

Integrating Canadian Youth: Immigrants' Multicultural Rights

by

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**Abstract**

Although multiculturalism is a nationally accepted Canadian value, immigrants' rights to cultural expression and social participation are not always respected, as demonstrated by the persistence of ethnocultural discrimination and public resistance to changing Canadian demographics and values. This thesis examines the state of multicultural acceptance through the lens of youth integration. The promotion of integration, in which immigrants are encouraged to share and maintain their traditions, values, and culture, aligns with the promotion of multicultural rights and the federal governments' responsibilities as per Canada's Multiculturalism Act. Specifically, this thesis examines the integration of immigrant and non-immigrant youth through a systematic literature review and a survey of youth perspectives; the results are analyzed in the context of Canada's multicultural responsibilities.

The findings of the literature review indicate that, overall, immigrant and refugee youth are integrating well into Canadian society despite systemic and interpersonal discrimination. Youth report high levels of academic achievement, relatively good mental health, and diverse social circles. The existing research could be expanded by the addition of non-immigrant perspectives, as non-immigrant Canadians are also experiencing cultural change and may benefit from acculturation support and/or prejudice reduction programs. To address this gap in the literature, the *Immigration in Canada: Youth Perspectives* survey was created. The survey investigates youths' intergroup relations, feelings of belonging, perceptions of diversity, and support for immigration. The study concluded that youth have frequent and friendly intergroup contact. Intergroup contact predicted feelings of belonging and positive intergroup relations. While youth were more supportive of immigration than Canadian adults, perceptions of diversity in Canada and relying on the news for immigration-related information predicted lower support for immigration.

The results of this thesis suggest that interventions based on intergroup contact and intergroup friendship formation have the potential to increase belonging and comfort in multicultural communities. Furthermore, schools are excellent environments to promote both integration and multicultural rights, through including different cultures in the curriculum, encouraging multicultural respect in the classroom, and creating the opportunity for intergroup friendship formation through community partnerships and extra-curricular activities.

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### **Dedication**

To Mr. Yusuf Abdulkareem, for supporting me through challenging times and sharing the happy ones. Thank you for your unwavering confidence, patience, and love.

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### **Preface**

This paper uses a thesis-by-publication structure. Chapter one includes the introduction, scope, overarching research questions, and conceptual framework for the project. Chapter two, *Integration in Canada: A Systematic Review of Youth Experience*, contains a systematic literature review of Canadian youth integration literature. This chapter provides a summary of the existing research as well as an analysis of the way the research is framed and the notable gaps in the literature. Chapter three, *The State of Intergroup Contact, Belonging, and Support for Immigration among Canadian Youth*, contains the results and discussion of the survey *Integration in Canada: Youth Perspectives (ICYP)*, approved by the University of Manitoba research ethics board (HS23361). Chapter four includes the discussion, which analyzes the research findings in the context of the multicultural rights enshrined in Canadian domestic law, future directions for youth integration, and a summary of the recommendations and potential implementations of this research.

### Definitions

**Acculturation:** Acculturation is the process of sociocultural blending that occurs when two or more distinct cultural groups meet. It is usually described as four strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization.

**Assimilation:** Assimilation is the acculturation strategy in which incoming population groups are encouraged to adopt the existing cultural and social norms of the dominant group.

**Human Right:** As defined by the United Nations, “human rights are the rights we have simply because we exist as human beings”; all individuals are equally entitled to rights (OHCHR, 2021). While some rights are universally applied, others differ by country and are enshrined in domestic law and ratification of international treaties. Rights can be interpreted as positive or negative.

**Positive Right:** Positive rights require active protection or provision of rights from the right granter (the government) to the right holder (the citizen). For example, a positive interpretation of the right to education is that the government is responsible for providing accessible public schools.

**Negative Right:** Negative rights, in contrast, forbid the prevention of rights but do not confer an active duty. If interpreted negatively, the right to education indicates that no individual or group can prevent you from attending school, but it does not require schools to be accessible.

**New Canadian:** In this paper, the term new Canadian describes the population that self-identify as “new”, usually referring to first-generation immigrants. Note that the terms *new Canadian* and *newcomer* have diverse definitions in existing integration literature (see page 26).

**Integration:** Integration is the acculturation strategy in which both cultural groups maintain their culture of origin but interact and coexist with different cultural groups; it is described as the bi-directional sharing of culture.

**Immigrant:** In this paper, the term immigrant refers to first- or second-generation immigrants who have arrived in Canada through economic or family class programs; immigrant is considered distinct from “refugee” or “asylum seeker” for the purposes of this paper, as the barriers and experiences of the groups are distinct. While the rights and recommendations for integration discussed in this paper also apply to refugees and asylum-seekers, the participants in the survey portion of this research included only immigrants and thus the primary data generated specifically relates to immigrants’ experiences and may not be generalizable. Future research into refugee experiences and anti-refugee prejudice is recommended.

**Multiculturalism:** Multiculturalism, both a practice and a value, is the coexistence of more than one accepted culture within a society. Beyond more than one group physically existing in a society, multiculturalism requires “a deep diversity characterized by intercultural learning and the skills for capitalizing on cultural differences” (Bernstein & Salipante, 2017, p. 1)

**Non-immigrant:** The term “non-immigrant” in this paper is used to refer to Canadians whose families have lived in Canada for three or more generations and includes both settled Canadians and Indigenous populations. While all but Indigenous people(s) are immigrants to Canada, this term is used to distinguish between recent immigrants and the population which has been established in Canada for several generations. Note that where this paper references the perspectives of non-immigrant Canadians, it is in the context of the national aggregate; they may or may not include or represent the perspectives of Indigenous communities, who have a distinct history and relationship with immigration. Note that much of the information relating to the perspectives of non-immigrant Canadians referenced in this paper was gathered from studies with large sample sizes that did not specify the heritage of the participants. As disaggregated data from Indigenous and settler Canadian communities is not available, the perspectives of Indigenous communities may not be accurately represented; future research into the Indigenous perspectives and intergroup relations with immigrants is recommended.

**Canadian-born:** This term is used to refer to the participants in the ICYP survey who were born in Canada, including both Indigenous and settled Canadians.

**Settled Canadian:** This term is used to describe Canadians who immigrated to Canada three or more generations ago. Settled Canadians are distinct from both immigrant and Indigenous populations in that they are established in Canada and have not, as a group, faced the systemic and ongoing marginalization like that of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

### Personal Statement

Before beginning this research project, I did not identify as an immigrant: as a white, western, native-English speaking Canadian citizen born in the United States, I have never *had* to identify as an immigrant. Externally and internally, I am perceived as “Canadian”. As a member of the ethnic majority, I was sheltered from discrimination and had the privilege of growing up with role models in the media, politics, classrooms, and positions of power that shared my ethnicity. As I was raised in an English-speaking household, my accent has never led to assumptions about my intelligence, competence, or nation of origin. Just as importantly, my internal cultural values match those of the society around me: I have faced no pressure to modify my beliefs, change my habits, or abandon my values. This is not the standard experience for immigrants in Canada, who, while protected in many ways, often experience exclusion, cultural assimilation, and discrimination.

The gap between my experience and the passion I feel for equality is something that I wrestle with. As a believer in equality who has benefitted from, and enjoyed life as a member of the privileged, dominant, and oppressive class, how do I best support social justice? As a white, western woman, where is my place in the fight for restructuring power? As a descendent of European immigrants in a colonized country, what is my role in promoting human rights here, and around the world?

This research—in its process and its results—has led me to see my role (and by extension, the role for human rights practitioners and advocates from historically dominant social classes) as advocating within my ethnoracial, sociocultural community. I can best support social justice movements by educating myself and working to convince others in my community to join the fight for equality. This thesis was designed to gather a snapshot of the state of integration among Canadian youth. It is my hope and intention that this research contributes to the existing body of literature and supports advocacy for increased integration and multicultural protections in Canada.

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

Canada is a nation of immigrants: immigrants are responsible for the majority of population growth and enrich the cultural spirit of the country with music, food, religion, customs, ideas, and perspectives (Statistics Canada, 2017b). As well as the economic, civil, and political rights outlined in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA; 2001), Canada explicitly protects the cultural and social rights of immigrants through the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (CMA; 1985). Although multiculturalism is a recognized Canadian value and is nominally supported, there is “a common misunderstanding that multiculturalism means only the presence of many independent cultural communities in a society, without their equitable participation and incorporation” (Berry et al., 2006, p. 724). Despite the protections of the CMA, many immigrants in Canada face discrimination, pressure to assimilate, and other barriers to genuine social, civic, and cultural participation (Department of Justice, 2015).

This thesis investigates the current status of multicultural rights outlined in the CMA, specifically focusing on the rights to social participation, cultural expression, and non-discrimination at both systemic and interpersonal levels. The investigation is conducted using a social psychological lens, in which meaningful social participation, freedom of cultural expression, and the absence of discrimination are understood as indicators of *integration*. Integration is a form of *acculturation*, the process of merging distinct cultural groups, in which both groups retain their cultural practices but accept, form, and maintain relationships with members of other groups (Allport, 1954). The social psychological framework provides concise and empirically evidenced theories that describe methods for promoting integration. Using these theories, it is possible to explore social solutions to achieving a society in which immigrants enjoy the same rights and opportunities as the established population. The human rights framework is utilized to provide a basis for policy recommendations and a framework that relates integration to multiculturalism, a respected and legally enshrined Canadian value.

To narrow this research project into a manageable scope, this thesis focuses on youth integration and multiculturalism. In 2020, approximately a fifth of arriving immigrants were under the age of 18 (Duffin, 2020). In certain urban centers, such as Toronto, more than two-thirds of youth are first- or second-generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2019). Despite the large proportion of young immigrants in the population, the majority of integration literature is focused on adults, with recent and notable exceptions including Lori Wilkinson’s *Factors Influencing the Academic Success of Refugee Youth in Canada* (2010) and

theses/dissertations by Cohen (2016), Naffi (2017), and Gallucci (2016). To address this gap in the literature, this thesis focuses on the experiences and perspectives of immigrant and non-immigrant youth. Although integration requires sociocultural acceptance from both immigrant and non-immigrant groups, and protecting immigrant rights requires the support of the socio-politically dominant population, non-immigrant perspectives are rarely considered in integration literature. However, examining the perspectives of settled Canadians is vital, as reactions to immigration affect their own life satisfaction and wellbeing (Hou et al. 2016), and because the reduction of anti-immigrant prejudice among non-immigrant Canadians is a prerequisite to integration, rights-compliance, and equality.

The survey portion of this thesis examines youth integration in the school context. Schools were chosen as an environment of focus, as they (a) are attended by the vast majority of Canadian youth and serve as an excellent site for interventions with a wide reach; (b) have naturally varying levels of ethnocultural diversity, allowing investigation into the role diversity and ensuring some level of intergroup contact; (c) meet the tenants for positive contact, maximizing the positive effects of positive intergroup contact; and (d) are a public institution and are therefore encouraged to promote integration and cultural rights, as described in the CMA.

Specifically, this thesis includes: (a) a review of legal protections of immigrants' rights to cultural expression and social participation; (b) a systematic review of youth integration literature; and (c) a study of youths' intergroup relations and perspectives of immigration. Recognizing that human rights research is most useful when it provides actionable results and is disseminated to all relevant actors, summaries of the results will be shared with policymakers, settlement organizations, school boards, and the general public, to inform perspectives, programs, and policies. Ultimately, the goal of this project is to provide a platform for youth to share their perspectives and experiences of integration with decision-makers and to advocate for the fulfillment of immigrants' social and cultural rights in Canada.

### **Research Questions**

Employing social psychological methods, examined in the context of Canadian legislation, the following overarching research questions will be investigated.

1. What is the current state of youth integration, as described by research and policy? Does current integration policy fulfil the obligations to promote multiculturalism as outlined in the CMA?

2. What is the current state of intergroup relations between self-identified immigrant and non-immigrant youth? How prevalent are experiences of discrimination and prejudice? What factors are linked with feelings of belonging and support for immigration?
3. What can be done to fulfil immigrant youths' right to social participation and cultural expression in Canada? Specifically, what education, policy, and programs can reduce discrimination/prejudice and improve relations between immigrant and non-immigrant youth?

Question one is addressed by a systematic review of Canadian youth integration literature from 2010–2020, which provides a summary of the current state of youth integration, barriers to integration, and recommendations for amendments in policy, research, and praxis. The results of the review, as well as the data from the ICYP survey, are used to answer question two. Question three draws from the literature review and the survey results and is answered through the synthesis of their findings, as analyzed through the human rights framework. The final chapter of this thesis integrates the findings from the previous chapters and examines their implications for future integration and multiculturalism policy.

### **Significance**

Contrary to the framing in some research and media, immigration in Canada does not seem to currently pose a crisis—social, economic, or otherwise. Although public support for immigration fluctuates, the levels of immigration have been relatively consistent since the 20th century (Statistics Canada, 2017b).<sup>1</sup> Immigrants succeed both educationally and economically, despite systemic discrimination, and are vital to balancing the demographics of Canada's aging population, with immigration currently providing 80% of Canada's population growth (Government of Canada, 2020; Nichols, 2019).

Although immigration has been constant, the source regions of immigration have shifted from predominantly European to mostly Asian (Statistics Canada, 2017b; Department of Justice, 2015). Immigration from Africa has also increased. In 2016 Africa replaced Europe as the second most common region of origin for the first time in Canadian history (Statistics Canada, 2017b). The rate of immigration is steady, but the demographics of

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<sup>1</sup> The percent of first-generation immigrants in Canada has remained between 15% and 22% between 1911-2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Canada are visibly changing, particularly because new immigrants tend to settle in large metropolitan regions, which “gives the impression that there have been dramatic changes in diversity” (Department of Justice, 2015, p. 4; Statistics Canada, 2017b). Currently, 22% of Canadians are visible minorities, up from 16% ten years ago (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Changing source regions have also led to increases in religious diversity: between 2000-2011 (latest data available) over a third of immigrants believe in non-Christian faiths (i.e. Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh), compared to just 7% of settled Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2013). Also, more than a third of immigrants speak a language other than French or English in the home (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Although there is significantly more diversity in large urban centers, as a result of provincial sponsorship programs, immigration to small cities is increasing as well, with Prairie provinces and Atlantic Canada receiving 200%–400% more immigrants in 2016 than in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

Ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity imply increased diversity in social domains not tracked by Statistics Canada: immigrants bring music, food, traditions, holidays, clothing styles, values, and social customs from their countries of origin. While immigrants and settled Canadians share communities, workplaces, and schools without large-scale intergroup conflict, the full acceptance and inclusion of this diversity has not yet been achieved: “Canadian society continues to attribute unequal social value to people of different origins” (Department of Justice, 2015, p. 6). A significant proportion of immigrants report frequent experiences of discrimination, particularly those who belong to visible or religious minority groups (Ari, 2020; Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). Immigrants experience significant pressure to abandon practices, both social and cultural, that are distinct from mainstream Canada.<sup>2</sup>

There is a relative paucity of research conducted on public opinion of the changing sociocultural dynamics, with public discourse tending to be on the economic impacts of immigration and ethnic diversity (Chong & Safdat, 2016). However, the research that has been conducted finds significant resistance to changing demographics and values among some Canadians (Department of Justice, 2015). According to a poll conducted by IPSOS, although nearly all Canadians agree that racism is “a terrible thing”, nearly half report having racist thoughts that they would not voice out loud (Simpson, 2019, p. 17, 19). Representative polls conducted by other agencies have found that, while support for multiculturalism is high,

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<sup>2</sup> Mainstream culture is subjective and dynamic, but can be understood as the normative values, beliefs, and practices that are encouraged and supported by the majority of the population.

there is some discomfort with cultural diversity. More than a third of Canadians agree with the statement “white Canadians are under threat from immigration”; over two-thirds agree that “there are too many immigrants coming into this country who are not adopting Canadian values” and that minorities should do more to “fit in”. (Angus Reid, 2019; Environics, 2019, p. 5; Simpson, 2019, p. 11).

In some cases, these feelings of threat translate into antisocial action. A report by the government of Canada (2020) found that a quarter of reported discrimination is related to region of origin or visible minority status, and nearly half of hate crimes are ethnically motivated. Additionally, a notable proportion of immigrants and ethnic minority youth face systemic discrimination, barriers in the education system, difficulty obtaining employment, and significantly lower wages compared to non-minority peers, even when employed (Department of Justice, 2015; Gallucci, 2017; Government of Canada, 2020). Discrimination is intersectional, affecting both immigrants and minorities, and is magnified for individuals who belong to both groups: four times as many visible minority immigrant youth report experiencing discrimination as compared to their non-visible minority peers (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007).

Resistance to difference can motivate *assimilation*, in which socioculturally distinct values and practices are discouraged in favour of adopting the mainstream culture. Recent polls show that assimilation, the “melting pot” style of acculturation, is supported by nearly 60% of Canadians, twice as many as those who prefer integration, the cultural “mosaic” (Angus Reid, 2019b). Despite some Canadians’ reluctance to accept the cultural contributions and diversity brought by immigrants, integration is the official acculturation strategy of Canada, and legislation encourages immigrants to maintain and share their cultures with the settled population (IRPA, 1985; CMA, 1985). Integration is enshrined in the CMA as a positive right. The government not only commits to protect the “freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage”, but to “promote policies, programs and practices” which enhance participation of immigrants, increase respect for multiculturalism, and to assist minority communities in “overcoming any discriminatory barrier” (CMA, 1985, 3(1)(a); 3(2)(b); 5(1)(g)).

However, Naffi’s (2017) study of Canadian policy documents finds that pro-assimilation language and policy is often promoted even while the term *integration* is used. The shift into assimilation is a departure from Canadian law and is fundamentally inconsistent with multiculturalism, which encourages a society of many interacting cultures. In Canadian history, assimilation practices resulted in the cultural genocide of Indigenous

peoples and racially discriminatory immigration policies (Black, 2013). Although many steps have been taken towards equality, repressive policy, interpersonal aggression, and systemic discrimination remain. One example is Bill 21, passed in Quebec in 2019, which bans religious symbols including turbans and head coverings for public sector employees (Montpetit, 2020). Effectively, the legislation suppresses cultural expression and visible signs of religious diversity and is an explicit illustration of the pressure immigrants and minorities face to assimilate into mainstream culture. While cultural expression is protected by Canadian law, the protections are not a sufficient bulwark against prejudice: the bill was passed using a loophole that allows provincial law to “override” rights enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, although this Bill is currently (as of December 2020) being challenged in court (Montpetit, 2020).

Conversely, integration promotes multiculturalism and encourages inclusion. This acculturation style has been linked to increased social harmony, greater feelings of belonging, and positive outcomes for both immigrant and settled populations (Hou et al., 2016; Berry et al., 2006). Research shows interventions that increase integration with immigrant *or* ethnic communities increase support for inclusive immigration policy and immigrant rights (Kiehne, 2019). As well as improving the lives of immigrant and minority groups, integration positively affects the lives of settled Canadians (Berry et al., 2006; Hou et al., 2016). For youth in particular, as well as increasing comfort and belonging in one's own diverse community, integration provides valuable cross-cultural skills necessary to successfully navigate our increasingly globalized world.

### **Colonial Context**

Although this thesis focuses on the intergroup relations between settled Canadian and immigrant youth, discussion of integration and immigration in Canada must be contextualized in Canada's colonial history and the cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples. The colonization of Canada and the subsequent treatment of First Nations communities is an example of cultural supremacy and the process of cultural assimilation taken to an extreme extent. Although Canada has enacted multicultural policies and reconciliation projects to promote respect and dignity for First Nations cultures, “all too often, policies and programs are still based on failed notions of assimilation” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p. 21). The integration of immigrant populations is an opportunity to prevent the repetition of historical cultural violations and demonstrate genuine commitment to an

integrated and multicultural society, in which the expression of all cultures are welcomed and members of all ethnocultural communities are included without discrimination.

Additionally, the influx of immigrant groups provides the opportunity to acknowledge Canada's colonial history and promote respect for Indigenous cultures among immigrating populations. Although outside the scope of this thesis, intergroup relations between Indigenous and immigrant communities are a crucial topic in integration. The relationships between these communities are complex and nuanced, particularly because immigrants may also identify as Indigenous and often bring their own experiences and perspectives of colonization, either as members of a colonizing country (i.e. England, China) or a former colony (i.e. India, Philippines, Nigeria). Promoting positive intergroup relations between Indigenous and immigrant populations, as well as positive relations with the settled Canadian population, is a promising pathway an inclusive and multicultural society.

At a systemic level, "...if Canadians are to keep the promise of the apologies made on their behalf—the promise of “never again!”—then we must guard against simply replicating the assimilation policies of the past in new forms today” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p. 210). Through acknowledging the consequences of historical assimilation practices and promoting the understanding of integration as the mutual responsibility of minority and majority communities, it is possible to demonstrate Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and interrupt the pattern of interpersonal discrimination and systemic pressure to abandon cultures of origin. Ultimately, promoting respect for multiculturalism, inclusion, and equitable social participation of all ethnocultural communities are crucial aspects of preventing the repetition of historical violations and working towards a future where all communities are equal in dignity and rights.

## **Conceptual Frameworks**

### **Human Rights Framework**

Approaching integration from a human rights framework allows for a clear understanding of immigrants' cultural and social rights and the corresponding governmental obligations to promote and protect integration. In particular, a rights-based understanding of integration provides a legal basis to support calls for policy change. This framework contradicts pro-assimilation perspectives that limit immigrants' right to maintain their culture of origin. It also challenges the perspective of immigrants as a means to “support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy” instead of as equal partners in creating culture, society, and a strong economic system (IRPA, 2001).

Canada is well-placed to be a progressive presence in immigrant rights, due to existing legislation. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1985) is a unique legislation that and describes the right to social participation, cultural expression, and contribution to Canadian culture—in other words, integration—in positive terms. Multiculturalism is additionally enshrined as a constitutional value in section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), which states that the Charter be interpreted “in a manner that is consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada”. While multicultural legislation has not eradicated assimilationist beliefs nor discrimination—criticisms of these policies include conservative interpretation with preference to settler Canadian communities, suggesting that some bias is present in the interpretation of the legislation, and focus on cultural preservation rather than equal social participation (Department of Justice, 2015; Richez, 2012; Rolla, 2007)—these documents confer an obligation on the federal institutions to continue to protect and promote minority rights.

As a result of the aforementioned legislation, and because multiculturalism is national value accepted by the majority of the population, Canada is an excellent case-study for the promotion of immigrant rights (Government of Canada, 2020; Environics, 2015). Theoretically, broad public support for multiculturalism, despite deviations from this value in policy and praxis, creates an environment that facilitates individual acceptance of difference and makes it easier to promote integration. Strategies developed for protecting multiculturalism and immigrants’ rights can then be applied to countries with weaker legal protections and less public support, fulfilling the federal mandate to “project the multicultural reality of Canada... in Canada and abroad” (CMA, 1985, Art. 5(1)(a)).

Berry and Hou (2017) describe the CMA as upholding two core principles: “the promotion of cultural diversity as a public good, and the opening of society for full and equitable participation for everyone” (p. 38). The “two principles are the same as those underlying the acculturations strategies framework” (Berry & Hou, 2017, p. 38), which allows for a coordinated social and systemic approach for promoting immigrants’ cultural rights. The legal framework encourages policy and political change, while empirically informed research on acculturation strategies informs interventions that can counter resistance to integration and the fulfillment of these rights at a social and interpersonal level. As well as the CMA, immigrants’ social and cultural rights—their rights to multiculturalism—are protected by the Human Rights Act (HRA; 1985) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). Ratification of international treaties afford additional multicultural and non-discriminatory protections, but the scope of this paper is limited to

domestic legislation, which has the strongest jurisdiction in Canada and is the most useful in promoting policy change.

The relevant rights outlined by the HRA and the Canadian Charter can be interpreted as negative rights that protect against discrimination and differential treatment of immigrants and minorities. The CMA is more inclusive and describes the positive rights to social inclusion and cultural contribution, explicitly describing guidelines for implementation and Canada's responsibility to promote multiculturalism and integration. Beyond the scope of this paper, but notable for those interested in pursuing a comprehensive understanding of immigrant rights, the Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act (2001) describes immigrants' civil and political protections.

### *Non-discrimination*

Canadian society is moving towards the inclusion of aspirational rights, but non-compliance with the basic protections against discrimination exist, with a quarter of reported discrimination and nearly half of reported hate crimes motivated by anti-immigrant, ethnic, or religious prejudice (Government of Canada, 2020). Therefore, the right to non-discrimination must be promoted, as well as more inclusive rights to multiculturalism. Canadian immigrant youth report discrimination from peers and teachers, systemic barriers, and street harassment based on nationality, ethnicity, religion, and language ability, with visible minority groups and religious Muslims experiencing the highest levels of discrimination (Gallucci, 2016; Jibril, 2011; Smith, 2019; Government of Canada, 2020).

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), one of Canada's constitutional documents, describes the right to non-discrimination "based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion" before the law; this confers a duty onto the Canadian courts and policing systems to treat individuals equally, but does not technically impose obligations of non-discrimination on the private sector or individuals (Art. 15). The "freedom of conscience and religion" and "of thought, belief, opinion and expression" are also protected under the Charter (1982) and imply that Canadians cannot be prevented from cultural or religious expression by governmental and private bodies (Art. 2). Interpreted as negative rights, the Charter confers a duty to intervene when expression is limited by governmental and/or private bodies. For example, this includes intervention to prevent discrimination and/or punishment of cultural expression, in places of employment, schools and/or in public. Multiculturalism, as established in section 27 of the Charter, is rarely used as a right upon itself, but is invoked or referenced as supplemental argument to constitutional rights (Richez, 2012). Section 27 provides crucial balance to non-discrimination: non-discrimination policies

promote equality, while the multiculturalism clause prevents non-discrimination from being interpreted as requiring homogeneity among the population (Richez, 2012; Rolla, 2007).

The Human Rights Act (HRA; 1985) reaffirms Canadian's right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination, "consistent with their duties and obligations as members of society", extending the responsibility of upholding rights to individual citizens as well as political bodies (Art. 2). The act forbids explicit discrimination and discriminatory provision of goods, services and opportunities, "regardless of whether it results in direct discrimination or adverse effect discrimination" (HRA, 1985, Art. 8). Publication or public expressions of discrimination (i.e. hate speech) are also forbidden on the grounds that they are discriminatory, and incite further discrimination (HRA, 1985, Art. 12).

### ***Multicultural Rights***

Extending beyond the rights to equality, expression, and non-discrimination, the CMA (1985) takes a broad view of multicultural inclusion. Through this act, the Canadian government,

"recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada" (CMA, 1985, Preamble).

Explicitly, the CMA describes Canadians' multicultural rights, the obligations of federal policy and institutions, a specific mandate, and an implementation plan. Although the act does not have jurisdiction over individual citizens and private entities (i.e. companies, non-governmental organizations), the federal government, in compliance with this act, has a responsibility to,

"encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions... [and] the business community, labour organizations, voluntary and other private organizations, as well as public institutions, in ensuring full participation in Canadian society, including the social and economic aspects, of individuals of all origins and their communities, and in promoting respect and appreciation for the multicultural reality of Canada" (Art. 3(1)(f); 5(d)).

The act protects and promotes multiculturalism in four general areas: (a) promoting respect for diverse cultures and Canada's multicultural identity; (b) encouraging integration and social participation; (c) ameliorating barriers and supporting minorities in overcoming barriers to cultural expression and participation; and (d) promoting cultural expression and contribution to Canada's character.

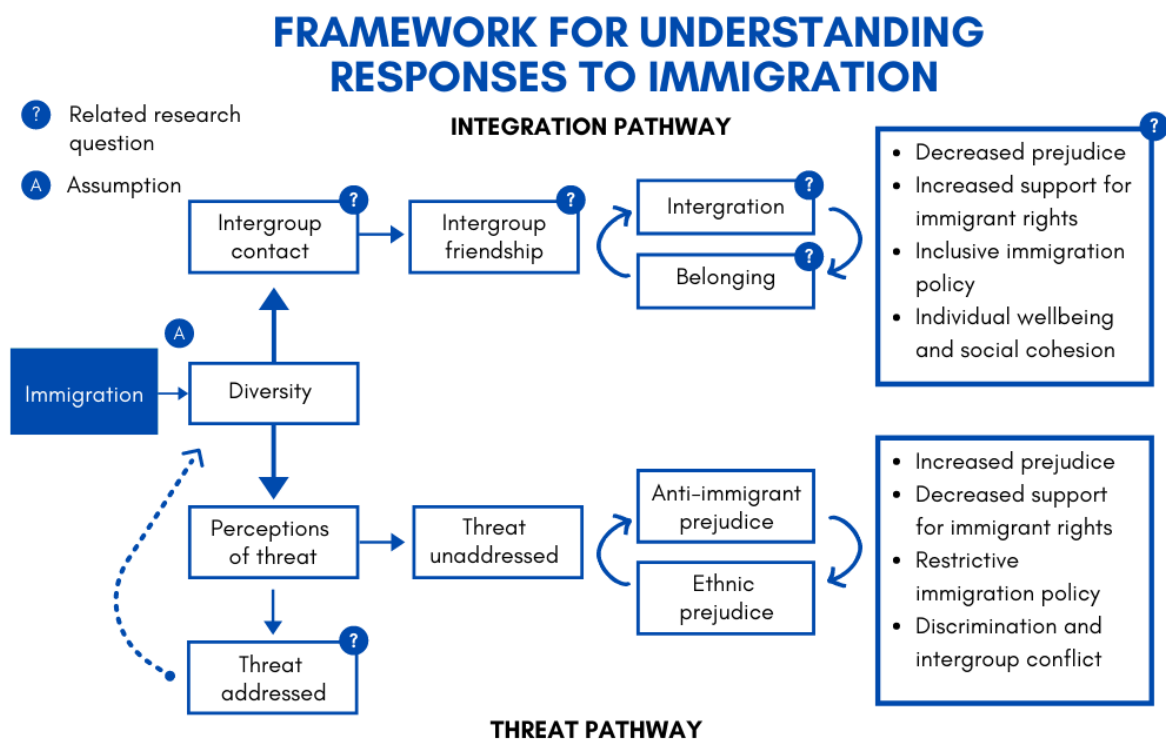
Specifically, multiculturalism is recognized as a "fundamental characteristic" of Canadian identity, and an "invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future" (CMA, 1985, Art. 3(1)(b)). The act requires the government to promote the social participation of minority communities, and "the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation" (Art. 3(1)(c)). As well as social participation, cultural expression is protected. Federal institutions and policies have a duty to allow Canadians of all origins to "preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage" (Art. 3(1)(a)), to make use of the cultural skills and knowledge of all groups (Art. 2(e)), and to "promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute" to Canadian society (Art. 2(b)).

The act is upheld to a certain extent, exhibited by the large proportion of Canadians that view multiculturalism as a Canadian value and the participation of minority communities and celebrations of diversity in federal institutions, as reported in the Annual Multiculturalism Report (Government of Canada, 2020). However, the report acknowledges that protecting multiculturalism requires continuing attention, funding, and programming, and that racism and discrimination remain barriers. While the 2020 report acknowledges the "incremental changes" continuously being made on the part of federal institutions, multiculturalism requires more than superficial celebration in one sector of society; meaningful participation and equitable distribution of social, cultural, political, and economic power between immigrant Canadians, Indigenous communities, and settled, mainstream Canadians is required (Government of Canada, p. 33).

### **Social Psychological Framework**

This thesis uses social psychological methods to capture a snapshot of contemporary integration policy and the status of youths' intergroup relations. In this section, an overview of relevant theories is provided, and a framework for interpreting the social psychological literature in the context of responses to immigration is proposed (see Figure 1).

Figure 1



In Canada, immigration leads to diversity: immigrants are more likely to speak a language other than French or English in the home, practice non-Christian religions, and belong to an ethnic minority group (Statistics Canada 2013; 2017b; 2019). Diversity provides the opportunity for, but does not necessarily lead to, interpersonal contact between different social groups. According to Allport’s (1954) contact theory, when faced with a culturally distanced incoming group, the settled population may choose to *integrate*, *assimilate* or *separate* the immigrants. This thesis examines methods of promoting integration.

Berry (et al., 2006; 2017), finds that integration is supported by intergroup contact; intergroup contact decreases prejudice, particularly between individuals with equal status, cooperation, shared goals and institutional support. Intergroup friendships create excellent conditions for ideal intergroup contact and decrease prejudice towards immigrants and ethnic minorities (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Through contact and subsequent decreases in prejudice, integration becomes possible. Integration and belonging are considered synonymous by some authors (e.g., Hou et al., 2016) and are described as separate, mutually reinforcing variables by others; in either case, feelings of belonging are linked with greater integration, and integration leads to greater feelings of belonging (Pritchard and Ramos 2019; Gallucci, 2016). Kiehne’s research (2019) connects support for immigrant rights and support

for immigration with integration, belonging, intergroup contact and intergroup friendships: the integration pathway leads to increased support for immigrant rights (Kiehne & Ayon, 2016).

However, diversity does not necessarily lead to intergroup contact; research shows that in schools and communities, settled immigrants often form homogenous relationships and avoid connecting with immigrants (Janmaat, 2014; Kiehne, 2019). In the absence of intergroup contact, Stephan and Renfro (2002) find that an influx of ethnic and sociocultural diversity can trigger feelings of *symbolic threat*, perceived threat to values and belief systems, and/or *real threat*, perceptions of threat to economic, demographic, or political power. Threat can be in response to perceived ethnic diversity in ones' community or the country, or directly in response to immigration. Kiehne (2019) found that experiences of anti-immigrant and ethnic threat are closely interrelated: intergroup contact with immigrants or ethnic minorities was correlated with decreases in prejudice against both populations (Kiehne, 2019). If unaddressed, perceptions of threat are linked with increased prejudice, support for restrictive immigration policy, pro-assimilation perspectives and resistance to immigrant rights (Kiehne, 2019).

Using the aforementioned framework to conceptualize integration literature, this thesis aims is to identify barriers that inhibit, and social factors that promote, the integration pathway. In the process of the research, some evidence of threat perceptions emerged among surveyed youth. These responses, as well as some of the findings of the *Integration in Canada: Youth Perspectives* survey (see Chapter 3) indicate areas in which interventions may be useful in interrupting the threat pathway.

### **Assumptions**

The aforementioned frameworks, and the research methodology that emerged from them, are based upon several assumptions. First, this model assumes that integration is the most valuable integration pathway and merits reinforcement. Acculturation literature finds that integration improves the life satisfaction, happiness, mental health, and wellbeing of both immigrants and settled Canadians and is linked with the highest levels of social harmony of all the acculturation strategies (Berry, 2006; Hou et al., 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Additionally, this model assumes that immigrants are socioculturally distinct from mainstream Canadian society, which already includes integrated and Canadian-born ethnic minorities. This assumption is reasonable because immigration does bring diversity (Statistics Canada 2013; 2017; 2019). While ethnoculturally similar to many established communities in

Canada, minorities and immigrants are distinct from the demographic average and are not yet equally represented or respected (Department of Justice, 2015; Li, 2019): I believe the status quo remains controlled by white, settled Canadians.

This paper also assumes that integration and multiculturalism have the same result: promoting immigrants' ability to maintain and share their culture and increasing the acceptance of different cultures in mainstream society. While integration can include economic, civic and social integration, this paper focuses on social integration, which includes the ability to participate in accessible and inclusive social activities, join cultural groups, and contribute to Canada's society and culture. Multicultural rights include the right to social participation and the right to cultural expression; these rights are synonymous with the goals of integration. By studying integration research, perspectives regarding immigration, and youths' intergroup relationships, it is possible to measure the institutional and social support for multiculturalism.

Finally, this research paper assumes that it is useful to study integration, support for immigration and the rights to multiculturalism among youth. Youth (16-17) were chosen as the participant group of focus for this project because, at this age, some ideological beliefs are still forming, which may increase the ease in which prejudice reduction can occur via intergroup contact. Additionally, the vast majority of youth attend schools and are more engaged with extracurricular activities, facilitating the ease of intervention (Statistics Canada, 2019). Most importantly, youth are the next generation and indicate the attitudes among new voters, change-makers and adult citizens of Canada; understanding their needs, perspectives and attitudes indicates future directions of immigration and multiculturalism policy in Canada.

### **Limitations**

This study was limited by the lack of Indigenous perspectives included in the planning of this project and the lack of Indigenous authors included in the cited literature. While the search terms used to generate literature were broad (e.g. "immigration", "youth integration" and "Canada OR Canadian"), to the best of my knowledge, they did not result in publications by Indigenous authors. Integration and multiculturalism are crucial Canadian issues and research into these topics should seek to actively include perspectives of Indigenous leaders and communities. While the contributions of Dr. Marlyn Bennett in the colonial context section and definitions used in this thesis were invaluable (personal communication, February 24, 2021), the lack of Indigenous perspectives in the planning and

research design stages of this project was a limitation. Specifically, the use of the term “settled Canadian” in the ICYP survey to describe the Canadian-born population was a limitation. This term may have decreased the comfort and feelings of inclusion of the Indigenous youth who participated in this survey, as Indigenous groups in Canada do not identify as “settled” (Marlyn Bennett, personal communication, February 24, 2021). Although the language was adjusted in the writing of study results, the use of this term in the survey was a limitation, and inclusive definitions and/or inclusion of Indigenous participant groups are recommended for future research. Specific recommendations for promoting the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in future research are included in the Future Directions section of this paper (see page 72).

Another limitation of this project are the challenges associated with the interdisciplinary approach chosen, which limits my ability to exclusively focus on either human rights or social psychology and requires translation between the terminology used in both fields. However, I believe complex nature of multiculturalism, which is grounded in policy and legislation and requires the support of individuals and social groups, warrants the multifaceted, interdisciplinary approach. Additionally, the usage of both a systematic literature review and a survey limits the depth that could have been achieved in either project, although both aspects of research were required to understand both the individual and systemic aspects of youth integration and better inform interventions that support multicultural rights.

Specifically, the ICYP survey was limited both by the low number of immigrant participants, which limited statistical significance of comparison between immigrant and Canadian-born populations. The sampling of participants was based on self-selection from across Canada, and therefore our data may be influenced by self-selection bias and the diversity of integration experiences in different regions of Canada. However, the geographic range was employed to gather an aggregate picture of youth integration in Canada, and to generate the maximum number of participants to attain statistical power during analysis. As many of the findings of this survey supported existing research, I believe that these limitations did not overly influence the results. The methodology chosen allowed for only a snapshot of youth integration; the absence of a longitudinal design and/or an experimental method limited the causal conclusions that can be drawn.

### **Chapter One Summary**

In this chapter, the goals, scope, significance, and research framework of this thesis were outlined. The following chapters examine the status of multiculturalism and non-discrimination for the population of youth immigrants, on systematic and individual levels. As well as evaluating the systemic barriers to cultural expression and social participation and identifying policy recommendations for improvement, youths' intergroup relations and perceptions of immigration are examined to determine psychological barriers to multiculturalism and supports which could ameliorate resistance to diversity. The research is conducted using social psychological methods and drawing from the social psychological framework (see Figure 1). The recommendations and process of dissemination are informed by the human rights framework and reference legal obligations to motivate policy change.

The following chapter is a systematic review of the youth integration literature in Canada. The review provides an overview of the current status of youth integration, as well as areas in which future research is warranted. Thorough investigation of the literature is useful, as it identifies areas in which immigrants' rights are thriving, and areas in which multicultural rights could be better supported with adjustments to current programs, praxis, or policy.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Integration in Canada: A Systematic Review of the Youth Experience**

#### **Abstract**

Although there is substantial research examining adult perspectives of immigration and integration, there is notably less data on youth attitudes and experiences. When youth are surveyed, a preliminary review of the existing literature reveals that non-immigrant voices are very rarely included. This systematic review aims to (a) identify the major themes and findings of existing research; (b) determine the gaps in the existing literature; and (c) propose recommendations for future integration research, policy and interventions. Ultimately, through a review of the literature, this paper examines the framing of integration and proposes a paradigm shift in which research, settlement practice and policy more closely reflect the bi-directional cultural exchange and the mutual responsibilities of integration.

#### **Introduction**

Every year, 35,000 immigrant and refugee youth (15-24) settle in Canada, approximately 15% of which are Canadian newcomers (Scott, 2013). Although immigrants are a vital component of Canada's social and economic life, as well as its voting base, they are not always met with acceptance: according to a recent poll, half of Canadians feel that immigrants are not "adopting Canadian values" and over a third believe there is "too much" immigration in Canada (Neuman, 2019). The bulk of integration research is focused on adult immigrants, while the experiences of youth remain understudied (Korntheuer et al., 2020; Scott, 2013). Youth are an important population of focus because they represent the next generation, and their perspectives may provide insight into the future of integration in Canada. Currently, immigrant and refugee youth are faced with unique challenges integrating into Canada and their experiences indicate the strengths and limitations of Canada's settlement system (Cohen, 2016; Marshall et al., 2016).

Newcomer youth face a number of diverse barriers and are not sufficiently supported by the existing settlement services or school-based supports. For example, Gallucci (2016) and Yan et al. (2012) found that a lack of social capital—that is, friends or family who understand the Canadian system—prevents many immigrant youth from attending post-secondary education and limits entry into the Canadian workforce. Hilario (2018) finds that the lack of linguistically and culturally appropriate services is a barrier to accessing health services. Conversely, an IRCC-funded report (2018) provides evidence that immigrant youth

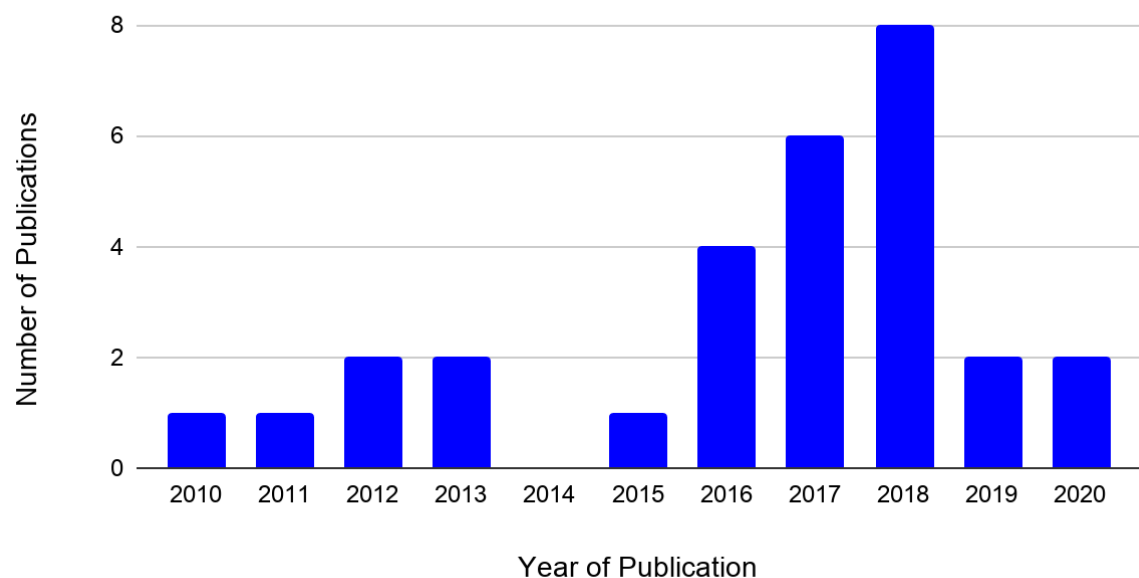
“generally have a positive experience in the school system” and are, on average, 19% more likely than their settled Canadian peers to pursue post-secondary education (Turegun et al., p. 18). The majority of newcomer youth (80%) report self-report “good or excellent” mental health, despite the challenges and additional stressors associated with integration (Marshall et al., 2016, p. 26). This systematic review aims to illuminate the diverse and contradictory experiences of youth and proposes a reframing of future research and policy to better support newcomer youths’ integration.

## Research Framework

### Canadian Historical Context

The arrival of refugees and immigrants is “recurrently portrayed as something new, which often leads to social anxiety,” but spikes in refugee resettlement frequently occur and economic immigration has long been used to supplement the Canadian population (Korntheuer et al., 2020, p. 204). For example, the temporary uptick of refugee resettlement during the Syrian conflict—40,000 refugees resettled from 2015–2017, approximately half of which were youth (Pontes, 2018; Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020)—sparked a renewed interest in settlement and integration: approximately half of the literature in this review was published in 2017 or 2018, the period when Syrian refugees were being settled in Canada (see Figure 2.1).

**Figure 2.1**  
*Publications by Year*



However, as a colonial nation, Canada has a long history of immigration and the demographic composition and cultural practices of Canada are the legacy of immigration

policies that have traditionally favoured European immigrants (Department of Justice, 2015). Although explicit discriminatory barriers have been removed from Canadian immigration policy, the immigration process is selective: the focus on economic immigration, skill-based selection criteria, language requirements and the selective placement of international visa offices influence which immigrants are accepted (Black, 2013; Egan, 2020). The system favours immigrants who are better educated and wealthier than the existing population: a comparison of the census and immigration requirements reveals that the majority of Canadians would not qualify to immigrate (Egan, 2020). Despite this, immigrants and minorities are viewed as “less socially desirable” and integration research emphasizes the barriers facing immigrants, rather than their contributions (Department of Justice, 2015, p. 6; Scott, 2013).

Although all but Indigenous Canadians have an immigrant heritage, polls show that many Canadians view newcomers as a threat to cultural values (Neuman, 2019). Resistance to religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity has been the consistent response to immigration and a modulating factor in Canada’s immigration policies. For example, immigration policy in the early 20th century was shaped by bans on Jewish and Chinese immigrants that were not lifted until after the second world war (Black, 2013). Policymakers have committed to continue working to reduce prejudice, eliminate barriers, and promote multicultural acceptance in Canada (Government of Canada, 2020). Integrating newcomers is a vital part of continuing this process.

### **Acculturation**

Resettling immigrants demands social and psychological change in both immigrant and non-immigrant<sup>3</sup> populations, at individual and societal levels. The process of change that occurs when different cultural groups or individuals meet is *acculturation* (Berry et al., 2006). There are two key factors that determine acculturation strategies: the desire to retain culture of origin and the desire to maintain relationships with distinct cultural groups (Berry et al, 2006). Canada promotes *integration* as the official acculturation strategy (Naffi, 2017) which requires that newcomers and settled Canadians maintain aspects of their own culture while engaging with other ethnocultural individuals or groups (Berry et al., 2006).

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<sup>3</sup> The term *non-immigrant* to describe the host Canadian population that is not a first- or second-generation immigrant, migrant or refugee, rather than the term “host Canadian”. This term avoids any implied power or ownership imbalance between *host* and *guest* populations.

The term *integration* is often conflated with *assimilation* and has come to connote cultural change required by newcomers—ignoring the sociocultural changes required by members of the settled community. To alleviate the confusion between the colloquial usage of integration and assimilation, Naffi (2017) recommends that the term *inclusion* be used to explicitly describe the responsibility of non-immigrant Canadians to welcome and accommodate newcomers. In a review of literature on inclusion, including IRCC publications, government of Canada reports and academic articles, Naffi (2017) identifies the specific components of inclusion: Canadian society is responsible for providing the opportunity, rights, agency, and resources necessary for immigrants to meaningfully participate in society; the act of inclusion should be both conscious and explicit.

### **Methodology**

This paper uses a systematic review to identify the themes in Canadian youth integration literature, under-researched topics, and key limitations of current research methods. Systematic reviews are useful in informing policy, practice, and paradigm shifts (Petticrew & Robert, 2006). Recognizing that the audience and authors of youth integration literature extend beyond academia—settlement organizations, policymakers, and youth educators hold valuable knowledge but may not publish in academic journals—grey literature is included in this review.

Two databases, PsychINFO and ProQuest Central Student (a multidisciplinary database including the ProQuest *Canadian Newstream*, *Canadian*, *Education*, *Psychology*, and *Social Science* databases) were searched, as well as the academic search engine Google Scholar (GS). Although GS may be unconventional, it was instrumental in this review: a diverse range of publications is required to capture the intersectional literature on youth integration, which draws from the fields of social psychology, cultural psychology, education, ethnic studies, human rights, immigration studies, and public policy planning. Halevi, Moed and Bar-Ilan's review (2017) on the suitability of GS as a tool for scientific evaluation found GS more comprehensive than conventional databases, particularly for social sciences and multidisciplinary subjects (Gusenbauer, 2018).

The search terms *Immigration*, *Youth Integration*, and *Canada* OR *Canadian* in August 2020, yielded 319 publications: 203 from GS, 9 from PsycINFO and 107 from ProQuest. The search was limited to English-language publications published between 2010–2020, with a narrow focus on youth integration in Canada. Article titles were examined for the existence of exclusion criteria (i.e. international study, non-relevant subject) and abstracts

were evaluated for the following inclusion criteria: (a) youth-related (e.g., parenting, high school), (b) immigration-related (e.g., refugee, inclusion, newcomer), and (c) integration-related (e.g., transition, adaptation, acculturation). After reading titles and abstracts, 48 publications remained. An evaluation of full manuscripts for inclusion and exclusion criteria eliminated 17 more articles due to the international nature of the study or lack of youth focus, resulting in 29 viable articles (see Table A).

## Results

### Methodological Approaches of the Literature

The conflation between *immigrants*, *refugees*, and *newcomers* was a major limitation of publications included in this review. While the majority of articles about refugees clearly distinguished between immigrants and refugees, approximately half of the articles concerning immigrants conflated the populations (i.e. included refugees in the participant sample). No articles regarding newcomers made a distinction between the groups. Even when clearly defined, the diversity of definitions used for *immigrants* and *newcomers* presents challenges in comparing and interpreting results.

*Newcomer* was defined as “immigrants who have come to Canada in the last five years” (Nichols et al., 2019, p. 180), immigrants and refugees who obtain permanent residence (Li, et al., 2017), and permanent residents *and* temporary residents (Li & Que, 2015). The range of definitions, at its narrowest, includes a temporal restriction of 5 years; at its broadest, it includes visitors without intention to permanently settle in Canada (i.e. international students). The term “immigrant” is, at times, used to refer to economic or family class migrants; in other publications, it is an overarching term including both refugees and immigrants.

Lack of agreement on what constitutes youth further complicates analysis of youth integration literature, with definitions in included publications ranging from 7-17 (Lencucha et al., 2013) to 15-35 (Nichols et al., 2019). Nearly every article in this review included a different inclusion range for participants, and some did not provide age at all, defining their participants as “university undergraduates” (Yan et al., 2012) or “students” (Lewis et al., 2018; Li, Que, 2020). As the experiences, needs, and resources of youth vary greatly with age, the inconsistent definition and lack of comprehensive participant descriptions hinder researchers’ ability to extrapolate conclusions.

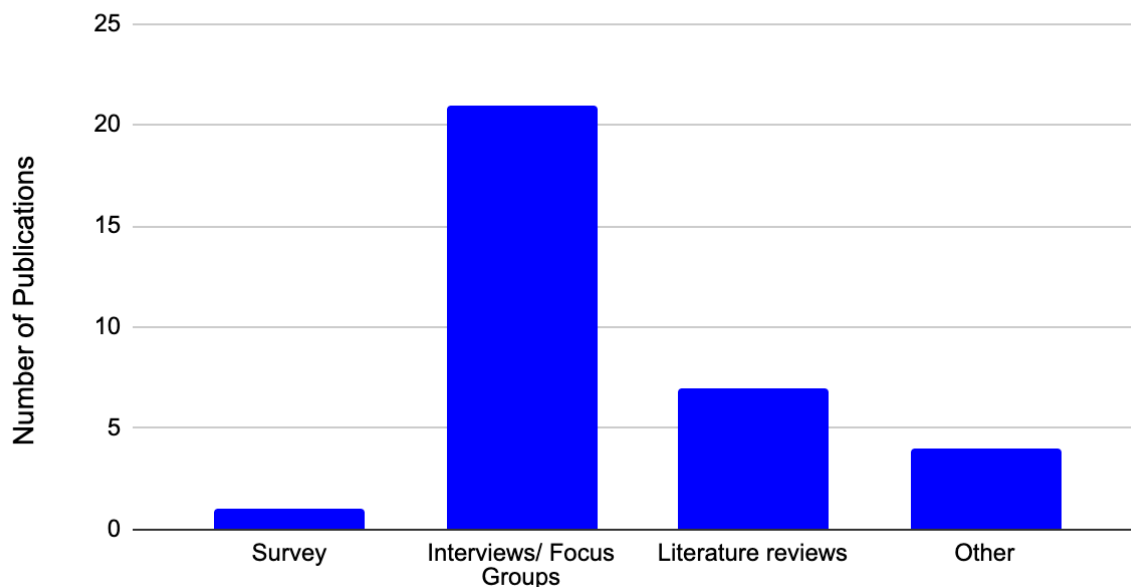
Considering refugees and immigrants as a unit (i.e. “newcomers”) is useful when discussing issues that affect all groups. However, immigrants and refugees have different sets

of needs, strengths, and pre-migration experiences, and benefit from different services and policies. Conflating the populations limits the utility of research conclusions to inform policy recommendations and contributes to public misunderstanding of the distinctions between groups. This review differentiates between immigrants and refugees whenever possible. In this paper, the term *immigrant* is used to refer to individuals who moved to Canada by choice; *newcomer* is used as an overarching term to describe both immigrants and refugees.

### ***Methodologies***

An increase in quantitative, longitudinal, and empirically evidenced research is recommended, as well as research into the experiences of youth in rural and small urban centers (Pritchard & Ramos, 2018; Turegun et al., 2018). Comparing the results of this systematic review with the findings of previous literature, such as Pritchard and Ramos's (2018) systematic review of refugee youth integration literature from 1967 to 2016 and Turegun's (2018) report on immigrant settlement and integration from 2008 to 2017, it is evident that the geographic range of studies has expanded in recent years but remains methodologically focused on qualitative research with a paucity of experimental design or statistical analysis. In this review, the majority of publications were entirely qualitative (n = 25), including semi-structured interviews, focus groups, literature reviews, syntheses of service provision or educational curricula, and one arts-based project (see Figure 2.2). Four of the publications used mixed methods and none were purely quantitative. Although qualitative research methods capture nuanced perspectives, quantitative data is useful in identifying gaps between current service provision and youth needs and measuring the service provision outcomes.

**Figure 2.2**  
*Publications by Research Method*



Additionally, the geographical scope of research has widened, although the majority of research was conducted in Ontario, which settles half of all immigrants and refugees (Statistics Canada, 2017a). The Prairies are mostly represented by Albertan research, which corresponds with higher resettlement numbers in Alberta (10% of all immigration) as compared to Saskatchewan and Manitoba (Statistics Canada, 2017a). The low representation of research conducted in Quebec is attributed to the English-language inclusion requirement of this review. Research in Atlantic Canada has increased, with 6 publications published in or after 2015, and there has been an increase in multi-provincial studies since 2017, allowing for comparisons of settlement experiences in different Canadian environments. Future directions include studies conducted in rural environments, as all research in this review focused on large and medium-sized urban centers, ranging from the GTA to St. Johns, Newfoundland.

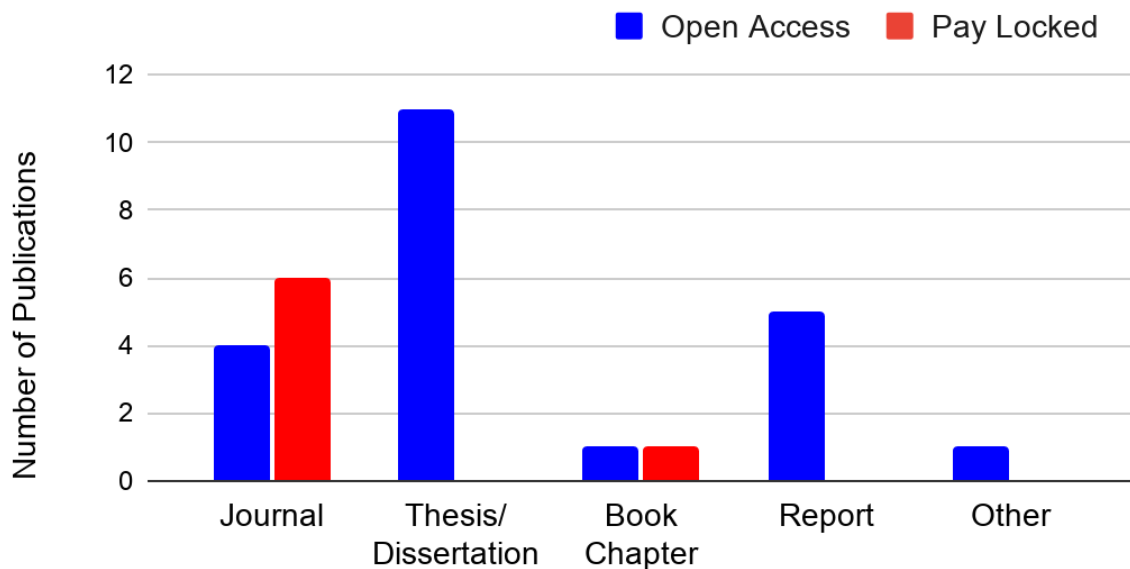
### ***Accessibility***

Youth integration research is applied research. Two-thirds of the publications include policy recommendations while just over half include recommendations for future research, indicating the intended audience includes policymakers and service providers, as well as academics. However, the majority of journal articles were pay-locked, which presents an access barrier for the non-academic audience, as individuals and organizations may not subscribe to academic databases and journals, limiting impact and readership (see Figure 2.3). Dissemination and knowledge mobilization processes must be considered when

conducting and publishing youth integration research, if policy recommendations and “best practices” are to affect social change.

**Figure 2.3**

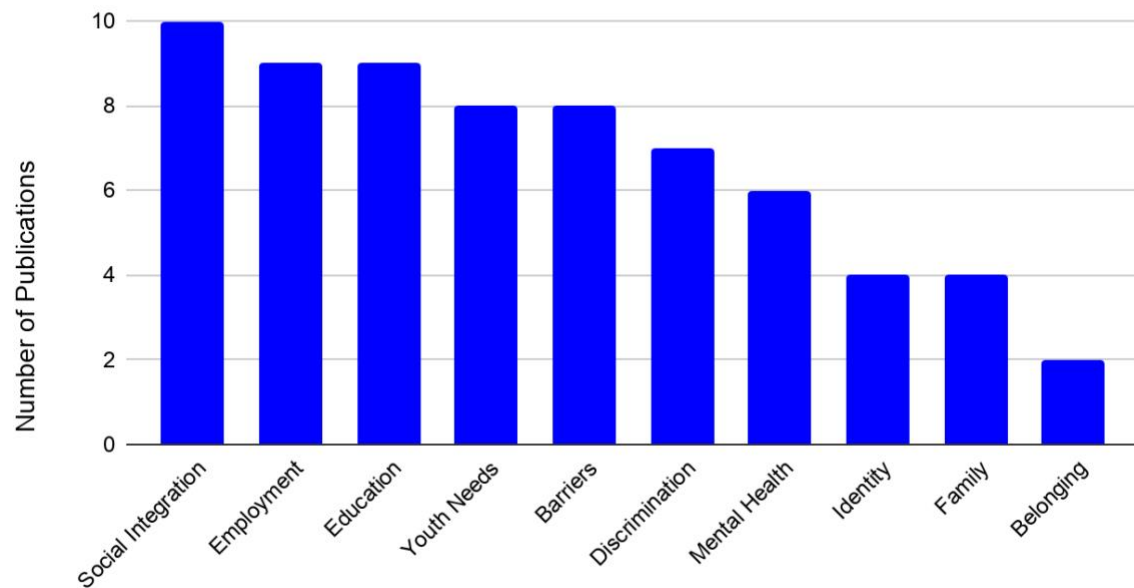
*Publication Format and Access*



A third of the total publications were theses or dissertations. The quality of the student publications was variable, but overall a strong contribution to the literature, with several (e.g., Naffi, 2017; Hilario, 2018) including manuscripts accepted for publication by peer-reviewed journals. The high proportion of youth-focused publications authored by students is a trend to watch, as it is unclear if it predicates new popularity in youth integration research or a focus on youth by young scholars.

### Major Themes and Findings

The publications in the literature review discussed ten thematic areas, with each publication discussing one or more topic (see Figure 2.4). The most commonly researched topics were *social integration* (i.e. friendships, and participation in activities), *employment*, and *education*, which were each present in approximately a third of publications. *Identity*, *family* and *belonging* were the least frequently researched topics, present in 13%, 13% and 7% of the articles, respectively. The next section includes a synthesis of key findings for each of the themes, in order of prevalence, and is followed by a discussion and policy recommendations regarding the findings of the review.

**Figure 2.4***Publications by Subject****Social Integration***

Social integration is instrumental in the psychological well-being and the lifetime success of refugee and immigrant youth. Friendships with established Canadians have been found to increase feelings of belonging, improve cultural literacy, and confidence in navigating the new cultural landscape (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Godin et al., 2017). Friendship with non-immigrant Canadians increased youths' knowledge of cultural norms and provided instrumental support, such as finding jobs (Yan et al., 2012), navigating the school system (Gallucci, 2016), and practicing language skills (Li & Que, 2020). While beneficial, there are challenges to intercultural friendship formation, including language barriers, different senses of humour and cultural values, and prejudice (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Li & Que, 2020). Refugee youth, in particular, report having challenges establishing friendships with non-refugee youth as their interests and perspectives are very different (Li & Que, 2020; Pontes, 2018).

Community activities provided an opportunity for newcomers to form intergroup friendships (Lencucha et al., 2013). Yan et al. (2012) found that first-generation immigrants were slightly more likely to be involved in extracurricular activities than second-generation immigrants or non-immigrants. Yet, Nathoo (2017), finds that newcomers participate significantly less than non-immigrant youth. These lower rates of participation can be explained by Nichols and colleagues (2019), who found that newcomer youth often do not feel welcome in recreational activities, even if encouraged to participate. In addition to

intergroup friendships, social relationships *within* newcomers' communities promotes psychological health for refugee youth (Godin et al., 2017). A strong sense of community and friendships with peers that had similar migration experiences, cultural values, lifestyles, and challenges (i.e. missing home, worry for loved ones in country of origin, experiences of culture shock) is important (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020). Friendships with older peers are thought to increase resiliency (Karky, 2018).

Yan et al.'s study (2012) measuring ethnic diversity in friendship, found that friendships within the same ethnic group were much more common than inter-ethnic relationships, particularly for established Canadians (i.e. third-generation immigrants). Second-generation immigrants had the most ethnically diverse social circles, and 3rd generation (forming the control group as non-immigrants) had the least diversity; minority youth had more diverse social circles than non-minority youth. These findings suggest that immigrant youth are forming friendships with other cultural groups, but more social integration from settled Canadians is required.

### ***Employment***

Several literature reviews, and one study of immigrant youth (18–24) report that immigrants and refugees have lower rates of employment than their Canadian-born peers (Naffi, 2017; Nichols et al., 2019; Shields & Lujan, 2019). For immigrants, this may be attributed to the prioritization of education in many immigrant families (Nichols et al., 2019; Turegun et al., 2018), and higher rates of university attendance among immigrants than Canadian peers (Nichols et al., 2019). Conversely, studies of Syrian and African refugees report that these youth experience pressure to work to contribute financially to the family and send remissions to family in countries of origin (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Jibril, 2011; Li & Que, 2015). In a study of Syrian refugee youth, Cheyne-Hazineh (2020) posits several other explanations for the underemployment of immigrant and refugee youth, including discrimination on the basis of race, a lack of Canadian experience, and insufficient language skills. Nichols et al.'s (2019) literature review and Jibril's (2011) research with Somali youth also relate newcomer underemployment to discrimination, noting that immigrant and refugee youth have lower incomes than similarly educated Canadian-born peers, and are more vulnerable to workplace exploitation due to lack of familiarity with employment laws and rights in Canada.

### ***Education***

Cohen's (2016) meta-analysis of integration literature and Ontario school policies find that schools are the "primary institution to integrate" youth and have a "responsibility to

promote inclusivity” (p. 25). School is widely considered one of the most important opportunities for youth integration, as it provides an orientation to Canadian cultural customs (Marshall et al., 2016), language practice (Pritchard & Ramos, 2018), opportunities to socially integrate with Canadian-born youth (Li & Que, 2020; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018), develop relationships with mentors (Gallucci, 2016), and provides the education certifications that facilitate successful adult life in Canada (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020).

Although the literature tends to focus on the challenges and barriers in the Canadian education system, immigrant and refugee youth overwhelmingly succeed academically (Scott, 2013). First-generation immigrant *and* refugee youth are on-track for, or enrolled in, post-secondary education at higher rates than their Canadian-born peers (Gallucci, 2016; Shields & Lujan, 2019; Wilkinson, 2010). The higher enrollment can be attributed to “personal ambition” and educational success as a family value (Gallucci, 2016, p. 140; Li & Que, 2020). These accomplishments are achieved despite discrimination within the school system. The lack of diversity in school staff, in combination with minimal cultural training for teachers and an ethnocentric curriculum, contribute to the prevalence of discrimination (Gallucci, 2016; Scott, 2013).

Nathoo’s study (2017) of pre-service teachers revealed that many teachers interviewed did not feel confident supporting multicultural students and felt that they would benefit from more training to meet the needs of immigrant and refugee students. Scott (2013) found that minorities attending schools with diverse student populations show higher levels of academic achievement and social integration, perhaps because diversity leads to safer, more equitable environments in which minority students are encouraged to succeed. Changes to the curriculum to increase multicultural awareness, promote inclusivity and “combat negative attitudes and stereotypes” among non-immigrant students are recommended (Gallucci, 2016; Marshall, 2016, p. 11; Nunes et al., 2018).

Some studies find that immigrant and refugee youth are consistently placed in lower grades. This may be due, in part, to language challenges and missed time at school for refugees but is also attributed to educators’ discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, perceptions of intelligence, and language ability (Ari et al., 2020; Nichols et al., 2019). Wilkinson (2010) found that ethnicity had the strongest effect on refugee’s grade placement upon arrival to Canada, although this may be linked to country of origin and the severity of pre-migration disruption to education. The negative effects of low-grade placement include separation from age-appropriate peers and, as free secondary education is only available until

age 19–21, an access barrier due to the cost and disruptions to students' studies as they are required to transfer to private institutions (Godin et al., 2017; Wilkinson, 2010).

Accommodations for immigrant and refugee youth in the school system, particularly the merit of separating students into “integration streams” or English as an additional language (EAL) classes, is an area of contention in the literature. In this area, conflation between immigrants and refugees increases the difficulty of productive policy formation. Students without the knowledge or linguistic skills required in Canadian classes, particularly refugee students who often have missed time from formal education, benefit from EAL and remedial classes (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020). However, remedial, EAL and “integration” classes do not provide credits required for graduation, reduce opportunities for social integration with Canadian-born peers, and are thought to be stigmatized and increase negative social experiences (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Lewis et al., 2018; Nichols et al., 2019; Tremblay, 2012). Moreover, immigrant and refugee youth report not feeling informed about the consequences (i.e. delayed graduation, not meeting university requirements) of moving classrooms and segregating newcomer students prevents the opportunity for Canadian-born students to integrate and, “observe, experience, and learn about other cultures from newcomer students” (Li & Que, 2020, p. 13).

The findings that newcomer students are held back in school, struggle with language difficulties and ethnocentric curriculum conflict with the statistics that show that both immigrants and refugees have more academic success than Canadian-born students (Gallucci, 2016; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018; Wilkinson, 2010). To reconcile these opposing findings, the role of ethnicity, discrimination and immigration status on academic and social success in schools is warranted.

### ***Youth Needs***

The needs of immigrant and refugee youth are similar to the needs of all youth: support and guidance entering the adult world, opportunities to make friends, and a space to belong. Immigrant and refugee youth enter the adult world in an unfamiliar sociocultural landscape, often without the guidance of parents or family friends. Youth report needing language classes *and* opportunities to practice English in non-academic settings (Lewis et al., 2018). Strong language skills help youth across domains—socially, academically, economically—and are linked to reductions in experiences of prejudice (Cuthbert, 2017; Li & Que, 2015, 2020). Additionally, some refugee youth need the opportunity to learn technological literacy (Marshall et al., 2016).

In a study of 75 refugee youth, Godin and her research team (2017) found that cultural clubs, sports, and other extracurricular activities act as spaces where refugee youth can develop friendships with settled youth, confidence, and a sense of belonging. Peer mentorship and “friendship programs” that partner immigrant and refugee students with integrated members of the community are particularly valuable, as they provide an opportunity for friendship formation, language practice, and guidance in navigating Canadian systems (Godin et al., 2017, p. 22). Leadership and volunteer programs can support youth in gaining Canadian experience, contributing to their community, and meeting new people and practicing language skills. Marshall’s research team (2016) found that volunteer and internship programs support the school-to-work transition and facilitate refugee youth integration into the workforce. In summary, youth benefit from having language and literacy training, opportunities for integration, and adults in their lives to advocate for them and support them culturally, instrumentally, and emotionally as they integrate.

### ***Barriers***

Currently, refugee and immigrant youth experience challenges accessing services due to their lack of familiarity with the service landscape, lack of culturally relevant services, and poor ethnoracial representation among service providers (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Hilario, 2018; Shields & Lujan, 2019). In a review of existing Canadian settlement services, Shields and Lujan (2019) found that youth often felt misunderstood or judged by service providers in settlement, social, and health services due to ethnocultural differences. Additionally, research with refugees found that participants cite the lack of ethnic representation among service providers, particularly in sensitive fields such as psychological aid and health care, as reasons why they did not access these services (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020). The lack of representation among educators and settlement workers is also noted by Scott (2013) and Marshall’s research team (2016).

Accessing fragmented services is another barrier, particularly for immigrants and refugees with financial and practical (i.e. time) constraints who are not able to research available services and visit different locations. Transportation was a significant barrier for refugees and low-income immigrants. Lack of accessible and convenient transportation prevented youth from attending school and extracurricular activities and affected school choice, as youth were not able to travel to more distant schools even if they were better equipped to meet newcomers’ needs (Karky, 2018; Li et al., 2017; Li & Que, 2015, 2020; Turegun et al., 2018). In Li and Que’s (2020) interviews with refugee youth, participants reported missing school due to the cost of transportation. Zaami (2015) describes such

challenges as “spatial exclusion” and finds that immigrants and refugees living traditionally low-income neighbourhoods may have difficulty accessing settlement services, employment, and opportunities to integrate.

Additionally, service providers and youth report youth that there is low awareness of available services, including both newcomer-specific services such as translation and universal social services such as health clinics (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Gallucci, 2016). Centralized, online repositories of available services is recommended (Karky, 2018). Alternatively, schools could serve as a centralized base for services, although it requires expanding the mandate of schools beyond education and overcoming the challenges of coordination and cooperation between schools and service providers. Li and Que’s case study (2020) in a Newfoundland high school found that collaborations with settlement organizations, while challenging, helped the school provide services that benefited the integration and school experience of all students. Researchers suggest using schools as a base for health screenings, referrals, and recreational activities (Li & Que, 2017; Tremblay, 2012), career counselling (Stewart et al., 2017), and volunteer and internship opportunities to gain Canadian experience (Marshall et al., 2016).

### ***Discrimination***

For both immigrants and refugees, discrimination occurs on the basis of ethnicity and race (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Hilario, 2018; Nunes et al., 2018; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018), nationality or region of origin (Pritchard & Ramos, 2018), language (Lewis et al., 2018; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018), religion (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020), immigration status (Cuthbert, 2017), non-Western names (Schlote, 2018), and socioeconomic status (Hilario, 2018; Nunes et al., 2018). Refugees may be more at risk for discrimination due to lower average English- and/or French-language ability and a higher proportion of racialized or visibly Islamic individuals, who more frequently report experiencing discrimination (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Nunes et al., 2018; Pritchard & Ramos, 2019). A 2009 study shows that immigrant youth self-identified as Black are 25% less likely to attend university than non-racialized Canadian youth (Turegun et al., 2018). Although not all immigrants and refugees report experiences of discrimination, the studies that included discrimination-related queries found that discrimination is prevalent and concluded that discrimination is a barrier to integration.

One study of 25 newcomers in Atlantic Canada found that nearly 40% of racialized youth experienced discrimination by peers (Lewis et al., 2018). In other studies, a quarter of participants report discrimination from peers and 14%–37% by teachers (Gallucci, 2017; Cohen, 2016). Variation in rates of reported discrimination may be influenced by many

factors, such as the location of the study and the racialization and/or country of origin of participants. In addition, Cuthbert's (2017) finding that youth consistently use the term "bullying" rather than "discrimination" to describe negative interpersonal experiences by peers even when it was "motivated by their ethnicity or immigrant status" may contribute to low reported rates of discrimination (p. 48).

Discrimination is thought to increase feelings of isolation and behavioural problems (Cohen, 2016) and limit educational success (Li et al., 2017; Nathoo, 2017) and rates of employment (Nunes et al., 2018). Today's immigrant youth have limited upward socioeconomic mobility in ways that previous generations of European migrants did not face (Nunes et al., 2018). The adverse psychological impacts of discrimination may be amplified among youth, who are in a period of identity formation (Li et al., 2017): barriers and discrimination faced may become internalized and limit the aspirations and achievements of refugee and immigrant youth (Stewart et al., 2017).

### ***Mental Health and Wellbeing***

Immigrant and refugee youth are overwhelmingly resilient: 80% of newcomer youth self-described "good or excellent mental health" (Marshall et al., 2016, p. 26). However, there are large discrepancies in the well-being of refugees and immigrants, likely due to the vastly different pre-migration and migration experiences. While some data compares the mental health outcomes of immigrants and refugees, much of the data on wellbeing is conflated. Research that distinguishes the immigrant status and specifies the participant populations is recommended for future research, to identify the needs of more specific populations that may benefit from targeted support.

Refugees often arrive in Canada with pre-migration trauma, have experienced long periods of uncertainty about their future, and may have more experience more acculturation stress while adjusting to life in Canada, as they did not choose the location nor plan their migration journey (Marshall et al., 2016; Naffi, 2017). Applying a trauma-informed lens to programs and services accessed by refugees is vital. The distrust in authority among many refugee communities is an additional barrier to accessing health services (Marshall et al., 2016), as well as the general stigma and language barriers. Using culturally appropriate language (e.g., "emotional support" as a substitute for "mental health"), is one way to improve the experience and utilization of mental health services among young immigrants and refugees (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020. p. 132).

Among youth, social connections, inclusion, and a sense of belonging have all been linked to improved wellbeing, while experiences of discrimination and familial conflict

negatively affect wellbeing (Cuthbert, 2017; Li & Que, 2020). Due to this, social integration and formation of a community is considered a protective factor against mental health challenges (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Cohen, 2016). Specifically, recreational activities, particularly sports, were found to increase well-being for refugee and immigrant youth as they provide opportunities for social connection and friendship formation and foster a sense of belonging to a community in addition to the health benefits of sport itself (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020).

### ***Family***

The strong family life of immigrant and refugee youth has been considered as a protective factor towards their integration and overall well-being and strongly influences youths' decision-making (Turegun et al., 2018). However, the discrepancy in the acculturation speed of youths and their older family members changes family dynamics and may increase familial conflict (Jibril, 2011; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018). As older family members are slower to adapt to Canadian culture and society, young immigrants and refugees must look outside their family for instrumental support and guidance navigating the new sociocultural system (Tremblay, 2012; Wilkinson 2010). Furthermore, youth, particularly young women, often serve as cultural brokers and translators for older family members. While this role may contribute to a sense of pride, it can also strain parent-child relationships (Godin et al., 2017; Karky, 2018), and time commitments can be significant barriers to youths' educational, personal, and social development (Shields & Lujan, 2019).

For immigrants arriving from collectivistic cultures, family is traditionally viewed as a cohesive system; the achievements and well-being of one individual as inextricable from the circumstances of the larger family. The focus on individual health and success in Canada may not be culturally congruent, and although this is recognized by service providers, there has been little shift towards family-centric praxis (Turegun, 2018). Preliminary research into family centric approaches have been successful: among Syrian refugees, Cheyne-Hazineh (2020) found that working with the family as a unit was “critical to successful community and social engagement” (p. 130).

In schools, the lack of familial involvement is thought to be a psychosociological stressor for youth, as it may contribute to a fractured cultural identity, in which home life and school life are fundamentally different. Providing opportunities for immigrant and refugee parents to become involved in school (e.g., in after-school programs, parental clubs, volunteering or extra-curricular activities) is not only useful in helping families integrate, but may decrease family tensions, as they allow for greater understanding of youth's experience

and the cultural expectations placed on youth outside of the home (Tremblay, 2012). However, the time, linguistic, transportation, and economic barriers to such participation should be noted, as many immigrant parents may not be able to attend school and after-school events due to work hours, language capabilities, or lack of access to transportation.

### ***Identity and Belonging***

Immigrant and refugee youth are found to have the best outcomes when they are able to maintain a strong tie with their ethnic identity *and* incorporate a sense of being Canadian into their self-perception (Cuthbert, 2017). Settled Canadians play a large role in promoting practices of inclusion and acceptance that facilitate the dual cultural identity of immigrant and refugee youth (Pritchard & Ramos, 2018). Despite Canada's official policies of multiculturalism and integration, in practice, many immigrants experience pressure to assimilate (Naffi, 2017). Systematic barriers and biases in Canadian society contribute to a higher valuation of mainstream Canadian values and place immigrants and refugees, "into the category of not-quite Canadian second-class citizens" (Hilario, 2018, p. 89). Lack of openness among host communities inhibits integration, while peer and teacher support and acceptance by the wider community promote a sense of belonging (Gallucci, 2016; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018). Ethnic diversity in schools is another important factor; newcomer youth attending schools with a high proportion of visible minorities reported higher levels of security, belonging, and overall psychological well-being than those with less diversity (Gallucci, 2016; Nathoo, 2017; Scott, 2013).

The pressure for youth to assimilate quickly into "unfamiliar cultural and value systems" makes it difficult for youth to maintain their own cultural identity (Naffi, 2017, p. 27). Maintaining language of origin is one method of connecting with culture and is found to positively impact mental health among youth; loss of language is correlated with increased familial tensions and a loss of cultural identity (Cuthbert, 2017; Marshall et al., 2016). Continuity in community, values, and beliefs is a protective factor believed to increase resiliency among immigrant and refugee youth.

## **Discussion**

This literature review finds that immigrant and refugee youth, while facing systemic barriers and discrimination in education, employment and social integration, seem to be integrating successfully on several measures. Newcomer youth report generally good mental health, have high levels of academic achievement, and have ethnically diverse friendships. The literature included a diverse range of recommendations that, if implemented, will

ameliorate the remaining barriers to integration. However, the existing body of research fails to include the experiences, challenges, and perspectives of non-immigrant youth. While settled youth do not require the same instrumental support as their newcomer peers, they must include and accommodate diverse perspectives, practices and people into their communities, and may benefit from cultural awareness training and acculturation supports.

The merging of diverse cultures is a process that can bring challenges, prejudice, and intergroup conflict. Integration, the maintenance of one's own culture and the simultaneous acceptance and celebration of other cultures, has been shown to lead to the most positive intergroup relations and higher levels of life satisfaction among immigrant and settled populations (Hou et al., 2016). Mutual effort is required from newcomers and settled communities in order to experience these social benefits: newcomers are expected to master English and/or French, become accustomed to mainstream social norms, and fulfill the requirements set up by Canadian employment and education systems. In turn, settled Canadians must include newcomers in communities, social groups, and workplaces; adopt culturally sensitive practices, particularly in the public sector; remain open to new perspectives and practices; and support expressions of diversity. In research, media, and policy, a paradigm shift is required, to better reflect the mutual responsibility of integration.

Limited levels of close intergroup contact (i.e. friendships) between immigrant and non-immigrant individuals and communities is one barrier to achieving integration (Yan et al., 2012). Without intergroup interaction, settled Canadians do not have the opportunity to learn about immigrants and refugees, increase multicultural skills, or confront biases and prejudices. Although there is evidence of the positive effects of intergroup friendships on prejudice reduction, few programs are provided to promote intergroup friendships. Promoting opportunities for intergroup friendship formation in classrooms, after school activities, and extracurricular programs is a potential pathway to promoting acceptance and welcoming communities.

Social integration is as beneficial for settled Canadian youth as for newcomers, as tolerance, cultural awareness, and the ability to work in a diverse group are necessary skills in our increasingly globalized world. Programs that foster intergroup friendships could support both populations, as they provide the opportunity for newcomers to ask questions about social practices and practical needs (e.g., what to wear to job interviews, when to start applying to university), while helping settled Canadian youth build more diverse social circles. Additionally, research into the effects of demographic and cultural change in Canadian communities on youths' feelings of belonging and personal identity is warranted, as when the

demographic, linguistic, and sociocultural norms in communities change, youths' feelings of belonging may shift.

Another significant oversight of the existing literature is the role of the settled community members in perpetuating discrimination. While several articles recommended increased cultural sensitivity training and diversity among educators and settlement workers (e.g., Li et al. 2017; Marshall et al., 2016; Pritchard & Ramos), no studies in this review linked experiences of discrimination with anti-immigrant sentiment or ethnoracial prejudice. Similarly, recommendations for prejudice reduction, inclusivity-training, and diversity in hiring practices were largely absent. Research and development of pathways for prejudice reduction is recommended, as is investigation into the impact of anti-immigrant discrimination among employers, educators, peers, and service providers on youths' social and economic integration. To better protect newcomer youth, education on Canadian employment laws, rights of workers, and resources to report workplace exploitation should be promoted so youth can understand and advocate for their rights.

Discrimination must also be addressed in education systems. Language learning, in particular, should be conducted in a way that respects immigrant and newcomer youths' existing language(s) and frames language learning as increased bilingualism or multilingualism, rather than using English language skills as a metric for intelligence or language ability. One option would be to implement bi-directional learning, where settled Canadian youth learn vocabulary from the languages of their newcomer peers as newcomer youth learn English and French. This provides the opportunity for all students to gain new language skills, participate in a shared learning experience, and have their linguistic knowledge valued.

In the public sector, appropriate services should be made available to meet the cultural needs of the population, including those of newcomers. Promoting multicultural perspectives in school curriculums, having translators available in hospital and emergency settings, and minimizing the use of language that is stigmatized in one or more communities are some examples of inclusion. Often, meeting the needs of one population is beneficial for all groups: implementing trauma-informed practice in health care is vital to better support both refugees with challenging pre-migration experiences, and benefits others with trauma histories. Stigma reduction initiatives and the use of non-stigmatized language (e.g., emotional wellbeing, reproductive health) in mental and sexual health care similarly have communal benefits. Acknowledging the importance of family in many immigrating cultures, instituting family-

centered practices is another inclusive action, with the additional benefit of helping newcomer youth bridge the gap between mainstream and familial cultures.

In all areas of youth integration research, the voices of youth should be included and valued. Youth are often not given the opportunity to inform service provision or advocate for their needs (Scott, 2013). Allowing youth to inform service provision is an opportunity to improve service utilization, service outcomes, and to increase the civic participation of youth. Taking an active role in planning and implementation may help both newcomers and settled youth increase feelings of belonging and connection with the community while empowering youth creating an opportunity for them to learn to advocate for their needs. By including both immigrant and settled youths' perspectives, research can (a) compare levels of prejudice and experiences of discrimination; (b) propose and test prejudice reduction interventions; and (c) promote awareness of settled Canadians' responsibilities to actively participate in cultural learning and the social inclusion of newcomers.

Finally, it is important to challenge the assumption that immigrants' experiences in Canada are superior to their pre-migration lives. In the process of migrating to a new socio-cultural landscape, refugees and immigrants may experience loss of status, social capital, and alignment of internal and external values (Jibril, 2011; Pritchard & Ramos, 2018). The impacts of these losses can be multigenerational, which is one of the reasons that integration supports are vital to promoting the success and wellbeing of Canada's immigrants. For example, first- and second-generation newcomer youth are twice as likely to attend university if their parents also have a university degree, and youths' socioeconomic status is impacted by the economic success and education of their parents (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Gallucci, 2016; Marshall et al., 2016; Turegun et al., 2018).

Despite these challenges, only one of the 29 included publications discusses the role of disillusionment in newcomer youths' experience. Hilario (2018) found that the portrayal of Canada as a completely "egalitarian" society had negative implications for newcomers' mental health (p. 79). This framing led youth to believe their challenges, which were often a result of discrimination and/or systematic barriers, as personal failings, undermining their confidence and sense of self-worth (Hilario, 2018). By acknowledging the limitations of the Canadian system, newcomers can understand that some challenging experiences result from systemic barriers: this externalization allows youth to contextualize their experience as a natural result of an imperfect system, which may serve as a protective factor against low self-esteem. For settled Canadians, acknowledging the inequalities in Canadian society, as well as

achievements towards multiculturalism, creates the opportunity to better address systemic barriers.

### **Service Recommendations**

While working towards a reframing of integration research, practice, and policy, positive change can be achieved within the existing paradigm. The settlement sector has a profusion of services that support integration and with small adjustments they can better support youth and their families. Key recommendations found in this review include: (a) improving translation services; (b) increasing diversity of staff; (c) promoting culturally relevant service provision; (d) implementing family-centric practices; and (e) improving accessibility through centralization of services. Implementing these changes, settlement services can work within the existing system *and* create a safer and more familiar environment for immigrants and refugees, particularly in stigmatized areas such as mental health, sexual health, and financial aid.

For youth specifically, it is vital for settlement programs (i.e. schools and settlement organizations) to provide cultural brokers for youth, rather than using youth as translators and cultural guides for their parents. Understanding that family members may not be able to provide guidance, providing youth with advice, guidance, instrumental support, and “cultural brokers” is essential. Useful services include support managing acculturation stress; balancing the cultural identities encouraged at home and mainstream Canada; advocating for educational, social, and religious needs (e.g., space to pray, homework extensions on religious holidays, EAL support); answering questions; advising youth in the school system and university applications; and referring youth to appropriate health, transportation, housing, and financial services. Teachers and counsellors, if culturally aware, are well placed to step into this role (Gallucci, 2016; Scott, 2013).

Providing educators and administrators the opportunity for multicultural, trauma-informed, and immigrant- and refugee-specific training is a pathway to increasing inclusion and supporting integrating youth (Marshall et al., 2016; Naffi, 2017). Ideally, schools should serve as spaces for newcomer students to learn about mainstream Canadian customs *and* expose non-immigrant youth to multiculturalism by modelling acceptance, challenging prejudiced beliefs, and addressing discrimination. Language learning and remedial streams for refugee students to catch up on missed education should be available, but ultimately youth and their families should be given the information to make their own choices about grade and class placements. Lastly, opportunities for volunteering and internships to gain Canadian

experience should be provided to support youths' transition into the workforce (Marshall et al., 2016). Many of the aforementioned supports, as well as career counselling and translation services, can be established in partnership with schools to promote accessibility.

### **Research Recommendations**

The methodology of integration research has improved since previous literature reviews, by expanding the geographical diversity of studies and inclusion of youth participants. This growth can be continued with research into the experiences of newcomer youth in rural areas. There is also a need for more quantitative studies, to provide empirical evidence to support the findings of the existing literature; statistical and quantitative research are often more helpful in informing policy change as they provide concrete measurements of results and/or effects. This review also found recommendations for the reframing of youth integration research, which currently utilizes a problem-focused model in which barriers are identified but the needs of youth are "seldom examined" (Scott, 2013, p. 22). Approaching integration from a problem-based framework overlooks the resiliency of youth and reinforces the belief that immigrants are fragile and a drain on Canadian state resources. Conversely, research into interventions or social circumstances that lead to success and wellbeing is helpful in providing evidence for best-practices and pathways to achieving positive outcomes.

As the body of youth integration literature is relatively small, there are many topics that merit investigation. One such area is the role of religion in integration. Karky (2018) recommends future research on this topic, as initial findings show that faith or religion promotes resilience among youth, perhaps due to the continuity of religious identity pre- and post- migration. Pritchard and Ramos (2018) suggest research into *cultural bereavement*, or grief over loss and/or disconnection with culture of origin, which they consider to be particularly important to the refugee integration experience. Another area of expansion is investigation into the role of gender in integration and immigration, as preliminary evidence indicates gendered experiences, but less than 20% of the publications in this review included gender-based findings or analysis.

Gender disparities pre-migration place female and male youth at different starting places, require different role-changes to integrate into Canadian society, face different tensions due to conflicting expectations from family and society, and expose youth to different forms of discrimination. Marshall and colleagues', literature review (2016) found that the cultural adaptation can be more difficult for immigrant and refugee women because they experience a larger discrepancy between traditional and "Canadian" gender roles. Young

women are also more likely to serve as the “cultural brokers” for families, which leads to greater levels of confidence, but also is linked to increased familial tensions (Marshall et al., 2016; Shields & Lujan, 2019). The outward religious expression of Islamic women (e.g., head coverings) poses another challenge, often exposing young women to greater discrimination, reducing feelings of belonging, and creating tensions between religious identity and social acceptance.

Young men feel pressure to be a “useful” addition to Canadian society, and feel hyper-awareness of their difference (Hilario, 2018, p. 85). Awareness of difference may be related to greater experiences of discrimination experienced by immigrant males, as compared to their female counterparts (Shields & Lujan, 2019). Among refugees, young men are more likely to drop out of school than their female counterparts due to pressure to work, but family responsibilities and caring for younger siblings reduces the time young women are able to spend on schoolwork. Due to the distinct experiences of female and male immigrants, a greater focus on the effects of gender on integration is recommended in future research. Additionally, the role of gender identity and sexuality on integration experiences is recommended, as preliminary findings reveal that few settlement services cater to these groups, and high levels of stigma in immigrant communities pose a risk factor (Turegun, 2018).

### **Conclusion**

From this systematic analysis of youth integration literature, several conclusions can be drawn. Immigrant youth are succeeding in the education system, although discrimination remains a barrier, particularly when transitioning into the workforce (Marshall, 2016). Immigrant youth are equal members of Canadian society and make up a significant proportion of the population, yet they are not fully accepted nor included. Exclusion is illustrated in the discrimination newcomer youth experience from educators and employers and peers; through the paucity of culturally inclusive social services (e.g., public education, health care, settlement services); and through lack of multicultural awareness among public and settlement sector staff (Marshall, 2016; Lewis et al., 2018; Scott, 2013). The failure to respect and value immigrant youths’ diversity is also apparent in the unilateral focus on newcomers’ responsibility to form interpersonal connections with settled Canadians in integration research. In the context of these findings, it is evident that a paradigm shift in integration research and services is required. Specifically, there is a need for an

understanding of integration that emphasizes youth's contributions, supports youths' cultural needs, and views non-immigrant youth as equal partners in including and integrating their newcomer peers.

### **Chapter Two Summary**

This literature review identified the status of intergroup relations, as described in integration research, and identified a need for increased investigation of the integration experiences of non-immigrant youth. To contribute to filling that gap in the literature, the *Immigration in Canada: Youth Perspectives* survey was created. The following chapter presents the findings of the survey, which include information on the status of youth's intergroup relations and on factors which predict belonging and support for immigration.

## CHAPTER 3

### **The State of Intergroup Contact, Belonging, and Support for Immigration among Canadian Youth**

#### **Abstract**

This paper reports the results of a survey examining 168 immigrant and non-immigrant youth's perspectives of intergroup relations, support for immigration, and feelings of belonging in Canada. Using Allport's (1954) contact theory and Stephan and Renfro's (2002) integrated threat theory as a framework, the data is analyzed in the context of relative levels of intergroup contact, friendship, immigration-related knowledgeability, and perceived diversity. This study finds that, overall, the Canadian youth surveyed were more supportive of immigration than older generations and reported high levels of intergroup positivity and frequent intergroup contact. Moreover, intergroup contact and intergroup friendships were positively associated with feelings of belonging, whereas support for immigration was associated with immigration-related knowledgeability and perceptions of diversity.

#### **Introduction**

A preliminary review of the literature reveals that although youth require unique and specific settlement support, youth voices are underrepresented in Canadian integration research; many publications in the last 10 years interview service providers or conduct literature reviews of existing data rather than working with youth themselves (notable exceptions include Lori Wilkinson's *Factors Influencing the Academic Success of Refugee Youth in Canada* (2010) and theses/dissertations by Cohen (2016), Gallucci (2016), and Naffi (2017)). Conducting a national survey of 168 participants, this study captures a snapshot of the status of Canadian youth's intergroup relations and examines the role of intergroup contact between immigrant and non-immigrant youth, perceptions of diversity, and immigrant-related knowledgeability on feelings of belonging and support for immigration.

Although over 40% of Canadians are either first- or second- generation immigrants, and youth (under 24 years old) comprise one fifth of all Canadian newcomers, the majority of integration literature focuses on the experiences of adult immigrants while youth perspectives remain understudied (Duffin, 2020; Scott, 2013). Additionally, the perspectives of non-immigrant youth are largely absent from integration literature, reflecting the assimilationist assumptions of the field, which tends to focus on the ways in which immigrants adapt to mainstream culture, but rarely examines how members of the dominant society cope with

changes in their cultural landscape. Including non-immigrant perspectives is vital because *integration* is a bi-directional exchange of culture which challenges sociocultural norms and enriches the cultural lives of both dominant and non-dominant groups. As both immigrant and non-immigrant communities must collaborate to create an inclusive and integrated society, “there is no longer any justification for looking at only one side of the intercultural coin in isolation from the other” (Berry, 2006 p. 732).

The current study aims to gather data on three core research questions: (a) how integrated are Canadian youth?; (b) what factors predict integration/belonging?; and (c) what factors are associated with support for immigration? Specifically, the study will capture a snapshot of youths’ intergroup contact, feelings of belonging, and perspectives on immigration, and will analyze the influence of intergroup contact, knowledge, and perceived diversity on rates of integration and support for immigration. The responses of immigrant and non-immigrant youth are compared, documenting the relative rates of integration among participant groups.

### **Intergroup Contact**

Reducing prejudice and negative intergroup attitudes is a vital component of integration. Allport (1954) posits that negative attitudes towards a different social group—in the context of this study, against immigrants—can be ameliorated through intergroup contact, in which individuals interact with people from the other social group. Kiehne’s research (2019) on anti-immigrant prejudice in university students provides evidence linking intergroup contact with reduced anti-immigrant prejudice. However, Kiehne’s and Ayon’s earlier study (2016) with adult participants showed that the positive effect of immigrant-non-immigrant friendships did not “moderate or buffer” anti-immigrant prejudice associated with individuals who hold conservative political ideologies, indicating that political beliefs may outweigh the positive effects of intergroup friendship (p. 135). Thus, contact-based interventions may function better among youth, who are still forming some ideological beliefs.

This study focuses on intergroup contact in the school setting, as schools meet many of Allport’s (1954) conditions for positive intergroup contact: equal status, intergroup cooperation, institutional support, and common goals. Despite the opportunity for positive contact, there is significant discrimination in this context, with research indicating a quarter of youth experience discrimination from peers and 14%–37% from teachers (Cohen, 2016; Gallucci, 2017). The prevalence of discrimination suggests that there is a need for prejudice

reduction for both educational staff and students. Contact-based interventions may be one method for addressing anti-immigrant and ethnic prejudice, and would require the promotion contact, which does not always occur organically, even in diverse environments (Bernstein & Salipante, 2017; Janmaat, 2014; Kiehne, 2019). This study examines if intergroup contact is associated with intergroup positivity in Canadian high schools and analyzes the effects of contact on youths' feelings of belonging and support for immigration.

### **Integrated Threat Theory**

Integrated threat theory, also known as intergroup threat theory, provides a framework for understanding anti-immigrant perspectives and the psychological motivations leading to support for assimilation, rather than integration, among non-immigrant Canadians. Coined by Stephan and Stephan (2000) and further developed by Stephan and Renfro (2002), integrated threat theory proposes that feelings of threat can motivate negative intergroup attitudes and prejudice. Intergroup threat can be understood as having two distinct forms: *realistic threat*, that is, peoples' fear of losing social, economic, or political power, and *symbolic threat*, that is, peoples' fear that the in-group's culture, values, and social norms will be eroded by out-group influence. Integrated threat theory provides one possible explanation for peoples' opposition to multiculturalism and integration, which encourages the coexistence of multiple cultures. This theory may be one explanation for support for assimilation, in which the dominant culture is preserved and adopted by new members.

Recent polls show that non-immigrant Canadians report experiencing both realistic and symbolic threat. A third of adults are worried that immigrants pose economic competition, and almost 70% believe that their demographic does not have enough political power and that their cultural values are "losing ground" (Angus Reid, 2019a, 2019b; Smith, 2019). Addressing perceptions of threat is an important aspect of promoting integration, as perceived threat is linked with support for restrictive immigration policy and decreased immigrant rights (Kiehne, 2019). In addition to promoting intergroup contact to reduce individual feelings of prejudice, perceptions of threat must be ameliorated to achieve intergroup harmony.

### **Ethnicity**

It is likely that ethnoculturally diverse immigration triggers greater perceptions of threat than immigration from culturally familiar and demographically similar regions. Kiehne (2019) finds that support for inclusive immigration policies is promoted by contact-based

interventions with immigrants or non-immigrant visible minorities, while ethnocentric values significantly predict support for restrictive immigration policy, suggesting that public perceptions of the groups are related. While Canadians overwhelmingly support multicultural rhetoric, xenophobia and racism remain present in our society (Berry & Hou, 2017; Government of Canada, 2020). The link between ethnic diversity and immigration leads to a de facto system of *segmented assimilation*, in which certain ethnocultural groups are discouraged from embracing their culture of origin while others are celebrated. Segmented assimilation is illustrated by the rates of discrimination in Canada: nearly four times as many visible minority immigrants report experiencing discrimination than European, non-visible minority immigrants (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007, p. 10). Due to the interrelated nature of immigration and ethnic diversity, and the existence of discrimination and ethnocentrism, prejudice reduction within Canadian communities must be a cornerstone of integration research, policy, and praxis.

### **Belonging**

A Statistics Canada study tested the feasibility of multiculturalism by measuring feelings of belonging among Canadian immigrants and found that it was possible to have *integrated belonging*, a sense of belonging in Canada while maintaining a sense of belonging with country of origin (Hou et al., 2016). The authors argue that because culture and behaviour vary between immigrant groups, “belonging transcends ethnicity and culture” and is therefore a better measure of integration (p. 10). Between 70%–75% of second-generation immigrants have achieved integrated belonging, with visible minorities reporting the highest rates of integration (Berry & Hou, 2017; Hou et al., 2016). Feelings of belonging in Canada were significantly predicted by age of immigration, time in Canada, and speaking English or French in the home. Experiences of discrimination (more often experienced by racial minorities), and low socioeconomic status were associated with less national belonging, lower rates of life satisfaction, and mental health challenges (Berry, 2016; Berry & Hou, 2017; Hou et al., 2016). These studies describe the integration of immigrants; similar research is recommended in order to better understand the factors that contribute to non-immigrant Canadians’ experiences of belonging.

### **Methods**

This research project was designed with the intention of engaging youth and was conducted to comply with distancing regulations during the COVID-19 pandemic. The

survey was completed in a novel “chat” format to promote youth engagement. We partnered with Rival Technology, a digital market research company, and used “Chat Lab” software that presented survey questions one-at-a-time, formatted as a text conversation to encourage youth engagement with the survey. The survey was divided into four conversations to reduce survey fatigue, and invitations to new chats were sent every 2–3 days. In this survey, the term “immigrant” was not defined, as the survey assessed perspectives of immigration, in whichever way the term was understood by participants. Prompting youth to use a self-defined understanding of immigration was useful because the term immigrant has diverse definitions in Canadian discourse: this study assessed the psychological relationship with immigrants as they are understood by the general population. To promote accessibility for students of varying language abilities, the survey was written at a 6th grade reading level (tested by Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level and Gunning Fog Index); the responses to qualitative questions suggest that participants understood the survey.

Recruitment was conducted via paid Instagram advertisements. The advertisements were shown to youth aged 16–17 across Canada (except for Quebec, which does not allow those under 18 years of age to consent to research) for three weeks (September 10, 2020–October 1, 2020). A total of 222 participants completed at least some part of the survey,  $N = 168$  participants completed the first three chats, and  $N = 144$  participants completed the fourth chat, which included open-response questions, resulting in an attrition rate of 24% for the first three chats and 35% for the final chat. Participants were youth aged 16 (40%) and 17 (60%) from across Canada; 78% of participants identified as female, 13% as male, and 10% preferred to self-describe or not disclose gender.

At the end of the first chat, following the demographic questions, the survey included an item that allowed participants to self-identify as “new” or “settled” Canadians, as these terms are subjective and are a function of personal identity. The following description was provided: *New Canadians moved to Canada from another country. Settled Canadians were born in Canada or moved to Canada when they were very young.* After reading the description, 17 participants identified as new Canadians, none of which identified as “refugees” in a follow-up question. The remaining ( $n = 149$ ) participants identified as settled Canadians. Following the self-identification question, “new” and “settled” participants were provided different versions of the second chat, with the language altered to describe intergroup relations for both groups. For example, settled Canadians received the question: “...how often do you talk with new Canadians at school?” and new Canadians received: “...how often do you talk with settled Canadians at school?”. Both groups completed identical

versions of the third and fourth chat, as these chats did not include questions regarding intergroup relations.

Of the participants who answered the settled Canadian chat, 24 listed a country of birth other than Canada. This led to three participant groups, formed on the basis of immigrant status and self-identification (a) *Canadian-born* (n = 125): born in Canada, self-defined as settled; (b) *new immigrants* (n = 17): born outside of Canada, self-identified as new; and (c) *settled immigrants* (n = 24): born outside of Canada, self-identified as settled. Two participants in the settled Canadian chat declined to provide country of birth and therefore were not sorted in participant groups, resulting in N = 166 for all questions analyzed by participant group.

Data from open-ended and closed-ended questions was collected and analyzed using SPSS. One-way ANOVA and chi-squared tests were conducted to measure significant differences between participant groups for continuous and categorical variables, respectively. Multivariate regression analyses were conducted to test for predictors of belonging, support for immigration, and friendliness of intergroup relations. Pearson correlation analyses were used to conduct exploratory analyses on belonging and perceptions of diversity. The composites *intergroup contact* and immigrant-related *knowledgeability* were used as grouped independent variables to measure their predictive power of belonging and support for immigration.

Five items were used to measure intergroup contact: (a) frequency of intergroup contact (e.g., "...how often do you talk to [new/settled] Canadians at school?"); (b) quality of personal intergroup contact (e.g., "...thinking about YOUR interactions with [new/settled] Canadians at school, are they...?"); (c) quality of intergroup relations in participants' schools (e.g., "In general, how would you describe the relationship between settled Canadians and new Canadians in your high school?"); (d) number of interethnic friendships (e.g., "How many of your close friends are of a different ethnicity/culture than you?"); and (e) majority of intergroup friendships (e.g., "Are most of your friends...?"). The first three items were measured on a 5-point scale from -2 to 2. Frequency of contact was measured from "never" to "always" and the quality of intergroup contact and relations measured from "very unfriendly to very friendly". The question regarding interethnic friendship question was an open response, and the intergroup friendship question was dichotomous: participants responded that most of their friends are "new Canadians" or "settled Canadians".

The knowledgeability composite included the sources of immigrant-related information (e.g., "Where do you get your information about immigration from?"), self-

perception of being informed about immigration (e.g., “*Do you feel informed (that you understand) about Canadian immigration?*”), and openness to learning more about immigration (e.g., “*Are you interested in learning more about Canadian immigration?*”). There were 17 options for source of immigration-related information (e.g., school, TV, social media, friends and family), and the other two items were dichotomous (e.g., yes, no).

### **Participants**

The immigrant participants in this study can be considered “1.5 generation” as they immigrated to Canada before adolescence: new immigrant participants reported having spent between 5 to 16.5 years in Canada, and settled immigrants reported 10 to 16.5 years. The proportion of participants who speak English as a first language varied between participant groups: approximately a third (29%) of new immigrants, half (46%) of settled immigrants, and most (90%) of settled Canadians reported English as a first language. Ethnicity also varied between groups. Under the Employment Equity Act and the Statistics Canada definition (2020) of visible minorities as ethnicities other than Indigenous or White, 9% of Canadian-born participants, 63% of settled immigrants, and 65% of new immigrants self-identified as visible minorities.

Further disaggregating this data, 17% of the Canadian-born and 8% of the settled-immigrant participants identified as Indigenous. The high proportion of Indigenous participants in this survey as compared to Canadian population overall,<sup>4</sup> suggests there may be a high level of interest in immigration issues among Indigenous youth. While the scope of this study is on the relations between immigrant youth and the non-immigration population as a whole (including both Indigenous and settled Canadians), further investigation into Indigenous youths’ perspectives is recommended.

Due to the relatively small sample size of this study, analysis of different ethnic groups as a function of their immigration status was not conducted. Results must be interpreted recognizing that the perceptions of immigration among Canada’s Indigenous population are likely influenced by the historical legacy of colonization. Additionally it is crucial to recognize that immigrants’ experiences of immigration are often linked with visible minority status and that the marginalization of visible minority groups is one of the barriers faced by many immigrants in Canada.

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<sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada (2017a) reports that 6% of Canadians are Indigenous North Americans.

## Results

### Intergroup Contact

Immigrant and Canadian-born youth both reported frequent and friendly intergroup contact. Nearly all (96%) of all participants rated their personal intergroup interactions as *somewhat* or *very* friendly. Despite the ubiquity of friendly personal interactions, fewer youth (85%) perceived intergroup relations in their schools more generally as friendly. A one-way ANOVA found no significant difference in the perceived friendliness of intergroup contact between new immigrant ( $M = 1.5, SD = 0.8$ ), settled immigrant ( $M = 1.5, SD = 0.5$ ), and Canadian-born youth ( $M = 1.7, SD = 0.7$ )  $F(2, 160) = 0.59, p = 0.558$ . There was no significant difference when considering the reported friendliness of intergroup relations in schools more generally  $F(2, 147) = 0.72, p = .487$ , such that new immigrant, settled immigrant, and Canadian-born youth reported similar levels of friendliness ( $M = 1.3; SD = 1.0, M = 1.6, SD = 0.8$ , and  $M = 1.4; SD = 0.8$ , respectively). New immigrant, settled immigrant, and Canadian-born participants reported moderate levels of intergroup contact ( $M = 0.5; SD = 1.0, M = -0.2; SD = 1.2, M = 0.5; SD = 1.3$ , respectively). A one-way ANOVA found no significant differences in frequency of intergroup contact between participant groups  $F(2, 136) = 6.26, p = .137$ .

Although youth reported similar numbers of inter-ethnic friendships, immigrant participants were more likely to have intergroup (i.e. immigrant-non-immigrant) friendships. A one-way ANOVA found no significant difference in the mean number of inter-ethnic friendships,  $F(2, 161) = 6.19, p = .726$ . Participants reported between  $M = 5.3-6.0$  ( $SD = 2.6-3.5$ ) inter-ethnic friendships. When asked about intergroup friendships, the majority of new (82%) and settled immigrants (71%) reported that most of their friendships are with settled Canadians (i.e. intergroup). However, only 6% of Canadian-born participants reported that most of their friendships are with new Canadians. A chi-square test found that the difference in intergroup friendships is significant between participant groups  $\chi^2(2, N = 145) = 93.10, p < .001$ .

### Support

Social relationships, particularly friendships, are important sources of emotional and instrumental support for youth. When asked where they feel the most supported, approximately one half of youth (47%–58%) reported that *friends* are their number one source of support and up to a third (21%–35%) named *family*. New immigrant participants, compared to settled immigrant and Canadian-born participants, were more likely to report that they rely on family for support, and less on friendships. The data indicates that peer-to-

peer relationships are particularly important for this age group (16–17), across participant groups, although new immigrant youth are more likely to rely on family ties than their settled peers.

### **COVID-19**

The shift to online learning as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic affected Canadian youth's perceptions of their schools' friendliness. Over 50% of new and settled immigrants and 37% of Canadian-born participants reported decreased friendliness post-pandemic. An ANOVA test finds that there is no significant difference in perceived change in friendliness between new immigrant, settled immigrant, and Canadian-born youth,  $F(2,163) = 1.15, p = .319$  ( $M = 1.5; SD = 0.5, M = 1.7; SD = 0.8, M = 1.7; SD = 0.6$ , respectively).

### **Belonging**

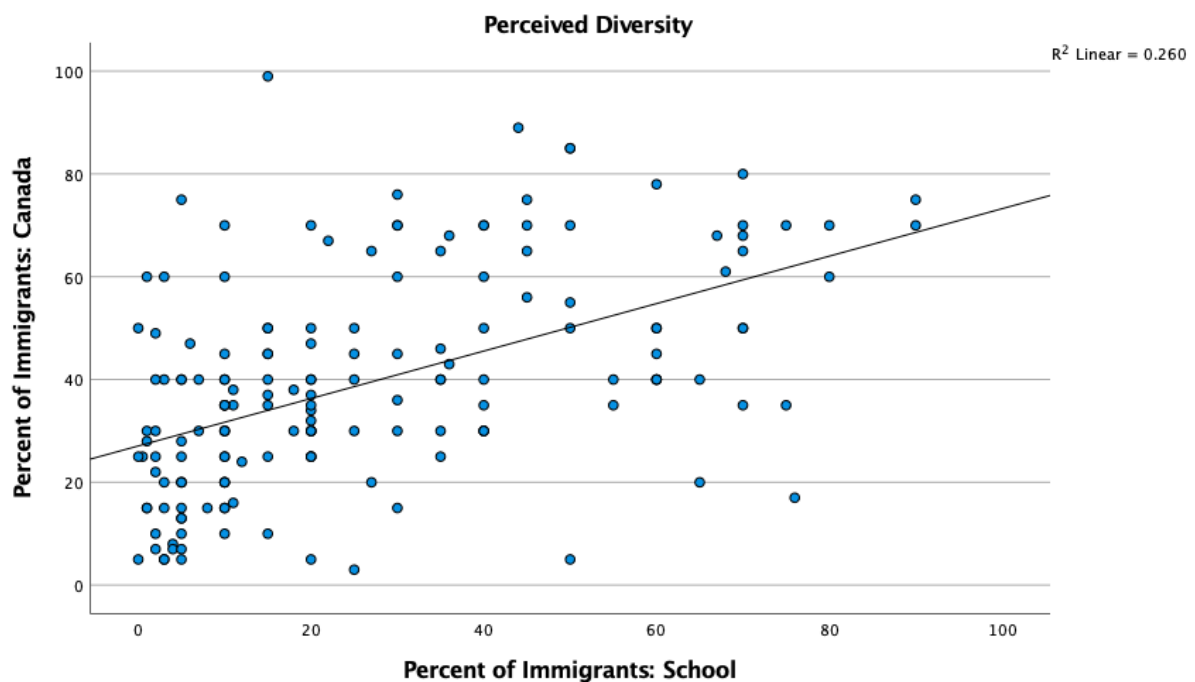
A two-tailed Pearson correlation analysis was conducted to identify significant variables related to belonging including (a) personal characteristics; (b) social participation; (c) frequency and quality of intergroup contact; and (d) friendships (see Table B). The correlation matrix revealed that personal characteristics (first language, time speaking English, and time in Canada) were not significantly correlated with belonging. Belonging was positively correlated with social participation (frequency of intergroup contact and participation in extracurricular activities), quality of contact (perceived friendliness of personal interactions, intergroup relations in schools), and interethnic friendships. Overall, the findings indicate that belonging is associated with social integration—frequent and friendly intergroup contact, a diverse social circle, and participation in recreational activities—rather than personal characteristics (i.e. first language, participant group, time in Canada).

Multiple linear regression analyses were conducted to test for significant predictors of belonging. The first regression analysis was calculated to measure the predictive power of time in Canada/ age of immigration, first language, participant group, frequency of intergroup contact, and participation in extracurricular activities on belonging. A significant regression equation was found,  $F(5, 133) = 2.32, p = .047$ , with an  $R^2 = .08$ . Of all of the variables tested, only intergroup contact emerged as a significant predictor of belonging,  $\beta = .23, t(133) = 2.85, p = .005, 95\% \text{ CI } [.05, .30]$ . A second multivariate linear regression analysis was run to test the predictive power of intergroup contact on belonging, using belonging as the DV and variables related to intergroup contact (see composite variable definition) as predictors. A significant regression equation was found,  $F(5, 113) = 5.03, p < .001$  with an  $R^2 = .18$ .

Frequency of contact  $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(113) = 2.29$ ,  $p = .024$ , 95% CI [.02, .27] and intergroup friendships  $\beta = .18$ ,  $t(113) = 2.03$ ,  $p = .044$ , 95% CI [.01, .72] were significant predictors.

### **Diversity**

In order to examine the relationship between perceived school diversity (measured by participants' estimated percentage of immigrants in their school) and intergroup contact, we conducted Pearson correlations between perceived diversity and the intergroup contact variables. No significant correlations were found. Originally, we intended to measure objective diversity, but as not all of the schools in our sample provided diversity information, this was not possible. To learn more about how perceived school diversity is related to perceptions of Canadian diversity more broadly, we ran a second correlation analysis between perceived school diversity, perceived Canadian diversity, and the five intergroup contact variables. The only significant result was a positive correlation between perceived school diversity and perceived Canadian diversity  $r = .51$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Figure 3.1). The results showed that intergroup contact is not correlated with perceptions of national or school diversity, although there was a sub-significant trend suggesting a negative correlation between school diversity and intergroup friendliness  $r = -.14$ ,  $p = .079$ . This suggests that youths attending diverse schools are more likely to perceive Canada as a diverse country, while youth in less diverse communities may underestimate the proportion of the Canadian population that are immigrants.

**Figure 3.1**

The perceived percentage of immigrants in Canada varied widely, from 3%–99%. Youth across all participant groups greatly overestimated the percentage of Canadians that are immigrants: over three quarters (77%) of participants estimated higher than the national average (22%) of first-generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2017b). While there is no significant difference in the mean perception of diversity in Canada across participant groups ( $M = 35\text{--}40$ ,  $SD = 16\text{--}22$ ), Canadian-born youth estimated a larger range of diversity (3%–99%) compared to new immigrants (5%–61%) and settled immigrants (13%–80%). The same pattern emerged in the perceived percentage of the immigrant population in youths' schools: while the mean estimates were 23%–28%, new immigrant youth estimated 2%–70%, while Canadian-born youth perceived that as many as 90% of their classmates are immigrants (0%–90%).

### Intergroup Relations

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the variables which predict the friendliness of intergroup relations in schools. The first regression analysis calculated the friendliness of intergroup relations in schools as the DV and frequency of intergroup contact, school diversity, and friendliness of intergroup contact as the predictor variables. A significant regression equation was found  $F(3, 128) = 16.13$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2 = .27$ . Of the variables tested, friendliness of personal interactions  $\beta = .46$ ,  $t(128) = 5.92$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI

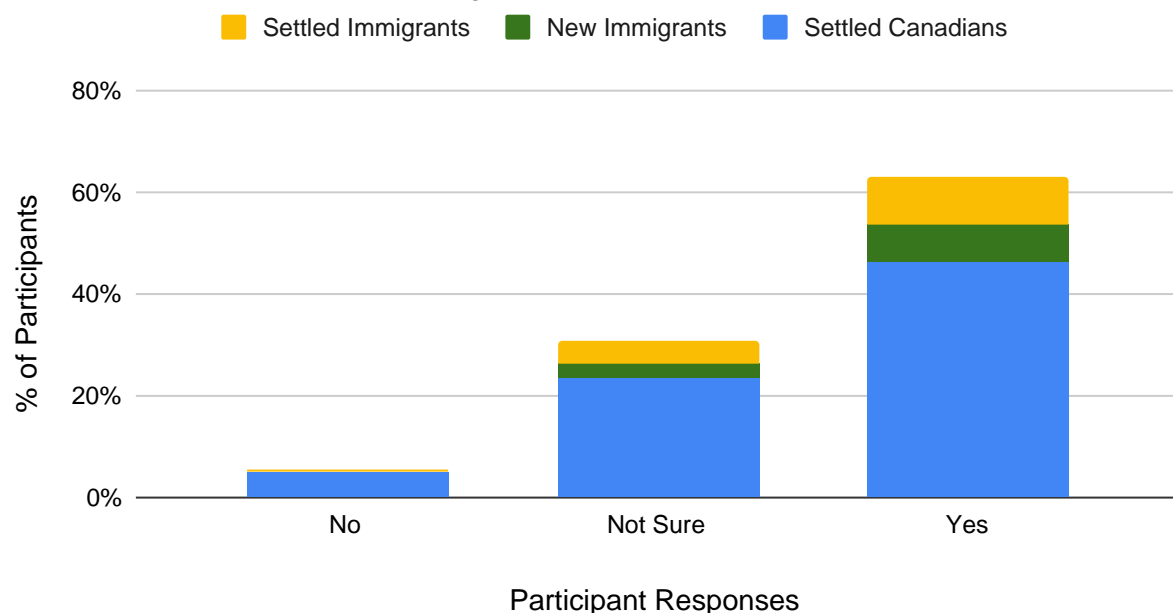
[.35, .70] and school diversity  $\beta = -.17$ ,  $t(128) = -2.27$ ,  $p = .025$ , 95% CI [-.01, .00] emerged as significant predictors. The data file was split by a participant group and no variables significant for settled immigrants. The friendliness of personal interactions was the only significant predictor  $\beta = .46$ ,  $t(95) = 5.15$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.30, .67] for Canadian-born participants. Among new Canadians, significant predictors of belonging were friendliness of personal interactions  $\beta = .59$ ,  $t(11) = 2.60$ ,  $p = .025$ , 95% CI [.11, 1.35] and perceived school diversity,  $\beta = -.58$ ,  $t(11) = -2.56$ ,  $p = .027$ , 95% CI [-.05, -.00], which had nearly equal, but opposite, effects.

### Support for Immigration

Overall, youth were supportive of immigration: when asked “*Do you think Canada should receive more immigrants?*”, 60%–70% of participants said “yes”, approximately 30% were “not sure”, and only small proportions of Canadian-born (7%) and settled immigrant (4%) participants answered “no” (see Figure 3.2). Multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the roles of (a) intergroup contact; (b) level of diversity; (c) perception of immigrants; and (d) immigration-related knowledgeability in predicting support for immigration.

**Figure 3.2**

Should Canada Receive More Immigrants?



### ***Intergroup Contact and Level of Diversity***

To test the role of intergroup contact, a multiple variable regression analysis was conducted with support for immigration as the DV and intergroup contact variables as predictors. The regression analysis was non-significant  $F(5, 113) = .38, p = .859$ , with an  $R^2 = .02$ . A second regression analysis was conducted, with perceived school diversity and Canadian diversity as predictor variables. The analysis found a significant regression equation  $F(2, 162) = 3.36, p = .037$  with an  $R^2 = .04$ . Perceived Canadian diversity emerged as the only significant predictor  $\beta = -.18, t(162) = -2.06, p = .041, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.01, -.00]$ . The results indicate that, for this sample of Canadian youth, higher perceived rates of immigrants in Canada predict less support for immigration.

### ***Perception of Immigrants***

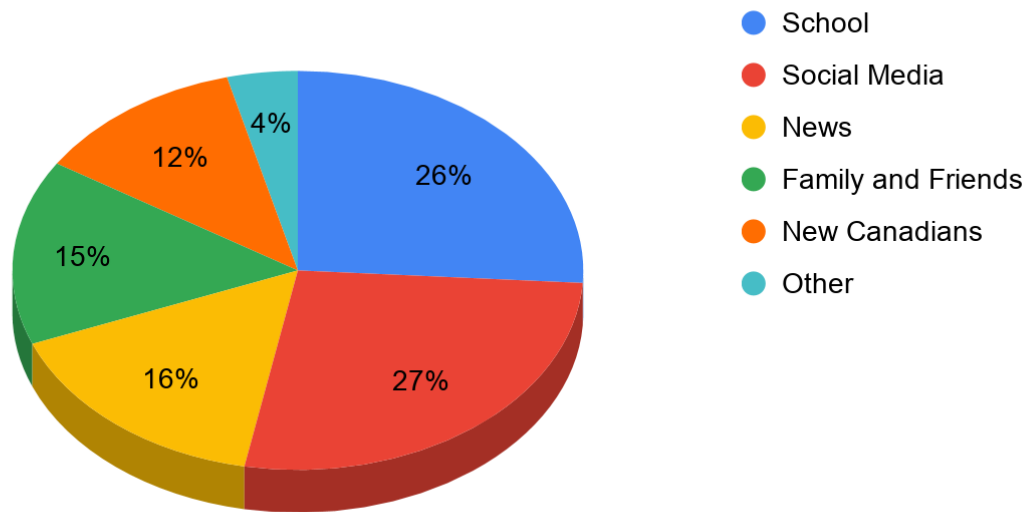
Participants were asked, “*When you think about immigrants coming to Canada, who comes to mind first?*”. The answers were coded thematically, resulting in 21 categories (see Table C1) and converted into a Word Cloud to present the data (see Figure 3.3). In the instances that participants listed more than one category, only the first was used in order to capture the most salient image. These categories were grouped to facilitate data analysis into 10 key themes (see Table C2). The file was split by support for immigration and the topline data revealed that participants who supported more immigration in Canada were the most likely to think of refugees or personal connections.

Youth who support immigration were twice as likely to think of a family member or friend (22%) than those who were *not sure* (10%). The salient image of a *refugee* was also positively related to support for immigration among youth: among those that supported more immigration, a third (32%) pictured refugees, compared to a fifth (19%) of the participants who were unsure. The participants who did not support more immigration in Canada never pictured personal connections or refugees, and exclusively described immigrants by region (Asian, Africa or the Middle East), or by “other” descriptors (i.e. religion). The majority of participants (89%), across all participant groups, correctly identified that refugees flee from persecution. Most added that immigration, in comparison, is a “choice”: refugees migrate out of necessity and immigrants actively choose to relocate.

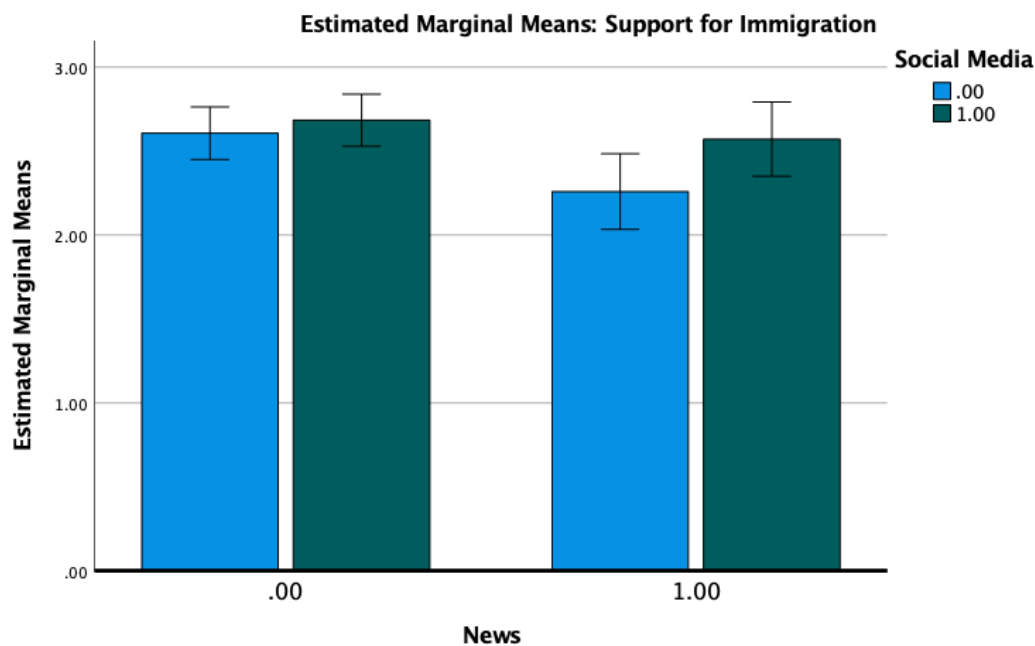


**Figure 3.4**

Where are Canadian Youth Getting Their Immigration-related Information?



A regression analysis was conducted to measure the self-perception of being informed, openness to learning, and source of information on support for immigration. A significant regression equation emerged  $F(7, 96) = 2.21, p = .040$  with an  $R^2 = .14$ . Significant predictors of support for immigration were openness to learning about immigration  $\beta = .20, t(96) = 2.00, p = .048, 95\% \text{ CI } [.68, .00]$ , learning about immigration from the news  $\beta = -.19, t(96) = -2.01, p = .048, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.51, -.00]$ , and learning about immigration from social media  $\beta = .21, t(96) = 1.99, p = .049, 95\% \text{ CI } [.00, -.51]$ . To follow up on the significant predictors of support for immigration, and to verify the direction of the effect, a linear univariate ANOVA test was run with support for immigration as the DV and social media, news, and openness to learning as the fixed factors. The results were non-significant. A second univariate ANOVA test was run to examine the effect and interaction of the significant sources of information. The test revealed that while there was no significant interaction  $F(1, 164) = 1.45, p = .230$ , participants who learned about immigration from the news were significantly less likely to support immigration ( $F(1, 164) = 5.58, p = .019$ ), and confirmed that social media was linked with increased support for immigration  $F(1, 164) = 3.98, p = .048$ ; see Figure 3.5).

**Figure 3.5**

## Discussion

### Youth and Adults

Youth were more likely to have pro-immigration attitudes and interethnic friendships than Canadian adults. Comparing the results of this survey to polls conducted by four different agencies (Angus Reid, EKOS, Environics, Leger) reveals that Canadian youth are 2–4 times more likely to support growing immigration than adults, and 6–9 times *less* likely to oppose inclusive immigration policy (Angus Reid 2019a; EKOS, 2019; Smith, 2019). However, adults who identify as political Liberals have similar rates of pro-immigration attitudes as youth, while NDP and Conservative voters are less supportive of immigration (Smith, 2019; Wright, 2019). This indicates that either youth develop more conservative attitudes as they age, or that this generation is, and will remain, more supportive of immigration. To maintain support for inclusive immigration policy in Canada, it is important to investigate the factors that erode support for immigration, address Canadians’ concerns by providing opportunities to confront threat-based perspectives of immigration, increase comfort with ethnocultural diversity, and promote neutral media framing.

Adults are also likely to misinterpret immigrants’ country or region of origin, with nearly two-thirds of adults falsely perceiving the Middle East/ North Africa as the most common region of origin for recent immigrants (Angus Reid, 2019a). Youth were more likely

to—correctly—name Asia when picturing regions of origin. It is possible that the different perceptions of regions of origin contribute to higher levels of anti-immigrant perspectives among adults, as compared to youth, as immigration from the Middle East/ North Africa may be interpreted as Muslim immigration. As the Muslim population in Canada experiences discrimination and hate crimes (Government of Canada, 2020), it is possible to infer that there is a resistance to the immigration of Muslims, or of groups perceived as Muslims. Youth's responses to open-ended questions also alluded to prejudice among older generations: one participant expressed the perception that their peers learn anti-immigrant prejudice from their parents. Another respondent shared that while they have had few experiences of discrimination, "we (BIPOC) still see our parents go through many negative experiences as new Canadians."

### **Friendships & Belonging**

Among youth, a sense of belonging was positively correlated with frequent and friendly intergroup contact, number of interethnic friendships, and participation in recreational activities—rather than inherent personal characteristics such as language, ethnicity, or time in Canada. The insignificant role of personal characteristics is contrary to existing literature (e.g., Berry & Hou, 2017; Hou et al., 2016), and could be due to the low number of immigrant participants and the relatively young ages of immigration among our sample.

Our findings indicate the importance of intergroup contact in promoting integration and provide evidence of the benefits of intergroup contact and intergroup friendships. One pathway to promoting belonging is to create opportunities for intergroup friendship formation. For immigrants, intergroup friendships form the basis of social capital that may have been lost during migration and are linked to higher rates of belonging, wellbeing, academic achievement, and economic success (Evra & Kazemipur, 2019; Rienties & Nolan, 2014). Canadian-born youth benefit from friendships as well, reporting higher feelings of belonging, mental health, and life satisfaction (Hou et al., 2016). Despite the benefits, intergroup friendships are not the norm for Canadian-born youth. Participants reported challenges making friendships: "settled Canadians stay in their own groups, so unless new Canadians are very outgoing" integration is difficult. "In fact," wrote one respondent, "I see better relationships being built between new Canadians than [between] settled and new Canadians".

These responses support existing literature that finds that although immigrants and international students are eager to socially integrate and form intergroup friendships, settled Canadians are often uninterested (Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Canadian Immigrant, 2019). Although friendships cannot be forced, we found a significant correlation between frequency of contact and both intergroup and interethnic friendships, indicating that initiatives to promote intergroup contact are likely to support intergroup friendship formation as well.

### **Understanding Diversity, Threat, and Immigration**

Diversity provides the opportunity for positive intergroup contact and intergroup friendship formation. However, ethnoculturally diverse environments that lack the protective influence of positive intergroup contact may be associated with anti-immigrant attitudes. Our study found no significant relationship between the perceived percent of immigrants in schools and levels of intergroup contact, suggesting that intergroup contact is not a passive process: a diverse social environment does not necessarily lead to increased intergroup contact. This finding is supported by existing literature (Bernstein & Salipante, 2017; Janmaat, 2014; Kiehne, 2019). While schools meet the requirements for positive, equal intergroup contact, only youth predisposed to, or encouraged to, initiate contact will likely experience positive effects. Therefore, for prejudice reduction from intergroup contact to be achieved, it is recommended that schools and recreational programs promote opportunities for meaningful intergroup connection and intercultural learning.

If schools fail to support intergroup connections in their increasingly diverse populations, there is a risk that students will experience intergroup threat and develop negative intergroup attitudes. Our results indicated that perceptions of diversity were negatively correlated with support for immigration: youth who estimated a higher percentage of immigrants in Canada were less likely to support more immigration. This finding supports integrated threat theory, which posits that immigration can pose a threat to the cultural values of settled Canadians; therefore, “the larger the proportion of the out-group in a given population is, the more the dominant group will feel threatened in its privileged position” (Janmaat, 2014, p. 812).

Youth’s responses to open-ended questions provided insight on the link between diversity and anti-immigrant perspectives. While the majority of youth reported friendly intergroup relations and supported increased immigration, several participants expressed feelings of threat. One participant wrote that the “lack of cultural assimilation of newcomers has left me feeling estranged in my own country”. This response expresses a sense of both

decreased belonging as a result of the relative increase in cultural diversity and a pro-assimilation perspective. Another participant shared: “While I think diversity is what can make our country special, I sometimes worry about how that affects our Canadian culture. Because change is good, but it's scary”. Discomfort with diversity connects the experiences of, and prejudice directed at, visible minorities and immigrants. Resistance to immigration may be related to the changing source countries of immigration: while Asia remains the most common source continent, the 2016 census found that Africa is now the second most common region of origin, replacing Europe (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Non-white immigrants pose increased threat to settled Canadians, as they challenge both the ethnic and sociocultural norms. Supporting this concept, Berry (2006) found that Canadians have more favourable attitudes towards racial minorities already in Canada than immigrants of the same minority, “indicating relatively less willingness to accept immigrants compared to those already settled in Canada” (p. 724).

### **Intergroup Relations and Acculturation**

Immigration alters Canada’s demographic composition, cultural practices, and social customs. For settled Canadians who fail to integrate with immigrants, increases in the relative power of unfamiliar people, customs, and values may be experienced as a threat to the sociocultural status quo. While this does not necessarily indicate anti-immigration perspectives, perceptions of threat must be addressed in order to prevent their evolution into prejudice. Expectations that immigrants will assimilate is another risk factor for prejudice: assimilation may permit resentment when immigrants do not adopt Canadian values quickly enough. In addition, assimilation does not promote acts of inclusion or multicultural acceptance (Naffi, 2017).

Hou and colleagues (2016) argue that belonging is a measure of integration. By this, and more traditional measures such as frequency of intergroup contact, both Canadian-born and immigrant youth are relatively well integrated. Although the groups have similar rates of frequency and perceived friendliness of intergroup contact, new immigrants were significantly more likely to have social circles with a majority of intergroup contact. This finding suggests that immigrant youth in Canada are not adopting a separationist acculturation strategy and forming isolated cultural communities, and contradicts the narrative pressuring immigrants to integrate. Immigrants are not assimilated—each community, family, and individual remain culturally unique—they are integrated.

Although Canadian-born youth reported high levels of support for immigration and frequent intergroup contact, their low rates of intergroup friendships may indicate failure to meaningfully integrate and may be contributing to the feelings of cultural estrangement expressed by at least one participant in this study. As Canada becomes increasingly diverse and immigrant Canadians are welcomed into meaningful social positions at the local, provincial, and federal levels, unintegrated Canadians are likely to experience estrangement (i.e. decreased belonging and familiarity) and threat. These negative intergroup experiences are likely to translate into prejudice and discrimination towards immigrants and visible minorities. In order to prevent intergroup conflict, it is vital to actively promote integration and multiculturalism among Canadians. Potential pathways for achieving this include contact-based integration support and a reframing of integration in research, policy, and practice. As well as integration research that investigates the experiences of the dominant group, there is a need for multicultural education in schools and a shift in Canadian discourse and media.

### **Sources of Information**

We found that using the news (print, radio, TV, or websites) as a source immigration-related information predicted lower support for immigration. The negative impact of the news may be because immigration coverage so often sensationalizes and exaggerates immigration; even if the media does not employ explicitly negative depictions, describing immigration as “floods” and “waves” may trigger threat responses among settled Canadians who fear being demographically overwhelmed. The negative influence of the media is closely linked to our finding that a higher estimation of immigrants in Canada predicted decreased support for immigration.

Social media, on the other hand, positively predicted pro-immigration attitudes, in contradiction to fears that social media contributes to xenophobia and plays a “powerful role in spreading hate speech and bigotry”, particularly among young people (Government of Canada, 2020, p. 5). The positive impact could be because social media acts as a form of intergroup contact which provides the opportunity for immigrants to present themselves as individuals, decreasing the likelihood of “othering” by settled Canadians. Overall, these findings indicate that the framing of news articles and established journalism merits revision and examination; more generally, it indicates a need for a renewed attention towards the existing and accepted systems that encourage division and discrimination, as well as monitoring of the influences of new forms of media.

## Recommendations

The results of this study indicate that providing opportunities for intergroup contact and reframing integration as the responsibility of both immigrant and Canadian-born youth are important to reduce anti-immigrant sentiment and promote intergroup harmony. Pathways to promoting integration include youth programming in schools, extracurricular programs, community centers, and settlement organizations. Specifically, programs should encourage socioculturally diverse participation, actively promote intergroup contact (e.g., create diverse sports teams, or have students work in intergroup pairs), and build multicultural awareness (e.g., using diverse models and inspirations for arts and cultural programs, forming cultural or international clubs in schools, adding cultural lenses to social studies and history classes).

Schools can support integration by promoting a positive environment where friendships are encouraged and intergroup relations are modeled between a diverse teaching and administrative staff. Another action is to incorporate a multicultural lens into classes, particularly English, history, and social studies, planning lessons that include international perspectives. After-school programs and school-based extracurricular activities should work towards diversity and intergroup contact by promoting accessibility for immigrants, a safe and inclusive environment and efforts to recruit a diversity of ethnocultural participants. In the media, including public-facing policy briefs, it is important to challenge assimilation-based assumptions and rhetoric. Journalists and news organizations, more specifically, must critically examine their language and framing of immigration content and eliminate language that exaggerates the proportions of immigrants arriving, living, or thriving in Canada: working to accurately and respectfully portray the human stories of immigrants is a priority.

Finally, researchers studying integration, immigration, and acculturation must work to include the experiences of settled Canadians and other cultural communities. Although focusing on the integration process of minority groups is extremely valuable and informs Canada's immigration and settlement programs, including the perceptions of the dominant group is necessary for a full understanding of intergroup relations and the acculturation process. In addition, understanding the changes and experiences of the dominant group creates the possibility of developing programs for settled Canadians who may need support adapting to Canada's changing ethnonational demographics. Finally, examining the acculturation experiences and perceptions of both groups allows for investigation into the connections between threat, diversity, prejudice, and integration.

### **Limitations**

The low number of immigrant participants was a limitation of this study, exacerbated by the unexpected numbers of immigrants that self-identified as “settled Canadians”. However, the self-identification provided the opportunity to investigate the variables influencing the immigrant youths’ self-identification. This survey is also limited by the low male participation rate. Additionally, because this study used Instagram advertisements, the sample is limited to Instagram users and introduced the possibility of self-selection bias. Several results in the study, including rates and mean numbers of intergroup friendship and participation in extracurricular activities, are consistent with existing research, however, replication of this study with a representative sample of youth is recommended.

### **Conclusion**

This study found that youth are more supportive of inclusive immigration policy than adult Canadians. Support for immigration was not significantly affected by intergroup contact or personal characteristics, but it was negatively correlated with perceptions of diversity in Canada. The survey responses indicate that, for some youth, immigration is perceived as a threat to cultural values: more diversity in Canada may be viewed as more threatening. This might explain why learning about immigration from the news, which often emphasizes or exaggerates rates of immigration, is linked with anti-immigrant perspectives.

Overall, Canadian youth have positive intergroup relations: youth have frequent intergroup contact, are likely to perceive intergroup relations as friendly, have several interethnic friendships, and overwhelmingly support immigration. In particular, immigrant youth are well-integrated and report high levels of belonging. Canadian-born youth, while reporting frequent intergroup contact very rarely have social circles with a majority of intergroup friendships. The more homogenous friendships of Canadian-born participants were correlated with lower feelings of belonging, which seems to explain the higher perceptions of belonging among new-immigrant youth than their Canadian-born peers. These findings indicate that Canadian-born youth could benefit from increased integration support and interventions which promote diverse friendships.

## CHAPTER 4

### Discussion

This chapter analyzes the results of the *Immigration in Canada: Youth Perspectives* survey and the systematic literature review in the context of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act to answer the overarching research questions. This section concludes with recommendations to promote integration and multiculturalism among Canadian youth and future directions for integration research.

#### **Question One: Research and Rhetoric**

*What is the current state of youth integration, as described by research and policy? Does current integration policy fulfil the obligations to promote multiculturalism as outlined in the CMA?*

The systematic review provided a picture of youth integration as understood by researchers and settlement organizations. Although there are some areas of contention in the literature, the authors generally found that immigrant youth are succeeding in Canadian society. Immigrant and refugee youth, as an aggregate, are more academically successful (Gallucci, 2016; Wilkinson, 2010) and have more diverse social circles than their Canadian peers (Yan et al., 2012), although there are varying reports of their participation in social activities (Nathoo, 2017; Yan et al., 2012) and experiences of discrimination (Cuthbert, 2017; Lewis et al., 2018). Immigrant youth also report relatively good mental health and wellbeing, which is attributed to strong family- and community-based support (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Marshall et al., 2016).

The positive data on youth integration found in the systematic review contrasts with the problem-focused framework employed in the literature (Scott, 2013). Immigrant youths' contributions to society and culture are rarely mentioned, and their high rates of academic achievement are not included in many of the publications. The dismissal of immigrant youths' successes and the emphasis on the barriers facing youth contributes to the negative social valuation of immigrants and minorities, who continue to be considered second class citizens in Canada (Department of Justice, 2015). This framing is particularly incongruent with Canada's immigration regulations, which require economic immigrants to be more educated than the average Canadian citizen (Black, 2013). Although a problem-focused view is helpful to identify the barriers faced by immigrants, it may contribute to anti-immigrant prejudice and encourage the impression that they are a drain on Canadian resources.

The problem-focused lens is additionally problematic because it fails to recognize immigrant youths' cultural contributions to their communities; none of the publications in the review included an examination of the potentially positive effects of integration on prejudice reduction or the cultural life of settled Canadians. The oversight of immigrants' social and cultural contributions is a deviation from the values outlined in the CMA (1985), which states that multiculturalism "provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future" and that institutions should "make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins" (Art. 3(1)(b); 3(2)(e)). Shifting to discourse that recognizes and celebrates both the academic success and cultural contributions of immigrant youth is one way to challenge the chronic undervaluation of minority and immigrant groups and better uphold multicultural rights.

The consistent conflation between immigrants and refugees may be one reason for the misconceptions regarding immigrant youth's success. Most of the literature failed to discriminate between the populations or clearly define their participants' refugee/immigration status. Although immigrants and refugees have many shared experiences, the populations significantly differ on socioeconomic status, education, existing connections in Canada (i.e. social capital), and wellbeing due to dramatically different pre-migration and migration experiences (Cheyne-Hazineh, 2020; Nunes et al., 2018).

The distinction between the groups is well understood by Canadian youth: the vast majority (89%) of the ICYP survey participants accurately defined the difference between immigrants and refugees. However, refugees seem to be disproportionately salient in the Canadian psyche, considering that refugees make up a small proportion of Canada's immigration. At the peak of recent refugee acceptance, in 2016, refugees made up less than 20% of total immigration; from 2017–2019 the number was less than 15% (Duffin, 2020). Yet, when participants of the ICYP survey were asked to describe a typical Canadian immigrant a quarter pictured a refugee. The refugee experience is also emphasized in integration literature: 86% of the publications reviewed included refugee participants or literature related to the refugee experience, perhaps because of the acute need for instrumental and integration support among refugee communities.

The conflation between immigrants and refugees, as well as the high saliency of refugees, presents several challenges. First, as immigration regulations, annual numbers of acceptance, and levels of public support for the two groups differ (Angus Reid, 2019a; Egan, 2020), the overestimation of the number of refugees could potentially affect support for immigration policies. Adults, particularly politically conservative adults, are more likely to be

in favour of restricting the numbers of refugees accepted than the number of economic- or family-class immigrants (Angus Reid, 2019a; Hoewe, 2018). Additionally, the conflation between the two groups in the media promotes a perception of immigrants as economically disadvantaged and in need of support (Hoewe, 2018). This conception may reinforce the idea that immigrants have been rescued by Canada, rather than purposefully arriving as equal members of society with the right to “preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage” (CMA, 1985, Art. 3(1)(b)).

Another limitation of the existing youth integration literature is the unilateral focus on immigrants’ integration, without a similar focus on the adjustments required by settled Canadians. This pro-assimilation lens overlooks the duties of host Canadians to allow the expression of different cultures and respect immigrants’ multicultural rights. Additionally, the pro-assimilation framing of research makes it possible to describe barriers to integration without acknowledging that these barriers are actively maintained by Canadian systems and communities. For example, while high rates of discrimination against immigrants were reported in nearly all of the publications included in the systematic review, there were no recommendations for research into ameliorating prejudice that may be motivating discrimination. Addressing this gap in the literature is one method to “assist [immigrant and minority groups] in the elimination of any barrier” to social participation (CMA, 1985, Art 3(1)(c)).

Responses to the ICYP survey suggest that there is support for both assimilation and integration among Canadian youth. For example, one participant reported feeling excited “to have more cultures shared within Canada”, while another stated that, “there should be a mandatory program or such to help immigrants fit in more with Canadian society”. Further investigation into Canadian youths’ acculturation experiences may be helpful to understanding the acculturation experiences of both groups. Specifically, there is a need for research that informs interventions to promote pro-integration beliefs, help youth cope with acculturation stress, and “promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins” (CMA, 1985, 3(1)(g)). Ultimately, integration interventions have the potential to help immigrant and non-immigrant youth experience belonging and enjoy the benefits of increasingly diverse Canadian communities.

The acculturation process can be challenging, even for members of the dominant cultural group. In particular, there is a risk of intergroup tension when the acculturation styles of immigrant and non-immigrant groups are in opposition; for example, when immigrants

seek to integrate, but the non-immigrant population supports assimilation (Bourhis, et al. 2008). The result of discordant acculturation preferences includes, “intergroup misunderstanding, prejudice and stereotyping, institutional and social discrimination” (Bourhis et al., 2008, p. 46). In Canada, where integration language is used in policy documents and multiculturalism is endorsed as a Canadian value (Naffi, 2017; CMA, 1985; Government of Canada, 2020), immigrant Canadians most often adopt an integration style of acculturation (Berry & Hou, 2017). Encouraging the non-immigrant population to adopt the same style reduces the risk of intergroup tensions.

To encourage a shift away from assimilationist perspectives, it is important to consider the motivations for assimilation. In a study of acculturation attitudes in dominant cultural groups, Piontkowski and colleagues (2000) found that assimilationist perspectives occur when members of the settled community expect negative outcomes from intergroup relationships, perceive immigrants as different, feel pride in their own culture, and do not feel capable of resolving intergroup tension. When the settled community holds these beliefs,

“...the only option to cope with the situation and to defend their own group is to make the foreigners become like them. They try to achieve this by partaking in relationships with them and demanding they give up their threatening heritage culture” (Piontkowski et al., 2000, p. 23).

Therefore, it is possible to infer that encouraging a shift from assimilation to integration mindsets may be supported through ameliorating perceptions of intergroup threat, promoting familiarity with different cultural groups, and encouraging positive intergroup relationships.

Understanding Canadian’s acculturation strategies and responses to diversity is important as sustained levels of immigration and changing regions of origin are predicted to increase the number of visible, religious, and cultural minorities (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Some Canadians may experience discomfort with the increasing diversity and may perceive that white, western communities are threatened. As well as being uncomfortable for non-immigrants, feelings of threat may have negative consequences for immigrant and minority groups: feelings of threat and anti-immigrant prejudice have been linked with support for restrictive immigration policy and reduced support for immigrant rights (Hoewe, 2018; Kiehne, 2019). Acknowledging the challenges presented by increased diversity and the reality of discrimination and anti-immigrant prejudice is a vital step in identifying interventions that promote positive intergroup relations and have the potential to benefit both immigrant and non-immigrant communities.

### **Research Question 2: Reality of Intergroup Relations**

*What is the current state of intergroup relations between self-identified immigrant and non-immigrant youth? How prevalent are experiences of discrimination and prejudice? And what factors are linked with feelings of belonging and increased support for immigration?*

This thesis found that overall, youth are well integrated, with an average of 5–6 interethnic friendships and relatively frequent intergroup contact. Immigrant youth were more likely to have intergroup friendships than their Canadian-born peers. Experiences of prejudice or discriminatory behaviour were not reported, and 95–98% of immigrant and non-immigrant participant groups reported “friendly” or “very friendly” personal interactions. While the high rates of reported intergroup friendliness may reflect positive intergroup relations, unexpressed or benevolent prejudice may co-exist with friendly interactions; this finding indicates a lack of overt interpersonal discrimination, rather than a lack of prejudice. When asked about intergroup relations in their school more generally, immigrant youth show a 10% decrease in ratings of “friendliness”, with 88% reporting friendly environments, indicating that although personal interactions are not explicitly discriminatory or negative, some immigrant youth may be experiencing systemic discrimination or implicit negative experiences.

For example, measurements of friendliness may not be sensitive to implicit pressure to adopt mainstream culture; interactions or a school environment that discourages the expression of diverse cultures; or experiences of social exclusion or limited social mobility. Although participants’ open-ended responses were generally positive, some alluded to negative intergroup experiences and/or discrimination that may co-exist with friendliness. For example, participants shared statements such as “it shouldn’t be as difficult as it is”, “people should be more accepting of immigrants”, and “BIPOC and immigrants have more negative experiences in the education system than white people”. Further research into the relationship between reported friendliness and experiences of discrimination is recommended, as is research into the disparity in reported friendliness between interpersonal interactions and intergroup relations.

Despite the ambiguity in the aforementioned responses and lower perceptions of school friendliness, immigrant youth were more likely to report feelings of belonging and intergroup friendships than their Canadian-born peers. Intergroup contact (i.e. frequency of contact, number of interethnic friendships, intergroup friendships, friendliness of personal intergroup interactions, friendliness of general intergroup relations) significantly predicted variance in feelings of belonging. Personal characteristics, (e.g. time spent in Canada, time

speaking English) did not significantly impact feelings of belonging; this suggests that discrimination is not currently preventing belonging to Canada for immigrant or minority youth. These findings also provide evidence that integration improves feelings of belonging among Canadian-born youth; an integrated and inclusive society may increase social cohesion and wellbeing, even for the demographically and culturally dominant population.

Although Canada is a multicultural and diverse country, not all communities have the same rates of diversity. Some participants reported very low numbers of immigrants in their schools, which may have made intergroup contact difficult, and may be one barrier that prevents Canadian-born youth from benefiting from multiculturalism. There are many predominantly white, western communities in which systemic barriers and interpersonal discrimination prevent the establishment of minority or immigrant groups (Contenta, 2018; Zaami, 2015). Comparing the demographic data of one high-income suburb with average diversity in the province reveals that the suburb has half as many immigrants as the provincial average, and a third as many linguistic and visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2017c). Some youth grow up in isolation from the multicultural reality of Canada, as illustrated by one participant's question: "Why would you seem to assume that there are a lot of people in Canada who were not born there, considering the fact that almost every person I know was born and raised in Canada?".

Yet, even in the community referenced above, a sixth of the population is a first-generation immigrant (Statistics Canada, 2017c). As Canadian society becomes increasingly diverse, it is likely that minority groups will continue to be represented in neighbourhoods, workplaces, the media, and positions of power. If communities are defined on the basis of homogeneity or cultural purity, demographic diversity and an abundance of different cultures, perspectives, and people may be perceived as threatening to the status quo. Alternatively, if Canadians redefine their communities as multicultural and continually evolving, increased and/or changing regions of immigration present less threat. For example, unintegrated individuals may view the success of immigrant and minority groups as a relative increase in power for "others" that corresponds to reduced power for their own family and community. Alternatively, for individuals with close cross-cultural relationships, the accomplishments of minority groups and steps towards equality could be viewed as cause for celebration rather than threats to a narrow perception of culture and society.

Data from the ICYP survey indicates that youths' estimations of national diversity (i.e. the perceived percentage of Canadians who are immigrants) were positively correlated with opposition to inclusive immigration policy. This suggests that Canadians who believe

there are already high numbers of immigrants in Canada are less likely to welcome more. In the words of one participant: “many settled Canadians, or at least the ones around me, are under the impression that immigrants are flooding our borders and taking over the country.” The experience of immigrants “taking over” may result from a monocultural perception of Canada as white and western; this perception of Canada would be threatened by the increasing diversity of immigrants.

Urban centers, such as Toronto, in which 70% of youth are first- or second-generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2019), may have already embraced multiculturalism. However, smaller centers and rural areas have significantly lower levels of ethnocultural diversity (Statistics Canada, 2019). As immigration to these regions increases as a result of provincial sponsorship programs (Statistics Canada, 2017b), the demographic changes and infusion of diverse cultures will test the inclusivity of these Canadian communities. By promoting a message of inclusion, rather than unilateral integration and separation, the Canadian government can help alleviate the perceptions of cultural besiegement in diverse cities, and new perceptions of threat triggered by increasing immigration in smaller centers. This messaging aligns with the federal governments’ responsibility to, “enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society” (CMA, 1985, Art. 2(c)).

The media also play an important role in promoting multiculturalism. The ICYP study found that getting immigration-related information from traditional news sources (i.e. TV, print, radio) had a negative effect on immigration attitudes: youth participants who reported relying on these sources for immigration-related information were more likely to support restrictive immigration policy. Conversely, youth who reported learning about immigration from social media were more likely to support more immigration. One possible explanation for these findings is that social media serves as a form of social interaction that allows immigrants to be viewed as individuals, rather than an incoming group; future research on the role of media in youth integration and support for immigration is recommended. Perhaps, by using a human-interest lens and a positive focus that emphasizes the social and cultural contributions of immigrant communities, the news can help to uphold Canada’s multicultural values and immigrants’ rights.

### **Research Question Three: Recommendations**

*What can be done to fulfil immigrant youths' right to social participation and cultural expression in Canada? Specifically, what education, policy, and/or programs can reduce discrimination/prejudice and improve relations between immigrant and non-immigrant youth?*

Recognizing that an important element of human rights research is the potential for application, a research summary and relevant recommendations will be disseminated to change-makers, to better inform programming and interventions to promote wellbeing, integration, and prejudice reduction among Canadian youth. Recommendations are provided for schools, front-line organizations that work with youth and/or immigrant communities, and researchers and writers contributing to integration discourse in Canada.

### **Schools**

Because of the high levels of youth attendance, schools are excellent locations for educational and contact-based interventions (Li & Que, 2020). Additionally, schools have the potential to act as centralized locations for recreational activities, cultural groups, and family-based interventions. The recommendations for school-based change can be made at several levels: at the most granular, changes in teaching methodology and school values align education with multiculturalism. A shift in teaching practice and school environment can be affected through the education received by pre-service teachers, training provided during teachers' careers, and the values promoted and encouraged by school divisions, community members, and families. To implement change at this level, it is important to engage with school boards, who are responsible for budgetary control, hiring practices, and establishing school policies (Canadian School Board Association, 2020). At a higher level, policy is made by the 13 provincial ministers of education, as school curricula and policy are made at the provincial level; Canada has no federal education minister.

The first recommendation is to adjust the content of youth's education to include increased focus on world history, world religions, and the values and practices of different cultures, from both immigrant and Indigenous communities. Providing a multicultural education is a service that may help youth succeed in Canada and our increasingly globalized world. Current curriculum content has been described as ethnocentric and there are recommendations to increase multiculturalism and hire more diverse staff (Gallucci, 2016; Naffi, 2017; Scott, 2013). Monocultural lessons are thought to decrease the engagement of immigrant youth, prevent settled Canadian youth from learning cultural awareness, and fail to challenge prejudiced beliefs (Gallucci, 2016; Nunes et al., 2018). By providing youth a

multicultural education, it is possible to challenge existing stereotypes and demystify different religions, cultures, and social practices. Such a change in education has the potential to “enhance the understanding and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society” and provide an opportunity for immigrant and minority groups to contribute their perspectives and knowledge (CMA, 1985, Art. 3(1)(c)).

The change to multicultural education can be done through many methods, depending on the age and subject. Some examples would be including different countries and regions in history lessons, providing education on different religions, organizing field trips to different places of worship, and creating projects that allow youth to share traditional stories, values, and practices from the culture they identify with. Welcoming leaders of immigrants’ cultural communities and leaders of First Nations communities, as volunteers or guest speakers in classrooms is another method to promote cultural learning about Canada’s minority groups.

Education on immigration and refugee issues in Canada is also recommended in order to address stereotypes and negative perceptions (Marshall, 2016), and can be paired with lessons on youths’ human rights. Learning about human rights may empower youth to express their diversity, understand their rights, and seek remedy for discrimination. Enacting these recommendations is likely to be challenging, as curricula are provincially mandated: adjustments must be made by each minister of education (Canadian School Board Association, 2020). Including new content is another problem, as there are strict learning outcomes that must be met and a limited amount of class time. Recognizing these limitations, a preliminary step to enacting these changes would be to provide classes on multicultural topics (e.g., world history, multiculturalism and religion) as electives for high school students.

It is also important to address discrimination and prejudice among school staff and to implement hiring practices that result in ethnocultural diversity, as several researchers found that discrimination from educators is prevalent (Cohen, 2016; Gallucci, 2017). In addition, promoting cross-cultural teaching methods and encouraging educators address bullying and discrimination may be helpful to improving the inclusivity of classrooms. Anti-discrimination and multicultural training could benefit both pre-service teachers, who report not having the skills to deal with diverse classrooms (Nathoo, 2017), and employed teachers through professional development webinars and training seminars. Additionally, opportunities for school staff to explore, identify, and mitigate their personal prejudices are recommended. The universal implementation of teacher training may be expensive and difficult. However,

reducing prejudice among educators, particularly because they are public sector employees and working with vulnerable populations (i.e. youth), is vital.

As well as changing curriculum content and teaching methods, the school environment should be adapted to encourage intergroup learning among youth. Providing opportunities for youth to research and share elements of their own culture in writing projects, history, or social studies lessons is one way to encourage youth to take pride in their heritage and sets an example of respect and equal valuation of all cultures. Youth would also benefit from opportunities to form intergroup relationships. While intergroup contact was predictive of increased feelings of belonging, not all youth may be confident forming intergroup relationships. One participant asked: “Is there some way that we can connect our different cultures so that people will learn to navigate outside of their regular cultural circles?”. Peer-to-peer relationships could be supported by creating accessible activities that appeal to all youth and encouraging participation from all groups of students.

Finally, because of the high levels of attendance, schools would make excellent centralized locations for youth-focused services (Godin et al., 2017). Although beyond schools strictly educational mandate, partnerships with different organizations (i.e. settlement services, public health clinics, sports teams, cultural organizations, volunteering opportunities) could connect youth with resources that would improve both their integration and overall well-being (Li & Que, 2020).

### **Youth Organizations**

Canada’s settlement services are usually provided by civil society organizations, school boards, and provincial and municipal governments (CERIC, 2019). Providing recommendations for the settlement sector, which is mandated to “welcome newcomers, strengthen their participation in Canadian society, improve their labour market outcomes, expand the absorptive capacity of communities and maintain public support for immigration” can be done through larger organizational bodies that direct funding and front-line organizations that work directly with youth (CERIC, 2019).

Relevant results from this thesis, for front-line organizations, include the importance of intergroup friendships for promoting feelings of belonging among youth and immigrant youths’ need for cultural brokers. Additionally, organizations are encouraged to consciously employ rhetoric and practices of integration and inclusion. Specifically, this includes promoting inclusion practices among settled community members and organizations and supporting the integration process of settled Canadian youth. Recommendations include: (a)

hire diverse and representative staff; (b) promote cultural perspectives and encourage multicultural learning and practices; (c) provide cultural brokers for immigrant youth; (d) provide opportunities for cultural learning, prejudice reduction for non-immigrant youth; (e) create spaces for youth to create intergroup friendships; (f) employ an integration- and inclusion- focused framework rather than an assimilationist framework; and (g) create a centralized repository of services available to improve the accessibility of existing programs (e.g., health programs, free sports, cultural groups, language lessons).

Social integration programs that include immigrant, refugee, and non-immigrant youth are recommended, as they have the potential to facilitate the formation of intergroup relationships between youth (Lewis et al., 2018). As well as providing the opportunity for interpersonal and intercultural learning, programs can model multiculturalism through using practices that respect and utilize the cultures and values of all ethnocultural groups present in the community. Such programs create the opportunity for youth to develop intergroup friendships that promote feelings of belonging and address stereotypes or misconceptions about other groups. Additionally, multicultural programs have the opportunity to model inclusivity and encourage inclusion among Canadian youth while providing social capital and connections for arriving immigrants.

### **Research and Media**

Research and media have the opportunity to model pro-integration perspectives and promote multiculturalism and inclusion. In order to do so, the mutual responsibility of integration must be made clear in any discussions of settlement and/or integration. Specifically, research and writing on the responsibility of non-immigrant Canadians to include promoting immigrants' social participation and cultural expression are necessary. Using the term "inclusion" to describe the duties of Canadians is a language change that supports this reframe, as "integration" has been conflated with "assimilation" and has assimilationist connotations (Naffi, 2017). Finally, research into the benefits of, and barriers to, integration for settled Canadians' is required to develop integration support for non-immigrant Canadians. Sharing the psychological benefits (i.e. increased feelings of belonging) of integration for settled Canadians may help motivate inclusion and integration.

### **Future Directions**

Through the completion of this thesis project, areas for further research and continued development of youth integration emerged. One of the key areas for future research

is the inclusion of Indigenous communities in immigration and integration research, and investigation of the intergroup relations between immigrants, refugees, Indigenous communities, and settled Canadians. Recognizing the diversity within each of these populations, it is crucial to create strong connections both within and between these communities in order to promote integration of the different groups with the goal of creating an inclusive society in which youth may express their culture without discrimination.

As well as including Indigenous participants in research, researchers should be cognizant that Indigenous authors are not always represented in academic literature. For example, the general search terms used for the systematic literature review (e.g. “immigration”, “youth integration” and “Canada OR Canadian”) did not result in publications by identified Indigenous authors. Indigenous perspectives are crucial to research in the Canadian context, particularly in studies relating to multiculturalism and integration. Including Indigenous researchers and/or leaders in the research design stage of studies, seeking Indigenous participants, using inclusive terminology to define participant groups, and including “Indigenous” as a search term are recommended strategies to promote inclusion.

In addition to including the aforementioned perspectives in research, investigating gendered experiences of immigration and integration is a crucial area of growth, as recommended by several of the publications within the systematic literature review. As gendered experiences may differ, collecting gender-segregated data may result in new perspectives and a deeper understanding of the nuances of integration in Canada. Additionally, it is crucial for integration research to develop empirical measures for integration interventions and supports to evaluate promising integration practices. Youth integration presents an opportunity to promote inclusion, intergroup connection, and feelings of belonging among the next generation of Canadians and can be supported by the translation of research findings to efficacious and accessible integration supports.

### **Conclusion**

This thesis gathered evidence on the current state of youth integration in Canada and found that immigrant youth are generally successful and well-integrated, reporting academic success and high levels of social integration. Compared to their immigrant peers, Canadian-born youth had fewer intergroup friendships, which was linked with lower feelings of belonging. Both immigrant and non-immigrant youth perceived their personal interactions, and the intergroup relations in their schools more generally, as friendly. When asked about

perspectives of immigration, youth in this study were 2–4 times more supportive of inclusive immigration policy than older generations (Angus Reid 2019a; EKOS, 2019; Smith, 2019).

The results of this study suggest that intergroup friendships and multicultural learning among youth can lead to a more cohesive, inclusive, and multicultural society. One step to promoting multiculturalism is a reframing of integration that emphasizes the role and responsibility of non-immigrant Canadians to form meaningful connections with other ethnocultural groups. Additionally, incorporating diverse cultural practices into Canadian communities, schools, and workplaces can promote integration and better uphold immigrants' rights to cultural expression and social inclusion.

As settlement programs continue to support immigrants, the Canadian government can fulfil its obligations to promote multiculturalism, as per the CMA, by (a) hiring ethnoculturally diverse staff; (b) funding social integration programs specifically aimed at integrating settled Canadians and culturally homogenous communities; (c) shifting to inclusion-focused language in policy and public-facing media; and (d) including diverse cultural approaches in public systems and services. For youth specifically, schools are an excellent location for multicultural education and centralized service provision. Schools can include multicultural curricula and teaching methodologies, and partner with organizations that offer socially integrated recreational activities, settlement services, and cultural programs.

Despite the systemic barriers and discrimination that immigrant communities face, immigrant youth are experiencing the benefits of integration. For these benefits to be felt by all members of the Canadian population, it is crucial for Canadian systems and communities to promote cultural respect and diverse intergroup connections. Through protecting immigrants' right to cultural expression, Canada can uphold its multicultural responsibilities and can also benefit from immigrants' diverse perspectives and cultural contributions. Similarly, encouraging the social inclusion of immigrants fulfils Canada's responsibilities to rights related to equitable social participation and results in a more integrated, cohesive Canadian society. Ultimately, by fostering multiculturalism among youth, we can work towards a society in which all Canadians may maintain their culture, participate without discrimination, and feel that they belong, regardless of culture or country of origin.

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Zaami, M. (2015). 'I fit the description': Experiences of social and spatial exclusion among Ghanaian immigrant youth in the Jane and Finch neighbourhood of Toronto. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47(3), 69-89. doi:10.1353/ces.2015.0032.

## Tables

Table A: Included Publications

Systematic Literature Review: Included Publications			
Citation	Participants	Sample Size	Method
Wilkinson, L. (2010). Factors influencing the academic success of refugee youth in Canada. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 5(2), 173–193. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260220134430">https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260220134430</a>	Youth (15–21)	N = 91	Mixed-Method: structured interviews and analysis of demographic statistics.
Jibril, S. (2011) "Cashberta": Migration experiences of Somali-Canadian second generation youth in Canada. [Major Research Paper, York University]. FES Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Series. <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10315/13776">http://hdl.handle.net/10315/13776</a>	Youth, community leaders, and family members	N = 11	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Li, X., Que, H., & Power, K. (2017). Welcome to "the Rock": Service providers' views on newcomer youth integration in Newfoundland and Labrador. <i>Journal of International Migration and Integration</i> , 18(4), 1105–1122. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-017-0520-6">https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-017-0520-6</a>	Settlement workers	N = 33	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Zaami, M. (2015). 'I fit the description': Experiences of social and spatial exclusion among Ghanaian immigrant youth in the Jane and Finch Neighbourhood of Toronto. <i>Canadian Ethnic Studies</i> 47(3), 69-89. doi:10.1353/ces.2015.0032.	Youth (18–30)	N = 25	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews and focus groups.
Yan, M., Lauer, S., & Chan, S. (2012). Double jeopardy: An exploratory study of youth from immigrant families entering the job market. <i>Journal of Immigrant &amp; Refugee Studies</i> , 10(1), 96–115. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2012.646506">https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2012.646506</a>	Youth (university undergraduates)	N = 16, N = 516	Mixed methods: focus groups and a survey.

Nichols, L., Ha, B., & Tyyskä, V. (2019). Canadian immigrant youth and the education-employment nexus. <i>Canadian Journal of Family and Youth / Le Journal Canadien de Famille et de La Jeunesse</i> , 12(1), 178–199. <a href="https://doi.org/10.29173/cjfy29497">https://doi.org/10.29173/cjfy29497</a>	N/A	N/A	Mixed methods: literature review and statistical analysis.
Pritchard, P., & Ramos, H. (2018). What do we know about research on refugee children and youth integration in Canada? In Guo, S., Wong, L (Eds.), <i>Immigration, Racial and Ethnic Studies in 150 Years of Canada</i> . (pp 171-188). Brill.	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: systematic literature review
Nunes F., Ari E., VerCetty Q. & Branco B. (2018) Contested Integration: Class, Race and Education of Second- and Third-Generation Minority Youth, Through the Prism of Critical Pedagogy. In: Pashang S., Khanlou N., Clarke J. (Eds) <i>Today's Youth and Mental Health</i> . Springer, Cham. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64838-5_15">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64838-5_15</a>	Youth (16–26)	N = 43, N = 100	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews and focus groups.
Lewis, L., McLeod, H., & Li, X. (2018). The open studio: Exploring immigrant and refugee youth experiences of belonging through community-based arts practice. <i>Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry</i> , 10(1). <a href="https://doi.org/10.18733/cpi29363">https://doi.org/10.18733/cpi29363</a>	Youth (students)	N = 25	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, needs assessments, and art.
Li, X., & Que, H. (2015). Integration and career challenges of newcomer youth in Newfoundland in Canada. <i>FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education</i> , 2(3). <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.18275/fire201502031082">http://dx.doi.org/10.18275/fire201502031082</a>	Youth (17-39) and settlement workers	N = 11	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews
Cuthbert, C.J. (2017, June 6). <i>A Place to Be, A Place to Become: An Insiders' Report on Youth Integration Programs in the Lower Mainland</i> . [Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University]. Semantic Scholar. <a href="https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-place-to-be%2C-a-place-to-become%3A-An-insiders-on-in-">https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-place-to-be%2C-a-place-to-become%3A-An-insiders-on-in-</a>	Youth (14–17)	N = 12	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews and focus groups.

<a href="https://digital.library.ryerson.ca/islandora/object/RULA%3A1978">Cuthbert/d454eadb3715b2a2c3135b0381e2921b05e7c7e2</a>			
Tremblay, Y. (2012, January 1). <i>Community-School Partnerships: Assisting Newcomer Youth in Montreal</i> . [Honours Thesis, Ryerson University]. Digital Commons @ Ryerson. <a href="https://digital.library.ryerson.ca/islandora/object/RULA%3A1978">https://digital.library.ryerson.ca/islandora/object/RULA%3A1978</a>	Settlement workers	N = 6	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Schlote, Nadja, "Too hard to pronounce"— examining immigration ideologies in the treatment of newcomer youths' names". (2018). Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. 5304. <a href="https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5304">https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5304</a>	Youth (16–23)	N = 20	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews
Shields, J., & Lujan, O. (2019, September). <i>Immigrant youth, settlement and resilience: a qualitative examination of newcomer youth and settlement services</i> . CERIS. <a href="https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/iwys-primary-research-youth-final-report.pdf">https://ocasi.org/sites/default/files/iwys-primary-research-youth-final-report.pdf</a>	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: Literature review
Godin, K., Ochocka, J., Janzen, R. (2017, March 31). <i>Understanding the experiences of Syrian refugee youth: a community-based study examining the barriers and successes faced by Syrian refugee youth in Ontario</i> . Centre for Community Based Research. <a href="https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317007788_Understanding_the_experiences_of_Syrian_refugee_youth_A_community-based_study_examining_the_barrier_and_successes_faced_by_Syrian_refugee_youth_in_Ontario">https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317007788_Understanding_the_experiences_of_Syrian_refugee_youth_A_community-based_study_examining_the_barrier_and_successes_faced_by_Syrian_refugee_youth_in_Ontario</a>	Youth (15–20)	N = 75	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews and focus groups.
Karky, A., (2018). <i>An Environmental Scan of Settlement Services for the Integration of Refugee Youth in Southwestern Ontario</i> . [Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario]. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository.	Youth (15–24)	N = 47	Mixed-methods: Scoping literature review and an environmental scan of service provision.

<a href="https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5955">https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/5955</a>			
Nathoo, J. A. (2017). <i>Investigating the Phenomenon of School Integration: The Experiences of Pre-Service Teachers Working with Newcomer Youth</i> [Master's Thesis, University of Calgary] doi:10.11575/PRISM/26645	Pre-service teachers	N = 10	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Pontes, J. G. (2018, April). <i>I could stay here forever...if I find a job: experiences of integration and marginalization of youth from refugee backgrounds in Halifax.</i> [Masters Thesis, Dalhousie University]. Dalspace Library. <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10222/73895">http://hdl.handle.net/10222/73895</a>	Youth (17–27)	N = 6	Qualitative: open-ended interviews.
Lencucha, J., Davis, J., & Polatajko, H. (2013). Living in a blended world: The occupational lives of children of immigrants to Canada. <i>Journal of Occupational Science</i> , 20(2), 185–200. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2013.786799">https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2013.786799</a>	Youth (7–17)	N = 19	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Cohen, B. J. (2016). <i>Mental health support for newcomer youth: fostering resilience and compassion among refugees and their peers.</i> [Master's Thesis, University of Toronto]. Tspace Library. <a href="https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/72676/3/Cohen%20Brittany%201606%20MA%20thesis.pdf">https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/72676/3/Cohen Brittany J 201606 MA thesis.pdf</a>	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: policy and curriculum analysis.
Turegun, A., Bhuyan, R., Mandell, N., Shields, J. (2018, September). <i>State of the art in research on, and services for, immigrant women, youth and seniors.</i> CERIS.	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: Literature review and environmental scan of service provision.

Gallucci, A. (2016). A Phenomenological Investigation of Newcomer Youths' Experiences of Integration into High School and Transition to Post-Secondary Education in Canada [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Calgary, Calgary, AB. doi:10.11575/PRISM/24948 <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/11023/3170">http://hdl.handle.net/11023/3170</a>	Youth (18–24)	N = 10	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Scott, C. (2013). <i>Transition of newcomer youth in Ontario educational policies: A critical discourse analysis</i> . Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. 1957. <a href="https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/1957">https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/1957</a>	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: policy and curriculum analysis.
Marshall, A., Roche, T., Comeau, E., Taknint, J., Bulter, K., Pringle, E., Cumming, J., Hagestedt, E., Deringer, L., Skrzypcznski, V. (2016). <i>Refugee youth: good practices in urban resettlement contexts</i> . Centre for Youth and Society. <a href="https://www.uvic.ca/research/centres/youthsociety/assets/docs/resources/cfys-refugee-youth-resettlement-report.pdf">https://www.uvic.ca/research/centres/youthsociety/assets/docs/resources/cfys-refugee-youth-resettlement-report.pdf</a>	N/A	N/A	Qualitative: literature review and policy report.
Naffi, N. (2017, December 18). <i>Learning about oneself: an essential process to confront social media propaganda against the resettlement of Syrian refugees</i> . [Doctorate Dissertation, Concordia University]. Spectrum Library. <a href="https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/983399/1/Naffi_PhD_S2018.pdf">https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/983399/1/Naffi_PhD_S2018.pdf</a>	Youth (18–24)	N = 22	Qualitative: literature review and semi-structured interviews.
Cheyne-Hazineh, L. (2020). Creating new possibilities: Service provider perspectives on the settlement and integration of Syrian refugee youth in a Canadian community. <i>Canadian Ethnic Studies</i> , 52(2), 115–137. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2020.0008">https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2020.0008</a>	Service providers	N = 10	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.
Li, X. and Que, H., (2020). Support for refugee students in a Newfoundland high school: merits and ramifications. <i>Education in the North</i> , 27(1) pp. 5–20. <a href="https://doi.org/10.26203/wfjh-v278">https://doi.org/10.26203/wfjh-v278</a>	Youth (high school), teachers, parents and community members	N = 32	Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.

<p>Stewart, J., &amp; Martin, L. (2017, August 21). <i>Bridging two worlds: culturally responsive career development programs and services to meet the needs of newcomer and refugee children in Canada - a guide to curriculum integration and immigration</i>. CERIC.  <a href="https://ceric.ca/resource/bridging-two-worlds-supporting-newcomer-refugee-youth/">https://ceric.ca/resource/bridging-two-worlds-supporting-newcomer-refugee-youth/</a></p>	<p>Youth (high school), teachers, administrators</p>	<p>N =108, N =218</p>	<p>Qualitative: semi-structured interviews and focus groups.</p>
<p>Hilario, C. T., (2018, June). <i>Applying integrated knowledge translation to address mental health among young immigrant and refugee men in Canada</i>. [Doctorate Dissertation, University of British Columbia].  <a href="https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0368796">https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0368796</a></p>	<p>Youth (15–22)</p>	<p>N = 33</p>	<p>Qualitative: semi-structured interviews.</p>

**Table B: Correlation Table**

**Correlation Table**

		Belonging	Frequency of Intergroup Contact	Intergroup Friendships	Interethnic Friendships	Friendliness of Personal Interactions	Friendliness of Intergroup Relations	English as a First Language	Time Speaking English	Time in Canada	Participation in Extracurricular Activities
Belonging	Pearson Correlation	1	.237**	.102	.161*	.202**	.186*	.097	-.304	-.065	.184*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005	.219	.037	.009	.022	.212	.080	.401	.017
	N	168	141	147	168	165	152	168	34	168	168
Frequency of Intergroup Contact	Pearson Correlation	.237**	1	-.086	.215*	.260**	.180*	-.089	.342	-.163	.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005		.341	.010	.002	.037	.293	.070	.053	.937
	N	141	141	126	141	140	135	141	29	141	141
Intergroup Friendships	Pearson Correlation	.102	-.086	1	.031	-.113	.008	.426**	-.529**	-.086	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.219	.341		.708	.177	.930	.000	.002	.302	.703
	N	147	126	147	147	144	134	147	31	147	147
Interethnic Friendships	Pearson Correlation	.161*	.215*	.031	1	.173*	.085	.061	-.168	-.123	.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.037	.010	.708		.026	.296	.429	.343	.112	.705
	N	168	141	147	168	165	152	168	34	168	168
Friendliness of Personal Interactions	Pearson Correlation	.202**	.260**	-.113	.173*	1	.438**	-.015	-.072	.061	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.002	.177	.026		.000	.844	.685	.439	.883
	N	165	140	144	165	165	150	165	34	165	165
Friendliness of Intergroup Relations	Pearson Correlation	.186*	.180*	.008	.085	.438**	1	.000	.240	-.046	-.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.022	.037	.930	.296	.000		.997	.193	.577	.640
	N	152	135	134	152	150	152	152	31	152	152
English as a First Language	Pearson Correlation	.097	-.089	.426**	.061	-.015	.000	1	. <sup>c</sup>	.063	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.212	.293	.000	.429	.844	.997		.000	.420	.871
	N	168	141	147	168	165	152	168	34	168	168
Time Speaking English	Pearson Correlation	-.304	.342	-.529**	-.168	-.072	.240	. <sup>c</sup>	1	.088	-.091
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.080	.070	.002	.343	.685	.193	.000		.620	.611
	N	34	29	31	34	34	31	34	34	34	34
Time in Canada	Pearson Correlation	-.065	-.163	-.086	-.123	.061	-.046	.063	.088	1	.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.401	.053	.302	.112	.439	.577	.420	.620		.612
	N	168	141	147	168	165	152	168	34	168	168
Participation in Extracurricular Activities	Pearson Correlation	.184*	.007	-.032	.029	-.011	-.038	.013	-.091	.039	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.937	.703	.705	.883	.640	.871	.611	.612	
	N	168	141	147	168	165	152	168	34	168	168

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).  
 \* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).  
 c. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

**Table C1: Salient Image of Immigrants, 21 groups**

**Table C2: Salient Image of Immigrants, 10 groups**

**Salient Image of Immigrants**

	N	%
Personal Relationships	28	16.7%
Refugees	21	12.5%
Syrian Refugees	23	13.7%
Asian	14	8.3%
Indian	6	3.6%
Chinese	11	6.5%
Asian: Other Countries	3	1.8%
African	1	0.6%
European	1	0.6%
European: Other Countries	7	4.2%
Latinx	3	1.8%
Middle Eastern	6	3.6%
Middle Eastern: Other ...	1	0.6%
USA	1	0.6%
Positive Description: Better Life	4	2.4%
Positive Description	6	3.6%
Economy	1	0.6%
Muslim	3	1.8%
Terrorist	1	0.6%
Colonization	3	1.8%
Other	20	11.9%
Missing System	4	2.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Salient Image of Immigrants**

	N	%
Personal Relationships	28	16.7%
Refugees	44	26.2%
Asian	35	20.8%
African	1	0.6%
European	6	3.6%
Latinex	3	1.8%
Middle East	7	4.2%
USA	1	0.6%
Descriptive	9	5.4%
Other	30	17.9%
Missing System	4	2.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

