part in my study. I highlight the distribution of religious preferences across the cohort because culture and religion may sometimes be intertwined as part of their Indo-Fijian identity. Note that I did not select research participants based on their religious preferences. Their religious affiliations and preferences were raised by participants themselves during the interviews. So, the predominance of Muslim participants over Hindu and Christian participants was not intentional. However, in this study I do not discuss religious influences on identity. I felt it would be an undertaking beyond the scope of this dissertation but well suited for future research. I can say that this proportion reflects the religious affiliations of the broader Indo-Fijian communities in Vancouver and Sacramento to the best of my knowledge.

own voice separate from the research participants. I realize, however, when writing and researching within my own culture and society it is difficult to remain detached and rational because most often there is a connection between my position in society and history and my kind of research agenda (Motzafi- Haller 2004). I have tried my best to be conscious of this and have kept my own opinions, experiences, and emotions out of the interview process and the narrative as much as possible.

When conducting research with immigrant youths there were power differentials between me, the researcher, and the research participants. A consciousness of my privileged position not only as a researcher, academic, and, also, as a PhD candidate has influenced how I am viewed and treated by the young women who participated in my project. Consequently, I feel my position as a researcher may have influenced research participants' responses to my questions, which, no doubt, influenced my analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, the power differential I wished to avoid was inevitable, but I did not mean it to be judgmental or presumptuous. Instead, I tried to address the agency that the research participants' display by recognizing their thoughts, habits, practices, and experiences to be significant and express that through their narratives and this is evident throughout this dissertation.

It is also important for me to acknowledge how I have been affected by these young women's narratives throughout my fieldwork. As an Indo-Fijian immigrant to Canada and, later, to the United States once married, I was able to relate to many of the research participants' experiences, struggles, and triumphs. This commonality proved to be difficult when conducting in-depth interviews because it was challenging to separate the research participants' experiences from my own. I believe, however, the shared experiences have helped facilitate rapport between me and the research participants.

I shared a close relationship with the research participants in which we were able to understand one another's feelings, experiences and ideas, as a result of sharing a common historical background. Regardless of the possible drawbacks that I have highlighted, an insider research approach has allowed me to explore my research question.

Ethical Dilemmas:

Motzafi-Haller (2004) suggests when writing and researching one's own culture and society it is difficult to remain detached and rational because most often there is a connection between a researcher's position in society and history and the kind of research agenda that they have. The main ethical issue that I dealt with was getting too close to the research participants. Because of the shared experiences it was easy for me to get carried away and talk with ease and open up about my own experiences. As an Indo-Fijian immigrant to Canada myself, it was likely that I was able to relate to some of the research participant's experiences, struggles, and triumphs. This insider position often was a cause of concern for me because sometimes it was difficult to gain sufficient distance from the research participant, which lead to a constant battle of comparing and sharing my own experiences with the individuals I studied. However, I mostly kept my own opinions, experiences, and emotions out of the interview process (although I did share a little bit here and there with the research participants when it came up or if they asked me questions because of our newly or established relationship) and address my experiences as an immigrant in my dissertation where I share my own auto-ethnography.

Chapter Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have discussed the main methods and locations of my research. I have also given a brief description of the two cities where I conducted research as well as a brief biography of each research participant. Furthermore, I have shown how qualitative ethnographic

methodology—more specifically, ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and auto-ethnography—is the framework for my research. I utilized these main methods in order to meaningfully approach youth as creative and competent social actors. I conducted interviews at different locations depending on where the research participants felt comfortable to talk to me openly. I had an interview guide but let the research participants guide the interview themselves in the direction they felt important to talk about. Convenience sampling, network sampling, and snowball sampling were my approaches. I carefully thought about selection criteria for research participants and because I did not want to limit the selection process, I kept it fairly open. I did not narrow down the selection criteria in terms of religion, sexual orientation, educational background, or socio-economic status. My basic criteria were age, gender, and self-identification of being a first or second generation Indo-Fijian immigrant. Interviews and participant observation allowed me to capture snapshots of youths' lives and to provide answers to my research questions, namely, how subjectivity is experienced and in flux and how they managed the challenges of settlement as racialized visible minorities in Canada and the U.S. The answers to these questions will be addressed in the following research chapters. This methodology was utilized as a means to demonstrate the agency that youth possess as an expression of their own experiences with their words at a specific time and place in their lives.

Chapter Five. "Where Are You (Really) From?": Subjective Experiences of Racism

Let's go back to the question: "Where are you from?" And then the constant questions that follow when I give my name: "Nitasha is a Russian name? You're not Russian!" I feel as though most people who are not visible minorities who ask these questions do not actually care about the origin of my name or where I am from. Rather, it seems to me that they are curious about my racial identity because my skin colour and physical appearance is ambiguous to them. People like me who fall in-between the North American black-white racial hierarchy are often asked, in casual conversation, about their racial or ethnic roots (Orosco 2016; Vega 2017). Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb (2015) suggest that *Multiculturalism* paradoxically reinforces racial hierarchy instead of alleviating racial inequality, because *Multiculturalism* establishes and maintains the idea of an official national mono-culture while downgrading 'different' cultures to a marginalized status. For me, growing up I was not part of so-called *real* Canadian culture.

I think about these questions often: Am I over-reacting? Are these innocent questions? I have arrived at the belief that I am not over-reacting. These questions have a profound impact on me as they insinuate that the persons in question (me) are not *bona fide* Canadians or Americans and, instead, that we are foreigners, exoticized, and othered in the country of birthplace or growing up (Vega 2017). Not surprisingly, I am not alone in feeling this way. Many of the research participants also felt that they were being judged and othered when asked similar questions. These everyday questions, whether unconsciously or unintentionally, express a prejudiced racist attitude toward racialized visible minorities in Canada and the U.S. (Vega 2017).

In this chapter, I discuss the particular experiences of being a first- or second-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant in Vancouver and Sacramento. In the following chapter I situate the

research participants in the broader racial and racialization politics in terms of power relations in which they are a part of in Canada and the United States, but here I turn to the participants' experiences. I use research participants' personal narratives about their experiences of racism and discrimination to provide greater insights into their sense of self and subjectivity (self-understanding) within the racialized world they live in. I discuss subjectivity, and how, as active agents, the research participants were shaped by and shaped social and cultural spaces in which they were interacting. I also discuss the social exclusion they experienced at the local level, as well as how social exclusion related to being immigrants in Canadian and American society.

Racism in the First Degree- My Earlier Experiences with Racism:

East Vancouver, where I grew up, is an area regarded by many locals as multicultural. There are many different ethnic groups visibly present. Little Saigon, Punjabi Market, Little Italy, and China town are all areas I grew up around. But, in the late 1980s and 1990s, despite the official Multicultural policy established in Canada, these areas were not openly celebrated as they are today. Attending school and being in the community as an immigrant in Vancouver I always felt and was quite often told by the dominant White community that there was something different about me and I did not belong. I was constantly reminded that I did not share similar physical characteristics to those who were dominant in Canadian society.

My first memory of this was at a community Easter egg hunt when I was six years old. We had just moved from our first home into our second new home. My sister and I were playing outside and we were approached by a church elder whom invited us to an Easter egg hunt at the church across the street from our house. My sister and I ran home to ask permission from our parents and they said it was okay. My sister and I quickly changed from our outdoor clothes to something a little nicer, a dress and white stockings. Our parents walked us across the street and

we entered the church courtyard where the Easter egg hunt was being held. There were kids of all ages. We were all handed baskets for the hunt. The Easter egg hunt commenced and there were about twelve to fifteen kids running around the courtyard looking for eggs, chocolates, stickers, and other treats. My sister and I were so excited that we were actually separated for a few minutes during this chaos, but I was not worried. I had about three eggs in my basket when I saw a big bunny sticker the size of my hand, as I went to grab it behind a tree trunk another boy who was a few years older grabbed my hand and said, "That's mine blackie." He pushed my hand off and took it from me.

I did not understand what had happened, what he meant, or the words that he used, I kept it to myself because I was unable to relay what was said. I remember thinking "blackie," sounds close to black, but I did not know what he meant. After that incident I slowed down in collecting goodies during the hunt because I felt that I did not belong or other people thought I did not belong. When my sister came back to me she had her basket almost full and asked me why I did not have that many treats in mine, I lied and told her that I could not find that many. She felt bad for leaving and gave me a few of her finds. I never told her what actually happened that day. It was a sense of embarrassment for me, based on my skin colour.

Experiences of racism and discrimination were common for me while growing up in Vancouver, despite the official policy of *Multiculturalism*. I look back and realize that the well intentions of the policy did not trickle down to the local community level. I often felt displaced because of the colour of my skin, and I felt I was not given the same opportunities that my White counterparts were given unless I worked extra hard for them. This was further exacerbated after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in the United States. I was in grade twelve when the attacks happened. It was a school day and I remember hearing the phone ring early morning. It was my

uncle who called notifying my dad to turn on the television. I woke up soon after to get ready for school, as I walked passed the living room where my dad was watching breaking news. That is when I saw a plane hitting the side of one of the twin towers in New York. My dad and I watched the news intently trying to figure out exactly what just happened. Still in disbelief and not fully understanding of what was going on in New York, I got ready quickly for school. Once at school, it was a very somber scene, people were talking about the early morning events. As I approached my locker a friend of mine was crying at her locker two lockers down from me. I asked her if she was okay, and she turned to me and said, "Did you know Muslims did it?!"

At the time I did not fully grasp the Muslim versus terrorist debate and I did not quite understand what my friend was saying to me either. Her question was accusatory, however, and all I heard was, "Did you know it was one of you that did it?" That entire day I remained quiet and reserved because I felt that because of my religion and the colour of my skin I was to blame for what happened in New York. In fact, the weeks following the 9/11 attacks I remained reserved and I did not feel like myself especially following the media coverage on the criminalization of Muslims around the world, I was afraid to be myself. Post 9/11 Muslim individuals were transformed into "national security threats rather than citizens through political discourse, policies, and media representation" and this for me articulated into my formation of subjectivity (Thomas and Clarke 2013: 313). About two months after the attacks a very good friend of mine came up to me in the hallway at school and simply said, "It wasn't your fault, stop blaming yourself." I was shocked and I asked him what he meant. He replied by saying, "You know what I mean, you haven't been yourself lately. Stop blaming yourself, no one else that knows you is blaming you. We know the person you are and the people who did it have no connection to you regardless of your religion." I had not realized that I was so transparent in the

way I was internalizing the events of 9/11. I felt that the outside world was blaming all Muslims through the media and I let that affect me and my expression of myself to others. Through my friend's words, I realized, for the first time, that not everyone is over-generalizing an entire population for the events and that I should not either. I am a Muslim racialized immigrant, and this has shaped who I am and how I see myself in the world. This view of myself, and my subjectivity, have largely to do with my parents and the experiences I had growing up as an immigrant in Canada.

Subjectivity and Experience:

This chapter explores the inner lives of the subjects, Indo-Fijian young women, and the interconnections and transformation of social and cultural organization and structures (Biehl, Good, Kleinman 2009). Subjectivity is conceptualized as socially constructed and comparative through experience (Hall 1996; Shahsiah 2006). Understanding the experiences of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women, along with the development of their subjectivity in Canada and the United States, provides insights into the way many of these young people face issues and challenges particular to this period of life that is different from their adult immigrant counterparts. The individual experiences can provide insights into subjective self-processes (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007).

"Experience" in my analysis is defined as the flow of social and personal communication and engagements, where things happen, and it involves practices, negotiations, and conversations with others whom we encounter on a daily basis and with whom we are connected (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007). Furthermore, experience and its connection to subjectivity is best described by Kleinman and Fitz-Henry (2007: 53) as "…experience, where our senses are first patterned by the symbols and social interactions of our local words… It is always simultaneously

social and subjective". As a result, the importance of experiences for the shaping of subjectivity, in the sections below I will be focusing on the social interaction of the research participants within the multiple spheres they occupy in their daily lives and how such experiences have shaped their subjectivities.

i. Feeling Different:

Amina, who was 23 years old and from a working-class background, explained to me that being a first-generation immigrant and growing up in Vancouver influenced her identity and perception of herself. Being different from the predominant categories of racial privilege in her school led to many negative experiences for Amina. She attended high school in Surrey, British Columbia, which at the time had a mixed population that included South Indians and White people, as well as Aboriginal, Mexican, Asian, South and Central American, and other immigrants. Her high school, as she tells, was predominantly made up of White kids in the student population, however. She was one of the only Indo-Fijian kids at school, other than her siblings. When I interviewed her in September 2015 at a local chain restaurant in Vancouver called Cactus Club, she told me, "It hindered me a lot because I was different and at school that's when you noticed that being different was not a positive; it was negative, everybody looked at you like…I was looked at like I was some kind of a disease." Amina's experience of feeling different from that of the dominant White population at school influenced her own perception of herself in a negative way.

Aisha, was a 26 year-old young woman, who was also born in Surrey to a working-class family whose parents migrated in their mid-twenties from Fiji. When I interviewed her, Aisha was a student coordinator at the local university in a nearby city, Richmond, which has the largest Asian Canadian population in Canada. Asian Canadians are also the largest and fastest

growing minority group in Canada (Statistics Canada 2016). Asian Canadians are those who can trace their ancestry back to the continent of Asia including but are not limited to those from China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Philippines and other South East Asian countries. When we met, Aisha also expressed sentiments of being different:

> "You know what? Growing up, I always felt inferior, that was for sure. I always thought it was a privilege to have White friends. Just like their names, like Kelsey, Kyla. I felt it was cool to have friends that had names like that, it was associated to Whiteness. I was always expecting racism in my head as a kid. Now that I am older I realize I always hid my nationality and background, I wanted to be more White than I actually was. [When] I grew up, like Canada is a multicultural country but it's a White country. For the longest time I was very fascinated with White people and that Canada was White and that Canada was this melting pot, I thought that maybe if you have a Whiter name or more White friends, or behave like you were White… like I always wanted to play basketball, wear shorts, wear tank tops like my White friends and just like the Whiter I can get I thought the more assimilated and more accepted I would be. So I hid my own background a lot."

Aisha reflects how multiculturalism in Canada is celebrated and that it is important to the national fabric of Canada, but she also recognizes that it reinforces racial hierarchy, as it maintains the notion of an official national White culture and racialized cultures are marginalized. In Aisha's words she knew she was different but concealed her Indo-Fijian background and tried to assimilate into dominant White culture because she thought it is how she would be accepted. Considering themselves to be different from the dominant White culture was a common thread in the research participants' daily lives. Lee (2005) notes that there are diverse White cultures, but in the North American context (Canada and the United States), regardless of what White culture one belongs to (referring to different European heritages and the lightness of one's skin pigmentation), in general White people usually share privilege. White youth share privilege in academic and social success even though their ethnic and cultural backgrounds may be quite heterogeneous. As Amina and Aisha show, this privilege displaces a non-White immigrant young person as they struggle

to establish themselves within the dominant White society. They have to fight for valorization within the multicultural society (Hage 2011). According to Lee (2005), non-White immigrant youth are constantly bombarded with notions of White superiority and how they do not share the same experiences and commonalities with these privileged people (Knight, Roegman and Edstrom 2016; Lee 2005).

More than a decade after Lee's work was published, I agree with Lee's (2005) suggestion because what I saw in my fieldwork was how the research participants' experience with being different from the dominant White society influenced their sense of self. More recent accounts done by Knight, Roegman and Edstrom (2016) suggests that choices made about immigrant youth's identities were based on their understandings of how they were viewed by the dominant White society and the discrimination they faced as immigrants. In my own research the homeland of Fiji and Fijian culture individuals may have known very well where they stood, whereas now in Canada or the United States they struggle with a sense of belonging and uncertainty. In multicultural societies like Canada and the United States immigrant youth understand who the dominant 'core' culture is, which is Whiteness and how to belong within these parameters (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015). In spite of claiming to be multicultural, Canada and the United States retain the idea of a dominant culture (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015). As a result, the research participants struggled with where they belong and how and where they can establish themselves within these racial hierarchies and processes of racialization.

Most often, immigrant young people receive ideas about who they are and where they belong relationally and through social relations with others (e.g. White or non-immigrant youth) and this may not necessarily align with their own ideas (Knight, Roegman

and Edstrom (2016; Lee 2005). In my own research, many of the research participants felt that where they belonged in society was not their choice rather through social relations they based where the ultimately belonged.

I turn to Shirley, who was a 25 year-old first-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant in Sacramento, who worked for the State of California. Sacramento from 2004-2008 when Shirley attended high school was a growing city as housing prices in the San Francisco Bay Area rose people flocked to Sacramento for the affordable housing market. Where Shirley attended high school was a newly developed housing area called Valley Hi. The neighborhood in which she lived consisted of mainly White people as a result, she went to school at a predominantly all White high school and was the only Indo-Fijian student. She was labelled "the Indian girl" because most people at school did not know much of anything about Fiji. In her words, "They just assumed because [they] look at my skin colour… and being so brown, I was the only one that was Fijian in my school, so instantly I was claimed 'the Indian girl.' People didn't give me a chance to show them anything different." Since the other students seemingly had an idea based on her skin colour and other physical features, such as her thick black curly hair, they assumed she "did not belong" because she looked different as the norm was light skinned with blonde or brunette straight hair. Furthermore, it was more than looking different that bothered her. Other students placed her in a category of brownness that erased and invalidated her ethnic origin and identity. She was seen as brown because she was different from the black kids and different from the white kids at school. The category of brownness for Shirley was limiting in her expression of her ethnicity. Therefore, according to Shirley's recollection of her experiences at a predominantly White school, the White students did not give her a chance to explain who she was, which made

her feel very conflicted. This apparent lack of chance or the actual suppressing of her ability to express herself racially had a profound shaping influence on her. She never felt like she fit in at school or that belonginess was a challenge because she was in a racial category of her own.

Desai and Subramanian (2003) and Lee (2005) highlight that in Canada and in the United States racism is inevitable and that skin color and other physical features become extremely important in determining quality of life and how one is able to access opportunities and resources. Furthermore, Desai and Subramanian (2003), in their case study of South Asian immigrant youth in the Greater Toronto Area, acknowledge that many racial minorities face discrimination and prejudice because they speak differently, dress differently, have different skin color, and follow different social customs than the mainstream society. These features are an important part of their cultural identity and essentially make them a target for racism (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Racial discrimination, as the unjust treatment of categories of people based on the grounds of racial difference, are both intentional and unintentional acts that draw out unfair distinctions and have favorable effects to those who are not in such categories (Oxman-Martinez, Rummens, Moreau, Choi, Beiser, Ogilvie, and Armstrong 2012). Reflecting back to Amina's experience, she had said that people looked at her like some kind of disease and, then, went on to say it was because "people didn't understand me, they didn't understand my ethnic background, because I looked different, I had a nose piercing that was ethnic to me, it was like my pride. So, I was angry a lot that people just didn't get it." She was irritated because she was unable to be herself because she looked different and, according to her, that was not acceptable in Canadian society at the time. In addition to her cultural background, Amina's

experience at school and who she was, was affected by structures of racism and discrimination (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015). Youkhana (2015) acknowledges that belonging is informed by different contexts that are continuously in negotiation by the individual and their surroundings. Feelings of isolations and feelings of non-belonging to Canada has been shown to be linked to perceptions of cultural differences and experiences of discrimination in immigrant youth (Oxman-Martinez *et al.* 2012; Sriskandarajah 2017; Youkhana 2015). Such perceptions of unfair treatment and experiences of social exclusion have the potential to hamper immigrant youth's adjustment and development in Canadian or American society (Oxman-Martinez *et al.* 2012). Furthermore, Amina was frustrated with not being able to express herself through her ethnic symbols like her nose piercing because of the discrimination she experienced as a result. She thought she looked different from her idea of mainstream Canadian society, which included such markers as facial features and hair. Therefore, it was her tanned skin, her cheekbones, chin bones, and hair that made her feel as though her appearance was strikingly different. Amina said, "I didn't look like the rest of them (White Canadians)." She felt that because of this difference she experienced discrimination from her peers at school and around the community. Many immigrant youth experience discrimination related to their racial and ethnic backgrounds because of their status as people from another country that some mainstream Americans or Canadians think of as inferior (Knight, Roegman and Edstrom 2015).

Mamta, a 20 year-old, full-time university student from a working class family, living in East Vancouver, furthers this sentiment of difference. Mamta, too, felt that she looked racially different compared not only to the White kids but also to other ethnic minorities, such as Asian Canadians and Arab Canadians with whom she went to school.

She had dark black hair, dark brown eyes, high distinct cheekbones, and olive skin. Mamta had not liked talking about her Fijian background when she was at school. As a second-generation immigrant she was embarrassed because her non-ethnic peers saw her Fijian heritage as a form of racial difference. This bothered Mamta a great deal. As a high school student in East Vancouver, despite the diversity of the student population, she struggled against racialization. She wanted to fit into the dominant White culture. In her words, "I did not want to be different, I wanted to be just, like, molded into the same social structure." In a poignant moment in the interview, Mamta revealed how she pretended to be Canadian, seemingly like the rest of the students:

> "I would love to say that I did embrace it, my Indo-Fijian identity and features and that I loved it and it was fantastic, but for the most part I honestly do remember I used to pretend I was only Canadian and my parents were also raised in Vancouver. I did not want to be different, but my difference did come from my looks."

The shame and embarrassment that Indo-Fijian immigrant youth feel growing up about their immigrant families and cultural background is in relation to their experiences of overt racism (Rajiva 2005). These individuals struggle with growing up different and trying to belong to a national identity that continues to see them as different and not Canadian (Rajiva 2005).

Structured racism has affected immigrant young people's experiences at school (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015). Structures affect immigrant students' ability to access and use certain resources like financial aid workshops or guidance counseling (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015). Research participants realized early on in their school years that skin colour and other physical features influenced their subjectivity because the experiences they had in a racialized word determined where they belonged in the racial hierarchy in Canada and the United States. Structuration theory informs us to understand immigrant youth's educational experiences and to recognize structures, like social systems and cultural norms, that have limited

opportunities for research participants because of the racism they experience (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015).

While diversity did exist in Vancouver and Sacramento schools research participants' experiences reveal how alone they felt in the school systems. No other Indo-Fijian students attended their schools, or sometimes only as siblings or cousins. Because of this absence of Indo-Fijian bodies in the school system, the singular Indo-Fijian students were unable to relate to others and they did not know where they fit into the racial hierarchy of White, Mexican, African American, Middle Eastern, Asians.

This hyper-visible difference forced research participants to reflect on their self-identification and how to balance their cultural identity based on the felt discrimination. Participants like Mamta altered their nationality or they ascribed to what they thought would more likely be acceptable and bridge the gap of difference. They constantly made choices about who they were and how they categorized themselves based on their experiences, which were constrained by the structural context in which they belonged (Giddens 1991).

But the structural context is not always the same of course. As anthropologists point out, local and regional perceptions that White and non-White people have about skin color and other physical features varies depending on spaces and places (Shahsiah 2006). For example, Nala, was a 21 year-old first generation Indo-Fijian immigrant who was born in California, attended a high school in Galt, California, a suburb of Sacramento. Nala told me that her school was "minimally diverse" in her words. Diversity was limited to Latino Americans and African Americans, and therefore she was labeled as "the" "Indian girl." Because of her olive skin tone, the White, African American and Latin American students at her school assumed that she was Indian from India. In Nala's words,

> "I was one of the only minorities at my school, so instantly I was claimed the Indian girl, and people would walk around and say durka, durka while pointing at the middle of their forehead where the red bindi dot would go. It bothered me! First, because I wasn't Indian and, second, they didn't let me express who I was, Fijian!"

A similar example is from Ayvah, a 24 year-old second-generation Indo-Fijian immigrant born in California she went to high school in Fairfield, California another suburb of Sacramento, where her and her brother were the only Indo-Fijians present. She said, "Everybody wanted to know what ethnicity I was, people thought I was Indian and said that aren't Indian people ugly and when I would tell them I was Fijian they'd be, like, wait, they don't look like you."

Experiences like this displaced Indo-Fijian immigrant young women within their North American school and community as they were constantly reminded by the dominant Canadian or American society that they were not like the rest of them (White and privileged) and that they now live in a society where race and racism structure their experiences, opportunities, and personal identity. Amina summed up this notion: In her own words, "Seeing all of the difference in school is overwhelming and you have to absorb that somehow and figure out what you are going do with it and how you are going to place yourself within the difference." Annisha, a 24 year-old stay-at-home mom in Vancouver, shared with me that being one of the only Indo-Fijian students at school full of White kids proved to be difficult when trying to fit in and be accepted by her peers,

> "You are trying to find your place, yeah, it's difficult I would say because you are trying to find a group to fit into which you don't have very much choice to and chance to get in, so you kind of have to create your own or try to be somebody else. You don't have a chance to show people who you really are."

Establishing identity was challenging for Annisha, Amina, Mamta, Shirley and Aisha. They maneuvered within their social worlds to find a place to fit within multiple racial hierarchies. Similar to racialized immigrant youth in general, these young women were made

aware of structural racial difference at an early age. In coming to realize that no matter how much they tried to fit in or belong they were regarded as the foreigner or "other" (Rajiva 2005; Sriskandarajah 2017).

Experiences with racism and their skin color were central social process that influenced their subjectivities (Shahsiah 2006). They had to deal with being categorized and "othered" through name-calling, labeling, racial slurs, and personal-level prejudices (Shahsiah 2006). Nova a 23-year-old hospital lab worker born in Fiji and migrated to California when she was less than a year old admitted, with embarrassment, that she had faced a lot of discrimination at school because of her skin colour. Her peers labelled her and called her names. As she put it, "They would call me names… 'oh, she's a butter face' [an urban term for calling a woman ugly]… and that just stuck with me… I had self-esteem issues because of the discrimination I faced at school every day." Nova looked different, and she was being harassed at school because of Western notions of beauty and desirability that she did not fit into. She had a long nose, big eyes and long black hair. At her school, since others did not look like her, she was considered ugly, and this, in turn, influenced her identity negatively in terms of her own self-esteem and self-perception. The above accounts illustrate the damning effects of racism on immigrant youth identities and how these individuals find different methods to cope with their inferiority in a racialized world to find a space and place this is fitting for them.

Inter-minority Racial Discrimination:

I did not anticipate inter-minority forms of discrimination because of my own notions of racial binaries growing up in Vancouver in the late 1990s-early 2000s with the dominant White group versus darker-skinned minorities including Asians. Yet while doing fieldwork, I came across a notion of difference and experiences of prejudice that I had not anticipated, experiences of

discrimination from other minority groups.

Nova, introduced above, currently works at a hospital lab in Sacramento. When she attended a high school that was ethnically diverse because of its International Baccalaureate (IB) program, she was often questioned by peers who attended the local school closer to her home about why she wanted to attend the other school. As Nova put it, they would call her out, saying "Why do you want to go to that school? All the Black and Asian people go there and other people, like they're all ratchet [meaning tactless, lower class, untamed] and just so rowdy [meaning disorderly] why would you go there?". This kind of racial stereotyping surprised Nova. She had not given the racial differences of the student population much thought in her decision to attend the school for its IB program. In the dialogue I had with her in the field, however, she became retrospective and said:

> "I wish I did think about it because socially, yes, I did face discrimination… 'cause the school I went to had a lot of Asians in it… and I don't know they just start saying all kinds of things…they would call me names, just because I wasn't Asian… this guy actually said to me he was, 'like, you know, you would be a lot more prettier if you were Asian or anything but what you are.'"

In this context the category "Asian" refers specifically to Vietnamese American and Hmong American youth. The school she attended with IB program was located in South Sacramento and mainly consisted of Asian American, African American, and Mexican American students.

Nova's experience played with her emotions mentally and influenced her actions and how she positioned herself within the existing differences between her and the majority-minority Asian populations at school. Her experience of negativity that was based on notions of physical differences led to a formation of a particular subjectivity (Kirham 2016; Okazaki 2009). Nova was reminded, time and time again, that she was different from the Asian group and was not valued because of it. As a result, she did not embrace her ethnic background because the Asian

minority group at school made a clear distinction between her and them. In her words, “I had self-esteem issues, like, I felt like I wasn’t good enough, I was still the minority in the majority of Asian people.”

Like Nova, Fanya was a 24-year-old bank teller, had similar experiences with other minority groups at school and in the community in Sacramento. When non-White peers would comment on her being Indian she would counter back, saying, “I am not Indian.” The same students would respond with, “Like, well, where’s your feathers?” Then Fanya would have to defend herself yet again, saying to them, “I’m not that kind of Indian either!”

When I asked her who would say this, her response was, “Usually Mexicans… white kids never really got involved, but the Mexicans would test me.” She went on to say that the Mexican students were the majority of minorities at school. As a result, they would pick on anyone who was not Mexican. This influenced her sense of self because she said that she tended to downplay her Indo-Fijian ethic background as a mechanism to avoid negative attention. However, this downplay did not always work because visibly she was different (skin colour) and was an obvious target because of it.

Inter-minority racism shed a new light into the research findings as this type of discrimination that many of the research participants faced went beyond the white-brown binary and furthers this notion that difference is relational and contingent, based on location, gender, culture, and status. Then, forming an identity is a complex notion that has many layers. Ayvah had similar experiences with inter-minority racism. Her high school consisted mostly of African American and Mexican Americans along with White people. She reflects back to when she felt discriminated against by saying,

> “This one time I was doing a [Indo-Fijian] dance performance and I didn’t wear shoes because, you know, you can dance better with shoes off. So umm, after the performance

> one of the guys, he was Mexican, he made a comment. He said, 'Oh, you made the whole squad smell like curry and feet.'"

When Ayvah told me this story she was ashamed and still uncomfortable by the topic as she nervously laughed at the end of the story. This was a humiliating and horrifying experience that Ayvah internalized and thought was true as she said that she had to re-evaluate her personal hygiene, and said, "It was so weird and I was, like, oh gosh, do my feet really smell? Do I really smell like curry? I was embarrassed and didn't want to dance in front of people anymore." This act of highly racialized shaming profoundly affected Ayvah because she was constantly reminded that her cultural norms and traditions were different and essentially considered subpar to the majority. Additionally, this racist slur was far more than just labelling Ayvah as different it was a direct attack on her physically and emotionally that left her scared. If that experience at the dance performance was not horrific enough, Ayvah had another experience with inter-minority racism. In her words, "Well, African-American girls never liked me… I don't know what I did, but I always got bullied by African American girls, always. I don't know if it was how I looked or maybe I was different, they didn't give me a chance to tell them what I am about."

Here, we see that cultural differences are considered to be problematic by the majority-minority group because it is assumed that different cultures are incompatible and this is what leads to conflict (Verkuyten and Masson 1995). This form of marginalization places minorities at direct conflict with one another, a problem related to perceptions of threat that can affect social and racial tolerance (Bilali, Celik and Ok 2014). When minority groups are in competition with one another they are aware of their devalued position in society. Concerned with becoming targets by the majority group, they try to establish their dominance against other minority groups. (Bilali et al. 2014). Dominant minority group members thus try to protect themselves from becoming targets of violence and from the negative consequences of discrimination by other

minority groups by creating higher social distance through racial slurs (Bilali et al. 2014). Verkuyten and Masson (1995) suggest that it is significant to look at inter-minority racism along with the marginalization that is perpetuated by Whites because there are different dynamics at play. Inter-minority racial conflict can be a result of proximity, when minorities are in close proximity to other minority groups this puts them in competition with one another for resources (Verkuyten and Masson 1995).

What my research shows is how these young women expressed the need to express identities that were rejected and devalued by various other minority and majority groups to which they had daily interactions with. Nova, Fanya, and Ayvah's narratives of inter-minority racism stresses racial conflict and how it is based on an inferiority/ superiority dualism of difference and otherness. This form of discrimination between minority groups was more prominent with the research participants in California than in Vancouver. Verkuyten and Masson's concept of "inter-minority racism" (1995) is helpful here because it points to the exclusion of ethnic groups by other ethnic groups. Participants felt discriminated against at school and around the community because the largest minority groups, either Mexican/ Hispanic, Asian, or African American minority groups, expressed racist attitudes towards the Indo-Fijian youth.

"Where Are You Really From?"–My Experience

In January of 2017, I was selected to present a paper at the 2nd International Conference on Migration and Diasporas: Emerging Diversities and Development Challenges at the Indira Gandhi National Open University in New Delhi, India. My paper, entitled "*A History of Displacement and Non-Belonging: Female Indo-Fijian Immigrant Youth Find Themselves,"* focused on the "othered" status of Indo-Fijian young immigrant young women in North

American society and, in particular, how these young women had so far failed to achieve a sense of belonging because of racism and ethnic prejudice.

I had been given the opportunity to visit the land of my ancestors, which has been on my bucket-list for years. My family felt the same way. They had all wanted to visit India but were never given a good opportunity to do so. As a result of me participating in the conference, my mum, dad, older sister, and my husband decided to join me on my trip.

At the two-day conference most of the delegates were either Indian citizens or non-resident Indians. I was one of a handful of international presenters, the only Canadian, along with a presenter from the U.S. The hospitality of the organizers at the conference, that included a driver service to and from my hotel to the conference site, was revealing. I was treated special because of my international status, but I was also treated like one of "their own," in a sense, because they viewed Indo-Fijians as part of their own people who were forced to leave as a result of British rule in India. This sense of Indo-Fijian's belonging to India came out of a conversation I had with the main conference organizer, Dr. Sai Sina (not his real name).

On the last day of the conference, the organizer, a professor at the Indira Gandhi Open University, interviewed me in a small conference room where a camera crew was set up. Dr. Sina seemed genuinely interested in my ancestry, asking me how many generations of my Indian family have been in Fiji and where in India my maternal grandfather was from. As I provided answers he looked at his colleagues and commented, "Look, one of us, her forefathers were indentured laborers, they were taken by the British, they did well in Fiji a new land and now in Canada they are doing well. Now look at her, she is completing her PhD about to be a Doctor. Her family has succeeded despite all that was against them, so nice!" His words suggested to me that he believed that my family, and Indo-Fijians as a whole, were people of/from India, that is,

Indian and had not been suppressed by British colonialism. His sentiments confirmed my sense of belonging in India, a homeland for my family.

When we first landed in Delhi, the immigration officer was very welcoming and also impressed when my husband and I spoke to him in Hindi. As a result, he began asking personal question about our family and how we ended up in Canada and the United States.

While at the conference and touring India, I felt like I belonged more than any other place I have visited around the world, largely because of how Indian locals reacted to us. First of all, my appearance: I am of a dark skin complexion. I have dark hair, and dark brown eyes. Secondly, I speak their language to some extent to carry on a conversation even though I believe my Hindi is not proper as Indo-Fijian Hindi is a hybrid language.• But on the other hand, while I felt that I belonged because I looked and talked like many of the locals, many times I felt removed from the people, culture, and traditions.

On the second day we were in New Delhi we decided to go to Chandani Chowk market to shop. Once at the market, we enjoyed hours of shopping in the afternoon heat and then decided to take a rickshaw to Jama Masjid, a famous Islamic center in New Delhi established during the Moghul rule in India. We decided ahead of time that we were not going to use our cameras inside as a sign of respect (and we were aware of the camera fee). As we took off our shoes and entered the masjid, the caretaker called us back and pointed to the rules and regulations including a camera fee. The caretaker pointed at the sign again and insisted on the fee. Not until my husband spoke to him in Hindi did he let us pass.

The masjid was beautiful. As we were leaving, two young women tourists from the U.S. were refused entry by the same caretaker unless they paid 300 rupees for the camera fee. They

• Fijian Hindi was a result of British rule and a means of communication between Indian indentured labourers and the British Rulers who brought them to Fiji. As a result, Fijian Hindi has a lot of English words as part of the language.

told us that the caretaker wasn't listening to their assurances that they weren't going to take any photos inside the mosque. My dad advised them to simply walk in because a Mosque is always free to enter regardless of religious background and Islam's aim is to not show any discrimination. As the women began walking in, the caretaker physically tried to bar them and looked at my dad, asking him in Hindi, "Why did you do that?"

My dad replied, "This is a masjid anyone can go in."

The caretaker replied, "No, only if you are Indian it is free. Otherwise, you pay."

My father said back, "I am not Indian, and I went. And you cannot make money on a masjid!"

This was an odd experience for me. As a Muslim immigrant young women I have felt this kind of discrimination in North America, not only religiously, but also racially. I was saddened at this historical religious site by the discrimination, prejudice, and the advantage the local caretakers were imposing on non-Muslim tourists. It was also an example of my own feelings of disconnection from Indian culture. When dealing with the mass crowds and missing the comforts of home, such as safe tap water, I did not feel "Indian" because I did not understand the norms and, furthermore, felt irritated. I felt out of place while I was in India, except at the conference, a site of privilege. I thought, North America is where I belong because I am accustomed to the norms, the comforts, and the traditions.

As I reached the U.S., however, I was quickly reminded of how my skin colour and appearance did not allow me the privilege to belong. I was a little nervous, after the 14-hour flight from Mumbai with a layover in Dubai to San Francisco, about immigration control. The 2017 travel ban imposed by the U.S. Government restricted travel from Muslim countries. In the past, my husband has been pulled aside because of his name (customs officers have actually told

him this). Surprisingly everything went smoothly at the airport arrival through customs, and it was not until I was on the BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) that I felt a familiar sense of displacement.

While on the BART as I was trying to figure out what line and what stop we needed a White woman interfered, telling me she was making the same stop and would could keep an eye out for it with me and my husband. She sat beside me and within minutes the conversation turned to the eminent question that inspired this research, "Where are you from?" I replied, "We are from Elk Grove, (California)."

As I have experienced too frequently in the past, she prodded, "Where did you grow up?" I felt the rudeness deeply, and replied, "I'm actually from Vancouver, Canada, but my husband was born and raised in California."

With that she said, "Oh, I've heard Vancouver is beautiful!" but then she continued and asked, "Where are you really from? Or where is your family from?" I took great offense to this. I have been asked far too many times by White people and non-White people alike where I am "really" from or where are my parents from. Clearly to those who question my place of origin I must look to them like I am from somewhere else. I immigrated with my parents over 30 years ago, and I speak English with a Canadian accent; I am Canadian. Yet for those who are in the position to ask me such questions without hesitation, I'm not from "here." I am not in the privileged position to ask such questions back either.

Ultimately, I shared with the BART rider that I was born in Fiji, but I grew up in Canada, which is where I call home. The woman continued to be offensive. "Oh Fiji. You look like you are Indian. I was going to suggest that, I love India, I have been there four times, to visit different ashrams, it is a gorgeous country."

When I told her that my Indian ancestors had been brought to Fiji as indentured laborers, she responded crassly, “Oh, like slaves?” After explaining the historical circumstances of Indo-Fijians to her, she seemed to tell that I was offended by her comment. She wished us a good journey home, and we turned to walk out of the station.

Comments like those from the women I met on the BART have been a common experience of mine since migrating to Canada in 1988. Not until I reached high school or even university did I realize that it was a form of discrimination and racism, all the more unacceptable in light of Canadian claims to being a multicultural country accepting and tolerant of all people and prides itself on diversity. *Multiculturalism* was meant to promote positive feelings in the sense of belonging and respect for people with different cultural values and was to ultimately result in a common shared identity in which people were accepting and tolerant of one another. However, despite Canada’s claim as being a multicultural nation Canada remains for the most part White (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015; Sriskandarajah 2017). The core or real Canadian culture is Whiteness, which can be symbolized by beer, hockey, Tim Horton’s, and the unique pronunciation of certain words like about and roof (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015; Rajiva 2006). Like Sriskandarajah’s (2017) research on racialized youth in Toronto, the experiences of my own research participants featured in this chapter suggest that contrary to an official policy of *Multiculturalism* in Canada in reality racialized people continued to get treated differently according to their physical identity markers. Annisha who was a 24 year-old born in Fiji raised in Vancouver sums up this up “At the beginning it is was hard! It was difficult I would say because you are trying to find a group to fit in to which you didn’t have very much choice because you were brown and most people didn’t look like you or like you because you looked different.” The United States and Canada are White-Anglo dominant countries, where immigrant

groups are defined and evaluated in terms of the values and standards established by the majority, as the experiences of the research participants and my experiences on the BART indicate (Kallen 2003).

Chapter Conclusion:

In this chapter I have discussed how race and skin-color racism structure many Indo-Fijian immigrant young people's experiences, opportunities, and their personal identities. As a result, self-identification is contingent on this because societal processes instill skin colour as the marker to justify differentiated identities (Shahsiah 2006). Examples of this can be seen through Nova and Nala's experiences at school where they were teased and discriminated against because of their skin colour by their White peers or even when they experienced inter-minority racism. In other words, because of the racialized world that these women live in they do not have the complete freedom to self-identify themselves as they please. "Identities are constituted along borders that separate who one is from who one is not" (Lee 2005: 53). Their choices of how they identify themselves was influenced through their understandings of how they were viewed in American and Canadian society (Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb 2015; Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015; Sriskandarajah 2017). However, Giddens (1984) argues that individuals are constantly making choices, even if these choices are constrained by structural context. A prime example of what Giddens (1984) argues comes from Aisha, as she was constantly making choices about who she was and how she wanted to portray herself even though her choice of trying to be more White was influenced by her specific context. In my research the young women are casts as "others" by the dominant society because they look different, and the primary marker of difference is their skin colour, yet they try to create a sense of belonging based on their experiences with these structures. Currently, racism rears its ugly head again in

terms of how racism is lived in Canada versus the U.S., I will discuss this further in the next chapter.

Anthropologists use subjectivity as a term to capture the inner or emotional states of individuals and how they feel and experience the world and, in particular, their sense of being subjects and/or human, people are able to create their own responses to the world around them that constitute subjectivity (Biehl, Good, Kleinman 2007). Subjectivities are the meanings immigrant youth acquire through social interactions and experiences, these experiences and interactions are fundamental to understanding their sense of selves (Herman 2004). Subjectivity exists as a status for immigrant youth, and it is how immigrants see themselves and how they hope others see them (Herman 2004). Subjectivity is culturally constructed and it is the way individuals perceive themselves in relation to the space they occupy (Blackwood 2010).

The complexity of self-identifying and conceptualizing a sense of self may be related to integration or acceptance derived from the struggle with the multiplicity of their subjectivities (Foner 1997; Keaton 20006; Shahsiah 2006). Keaton (2006) suggests that relative power emerges for immigrant youth in being able to identify and establish their own identity as I have demonstrated above with the research participants' statements. An example of this comes from Fanya's narrative as she identifies with her Indo-Fijian identity and is constantly telling her peers that is who she is. In addition, identity formation is contingent on various other factors such as the type of school one attended, socio-economic status, gender, as well as the racial hierarchies of the host culture and how one maneuvers through experiences as first or second generation immigrants (Brettell and Nibbs 2009).

Chapter Six. Situating Racism and the Similarities and Differences Between Canadian and American Participants

The research participants, as Indo-Fijian immigrants, experienced racism and racialization. In this chapter, I situate race, racism, and racialization by discussing the climate in Canada and the United States following the 2016 U.S. election, the experiences and interactions in Canadian and American society, and discuss how American research participants may be similar in some ways and different in others from Canadian participants based on experiences as immigrants.

Dua, Razack and Warner (2005) suggest that Canada is an interesting site for investigations on race, racism, and racialization because of its long history of colonization, White settlement policies, and racialized immigration policies and postwar period with its characterization as a nation seemingly innocent of racism because of such policies of *Multiculturalism*, as I have discussed in Chapter Two. Like Dua, Razak and Warner (2005), other critical race theorists such as Delgado (1994) and Harris (2015) are also critical of claims to innocence and suggest how racism is actually very ordinary and normal in society and that contemporary laws and anti-discrimination laws accommodates and facilitates racism, which has been evident pre and post the 2016 U.S. election in the United States as well as Canada. In the previous chapter I have demonstrated how research participants experienced racism on a daily basis regardless of preventative policies in place because their experiences show that racism is still very normal in society today.

The Climate in Canada and the United States Following the 2016 U.S. Election

The notion that those who are different from dominant White society do not belong has been exacerbated in the last couple of years in the United States, since the 2016 election of Donald Trump as President (Chacon and Davis 2018; Knowles and Tropp 2018; Lajevardi and Oskooii

2018). His platform has normalized and allowed for the racialized dehumanization of immigrants as illegal and "non-belongers" (Chacon and Davis 2018; Knowles and Tropp 2018). Immigration and immigrants in the United States have been reframed as a national security threat by the conflation of immigrants with the dangers of terrorist activity because of where they are from and what they look like (Chacon and Davis 2018; Lajevardi and Oskooii 2018). This scare of "brownness" (never really defined. It is not an absolute colour but a relative and constantly changing one in terms of race) is a deeply rooted strain of racism directed towards those who are Mexican, Latin American and various people from Middle Eastern and South Asian counties (Chacon and Davis 2018; Knowles and Tropp 2018). Furthermore, the 2016 United States election has also influenced Canada and its people. When Donald Trump was elected, the general consensus in Canada was that such rhetoric would not resonate with Canadians (Scrivens 2017). However, during the first year of President Trump's presidency hateful and discriminatory sentiments not only resonated with many American citizens, but also with many Canadians (Scrivens 2017). In 2017, Canada witnessed an increase in hate crimes and right-wing extremism as evidenced by the murder of six Islamic worshippers at a mosque in Quebec City by a 27 year-old White male determined to harm Muslims (Scrivens 2017). Statistics Canada reported that hate crimes in Canada jumped 47 percent after 2016 (Coletta 2018).

Like the U.S. racism is very prevalent in Canada within the country's leadership, in 2019, Justin Trudeau, admits to racist acts of 'brown face/black face' (this is makeup used to portray dark skin tones, or to make one appear brown or black with the use of makeup) as he launched his reelection campaign (Doom and Osborne 2019). A 2001 photograph of Trudeau wearing brown face at a school dinner party where he was a teacher in Vancouver surfaced online (Doom and Osborne 2019). Looking at the photo plastered all of the media resonated with me because at

the time the photo was taken I was in grade 11 and Justin Trudeau had been a substitute math teacher of mine. I think back of what I remember of him around the same time the brown face picture was taken, I remember he was young and fairly new to teaching. When he made the decision to put brown face on did he think about the consequences of what he was portraying? In regards to the incident Trudeau responded with “I did not see racism through layers of privilege” (Boom and Osborne 2019). If the leader of Canada is sighting his White privilege as an excuse for his racist behavior then it normalizes other individuals to be racist and participate in racist acts based on their White privilege.

In the United States hate crimes rose 21 percent following Trump’s election (Coletta 2018). Donald Trump’s platform in the United States led to people being given “permission” to be racist in both Canada and the United States, and also around the world. For example, the Christchurch, New Zealand Mosque Shootings were two consecutive terrorist attacks at mosques on March 15, 2019. The perpetrator, Brenton Tarrant, a 28-year-old White man, blatantly said that he supports U.S. president Donald Trump as "a symbol of renewed White identity and common purpose" (Gelineau and Gambrell 2019). This act of terrorism affected my family directly, as one of the victims was my husband’s uncle, who I met in June 2018 in Fiji while on a family vacation visiting my husband’s family who still lives there. My husband’s uncle was visiting his brother in Christchurch from Fiji. They both went to Friday prayers (jummah). The gunman live-streamed the shooting and my husband’s uncle was visibly gunned down right in front of the camera. He died instantly.

Critical race theory shows us that the legal system has a moral obligation to refrain from perpetrating racist acts against its people. However, when the President of the United States participates in such discriminatory acts it validates racism and makes heinous acts against

racialized immigrants justifiable. The current climate has undoubtedly led to social exclusion and has displaced racialized immigrant populations as they are constantly reminded that they do not belong by experiencing such hatred in both Canada and the United States.

While my research interviews were completed before the 2016 US election, there was already an increase in hate crimes reported both in the U.S and Canada. Clearly racism and discrimination are very significant discussions for the research participants in my study as is the reason I included this section on the current racial climate in Canada and the United States following the 2016 U.S. election because I wanted to provide current context to the current situation in Canada and the U.S.

Experiences and Interactions in Canadian and American Society:

Many immigrant young women living in multicultural and diverse societies tend to have highly complex views of themselves and this directly affects their subjectivity as they experience difficulty in forming new or maintaining their already-established sense of self (Keaton 2006; Shahsiah 2006). The manner in which the research participants in my study thought about themselves at school and around their community gives insights into how they identified in Canada and the United States as first or second generation immigrants and what influences their subjectivity. Many immigrant young people's self-representations are expressions of their need to retain their own sense of self and specificity apart from the identifiers and labels that have been cast upon them by institutional labels (Keaton 2006; Shahsiah 2006). The complexity of self-identifying and conceptualizing oneself may be related to integration or acceptance related struggle by the multiplicity of their social lives (Foner 1997; Keaton 20006; Shahsiah 2006). In other words, relative power emerges for many immigrant young people in being able to identify, create their own sense of self, and naming themselves (Keaton 2006). The act of naming oneself,

however, entails societal pressures that require them to identify with certain "acceptable" subjectivities, categories, and labels (Shahsiah 2006).

The manner in which the research participants identified themselves at school and around the community gives insights in to their particular experiences and whether or not they embraced their Indo-Fijian culture as a part of their subjectivity. As defined by the research participants, these schools may or may not have been multicultural. Further definition of a multicultural school is if there were other nationalities and ethnicities present at school, primarily non-White individuals. Some of the young woman attending multicultural high schools did not embrace their Indo-Fijian roots. In this case, the individual did not deem it important to do so as they did not consider themselves different. Falisha, a 23 year-old young women who resides in Vancouver working at a hair transplant company, identified herself at school as not different from her peers. She suggests that her Indo-Fijian culture did not play a large role in her Canadian culture outside of the home. Falisha asserted that she "didn't really associate it [her Indo-Fijian culture] I mean, yeah, I didn't really associate it." This attitude of not acknowledging her Indo-Fijian culture can be explained by understanding that Falisha did not see herself different from non-Indo-Fijian peers, because she had been in Canada for so many years, she did not recognize herself to be different from other Canadians because she shared the same views, outlooks, and mannerisms of someone who was born in Canada. Thus, she did not find it important to distinguish herself from others by acknowledging her origin.

Most of the research participants did not willingly acknowledge their immigrant status or their racial background rather it was assumed by their physical appearance and they were often forced to acknowledge it when confronted in some way by Canadian or American society and the educational system. Further to Mamta's experiences above, she expressed to me that

although she attended a multicultural high school she still did not feel completely at ease because she was worried that she might be asked questions about her personal life that would set her apart from what she considered the norm. Although Mamta went to a multicultural school she considered the epitome of Canadian culture would equate with Whiteness. That was her goal to distance herself as far away from her immigrant status as possible. For many immigrant youth growing up in countries like Canada and the United States they have to "wrestle with being seen as racially different in a national context, where Canadianness is automatically conflated with Whiteness" (Rajiva 2005: 27). It is difficult for most immigrant youths to embrace their origins especially if they see others are not accepting of them. Thus they must find their own place to fit into based on what the dominant culture has already established to be acceptable, such as being White skinned and non-racialized immigrants. Those who do not demonstrate these characteristics have to find where they belong and this directly influenced their subjectivity (Lee 2005). In other words, these individuals understand there to be uncomfortable situations if they were to outright acknowledge their Indo-Fijian roots. Situations such as being asked personal questions about their origins, cultural norms, family, and the private life, contribute to why they downplay their origins at school and in public spaces.

Lee (2005) notes that immigrant youths usually live in a society where immigrant status is stigmatized, so they have to manipulate and alter themselves to be accepted. In Mamta's case, she identified herself as different, but she did not want others to see her in the same way because of the stigma attached to her immigrant status, so she downplayed her immigrant origins in order to be accepted by her peers. The difference between Mamta and Falisha is that Mamta explicitly did not address her immigrant status because she thought that people would treat her differently. Mamta already accepted she was different than the dominant White kids at school because of her

skin colour, but she did not want others to realize she was different because she was born outside of Canada. She acknowledged that she was, in fact, different in terms of her origins, but feared that if it were out in the open people would consider her even more alien. This directly impacted her sense of self as she accepted that she was different but did not want to be treated that way by the dominant White Canadian culture in her attempts to be accepted. These experiences with the wider Canadian and American society have influenced how Indo-Fijian young women see themselves and how they self-identify in all aspects of life.

I would like to add that the demographics in Vancouver have changed within the last ten plus years to reflect changing immigration policies in Canada to reveal a multiethnic society. Data from the 2016 Census carried out by Statistics Canada which reveal that more than 250 different ethnic origins or ancestries were reported (Statistics Canada 2016). As a result, this has a significant impact on the demographics of school populations as well. For example, when I was growing up in Vancouver in the mid to late 1990's and early 2000's Fraser Street's Punjabi market on 48th and Main Street was a bustling Indo-Canadian neighborhood with a number of Indian clothing retailers and restaurants. In the last five years this area has seen a drastic change in its population as businesses have departed for Surrey, B.C. and the area has changed to cater to the different Asian communities in the Area. As a result, the school populations have changed from primarily Indo-Canadian and White people in this area to predominantly Asian. In the next section, I will discuss how the research participants see themselves nationally based on specific experiences as first- or second-generation immigrants in Canada and the United States.

Experiences of Nationality:

Ascribing to one nationality over another is a difficult task for many racialized immigrant young people. As my research shows, Indo-Fijian immigrant young women have difficulties in

expressing their national and ethnic identities and how they create or ascribe to a sense of self. Uniquely, many Indo-Fijian immigrant young people shape their particular experiences through a history of displacement and non-belonging rooted in the indentured laborer status of previous generations. This makes it difficult for them to establish a secure nationality and sense of self because of this continued sense of displacement (Lal 1992). This initial institutionalization through indentured labour regimes of racialized notions of difference served the British imperial rule and further displaced Indo-Fijians as the indentured labour project resulted in institutionalization if anthropological notions of racialized difference (Thomas and Clarke 2013).

This displacement is furthered when individuals are asked about their nationality because many do not think it is appropriate to call themselves Canadian or American especially if they do not hold citizenship to those countries leaving them in limbo of who they are; Fijian or Canadian/ American. So, when asked the question of where they were from, research participants became frustrated or uncomfortable because being asked about their nationality was a question of self-categorization. During our conversation Aisha told me that she tried to hide her Fijian nationality, she felt irritated when people asked because she did not know the right answer "I wanted to tell them I was Canadian but I didn't know if I had the right to say it". Shahsiah (2006) argues that many immigrant youth think of themselves as Canadians, they are not convinced that they can call themselves Canadian when asked because of the uncertainty they feel when asked (Shahsiah 2006). They conceptualize being Canadian as a privilege, a privilege given to those that were born in Canada (Shahsiah 2006).

As a consequence of being part of cultures and nations that are constructed as different or "othered" these young women find it difficult and frustrating when asked to identify with one culture or nation versus another because it is not easy to just choose one over the other (Shahsiah

2006). An example of when and where these individuals need to choose one nationality over the other was when they were travelling. A number of the research participants explained that they would call themselves Canadian or American if they were traveling abroad because they were often asked the question of 'where are you from.' As a result, they would have to ascribe to one nationality. I myself did this, when asked "where are you from?" I would often choose my Canadian nationality but when I was in Canada I would say I am Fijian; to me in Canada it might be a given that you are Canadian because you live in Canada, so further explanation is needed of your background especially if you are a racialized immigrant.

American Participants Different from Canadian Participants?

While the American research participants in this study were different from the Canadian participants they also shared some similarities. In this section, I will first discuss what makes Canadian identity and Canadian context different from American identity and American context, then I will highlight some of the major differences that I encountered between the two groups in my research, and finally I will address the commonalities between them.

i. Canadian Identity and Context:

Canada over the years has prided itself as a nation of immigrants as it directly contrasts that of the American melting pot as a more acceptable mosaic (Roy 1995). The Canadian mosaic as a form of cultural pluralism justifies the lack of a true Canadian identity because it implies that many Canadas exist and Canadians hold a multitude of identities (Keough 2007). Identity here is defined as a fundamental way of defining, describing, and locating oneself (Armstrong, Krasny and Shuldt 2018). Canadian identity as a result has been difficult to define because the notion that the definition should remain fluid to be interpreted and defined by its inhabitants, however, Canadian identity and Canadianness has been based on the hegemonic dominant majority

definition (Keough 2007; Kymlicka 2003). Canadianness is still associated with Whiteness and Whiteness is the norm against which everyone is judged (Sriskandarajah 2017). As a result, racialized immigrants and minority populations have to position themselves in relation to this idea of Canadian identity or Canadianness and they are often viewed as others by the dominant group (Keough 2007). Furthermore, place and where one lives influences the construction of one's identity, because individuals interpret themselves and are also interpreted by others according to where they live, belong, and originate from (Keough 2007; Sriskandarajah 2017). Sriskandarajah (2017) in her study of racialized youth in Toronto discusses how spatial location can determine inclusion and exclusion as it influences immigrant young people's way of being. Immigrant "youth's strong ties to their ethno-racial identity and their recognition of the marginalization of their spatial location and identities by dominant discourses oriented their disposition to one that viewed themselves as the 'other'" (Sriskandarajah 2017;113). Moreover, being Canadian is just one identity within this larger set of identities (Kymlicka 2003). This idea is what resonates with the Canadian research participants. Aisha speaks about her multiple identities "being Canadian is such a source of pride. I am happy to be Canadian. I don't know I feel that it's cool to be Fijian too, but I really like the fact that I'm Canadian, but Fijian from Canada like they're all a source of pride" She expressed that because she grew up in Canada it is okay for her to be Fijian and Canadian because in the cultural mosaic of Canada that is accepted. This notion of multiple identities within Canada was a common trend in my research, many of the Canadian research participants defined themselves as both Canadian and Fijian and felt that it was okay to do that because of how seemingly accepting Canada is about being different. For example, when I asked Reshma how she would identify herself, what was her identity? Reshma,

an only child who migrated to Canada at the age of 16 from Australia to live with her maternal aunt and her family said:

> "I feel like I am all over the place because I'm Fiji Indian but I'm Australian and now I feel like I'm Canadian, it's like a little of everything. Personally, I used to hate that question when people would ask me so where are you from? Or what are you? Or what is your Identity? It's actually confusing like when I was younger in Australia, it was like am I not Australian?! But now [in Canada] I feel like I can say that I am Fijian, Australian and now Canadian".

A person might see themselves belonging to various groups, such as citizenship, residence, country of origin, race, and gender, as a result each of these gives a particular identity (Kabir 2013). The research participants possess multiple identities in Canada because they feel that Canada allows them to be Canadian but something else (Fijian or Indo-Fijian) at the same time allowing them to not only choose between one or the other. On her Canadian identity, Alma spoke English at school and sometimes at home, had a boyfriend, and hung out with friends "so that makes me Canadian but I am also Fijian because I cook the traditional food, I like the cultural aspects like speaking Hindi, and watching Indian movies". Alma related her Indo-Fijian identity to her food and language and her Canadian side is revealed when she said she has a boyfriend and she hangs out with friends outside of school, this was Alma accepting her multiple identities, as Canadian and Indo-Fijian.

ii. American Identity and Context:

America is known for its melting pot tendencies, it is the fusion of nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures made up of five distinct cultures; African American, Asian American, Native American, Latino/ Hispanic American, and European American (Kass 1995). Unlike the Canadian Mosaic concept that attempts to celebrate and preserve the uniqueness of each culture, the melting pot concept is where many different types of people blend together as one, to serve in harmonious

existence (Kass 1995). The United States attempts to embrace diversity, as it allows the coexistence of many different cultures (Kabir 2013). Like Canada, The United States is also a nation of immigrants, as a result, it is difficult to define a single American identity. Identity like in the Canadian context is defined as a fundamental way of defining, describing, and locating oneself (Armstrong, Krasny and Shuldt 2018). When I asked Nala how she would identify herself, she said that;

> "If I can hyphenate it (her identity), I would be Fijian-American. Fijian first. because that's what I am, I'm born here, but that's not what I know as the motherland, this (America) is my motherland but my real motherland is Fiji because it's where my parents are from, it's where the rest of my family is from. It's what I know. I speak, eat, and do all the things Fijian."

Nala related her Fijian cultural identity to her food, language, and where her family is from. Although Nala was born in the United States she sees herself in the United States as first Fijian and then American. As a result, her identity is not determined by a specific amount of time spent in the U.S. since she was born there, but rather how she relates her personal self to the cultural aspects of being Fijian or American. Larissa who was also born in the United States included her multiple identities when asked how she would define herself, she said

> "I would say that I am more American Fijian cause I don't do half the stuff that they do in our culture, I think it's supposed to be wired in us and that people just do it because it's kind of tradition. I mean the only reason I am Fijian is because of my parents but I don't have ties to Fiji or anything I have never been there. But I will admit whenever people ask me where I am from I will always say my nationality is Fijian. Yeah but everybody knows that I grew up in America, in California."

Unlike Nala, Larissa considers herself to be more American because she does not participate in many activities that she considers Fijian, she has not been to Fiji, and finally she sees that the United States offers her more freedom that she participates in; "Freedom, yeah. I guess I am lucky that I am not in Fiji where I can't be who I want to be, I guess in America you are free to

go wherever, you can do whatever you want." Depending on the particular context of each research participant they are able to ascribe to multiple identities, as we have seen with both Nala and Larissa. Relative importance is attached to the respective identities and it depends on the context to which one ascribes to, or if they ascribe to multiple identities, or if they hyphenate their identities (Kabir 2013). The point is that identity is always in motion and it is dependent on context (Kabir 2013).

iii. Similarities and Differences between Canadian and American Participants

The Canadian and American research participants are very similar in many ways, because the respective laws in both Canada and the United States are similar in principle even if they differ in detail, they share a common heritage and for the most part our primary language that is used outside of the home is the same, English and both countries were settled by Europeans who relied on Indigenous knowledge about the land. Furthermore, I have already highlighted in previous sections both the American and Canadian research participants share the desire to fit in within the broader American or Canadian community as this was a common thread that was revealed in the interviews of these immigrant youth. Another commonality that the research participants from Canada and the United States shared were experiences with racism. As discussed in the previous chapter racism was part of the daily lives of many of the research participants regardless if they were from Canada or the United States. They shared many of the same issues surrounding racism. For example, Aisha, Amina and Mamta all from the greater Vancouver area had similar stories to tell about racism as their U.S. counterparts; Shirley, Nova and Ayvah. Experiences of racism and the desire to fit in are spheres that occupy space in the research participants daily lives and as I have demonstrated in previous sections such experiences have shaped their subjectivities. Finally, another similarity that Canadian and

American research participants share are the intergenerational conflicts between parents and youth, this will be discussed further in chapter seven. Conflicts between parents and youth arise because parents represent traditions of the origin culture, whereas children gravitate towards Canadian and American culture because they consider it to be modern (Chao and Aque 2009; Seat 2003; Shahidian 1999).

However, in spite of these similarities there are differences. The major difference that I encountered between my Canadian and American research participants was different views on education. Parents and young immigrants acknowledge that education is essential for a better life (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001). Generational difference in immigrant educational attainment can be explained through a structural analysis of the family's cultural background (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015). Blum (2012) suggests that many immigrant parents have a positive view of educational attainment because it correlates to achievement that may not have been possible in their home country. As a result, educational opportunities may have been motivation for migration, however there were differing intergenerational views about education that were passed from parents to their children. Getting a good education and furthering ones education were important to both American and Canadian research participant's parents, they realized that completing high school and going beyond high school is critical (Knight, Roegman, and Edstrom 2015; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001). "Formal schooling has become a high-stakes goal for the children of immigrants. For many of them, schooling is nearly the only ticket for a better tomorrow" (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001: 124). What differed was how and where research participants were able to obtain these educational aspirations set out by parents. Those participants who grew up in Vancouver had strong aspirations of getting a university degree as their parents were supportive of their education even if it meant moving

away for school. This relates to the notion that parents gradually attained middle-class status and wanted their children to succeed by aspiring to middle-class wealth and financial stability (Knight, Roegman and Edstrom 2015; Na, McDonough, Chan and Park 2016). In Sacramento, the research participants did not express the drive for higher education or if they did they were discouraged by parents. For most of them, they told me they did not aspire to attend post-secondary schooling because they did not have the support from their parents especially if wanting to move away for school. Ayvah who was born and raised in California to two Indo-Fijian immigrant parents experienced intergenerational conflict when it came to educational attainment. Ayvah wanted to attend school out of the city where she lived with her parents but was not allowed. Here is Ayvah's recollection;

> "I didn't really achieve the things that I wanted to achieve in life. Like you know, when I graduated high school I told my parents that I want to get my degree but I don't want to go to a community college because when I went there for a few months I met people that were there for years and that made me think like oh wow that's gonna be me, I don't wanna do that. So, I told my parents listen I wanna get my degree in medical assisting, that way I can get in the door and become an RN afterwards. I found a school in Walnut Creek, which was about a 45 min drive and I did have my license but because I had to drive 45 minutes everyday my parents weren't happy with that. So, then my dad, he found a place which was 5 miles from the house, but it was gonna cost $10,000 and it was only a 12 month program. I was like why does this sound too good to be true so when we went there to talk to the recruiter she said you'll get a certificate you're not going to get a degree, and I looked at my dad and I was like dad this is not what I want, I want to get a degree…and he said no it's too far we're not gonna let you go that far. He was like no means no, if you wanna do medical assisting this is what you're gonna do, this is where you're gonna go and if you're not gonna do this, then you're not gonna go' so I had no choice."

When I asked why her parents reacted that way, Ayvah said that her parents were reacting to pressure they felt from their community. It was a fear that if she went away to school she would be influenced or coaxed into doing things that were unacceptable such as dating, drinking and partying. Rajiva (2005) argues that young girls are expected to maintain cultural practices that are not widely accepted in the host society, this includes concerns with dress and behavior, peer

socializing in the form of attending parties and school dances, and most importantly interacting with members of the opposite sex and having romantic relationships. Intergenerational difficulties arise as parents fear their daughters may stray causing dishonor to the family and this will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Disagreements between parents and youths were a common experience amoung my American research participants. Nala who was also born and raised in California had aspirations of going away to school, but said it was not an option for her. “My parents made it clear, either I stay local for school or I don’t go at all.” When I asked Nala why, she gave me a similar answer to Ayvah “I think they were scared that I might do something and disgrace them.” The structures of the family’s social and cultural norms influenced parent’s decision in not letting their daughters attend a school away from home (Knight, Rogeman and Edstrom 2015). This idea goes back to young females of the family are custodians of their family’s honour and anything that may disrupt or threaten this ideal needs to be suppressed, I will discuss this in more detail in the next chapter.

I say that this was the biggest difference that I noticed from my American research participant’s experiences from my Canadian research participant’s experiences because four of my Canadian research participants went away for University; Aliyah, Aisha, Evelyn and Mamta, and the rest never talked about it as being an issue that they faced with their parents. So the nature of the contrast between American and Canadian Indo-Fijian immigrant experiences is not vast in nature in my research, there are more similarities than differences.

Chapter Conclusion:

In this chapter I have discussed the current climate in Canada and the United States following the 2016 U.S. election of President Donald Trump and how his platform has normalized and allowed for racism and dehumanization of immigrants as illegal and “non-

belongers" (Chacon and Davis 2018; Knowles and Tropp 2018). His presidency has exacerbated the deep divide of Whiteness and the "othered" in American society and has allowed for those who do not belong in the Whiteness category to be discriminated against. This separation has caused much racial conflict not only in the United States and in Canada but around the world and I have shown examples of this in this chapter for example the murder of six Islamic worshippers at a mosque in Quebec City and the Christchurch, New Zealand Mosque Shootings. I also address how Canada is a seemingly non-racist country but its leader, Justin Trudeau in the past has participated in derogatory racist behavior and blamed it on his privileged White position in society.

I also discussed the unique experiences research participants had when trying to identify themselves. Asking the research participants to identify themselves proved to be a difficult task because they were a part of multiple cultures and nations and a clear-cut identification of self was not always easy. Instead each research participants' identity was dependent on their particular context. What I mean by this is research participants ascribed to one identity or another based on their current situation, whether they were traveling, or at home, or filling out a government document each of these situations altered which identity they ascribed to. Furthermore, I discuss how Canada and the United States are nations of immigrants and how it is difficult to define a single Canadian or American identity because the definition is fluid and should be interpreted and defined by its inhabitants. Finally, in this chapter I present the similarities and differences between Canadian research participants from American research participants. There are many similarities such as the desire to fit in within the broader Canadian and American society, the shared experiences with racism, and intergenerational conflict between parents and youth. However, despite similarities there are differences among Canadian

research participants from American research participants. The main difference being educational attainment for American research participants, there were disagreements between parents and youth in terms of where research participants were allowed to attend post-secondary initiations, many were no allowed to attend school outside of their home city, whereas Canadian research participants did not report that as being an issue with their parents. Highlighting that despite educational attainment as a common influencer in migration it depends on what is considered appropriate by parents for their young daughters to participate in.

Chapter Seven. "Girls Have a Reputation to Keep:" Negotiating Expectations and Desires of Femininity Across Different Contexts

"You kind of have to balance the culture from Fiji and from how your parents want to raise us from growing up in Canada, especially for me, you kind of have to balance the whole social cultures, and it's kind of hard."- Falisha

Falisha's narrative exemplifies a common experience among research participants and this chapter dives into such issues.

Immigration is a gendered process. The gendered formation of subjectivity is experienced by young immigrants in a particular way (Henry and Tator 2010; Stritikus and Nguyen 2007). In this chapter, I concentrate on the experiences of migration where relations with the family and gendered inequality have influenced the subjectivity of young Indo-Fijian women in my study. In this chapter, I focus on the idea of freedom that was a central theme in my research interviews, and I draw out what freedom entails and how experiences of freedom, or lack thereof, influenced strategies for negotiating everyday life. I first discuss family dynamics, and then follow with a discussion on shame and sexuality and a discussion of gender and boundary maintenance. I follow with how research participants express themselves with clothing and other forms of negotiation to create a sense of self. I then discuss the gendered bias within the family and what parents are reacting to and the intergenerational conflicts that arise between youth and their parents/ guardians by highlighting the importance of gender in intergenerational interactions. Finally, I bring in my own autoethnography and experiences to situate this chapter.

A gendered analysis here offers a look at the experiences of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women post-migration as well as those of the research participants who were second generation immigrants to Canada and the United States. While some issues regarding migration are relevant

more broadly to immigrant youth, other issues affect cis-gendered women in particular ways related to norms of femininity, which is the focus on this chapter.

Family Dynamics Post Immigration:

For many Indo-Fijian families only the family members know the unique pre-migration and post-migration circumstances, making the "family unit" an integral part of migration. A family unit consists of parents and their children but can often include grandparents and other family members such as children's aunts and/or uncles and/or cousins. I define family dynamics as the patterns of relating and interactions between family members; each family unit and its dynamics are different. Family dynamics were shown to be an important source of support but also sometimes a source of conflict in the lives of the participants. These dynamics were supportive in the sense of shared feelings and experiences of migration into a new culture to which the youth and the other family members had to figure out how to navigate; they also shared feelings of missing the cultural norms and knowing where they belong back home. Family dynamics were also a source of conflict because the young women I interviewed experienced migration differently than their parents. Fitting in at school and adapting to North American cultural norms were not salient experiences to their parents who were trying to retain their Indo-Fijian cultural norms and traditions in a new country.

In my own experience, my parents often talked about the racism and discrimination they experienced as immigrants. Since their experiences of racism and discrimination were in direct contrast to the vision that racialized immigrants often have of being open and free in a new country, this realization proved to be disheartening and difficult for not only my parents, but most of my extended family as well. After migration, my parents realized that there were great costs in moving to a new country and that many of the benefits they enjoyed in Fiji were denied

to them in Canada. Primarily, they lost their socio-economic status and other social roles that essentially provided them with notions and ideas of how they fit into the world.

As immigrants, my parents had to start from scratch in Canada. They did not have the same higher paying jobs as they had in Fiji, nor did they have the same cultural and community support. In addition, as my parents found themselves in a society where race and racism structure their experiences, opportunities, and identities, race and racism had a great impact on how they maneuvered and coped with being in a strange new society. These changes in circumstances, relationships, and roles were disorienting, and on top of this my parents did not want my sister and I to lose our Indo-Fijian traditions and values. As a result, they tried to raise us with these in mind.

Anthropologists working on this topic with families from South Asia, Africa, and Asia suggest that migration affects family relationships because both parents and youth are trying to cope with differing and new cultural expectations (Desai and Subramanian 2003: 142; Shahidian 1999; Yeh et al. 2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that I found in my study (and my own family's experience) that attempts to cope with the newness and difference of the host society meant that relationships between parents and youth were stressful when parents wanted their children to retain Indo-Fijian traditions while their children preferred to distance themselves from these traditions in favour of Canadian and U.S. cultural practices. Many research participants have suggested that within the family structure, parents resist conforming and changing to the North American culture, beliefs, and values, and, in fact, many parents do not wish to understand or accept the mainstream culture. The reason why I wanted to ask Indo-Fijian young immigrant women about their relationships with their parents in the context of settlement is because I was aware of how tensions with their parents might increase in Canada or the USA.

As my data in this chapter will demonstrate, the Indo-Fijian young women I interviewed were in a difficult position as gendered and young subjects. They were reacting to the dominance enforced by their parents and Fijian cultural norms and values, as well as to mainstream North American social structures of dominance in the form of race, racism, culture, and gendered norms.

Shame and Sexuality: Contestations in the Home

Experiences with family members and Indo-Fijian community members play a pivotal role in the construction of the self for many Indo-Fijian young women, as my research suggests. Indo-Fijian culture is family oriented, and the main tenets for young people are to be respectful to elders, family members, and the family name. This notion of being respectful to the family name came up in all the interviews when I asked them what Indo-Fijian culture means to them. Aliyah said, "Definitely the main thing is to be respectful to your parents and others and, um, it's all about image. I would say, like, they [parents] want you to like come off to others in a good way, not like in a degrading way or like something that is gonna [sic] put shame to your family." When I asked what shame entailed, Aliyah explained that shame can be anything,

> "[including] how you dress and who you associate with. Definitely you would have to dress a certain way more modest, you can't show too much leg or arms or something. Or another way to bring shame to the family is by hanging out with like guy friends in public and like stuff like that, it would look bad upon your parents and how they raised you. I think that's what like everyone fears, I know Fijian parents are worried about people talking about them more than what their kids are doing."

The young Indo-Fijian women in my study were bombarded with notions of femininity by parents who felt that young women should assume responsibilities associated with cultural reproduction. Sexual activity and sexual relationships of immigrant young women can be a targeted source of fear for their parents, as Rajiva (2005) has stated in her study of racialized immigrant parents and their Canadian-born children. Shame and dishonor, linked

to sexual activities, is a form of control exerted by authority figures within the family on young women, argues Rajiva (2005). Accordingly, Indo-Fijian culture is not the only culture that has these ideas. The notion that women are custodians of culture is widespread and include South Asian, Middle Eastern, and South East Asian cultural groups (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Anisef, Kilbride, and Khattar 2003; Desai and Subramanian 2003; Durham 2004; Rajiva 2005; Shahidian 1999).

In Durham's (2004) socio-cultural anthropological study of South Asian immigrant girls in a small town in the United States, she notes that preservation of Indian culture, tradition, heritage, and honor are tied to the female heirs of the family and the assurance of her chastity. Applying this concept to Indo-Fijian young women in Canada and the United States, sexuality caused the most conflict in intergenerational relations. This is because any apparent "delinquency" in this area was a threat to the family's values and "in immigrant traditions, a girl, like a boy, represents the family, but the girl represents the family's honor" (Keaton 2006: 172). A research participant named Larissa, who was born in Northern California, who has an older brother, an older sister, and a younger brother, encapsulated this idea when she said,

> "It's a [Indo-Fijian] culture thing where guys are allowed to do whatever they want and girls have a reputation that they have to keep. [As is true in many south Asian or Asian cultures], girls are not only representing themselves but also their family, so they are made to be kept in-tact and if she strays away she is regarded as something shameful to the family."

The regulation of female sexuality becomes a main preoccupation of male and elder family members, which is influenced by, gendered norms of mobility and sociality (Keaton 2006; Moosa 2012; Shahidian 1999; Sriskandarajah 2017). Nala, who I introduced in chapter five and newly a mother furthers this sentiment, when she said,

> "A respectful girl does not talk to boys, she doesn't hang out with boys ever. It's never okay even if they are your cousins. You better sit in plain sight with everyone else. A

> Fijian girl has to be respectful to your elders but also to the family. For us, if you step out of that boundary, you'd get disowned."

Similarly, when I asked her to tell me more about responsibilities of Indo-Fijian young women, Nova explained, "The first and only responsibility was or is don't make your parents look bad in front of other people, your behavior should never get relayed back to your parents, the family's honor is the most important thing." Nala's experience was common amongst my own Indo-Fijian familial networks as well as in the study cohort. Given that the notion of upholding the family honor was foremost on their minds in their interactions with boys and men, many Indo-Fijian young women feared the outcomes if they tested the boundaries that Nala referred to. Maintaining strict boundaries across genders influenced the activities they participated in. Furthermore, the awareness of, maintenance of, and embodying the culturally-inscribed gender boundaries shaped the subjective self-process. There is a gendered element to the way in which parents monitored and maintained these cultural boundaries (Rajiva 2005; Sriskandarajah 2017).

Honor is instilled in young women as part of Indo-Fijian culture. After talking to me about shame (in the opening paragraph of this section), Aliyah went on to tell me that maintaining family honor affected the way she behaved because she feared being disowned and bringing shame to the family. In her words,

> "If the way I behaved effected my parents they would definitely say something to me and I would have to change the way I was doing something. If I chose to not listen then I would get in a lot of trouble because if I rebelled and made my parents look bad. So, I usually think about how to act and if it is worth it to rebel."

Nala, too, shared a similar statement, "It's really an ultimatum if you choose to do something that your parents don't approve of then you're gonna [sic] lose out on family or if you choose to do it then you might lose out on your freedoms that are offered by American society." Many of

the research participants were in a difficult position as younger women because, as their narratives show, they reacted strongly to the dominance enforced by their parents and Indo-Fijian culture. Fear was instilled in them that if they did not abide by these tenets they would bring shame and dishonor to the family. In turn, these embodied and gendered negotiations shaped their ever-changing sense of self or subjectivity (Kleinman and Fitz-Henry 2007), which I explain further in the next section.

Clothing and Other Forms of Negotiation of the Self:

The research participants felt the need to adjust their performance of identity according to the situation they were involved in. They expressed more of an acceptance to the North American culture and its norms when they were at school, with friends, or in and around the community by dressing and speaking a certain way. However, when they were at home with members of their family they adhered to cultural norms of Indo-Fijian immigrant femininity.

Amina, who migrated to Canada in her later childhood years of age 10, demonstrated this performative and contextual aspect of her identity in the way that she only spoke Hindi at home because her mother expected her to. Amina said, “I did have to change who I was, I had to become Fijian when I came home… I had to speak in Hindi and I wasn’t allowed to dress how I wanted to at home or at school, I wasn’t allowed to show skin.”

Annisha also said she had to adjust her personal appearance when she got to school in the form of dress code. In her own words, “I had to go to school and change how I dressed… I would take stuff in my backpack or my friends would bring it and then you would change at the lockers and exchange shoes. At home there was a limit to what I could wear but at school I wanted to dress like my friends.” Annisha changed her clothing at school to conform with North American expressions of femininity because she respected her parents’ belief about clothing as

important cultural identification. Her experience reflects what I know personally as a wider pattern within my community where Indo-Fijian parents believe Indo-Fijian identity can be projected through dress. Therefore, they impose strict dress codes for their daughters. While I grew up knowing this firsthand, the wider reality about dress codes and femininity and cultural identity became even clearer to me as I dove into participant observation for this research.

The issue of dress became clearly evident when I attended three annual Fiji festivals (two in California and one in Vancouver) and two annual Fiji Men's soccer Tournaments (one in California and one in Vancouver). At these events I could not help but notice how the young women dressed, I felt it was important to notice how they dressed because it would give some inclination of what these individuals deemed appropriate dress code for the social situation. What stood out for me were the differing clothing choices that seemed to me to depend on who the women were with. The young women who attended these gatherings with parents or elder members of their family or elder community members tended to dress a bit more modestly. They wore jeans and a short sleeve shirt, or a maxi dress, or tights and a tunic, or ankle length pants and a fitted short sleeve shirt. Those women who attended the festivals and tournaments with peers, such as with their friends or cousins, tended to dress a bit less modestly. They wore shorts, shorter dresses, sleeveless shirts and tank tops. I speculate that a dress code was enforced by parents or other elders of the community, and when the young women were with the parents or elders they abided by the dress code. When parents or elders were not around, it seemed to me that the young women might be choosing to wear what they pleased, which transgressed the parental dress code.

At the Mother-daughter dinner and dance, which I describe in more detail in Chapter Five, I noticed the same trend. Young women were dressed in Indian outfits such as Sarees,

which is a length of fabric that is draped around the body by tucking and pinning, Salwar Kameez, which is a long shirt with loose trousers in the same fabric or Anarkalis, which is a long frock style top/dress with slim bottoms. I myself wore an Anarkali because I deemed it appropriate culturally at this event. I did not see anyone wearing a formal dress, short dress, or a skirt or top, all forms of clothing that the women might wear to other events but not to this one. At this event elder family members, notably the mothers, were present and therefore a culturally appropriate dress code was strictly enforced that was a clear marker of what clothing was deemed appropriate in that social setting.

Nala, too, had a strict dress code enforced by her parents. She said,

> "definitely, for me and my sister around our parents it's no tank tops, no sleeveless, no shorts. You gotta wear long pants. When you had a religious person in the house then our heads would be covered and, umm, have a longer outfit on or a traditional outfit."

Aisha discussed the restrictions on what she was allowed to wear outside the house, but she explained to me that her restrictions were more religiously based than culturally based. As Aisha shared:

> "My parents made me wear a head scarf and I was just like 'you have ruined my whole life!' you are making me do this and now I don't feel like myself. Everything that I wanted to wear I couldn't wear it with a headscarf. You know, it just didn't make sense. And then eventually I just decided that I would take it off at school, because they [parents] wouldn't know, and just put it [scarf] back on before I went home."

These narratives show the ways in which expectations of Indo-Fijian immigrant parents were negotiated in relation to the desires of their daughters. Although they sometimes failed, such as at school, and succeeded sometimes, like at the Mother-Daughter Dance, parents tried to enforce a certain dress code for their daughters rooted in modesty both at home and at school. The daughters preferred Canadian or American norms of dress characterized by youth as wearing sleeveless tops, short dresses, shorts, or fitted jeans, in the eyes of parents, "skin revealing" attire

and North American fashion styles. For Aisha and Nala, clothing was a cultural marker that could be changed at school rather easily. School was a domain where they could express themselves and their desires to wear North American clothing, influenced by their friends and, sometimes, in the form of peer pressure. By changing their clothes or choosing not to wear the head scarf participants responded to the reactions of both their parents and their non-Indo-Fijian friends. Changing at school was a means of performing North American femininity and fashion while changing back to Indo-Fijian approved clothing at home was a way to keep the family happy.

I suggest that this navigation of different dress codes, one at home and one at school, were the research participants' attempts to further themselves from the "foreigner" image outside the home. They actively participated in this form of cultural distancing at school recognizing that being accepted by mainstream culture requires social distance from their traditional Indo-Fijian culture. For Aisha, Nala, and other participants navigating between the different dress codes and especially by adhering to a dress code dictated by mainstream culture helped them achieve the desired effect. More than anything they wanted to be accepted by their new Canadian or U.S. peers. Eleven of the research participants admitted to changing the way they dressed when they got to school either in a small way by showing some arm in a sleeveless top or completely changing once getting to school. In my view, this act signifies a desire to adhere to Canadian or U.S. cultural norms regarding dress, and the ways in which family members insisted on upholding Indo-Fijian norms of how a "proper" young woman should dress. As a result, they found ways to participate in both dress codes.

Dress code is one significant intergenerational issue that Indo-Fijian young women face with their parents or guardians. Most of the participants explained that their parents had immense

control over all social aspects of their lives. Nala discussed this during her interview. In fact, she suggested that she would have to often lie to her parents for them to let her to do "normal" North American teenager things, such as hanging out at a friend's house or going to a party, because she knew that it would not be accepted by her parents. She added,

> "This one time I told my parents I had a project to do and it was really a party at my friend's house and mom was like that's fine go do your project, I even gave them an address and phone number to call and we ended up throwing a party at my friend's house while her parents were out of town."

Similar to Nala, Nova, who is one of five children, she has three older sisters and a younger brother, conveys that she hides things from her parents. In her words,

> "… they would not be proud of me and I mean to other people it's not a big deal but to my parents it would be… it's better to lie to them then just tell them the truth. I would lie about if I went somewhere and I know wasn't allowed to go I wouldn't mention it. I went out with people I didn't say who I was going with… um just things like that, just where I go and who I'm going with."

Aliyah, an 18-year-old full-time university student, too, had similar experiences with her parents. She expressed that she often had to lie to her parents to socialize outside of the home. In Aliyah's words,

> "Just recently, mom somehow found out that I was hanging out with a guy friend and I like tried to explain it to her how I'm growing up and obviously I have both guy and girl friends, I mean we live in Canada, and she just didn't understand, she grounded me and stopped talking to me for such a long while. That's when I realized that they [her parents] just don't get it and it's just easier to keep these things from them."

These examples demonstrate how Indo-Fijian immigrant young women try to balance and, at times, negotiate North American and Indo-Fijian cultures. This behavior may be common among young people, but what distinguishes the research participants is their ability to recognize behaviors that are acceptable to parents in Indo-Fijian culture and what is acceptable in North American culture, then, act upon those acceptable behaviors in each situation as an attempt to keep peace or do what they please. The narrative from Falisha at the opening of this chapter

sums up this notion of a balancing act that many Indo-Fijian young women perform, she recognizes that the conflicts arise because of differing views of parents and youth by saying,

> "the way they [parents] wanted to raise us whereas it was specific in their way because that's how they were raised back then back at home in Fiji. But being in Canada you wanted to be raised a different way. I'd rather be raised as a Canadian, just because its more lenient than being raised as a Fijian girl, it's like restrictive in what they can do and stuff, but it was always a battle with my parents"

Rayann, a 24-year-old young woman born in Vancouver, who currently lives with her parents furthers this sentiment: "There is a balancing act that you have to perform in terms of the way like parents want to raise us from like their Fijian ideas and from what we learn growing up in Canada often contradicts their ideas but we have to balance it." However, I believe this control has an underlying gendered aspect to why parents place immense control on their daughter's activities both at home and outside of the home. There is a gendered bias in what is acceptable behaviour and deportment for a young woman compared to her male counterparts. This idea will be further explored in the section below regarding gendered bias and intergenerational conflict.

Gendered Bias/ Intergenerational Conflict:

Earlier in this chapter I raised the idea of gender and boundary maintenance—women were expected to self-regulate their behaviour around men and were also expected to regulate their appearances around their elder family members. In this section I continue to explore how gender mattered in intergenerational interactions by looking at four realms of daily life: 1) the responsibilities that are required of young Indo-Fijian women at home and outside in the community; 2) how these young women are treated unfairly compared to their brothers; 3) how being young women in this community entailed certain restrictions enforced by family members and other community members; and 4) what parents and other family members are reacting to by enforcing restrictions on their young daughters.

i. "My Responsibilities"

Responsibilities in the home and within the Indo-Fijian community are a vital aspect of an Indo-Fijian upbringing, and these responsibilities varied for the women I interviewed. Some general responsibilities include: cooking for the family, cleaning the house, caring and taking responsibility for younger siblings, acting as translator for parents and other family members, caring for elders in the family like grandparents, and taking care of anything else that parents needed to be done. Most of the research participants were expected to participate in household chores, although chores varied depending on the dynamics of the household. Rayann, despite having an older brother, like many of the other research participants, was "expected to cook and clean the house most of the time before my parents got home from work." Like Rayann, Reshma said that she

> "had to do a lot of household chores, be entertaining when people come-over, umm cooking especially with my nani (maternal grand-mother), she was a lot more old school, she was always like you have to learn so you can get married, but I used to do all of the house work, you know like cleaning everything, ironing, folding clothes all that kinda stuff."

Most of the households of the research participants placed a heavier workload on the eldest daughter. For example, Annisha, being the eldest daughter in her household, had to learn and know how to cook for a large family by age 16. In her words, "At 16, I was to have known how to cook for everyone, so I learned how to cook for a big group…and then you've got cleaning, chores that also had to be done." Similarly, Rayann had the added responsibility of being the eldest girl in her family, which meant that she had "to make sure my younger sister helped me and was learning too."

Immense responsibilities were placed on the daughters and more specifically elder daughters because gender roles are very apparent in the Indo-Fijian household where the women of the family take care of household duties as mentioned above. Research participants did not

question the responsibilities. Rather, accepting the gendered responsibilities was innate to them, such that they didn't question the expectations placed on the young women of the family.

ii. "It's all about the Openness and Freedoms in North America"

"Openness" was an important concept in participants' immigration stories. I will demonstrate in the ethnographic evidence that in the research participants' minds, Canada and the U.S. were both countries imagined to be open and free. North American culture seemingly provided opportunities to explore notions of openness and freedom. As the research participants described, openness entailed several specific activities. Being able to socialize with their friends, participate in activities with friends outside of school hours, having friends of the opposite sex, attending school functions such as school dances and camping trips, and engaging in dating or having a boyfriend, all of these activities and sociality were in direct contrast to what activities were considered acceptable at home.

In the eyes of my informants, North American culture offered more independence to young women than Indo-Fijian culture did. As Nala noted,

> "For the most part they [North American youth] can do whatever they want, dress like they want, act like they want, talk like they want. But for us it's if you step out of that boundary you'd rather be disowned or you get beat, so it's really an ultimatum. If you choose to do this then you're gonna lose out in family or if you choose family then your friends will look at you differently in a way that those who aren't Fijian have a hard time understanding… so, growing up I was envious of these girls that were allowed to do the things that they wanted."

When asked about what she desires to do, Nala responded by saying, "I want to wear what I want in front of my parents, I want to hang out with my friends, male or female. I want to go to their house and to just talk and be regular and hang out and I don't know experiment more of being young and not get in trouble for it." You can comprehend from Nala's confession that she has some difficulty in knowing what to do. On the one hand, she recognizes that American culture

offers openness for girls to behave how they would like, but she also understands that it would not be accepted by her family. She struggled with her own interests and with her family's reaction to what they would perceive as unacceptable openness. She feared being disowned. Bringing dishonor to the family was something that was deeply instilled in her. Ayvah shared similar experiences. She remarked,

> "Around my family I have to make sure I wear decent clothing because we are not allowed to show too much skin. I also have to have a certain way that I talk around them, be respectful. It's mainly the way others think of you is what I think is most important to my parents. It's always about what other people think of you, that's how I was brought up. To always worry about what other people are gonna think and how that would make you look to your parents or how that reflects on your parents."

Ayvah's statement here demonstrates how parental acceptance and restrictions for daughters is important and how daughters consider this to be crucial in the way they are raised. She elaborated by saying,

> "…my parents came here (United States) almost 30 years ago, but are still backwards, they are still old fashion…we [her siblings and her] were brought up to the way where, you know, we have to be that 'perfect girl,' we have to make sure that we're dressing correctly, that we're loved by everyone, that people are happy to see us and cooking and cleaning and in that tip top shape, and making sure we are religious and all that stuff. And I did all of that. I obeyed my parents and, I don't know. I just feel like doing, you know, like living up to these expectations, I didn't really achieve the things that I wanted to achieve in life."

Ayvah wanted to accept what she regarded as "the openness" that American culture provided but she felt she was being held back by her parents. She interpreted her parents' limitations on her by noting,

> "Maybe because my parents were afraid, they didn't want me to be like the other girls that they see, you know that full on take advantage of their parents, you know the freedom that they're getting and the reputation that my parents have tried to build might be destroyed and my mom and dad were probably scared that I might turn out like that."

This example speaks to how an idea of "American openness and freedom" produced a fear in parents that their children will become too non-traditional and not abide by their Indo-Fijian cultural norms (Zhou 1997). Thus, the relationship between parents and children became stressful because some parents wanted their daughters to retain the Indo-Fijian culture and traditions while the daughters were trying to understand American culture as they perceived it to offer gendered freedoms that Indo-Fijian culture lacks (Berrol 1995; Dimitrova, Ferrer-Wreder and Trost 2015).

Many research participants acknowledged that North American culture offered "openness and freedoms" that their Indo-Fijian family did not. Larissa summed up her experiences by saying,

> "I feel like I lead two different lives, I don't know at home you just are…I do whatever to keep my parents happy 'cause they don't want me to really do much. And then when I'm out I am really myself, I get to do whatever I want when I'm with my friends because that kind of stuff is not acceptable at home, I'm just not myself when I am at home like I am a robot."

Expressing a notion common among other research participants, Annisha adds, "Your freedom was outside of the house when I was growing up. So, I think we did our socializing at school rather than at home." Many felt that at school and in and around their community they were able to exercise their freedoms. They defined freedom to entail being able to socialize, having friends of the opposite sex, dating, attending school functions such as dances and camping trips, and/or being able to have or attend sleep-overs. Freedom, therefore, represented everything that the home life did not. To research participants' openness and freedom as a concept signified liberal ideas of progressiveness, such as gender equality between daughters and sons in the family, these liberal notions are a kind of binary with so-called "closed" Indo-Fijian society and the societies of the global south. However, this notion of gendered freedom in

Canadian and American culture in reality is not entirely true. In fact, Canadian and America social institutions and organizations are inherently gendered, they are designed, conceptualized, and controlled by men (Britton 2000). There is a division between men and women, men have greater advantages than women because of western cultural beliefs that men are correlated with power and prestige (Schilt 2006; Williams 1995). The research participants in this study, however, overlooked this because they concentrate on their own notions of gender equality. These women suggested that in Canadian and American society and culture freedom and openness in regards to gender equality is a given but they were comparing it with Fijian standards without any deep knowledge of what was actually happening in Canada or the United States.

iii. "It's Just Not Fair!" -Unequal Treatment by Parents

Many research participants complained about being treated unequally compared to their male-counterparts at home by their parents. Everything from responsibilities at home to freedoms that were allowed outside of the home differed across genders. Aliyah, who had two older brothers talked about her duties at home compared to her brothers,

> "Responsibilities that I have differ from my brothers 'cause I am obviously expected to help with dinner, do the dishes or something but like my brothers they just stay up in their rooms they don't do anything at all. I feel that there is a double standard because just because I am a girl they [parents] expect me to do more housework whereas, my brothers because they are guys aren't expected to do anything at all."

Nala, who has two older sisters, an older brother, and a younger brother shared similar experiences, "My brothers had no jobs at all, they didn't have to do anything! The most my oldest brother probably had to do was go fill up the water for us to drink but that was it." Ayvah, who has an older brother, and a younger sister and brother also explained that she had more responsibilities at home compared to her older brother and that she was burdened with household

chores that often times took away from the things that she wanted to do. She said, “I feel like with me it was different because I had to make sure that the food was on the table, I had to make sure I clean everything and I think my brother had more time to do what he wanted rather than what I had time to do.”

Most research participants expressed resentment towards how they were treated compared to their male family members. This sense of resentment went beyond just responsibilities at home and extended into the more complex areas of freedoms and openness, particularly in comparison to their brothers and other male family members. Rayann spoke about the inequality surrounding certain freedoms at home compared to her brother by saying, “Because he’s a boy there was a big difference. He was spoiled, he was never home, he was always out. He only came home to eat and sleep.”

Aliyah spoke about her lack of freedom as opposed to the freedom enjoyed by her two elder brothers: “They [brothers] are allowed to do and go anywhere they want, me, I have to ask and beg to be able to just hang out with my friends, it’s really unfair.” Rayann explained that her parents were strict with her and her little sister: “We were not allowed to go out, no boyfriends, no sleep-overs, no borrowing clothes, no anything and that was it.” This was a common theme throughout my research participant’s responses. Many of the young women expressed some form of gendered double-standard that was at play when it came to what they were able to access and do and what their brothers were able to access and do because they were male.

To explain this double standard, I turn to the root of Indo-Fijian culture in South Asian Indian culture (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Indo- Fijian culture is described as spiritual and respectful, and it deeply revolves around both the core and extended family. Generally, in Indo-Fijian culture the women of the family are the caretakers of the home and family. Daughters of

the family are also considered representatives of their parents' teachings and core values and they are expected to hold on to these in day-to-day life (Rajiva 2005). Women in these cultures are "the bearers of culture: that is, [they] reproduce the traditions, cultural symbols and norms of that particular group" (Rajiva 2005: 27).

Indo-Fijian parents have a number of expectations for their daughters in the host country such as educational aspirations, chores, attending functions with the family, and abiding by their Indo-Fijian cultural norms. Parents try to raise their children in Canada and the United States the same way that they would try to raise them in Fiji, but with goals of achievement in mind like attaining higher education (Knight, Roegman, Edstrom 2015). When I asked them to explain to me how in the eyes of parents and other guardians Indo-Fijian girls and young women are supposed to act, every research participant answered in a similar way: be respectful, never talk back, dress modestly, do not dishonor the family name, learn how to cook and clean, they were essentially being trained to be able to take care of the family and any possible future family they might have through marriage. These expectations are gender specific and only requirements of girls of the family.

The notions of freedom, openness, and independence are also gendered. As youths grow older, the gendered nature of family dynamics imposed different constraints on girls' activities outside of the home. As young women they were held to a different set of rules and standards than their brothers and male cousins. The women who talked about the gendered differences reflected that the primary difference was the small amount of freedom they had compared to the limitless freedoms enjoyed by their brothers. For example, the young women had early curfews and were not allowed out with friends at all. Amina recalls that she did not have much interaction

with her friends unless it was at school and that she was not allowed out with friends or to go to their homes. She notes, “It was very much school then home, and that was it.”

iv. What are Parents Reacting to?

When I asked the research participants why parents were “controlling and strict” (their words) they had a clear sense of the reason. They felt that parents place immense control on their daughter’s activities because parents felt threatened that the Indo-Fijian cultural traditions and values would be eradicated otherwise. The young women I interviewed told me that their parents regard them in terms of daughters tied to the culture’s sense of identity, dignity, and difference from North American culture and society in ways that the brothers and sons are not (Rajiva 2005).

Another common reason that the research participants gave for why parents controlled the daughters was that parents are under pressure as they are being judged by others within their community. Evelyn, the youngest of two children and the only daughter said, “[My] parents were always worried about what everyone else thought of them, and that’s the reason why I wasn’t allowed to do anything because it might hurt their reputation within the community.” Parents were seen as good parents by other immigrant community members only if their daughters were doing well academically or professionally and if their daughters retained traditional values. This idea extends to a daughter’s physical appearance, her attire, her ability to speak Fijian-Hindi, knowledge of their religion, and, eventually, whether she marries the boy of the parents’ choosing (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Ayvah reflected on this notion when she said, “The reputation that my parents have tried to build might be destroyed and my mom and dad were probably scared that I might turn out like that.” “Like that” meaning a disrespectful girl who

does not listen to her parents and one who does not retain traditional values and opposed the norms her parents set out for her.

Anisef, Kilbride, and Khattar (2003), Desai and Subramanian (2003), Durham (2004) and Keaton (2006) assert that parents see the external mainstream Canadian or American society as potential locus for bad behavior and that is the reason parents impose excessive demands on their daughters. Consequently, the expression and participation of sexual activity and sexual relationships are prohibited and are another reason why such controls are enforced by authority figures within the family (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Anisef, Kilbride, and Khattar 2003; Desai and Subramanian 2003; Durham 2004; Rajiva 2005; Shahidian 1999). That is why parents exercise a great deal of control over their daughters' sexual activity by policing activities that they deem to be sexual in nature, and, in particular, activities that may threaten their daughter's virginity (Anisef and Kilbride 2003; Durham 2004; Keaton 2006). For the research participants, such activities included: attending slumber parties, having male friends, attending school dances, and dating. These constraints came from the expectations that parents grasp in acknowledging that their daughters are the keepers of honor and shame of the family and their Indo-Fijian culture (Keaton 2006). This idea drives parental control over their daughters in hopes that their daughters will learn acceptable behaviors required of them by Indo-Fijian cultural norms.

No, Means No!- My Experiences of Parental Influence and Control:

My relationship with my parents sometimes became stressful because my parents wanted me to retain Fijian culture and traditions while I was trying to understand the Canadian mainstream culture. As a child and a teenager, I did not understand this, and, as a result, intergeneration conflicts arose because of misunderstanding each other. I would consider their behaviour and

rules towards me as strict as I was not allowed to participate in many of the same activities that my friends were able to do.

These conflicts were especially pertinent during my high school and early college years. For example, I was not allowed to spend the night at any of my friend's homes, I was not allowed to have a boyfriend, and they frowned upon me having male friends. This was especially frustrating at the time because I did not understand where this strictness was coming from, which would result in conflicts at home. One vivid memory of this I have was when I was in high school. A male friend was having a birthday party at his house and invited me and my best friends. The whole week leading up to the party I debated on whether or not to tell my parents the truth. Finally, a couple days before the party I decided I would tell them the truth that I wanted to attend a party of a male friend. In my mind I thought my parents would appreciate that I was being honest with them, not hiding anything, that there was nothing to worry about, and that they would let me attend. I was wrong, the conversation blew up into an argument when my parents said I was not allowed to attend. My father even said, in Hindi, "if you were a boy it would be different, but since you are not, I am raising you accordingly." I was furious and I thought to myself, I am never telling them the truth again, they just do not understand we are not in Fiji.

These minor conflicts between my parents and I were especially exacerbated as my sister never tested the waters with my parents. My sister is about two years older than me, so we were able to do many things together during our teenage and young adult years. Still, I was a bit more curious than she was and wanted to go places and meet people, while my sister preferred to stay at home. She has always been a very protective person, and I could always rely on her, I would usually tell her the truth as to where I was going and trust that she would not tell my parents.

However, reflecting back I understand for my parents it was a fear of cultural eradication, and a fear of embarrassment that can be experienced from the Indo-Fijian community if children veer off and disobey their parents. My sister and I made a conscious effort never to put my parents in that position.

Chapter Conclusion:

Immigration to a new country or being born to immigrant parents in North America may be stressful for the entire family (Suarez-Orozco and Todorova 2003). Indo-Fijian young women have perspectives on migration that seem to be at a cross-current to the perspectives of their parents and, as I have demonstrated with the participants' narratives, this can provide for much conflict within family dynamics. Parents are perceived as controlling and unsupportive in instances when young Indo-Fijian immigrant women begin to ascribe to Canadian or American cultural norms, because parents tried to limit their daughters' interactions with the wider society. Young Indo-Fijian immigrant women also encountered intra-familial and intergenerational conflicts because of the gendered double standards at play that are based on notions of difference between male and female children and young adults. To the young women I interviewed, in Canadian and American culture the same gendered cultural notions do not exist. However, as I have highlighted, gendered freedom in Canadian and American cultures is not accurate because Canadian and American social institutions and organizations are inherently gendered. Regardless, the research participants overlooked the gendered bias in Canadian and American society because they concentrate on their own notions of gender equality.

Additionally, I demonstrated how my participants reacted to the multiple demands placed on them by their parents as well as the Indo-Fijian community post migration. Many of the research participants believed that in Canadian or American culture young people are given

different freedoms such as a sense of gender equality, openness to explore their youth, and they have less responsibilities at home. All of this is in direct contrast to what they experienced at home with their Indo-Fijian culture. The immigrant women in my study felt that they had to adjust to Canadian and American culture while simultaneously satisfying the Indo-Fijian expectations of their families. As I have demonstrated with the narratives of these young women, they had to navigate a noticeable gap between their parents' expectations of them and their own desires and interests to perform femininity and enjoy what they understood to be gender equality within the dominant society in which they were immigrants.

Chapter Eight. Conclusion

I chose this research topic because of my own experiences as an Indo-Fijian immigrant to Canada and the United States. I wanted to know if my experiences as an immigrant were unique, in terms of dealing with racism, intergenerational conflict, and gendered inequality. Through my research with other Indo-Fijian young women in Vancouver and Sacramento, I came to the realization that my own experiences were not isolated situations. Rather, they were a shared commonality of being an Indo-Fijian immigrant in Canada and the United States. I have demonstrated with my ethnographic interviews with Indo-Fijian immigrant young women and my own auto-ethnography that belonging is not predicated on citizenship, birthplace, language, or even complete assimilation to the dominant culture (Rajiva 2006). Rather these individual's subjectivity is tied to their experiences of racialization, gendered discrimination, and intergenerational conflict.

Subjectivity and Racialization:

My research has focused on 18 first- and second- generation Indo-Fijian young women and their experiences and personal journeys of growing up, attending school, and being a part of the cultural and national fabric of Canada and the United States. I focused, primarily, on each person's experiences: attending school in Vancouver and Sacramento, as well as dealing with issues of racism, intergenerational conflict, and gendered inequality. As I have demonstrated through these narratives, we begin to understand the personal experiences of growing up in Canada and the United States as first or second generation immigrant young women from Fiji.

These experiences, in turn, have influenced these young women's subjectivity and their way and quality of life. For immigrant young people, this is especially pertinent as they are challenged to overcome obstacles by creating an individual subjectivity based on differing

experiences. These experiences are expectations presented by multiple sources such as pre-migration and post-migration societies, racial, cultural, and national lines (Erikson 1968; Herman 2004). In my research, subjectivities are the meanings and experiences that immigrant young people acquire through social interactions and these interactions are fundamental to understanding their sense of selves (Herman 2004). The developmental process of forming a sense of self is evident by establishing independence and developing a sense of originality in comparison with others (Erikson 1968; Herman 2004).

Many of the research participants established a sense of self through particular experiences of racism and prejudice based on their immigrant status, these were either embracing their immigrant status or hiding it based on specific situations. The complexity of self-identifying and conceptualizing their own subjectivities may be related to integration or acceptance derived from the struggle with the multiplicity of their experiences (Foner 1997; Keaton 20006; Shahsiah 2006). Keaton (2006) suggests that relative power emerges for immigrant youth in being able to establish a sense of self post-migration, and I believe this was exemplified in my research.

Furthermore, creating their own sense of self entails societal pressures that require them to identify with certain "acceptable" categories, and labels, this was demonstrated by the research participants, many of whom altered who they were based on current situations in which they were involved (Shahsiah 2006). A prime example of this came from Mamta, who tended to downplay her Fijian immigrant status in order to be accepted by her peers at school. Mamta thought that if she embraced her origins at school it would cast her as being different, and, as a result, this influenced her sense of self and how she wanted to be viewed by the broader Canadian society. Hence, for many of the research participants their involvement and experiences within the wider society had an influence on how they wanted to be viewed.

Race has always been central to the national discourse on constructions of subjectivity, where non-white individuals identify themselves primarily based on their race and racial backgrounds (Lee 2005; Shahsiah 2006). Social constructions of race, such as skin color, and other phenotypic differentiations have always been the key concept utilized to discriminate against ethnic minority immigrants in Canada and the United States (Kallen 2003). Many of the research participants express that skin color is extremely important in how one is treated in regards to what they can access, what opportunities that are available to them, and it, also, is a factor in determining their quality of life, thereby presenting enormous obstacles for non-white immigrant youth (Desai and Subramanian 2003; Lee 2005).

Visible identity markers such as skin colour are important for the social construction of the "other" (Shahsiah 2006). For first or second generation immigrants, in particular, they often experience discrimination and prejudice based on their physical appearance, which informs their inherent difference from the wider society and this further informs and affects the formation of their personal identity (Anisef and Kilbride 2003). Taking a youth-centered perspective, I looked at how the research participants were able to forge subjectivities that were fitting to them within a broader context of experienced based subjectivity politics where young immigrant people are assigned subordinate positions (Keaton 2006). In other words, while many immigrant young people are seen as the 'other' in Canadian and American society, the research participants expressed agency through the claiming or, in some cases, refusing an "ethnic-racial minority" sense of self regardless of the domination they experience by being "othered" and racialized (Keaton 2006).

Family and Gender:

Furthermore, family is important during and after migration because family ties are a significant

source of support and often control for immigrant youth. Zhou (1997) suggests that migration presents a clash between social worlds, especially for young immigrants. For instance, at school and around the Canadian or American community, young people feel foreign and at home they are seen as too (North) American (Berrol 1995; Rajiva 2005). In consequence, “the strange dualism into which they had been born or moved caused much unhappiness” (Berrol 1995). Those who were born or raised in Canada or the United States have had most of their main experiences of socialization in Canadian or American society, which is considerably different from their homeland culture, this causes them to negotiate a specific set of struggles of belonging and creating a sense of self that arise from being part of two cultural identities (Rajiva 2005). Furthermore, parents do not understand the push and pull that young immigrants experiences as a result the relationship between parents and children becomes stressful because parents want children to retain their Indo-Fijian culture and traditions while their daughters were trying to understand the mainstream Canadian or America culture (Berrol 1995; Lee 2005; Rajiva 2005; Zhou 1997). The research participants often accused their parents of not understanding the tensions they face as young people. Some studies have shown conflicts between parents and children occur more frequently among female children (Desai and Subramanian 2003). This proved to be very true in my research findings as my young research participants expressed that parents just did not understand them or that they were treated differently than other male family members, such as their brothers.

Additionally, young women, particularly in South Asian cultures, are seen as the custodians of family values, and, thus, parents are more concerned about their daughters remaining closer to cultural traditions by abiding to traditional values and norms then their sons (Desai and Subramanian 2003). In my research, the young women encountered problems with

their parents because they realize that there is a double standard within the home and familial expectations and they understand that not all cultures, especially their North American culture, abide by the same cultural notions (Desai and Subramanian 2003). Desai and Subramanian (2003) argue that immigrant parents are essentially reacting to threats of cultural eradication, thus they become more controlling and impose increasing demands especially on their female children.

The research participants understood this notion. However, there was still much resentment on their part towards parents because they leaned towards the openness they experienced in their Canadian or American culture. Intergenerational conflict arose because immigrant young people experience immigration differently than their parents. My young research participants were open to the way they learned at school about freedom, however, parents were very concerned about adhering to cultural norms that translated into responsibilities of Fijian way and tried to enforce these norms to their female children.

This notion of freedom is also gendered. As youths grow older, the gendered nature of family dynamics impose different constraints on girl's activities outside of the home (Orellana 2009). Fijian parents see their daughters as the caretakers of Indo-Fijian culture. Thus, young women are held to a different set of rules and standards than their brothers. Aliyah, Rayann, Alma, Larissa, Nova, Nala, and Ayvah were some research participants who talked about the gendered differences within family dynamics, they reflected that the primary difference was the small amount of freedom they had compared to their brothers. For example, they had early curfews or would not be allowed out with friends at all. Orellana (2009) and Suarez-Orozco and Todorova (2003) propose that even when activities such as visiting with friends is not an activity that is overtly gendered, it may become gendered because of the nature of the strong gender

component in the family.

Once exposed to North American culture, freedom and equality became a fixation to many of the research participants. Freedom and openness entailed being able to socialize with friends, participate in activities with friends outside of school hours, having friends of the opposite sex, attending school dances and camping trips, and engaging in dating or having a boyfriend. This type of freedom defined was not acceptable practice or behavior at home or in their Indo-Fijian culture and community, however.

As a result, research participants like Ayvah, Aliyah and Nova defied their parents by participating in such activities. Once exposed to Canadian and American culture, freedom becomes an important concept. For my young research participants, their public exposure to the community and the school environment provided opportunities to explore this idea of freedom. Despite their experiences with racism and racialization, these young women see their Canadian and American culture offering freedoms that their Indo-Fijian culture denies.

Indo-Fijian immigrant young women are in a difficult position at this life stage because they are reacting to the dominance enforced by their parents and homeland culture, as well as mainstream societal social structures of dominance (i.e. race, culture, and nationality). One must take into consideration the contradiction of freedom and racism in North America. These immigrant youths encounter a range of messages that contradict the apparent freedom. These young women are in a society where racism structures their experiences, opportunities, and identities and where their immigrant status and skin color actually hinders many opportunities (example in my section on race and racialization). Despite this, these young women are aware of the latitudes of freedom that are not allowed at home and have a tendency to gravitate towards those offered by Canada and the United States. However, this notion of gendered freedom is not

a reality because Canadian and American social institutions and organizations are fundamentally gendered, as they are designed, conceptualized, and controlled by men (Britton 2000). The research participants, however, tend to gloss over this because they focus on their own notions of gender equality. These women argue that in Canadian and American culture they are given gendered equality but they are comparing it with Indo-Fijian standards where they are not treated equally but they ignore or do not understand what was actually happening in Canada and the United States in regards to gender equality.

Auto-Ethnography:

This research I decided to explore for my dissertation is biographical. Hence, in an effort to explore my experience as an Indo-Fijian immigrant to Canada and, eventually, to the United States, and to add my voice to the various bodies of literature on migration and youth's subjectivities, I use auto-ethnography as a means to express my research and myself. Auto-ethnographies are highly personalized accounts that draw upon the experiences of the researcher for the purposes of extending anthropological understanding (Denshire 2006). It is a promising qualitative method that has emerged from postmodern philosophy, and it offers a way of giving voice to personal experience to advance anthropological understanding of the self and research (Denshire 2006; Sparks 2000; Wall 2008). My purpose for writing my auto-ethnography was to consider how, in my proficiency, I have dealt with the experiences and questions that migration raises about family, culture, racism, discrimination, gender, nationality, and subjectivity.

Auto-ethnography, as a method, allows the researcher to place wider cultural emphases on self-revelation and confession (Coffey 1999). Acknowledging oneself into the ethnography allows for a realistic account of specific intentions behind the research and its process. Denzin (2003) suggests that auto-ethnography endorses a theory of selfhood and being, that it creates a

notion of moral agency. As I have demonstrated with the previous chapter, I consider myself a native ethnographer and use the method of auto-ethnography as an essential tool in this study.

The process of preparing and researching this ethnography revealed to me the value of experience and reflection. Several stress-producing questions arose during the preparation of my ethnography, including how I would represent myself, given the close proximity to the research participants how data would be valued, how others would respond to my auto-ethnography, and how to work ethically within the community I call my own. The opportunity to reflect on these questions was a learning experience that has shown to think differently about these issues than traditional ethnography and social science have previously encouraged. As a result, soon into my research I realized conducting this type of research among my own community would be prosperous as I give a unique ethnographic lens because I know about the norms and traditions of Indo-Fijian culture, but it was also difficult to detach myself from the familiarity. Hence, I chose to embrace my position because I knew that I would not be able to gain sufficient distance and it would change the authenticity of my research because I was not being true to myself and the research I wanted to conduct. I wanted to give voice to my research participant's experiences as immigrants to North America but I also wanted to include my own voice and this would not have been possible if I was a detached observer. Conducting research within my own community home has encouraged reflexivity about my personal experiences growing up as a first generation immigrant in Canada and then in later years to the United States.

Anthropologists now recognize that what separates them from the individuals that they study is not an elemental identity, but their own intellectual preoccupations (Young and Meneley 2005). Ethnography and auto-ethnography that I have included in the last chapter of this dissertation has allowed me, as the researcher, to position myself within the text as well as to

engage in critical reflection on the relationships that were created prior to conducting this research and allowed me reflect of the relationships that were created through experience as an Indo-Fijian immigrant (Young and Meneley 2005). This method has allowed me the ability to reflect on how my position and biases have influenced my ethnographic research.

Through this method, I was also able to integrate my own accounts and experiences of growing up as an immigrant in Canada with other individuals in the ethnography, which allowed me to gain specific insights of the setting and the people I was researching. I believe my personal experiences have influenced what I discuss in this dissertation. I concentrate primarily on past experiences of an immigrant in high school and their formative years because, to me, these were trying years of growing up, and I wanted to see if other Indo-Fijian women had similar experiences.

The opportunity to reflect on the issues that I have covered in this dissertation has been a learning experience that has shown me how I might think differently about these issues than traditional ethnography and social science have previously encouraged. Furthermore, it has allowed me to think about these issues by incorporating my own experiences. My search for new ideas to inform my questions about the doing of auto-ethnography has been productive and helpful in generating new ways for me and others to understand our experiences as immigrant auto-ethnographers and auto-ethnographic work.

Almost three decades have passed since my migration to Vancouver from Fiji, the memories that are imprinted in my mind relate to being different at school and then trying to create something positive out of that in my later pre-teen – young adult years. Through my research with other Indo-Fijian girls in Vancouver, I came to the realization that my own experiences were not isolated situations; rather, they were a shared commonality of being an

Indo-Fijian immigrant in Canada and the United States.

Limitations of the Theory:

Here I address the limitations of the current theories that I used in this dissertation. Above I highlighted the theories and how they would be useful in the analysis of my research but here I highlight the drawbacks of the theories and what can be done to amend the short comings of each theory when discussing Indo-Fijian immigrant youth's identity, experience, and subjectivity.

i. Structuration Theory:

Structuration theory was an appropriate theory to employ in my research as it was used to investigate the experiences of immigrant youth because of the structures that they encounter every day. Gidden's theory of structuration provided a base to examine immigrant agency as it is both empowered and constrained by structural barriers. However, there were some limitations to this theory. Structuration theory emphasizes the choices individuals can make to alter their sense of self or belonging, but it does not take into account the disadvantages that youth may encounter through everyday social structures to make such choices. What I mean by this is, while the research participants have a choice in how they construct a sense of self, it is very clear in my research chapters, some individuals had more choice than others in Canadian and American society. However, I used structuration theory with this limitation in mind while brining attention to the ways social structures play a role in belonging and creating a sense of self for immigrant youth.

ii. Critical Race Theory:

Applying critical race theory was also pertinent to my research because power and identity can be explored through the complexities of race and racism. Critical race theory recognizes that race and racism are engrained in the everyday systems of Canadian and American society. Critical

race theory identifies that power structures are based on White privilege and Whiteness, which perpetuates the marginalization of people of color and visible minorities. Although a viable theory as it allows for individual narratives of experience, there are some limitations of critical race theory. The theory essentially celebrates victimization and stylized marginalization (Subotnik 1998). That there are two parts to this spectrum; White people's vulnerability is that they are racist and for people of colour or immigrant people they are inferior (Subotnik 1998). In my research this was not always the case, Indo-Fijian immigrant young women express agency when placed in subordinate positions to create a sense of belonging within the racial hierarchy that exist. Utilizing critical race theory and recognizing this limitation and by paying attention to the way race and racism in society play a role in establishing a sense of self helped compensate for this drawback.

Limitations of Multiculturalism

In this study I discussed how multiculturalism is intended by the state to secure equality and celebrate diversity, but how, in actuality, multiculturalism has further emotionally displaced immigrant populations in Canada by highlighting their inherent physiological differences. According to Abdel-Shehid and Kalman-Lamb (2015), Entzinger (2010) and Ralston (1998) Multiculturalism does little to combat issues of racism. Rather than acknowledging the unique needs of many immigrants in a multicultural society, the policy of multiculturalism tends to systematically constrain the success of minority cultures (Harris 2009; Nakhaie 2006; Ralston 1998). What I found striking in my study was how a number of the research participants spoke about multiculturalism being a positive aspect of life. When positive aspects of multiculturalism came up in interviews it was in response to a question I asked about what it meant to be Canadian. Canadian research participants equated multiculturalism with Canada, as

multiculturalism was Canada's claim to fame. Here is Aliyah's positive reflection of multiculturalism in her words "like Canada is supposed to be multicultural and like no one is supposed to judge you so… it means being free, like being able to do what you want, and like say what you want… being able to do things without being judged by the ways of your culture." When positive aspects of multiculturalism came up in the interviews I did not express my own biases, rather I followed with follow up questions and in Aliyah's case I then asked her if she thought multiculturalism was working in Canada? To which she replied "I guess you could say it's working cause like a lot of people don't really care about what your culture is cause like the whole racism aspect isn't there anymore, but there are still some people who are racist and there is always gonna be racism right?!" Aliyah expresses that the goal of multiculturalism is to promote equality for all people regardless of one's culture, race, and the colour of their skin but then also realizes that this is not always achieved even in a multicultural society. Like Aliyah's case, the positive aspects only went so far. Participants also spoke about the lived effects of what they felt were the limitations of the policy and practice. For example, Aisha wanted to applaud Canada for being multicultural because it is what Canada prides itself on as there are many different people from many different countries who call Canada home. Yet she also made a point of telling me how Canada remains "a White country" to her. Aisha said, "Canada is a multicultural country but it's a White country." Although research participants wanted to believe the positive aspects of multiculturalism as promoting equality and freedoms for all people, there were underlying negative thoughts about multiculturalism as well. Multiculturalism reinforces racial hierarchy instead of alleviating racial inequality; it establishes and maintains the idea of an official national mono-culture while downgrading different/immigrant cultures to a marginalized status (Abdel-Shehid and Kamal-Lamb 2015).

My Contribution to Research:

This dissertation was a means to add to the academic literature on immigrant youth, with a focus on the Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's experience. I have mentioned earlier that there is a general lack of the Indo-Fijian migration experience to Canada and the United states with the exception of Buchignani (1980, 1983, 1987) and Voigt-Graf (2008). However, even these scholars do not address the Indo-Fijian youth experiences. It is assumed that immigrant young people and their adult counterparts settle in Canada and the United States experiencing similar triumphs, setback, and disadvantages, my research shows that youth have different experiences with migration. I deem the young Indo-Fijian women voices in this study an important contribution to immigration research because there is a generation difference on how immigration affects parents of migration and the children of migration. My findings add new ethnographic accounts of how intergeneration conflict arises, over what specific issues, and how the conflict might be related to cultural differences between parents' values and norms from that of their children. Therefore my student contributes to transnational feminist scholarship that speaks to this very issue, as Foner and Dreby assert, "Intergenerational relationships in immigrant families help to shape the contours and trajectories of individual lives" (Foner and Dreby 2011: 546). More broadly, this research contributes to long-standing bodies of scholarship about immigrant young women and their subjectivity. For example, I go in-depth about how systemic racism affected Indo-Fijian young women's experiences at school and around the community and how structures, like social systems and cultural norms, present limited opportunities for transformation or new subjectivity according to the research participants because experiences of racism are oppressive. My research addresses issues of gender, nationality, race, and intergenerational conflict for Indo-Fijian young women. Offering a detailed

ethnographic case study of a gendered, raced, American and Canadian population of Indo-Fijian young persons, my research enriches the understanding of critical aspects of young immigrant experiences and the dynamics of immigrant incorporation and the construction of a sense of self in Canada and the United States.

Future Research Directions and Afterthoughts:

There are many more questions that need to be addressed to gather a full understanding of Indo-Fijian immigrant's experiences in Canada and the United States. For example, religion was a topic I did not have time to fully explore. I briefly examined the experiences of the research participants on and after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. I feel that there are some relevant future topics on religion and Indo-Fijian immigrant young women, these topics are growing Islamophobia in both Canada and the United States, the effects of immigration on religious beliefs and practice, and the importance of religious beliefs between immigrant parents and youth. These topics regarding religion were hinted in this dissertation and future research in these areas can bring in new insights of religion and immigration.

The different experiences of first generation and second generation immigrant youth is also an interesting topic that needs further exploration because the two generations may have different experiences pertaining to when they migrated or if they were born in North America. Another research direction that should be explored in the future is intergenerational relations in transnational families, gender and transnationalism, and transnationalism and intergenerational conflict. Although I hinted at issues related to transnationality in this research, by showing how research participants' daily life activities create social fields that cross national boundaries, a more robust discussion of transnationalism and gender and transnationalism and intergenerational conflict would be helpful. As Foner and Dreby (2011) point out, post-migration

immigrant communities do not necessarily de-link themselves from their home country. Again, my research touches on this but does not go into extensive detail. When immigrant parents hold up an idealized version of traditional values, norms, and customs that they expect their children to adhere to, strains occur. In my research too, cultural differences between parents' home country values and mainstream Canadian and American culture to which their children are exposed and drawn to were also apparent (Foner and Dreby 2011; 547). Still, future research on transnationalism in terms of intergenerational relations in transnational families can build on this body of work and take it in a new direction of looking at legal restrictions related to immigration policies as often legal restrictions prevent parents (usually fathers) and their children from migrating together (Foner and Dreby 2011). Looking at the legality of migration can provide different insights of how because of this legal separation relationships between parents and their children can create conflict or strain. Research in this direction can add to the broader debates about intergenerational conflicts as structural and cultural factors affect the nature of family dynamics between the generations.

Finally, one could consider the differences between the male experiences and the female experiences as these this revealed itself in my own research that immigration can be gendered. Looking at the gendered experiences can provide insights into how each cope or thrive with migration to Canada or the United States. Furthermore, another possible venue for research would be to look at Indo-Fijian young women in Fiji to see if and how globalization and/or westernization affects familial relationships. Studying one's own culture in this case has provided me with answers and conclusions about being an Indo-Fijian immigrant growing up in Canada and the United States that I would not have had a chance to acknowledge without the opportunity of conducting ethnographic research. Not only have I provided the general academic

public with answers about Indo-Fijian immigrant young women's experiences of growing up in North America with a history of displacement and non-belonging and the specific challenges they have to endure based on racialization, discrimination, prejudice, intergeneration conflicts, and gendered inequality, but I have also provided myself with answers about myself and my own upbringing as a first generation immigrant. This whole academic journey has been a major learning experience for me as I discovered the circumstances of my unique history of an Indo-Fijian immigrant in North America. I have learned and came to accept that regardless of my immigrant status and the way I look, I am really from Canada it is where I grew up, it is what I consider my home, and I believe I am Canadian as I embody Canadianess but I also embody Fijian-ness too. Aisha sums it up nicely when she says, "you had to navigate like, okay, what is my balance? Where do I stand? Who am I?"

A great deal still remains to be known and studied about the experiences, identities, and subjectivities of young immigrant women in particular, the strategies they use to negotiate belonging in their complex spaces and places of existence (Rajiva 2005). This research and piece of academic work has made an attempt to fill a very big void in the academic literature regarding the experiences of immigrant youth by focusing on an underrepresented community of Indo-Fijians in Canada and the United States.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

What is your name?

How old are you?

Where were you born?
-How old were you when you came to Canada or the U.S.?
-Who else immigrated with you at that time?
-Who in your immediate family was born in Fiji?

What are you doing now? Are you working or schooling?

How would you define yourself? Youth, teenager, adult, child?
-Is it possible to define yourself?

Tell me what was/is high school like for you as an 1st or 2nd generation immigrant?
-Were/are you involved in any extracurricular activities?
-Can you tell me about your friends? Who did/do you hang out with?
-How were/are your teacher relationships? Did/do you get along with them?

How did/do you feel going to school every day? Have you/ do you experience(d) any discrimination at school based on your nationality, race, gender, ethnicity etc?

How did people at school treat you?
-Did they treat you differently?

In high school and at home what did/does it mean to you to be an Indo-Fijian immigrant?

Tell me about how being an immigrant made you feel in high school?
-Did it mean anything? If so, what?
-Were you treated differently because you were Fijian? (physical characteristics, language)

How do you feel people (non-immigrant) in Canadian/ American society treated you back then and now?

Would you say you related with people within your community?
-Do you think of yourself as Canadian/ American?

How would you define racism?

Did you ever experience racism?
-At school? In and around the community?

Can you tell me about your home and family life during your high school years?
-Any siblings?
-Did your parents work?
-Who is a part of your nuclear family?
-Did your/ do you have any other family members that attend your school?

Tell me about your responsibilities at home?
-Did you have any? If so, what were they?
-Did/do these responsibilities differ from your sibling

Can you tell me how a young Indo-Fijian girl is supposed to act and behave within the Indo-Fijian community? The outside community? At home? At school?

How do norms of femininity for Indo-Fijian girls differ from (perceived) norms of femininity for non-Indo-Fijian girls?
- Can you tell me how one conforms to these norms or how do they resist them?

Did your parents and other family members expect you to abide by Fijian cultural norms at home and outside in the community?
-What were they, if they did?
-Did you consider yourself free like other Canadian /American girls at school?
-Were you allowed to participate in the same activities as them?

Tell me about being a young woman at home and in the Indo-Fijian community?
-were there any specific expectations of you because you were a women/girl at home?

Can you tell me about possible intergenerational conflict in expectations surrounding norms of femininity at home and outside of the home?

Tell me about high school in relation to your family life/ living at the family home?
-Was how you were treated at school different from when you got home?
-Was it different when you got home?

Did you/ or do you still have to hide things from parents or guardians because you knew it was unacceptable at home?
-What were some of the things that you would have to hide?
-Why did you have to hide these things?

What would you say are Indo-Fijian cultural norms that were expected of you as a female in the family?
What would you say your nationality is today?
-Are you able to define it?
-Would you consider yourself Canadian or Fijian, a hyphenated individual?
-Why?
Would you say you celebrate your Fijian nationality?
-how and why?

What does living in Canada/ America mean to you?

Living in Canada, does multiculturalism mean anything to you?
-How would you describe and define it?
-Do you think multiculturalism has worked for you?

Do you feel like you are different than other youth in the Canada/U.S.? What makes you different?

Do you feel like being different is celebrated in Canada/U.S.? If so how? If not why do you think?

Appendix B: Consent Form

Informed Consent:

Research Project Title: Creating an Identity: Gender and Race Identity Formation Among Female Indo-Fijian Immigrant Youth in Multicultural Vancouver, B.C. Canada

Principal Investigator: Nitasha Ali, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, alin@cc.umanitoba.ca

Research Supervisor: Dr. Susan Frohlick, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, susan.frohlick@ad.umanitoba.ca

Consent: This consent form, a copy of which may be left with you for your records and reference if you wish, will give you the basic idea of what my research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please feel free to ask or contact me at any time with questions.

Project Summary: The question of gender, race, and cultural identity formation for female Indo-Fijian immigrant youth in Canada is what inspires my program of study. This project has biographical roots as I am an Indo-Fijian immigrant and my research is intended to be an ethnographic study of the public and intimate lives of Indo-Fijian immigrant young women who have migrated from Fiji to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. More specifically, looking at gender and cultural identity formation and how these young women negotiate their identities as both newcomers and ethnic minorities in a multicultural society.

Interviews: In the interview, I will be asking you to share some of your experiences of growing up and attending school in Vancouver, B.C. This session will be recorded and last, but is not limited to one hour. These recordings will be kept strictly confidential and I will be the only one who listens to them. Interview transcripts will only be available for viewing by me and you. You may request a copy of your interview transcripts and give me any clarification or feedback if you wish.

Privacy: I may use the information you share in the interview in my dissertation and other future publications in academic journals, but that does not mean that you can not change your mind about being in the study at any point before I complete the final draft of my dissertation by December 31, 2016. Any information you share with me will be confidential and if I use it in my academic endeavors I will use a pseudonym so that you cannot be identified. You may choose a false name, or I can choose one for you if you prefer.
Preferred pseudonym: _____
I want the pseudonym to be chosen for me: _____

It is highly unlikely that anyone will be able to identify you in my writing; however there is always some risk that this may happen. Please be assured that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy.

Compensation: You will be given a $10.00 gift certificate at the end of the interview to thank you for your time and expertise. It is not intended as an incentive or inducement. You are free to withdraw from the research without negative consequences at any time during or after the interview by contacting me before the completion of my dissertation.

Confidentiality: The main purpose of this consent form is to ensure that you are aware of the potential risks of participation and to inform you that I will do everything in my capacity to protect your identity and privacy. By signing this consent form you are willing to participate in my research however, you are **not** bound to participate in the study if you change your mind.

Research Results: I expect to finish my research by approximately August 2015 and my dissertation will be finished by approximately December 31, 2016, I will provide you with a rough draft of the dissertation for review if you wish and a link to my dissertation when it is published online. You may see your transcripts at anytime and feel free to give me feedback and clarification. Please provide your contact details below if you would like me to provide you with the transcripts of the interview, draft of the dissertation, and/or dissertation link. Your contact information and any other details you provide on this form will be kept confidential.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.
The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.
This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form will be given to you to keep for your records and reference if you wish.
Participant's Signature _____ Date _____
I would like a copy of (please check all boxes that apply):
Interview transcripts ☐
Link to published dissertation ☐
Draft of dissertation ☐
I would like to receive these by:
Email ☐
Email address: _____
Verbally (by phone) ☐
Phone number:_____
In person (contact me to arrange) ☐

Appendix C: Recruitment Advertisement

My name is Nitasha Ali and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Manitoba conducting research with Indo-Fijian immigrant (first or second generation) young women in Canada and the United States. I am writing to you wondering if you would be interested in participating in my research. Fundamentally, I am interested in how Indo-Fijian young women negotiate and forge a sense of self as both immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada and the United States. I will be asking you a few questions about your experiences of growing up in Vancouver as an Indo-Fijian immigrant young woman, following that we will have an informal conversation about your aforementioned experiences, I thank you for your time and possible interest in my study, hope to hear from you soon.

I sent this blurb out to potential research participants as a private message on Facebook on September 9th -15th, 2015.