Ethnic Identity of Immigrant Offspring in Canada: Testing the Theory of Segmented Assimilation

Yujiro Sano

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Department of Sociology

St. John's, NL Canada A1C 5S7

ys4166@mun.ca

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Abstract

Despite growing interest in "the new second generation," quantitative analyses on identity attainment among the racial minority offspring are limited, especially in Canada. This study addresses this gap by assessing the impact of racial minority status among the children of immigrants on the establishment of ethnic identity, using a nationally representative survey, the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey. The analysis with ordered logit model finds racially segmented patterns on ethnic identity attainment, suggesting that the children of European immigrants are less likely to attain strong ethnic identity than their racial minority counterparts. Additionally, the racial variations are also explained by factors explained in segmented assimilation theory, such as parental resources, family socialization, friendship, and racial distinctiveness. This article concludes by discussing implications for immigrant integration policies and future research regarding the immigrant offspring.

Introduction

Most Canadian immigrants had originated from Europe before the federal government changed its immigrant policy in the late 1960s. Since the implementation of the new policy,[1] however, immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America have increased in Canada (Kaida and Boyd 2011). This change has prompted scholars and policymakers to examine the impacts of the distinctive characteristics of new immigrants and their assimilation patterns on the mainstream society (Boyd 2002). Gordon (1964) claims that the children and grandchildren of immigrants are more likely to assimilate into the mainstream society, given that they are more exposed to the dominant culture than immigrants. This explanation comes from the successful assimilation of earlier European immigrant descendants. Although some immigrants from Catholic countries faced more prejudice and discrimination in the early 20th century, compared to the native-born protestant majority, the descendants of these immigrants seem to assimilate fully into the dominant society with intergenerational mobility (Salazar and Elvira 2003). However, this assumption may not necessary hold in explaining the assimilation process of newer immigrants from non-European countries.

The drastic changes in immigration policies that occurred in the US during the late 1960s and 1970s required a new way of understanding the assimilation processes of immigrants and their children. Reflecting on this issue, Portes and Zhou (1993) propose the theory of segmented assimilation; the children of non-European immigrants may experience disadvantages, which could lead to their socioeconomic downward mobility. This concern regarding segmented

[1] In the late 1960s, Canada removed its country-of-origin allocation for immigration visas, which was a major barrier for non-European individuals to migrate to Canada. With the new policy, Canada created the point system to objectively examine their suitability for immigration. While earlier immigrants from Europe were mostly less skilled, higher levels of education and professional qualification became important factors for immigration in Canada (Reitz 2012).

assimilation patterns is also widely studied in Canada with concrete measures of integration and success, such as income, occupation, and education (e.g., Abada and Tenrakong 2009; Abada et al. 2014; Boyd 2002; Boyd 2009; Boyd and Grieco 1998; Reitz et al. 2011).

However, to our knowledge, the psychosocial adaptation of racial minority immigrant offspring, their ethnic identity formation in particular, is underexplored in the Canadian literature. While some Canadian studies have dealt with the issue of identity among the second generation, they have been qualitative in nature and are not representative and generalizable to the population (Hiller and Chow 2005; Somerville 2008). This void in the literature requires serious consideration as identity is an important indicator of social locations and roles in the host society (Hogg, Terry, and White 1995; Hornsey and Hogg 2000; Stets and Burke 2000). Identity formation is also considered to be a complex interplay of individual decisions, societal categorisation, classification, and socialisation (Kirk and Okazaki-Rey 2010).

Given its growing ethnic diversity as a result of immigration and declining fertility among the native-born population,[2] it is important to examine the influence of racial minority status on ethnic identity formation in Canada. We also investigate the degree to which factors emphasized in the segmented assimilation theory may explain the racial variation in ethnic identity formation among this population. We address these concerns using data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) and later discuss implications of the findings for policymakers and future studies.

[2] According to Canadian Census, the proportion of Canada's population born outside of the country was 20% in 2006, and it reached its highest level in 75 years (Statistics Canada 2007a). Similarly, the 2011 National Household Survey showed that 78% of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006 were from outside of Europe (Statistics Canada 2013). Canada's racial minority population is expected to keep growing as more diverse immigrants arrive.

Racial minority status and ethnic identity[3]

Ethnic identity refers to a person's sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community (Phinney et al. 2001a). Unlike ascribed ethnicity, which indicates a person's ethnicity as perceived by others, ethnic identity may change throughout one's life course, in response to sociocultural and contextual factors (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 1999). As such, ethnic identity is not developed as a result of a dialectical process, for it is also highly influenced by external categorisation and recognition in the host society (Nagel 1994).

In the US context, Waters (1990) finds racially segmented patterns of ethnic identity among the children of immigrants. For the white, middle-class members, ethnic identity is often practised on special occasions, such as during holiday celebrations, by preparing ethnic food, and by using heritage languages for entertainment purposes. As a result, it is suggested that ethnic identity carries less importance for the children of white immigrants, for these children are less likely to choose ethnic identity, since they often perceive themselves as members of majority groups, both socially and politically (Kiang et al. 2011; Kibria 2000; Waters 1990). Gans (1979) similarly argues that, in societies in which white and middle-class members form the majority, ethnic lifestyle does not influence the children of immigrants, because their interactions within ethnic communities tend to decrease, and therefore the importance of ethnic identity diminishes.

By contrast, ethnicity is an influential factor for many choices that racial minority children of immigrants make throughout their lives, including choices in marriage, residence, and occupation. Moreover, the social and political consequences of being Asian, Black, and

[3] Following Abada and Tenkorang (2009), we define racial minority status based on a question on 'visible minority status'. According to the Employment Equity Act, visible minorities are defined as 'persons other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour'. These include racial minority groups, such as Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs/West Asians, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, and others (Statistics Canada 2009). In this paper, we use 'white' exclusively and do not use 'Caucasian'.

Latino in societies dominated by white, middle-class values are not always optional and often detrimental to minorities (Rumbaut 2005). For example, Chinese and Koreans are typically labelled as Asian, since they are considered by the dominant white majority as sharing the same racial and cultural characteristics (Kibria 1997). Similarly, immigrants and their children from Latin American countries are categorized as Latino due to their phonotypical similarities, even though each Latin American country has different cultural and ethnic features (Kiang et al. 2011). This type of pan-ethnic identification may create noticeable boundaries between the ethno-racial majority and other minority groups (Rumbaut 1994).

Based on the literature reviewed above, the present study hypothesises that boundaries in ethnic identity formation exist between the children of racial minority immigrants and their white counterparts. Because ethnicity is expected to affect the non-European children more directly, these children may be more likely to form ethnic identity. By comparison, the children of white immigrants are less likely to be affected by ethnicity, since they are considered to belong to the majority group, both socially and politically, that does not sustain interactions with others form ethnic communities and associations. Therefore, the white children would be less likely to consider themselves belonging to ethnic groups.

Possible segmented patterns of ethnic identity

Society is stratified and unequal; the children of immigrants may be exposed to different social segments into which they can assimilate (Portes and Zhou 1993). The segmented assimilation theory identifies three general routes for assimilation: *straight-line assimilation* (i.e., assimilation into white, middle-class society), *downward assimilation* (i.e., assimilation into urban, underclass society), and *selective acculturation* (i.e., economic integration but with the deliberate preservation of cultural, ethnic, and community norms and values). While this theory

takes a broad perspective that requires many interrelated components linked to the experiences of immigrants and their children (Xie and Greenman 2011), three main factors explain segmented outcomes of the immigrant offspring: parental resources, social contexts, and vulnerabilities (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1994).

In Canada, studies show that racial minority children of immigrants experience upward mobility in terms of socioeconomic outcomes, except for Black children. For example, Reitz et al. (2011) find that Black children of immigrants earn less income whereas Chinese earn more income than their white counterparts. Similarly, except for Black children of immigrants, racial minority children are more likely to attain higher levels of education than children of white immigrants (Abada and Tenkorang 2009; Boyd 2002; Boyd 2009).

Therefore, it is clear that the majority of racial minority children tend to experience successful socioeconomic integration even though Blacks are likely to face downward mobility. However, it has been yet to be applied to examine the possible segmented patterns on preservation of ethnic identity, which is an important aspect of selective acculturation.[4] To provide a more complete picture of immigrant children in Canada, this research aims to understand the effects of three factors explained in the theory of segmented assimilation on ethnic identity.

Parental resources, one of the three main factors of segmented assimilation, are associated with ethnic identity of the immigrant offspring. Less educated immigrant parents are more likely to be marginalized and denied integration into the mainstream labour market (Leaper and Valin 1996; Portes and MacLeod 1996). Therefore, they increasingly face challenges in the

[4]There are also other ways of measuring ethnic identity. For example, Haller and Landolt (2005) have examined two other types of ethnic identity than sense of belonging to home countries: the frequency of sending remittances to home countries and number of trips back to home countries. We exclusively focus on a psychosocial aspect of ethnic identity.

contemporary North American labour markets, where highly paid manufacturing jobs are outsourced overseas, whereas most jobs in today's knowledge economy require higher levels of education and professional qualifications, in addition to high levels of communication skills (Fernandez-Kelly and Schauffler 1994). These low-skilled immigrant parents tend to seek employment in ethnic enclaves in which their cultural and linguistic knowledge of origin countries is valued more than in the mainstream economy (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Since the working-class status of these immigrant parents may pass on their social capital to their offspring, socialisation within ethnic communities may be more encouraged for their children (Zhou 1997). As such socialisation may increase their sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community, we hypothesise that lower levels of parental education will explain increased awareness of ethnic identity.

Because of this high ethnic concentration, Rumbaut (1994) and Zhou and Bankston (1998) argue that a system of social relations, such as family socialisation and friendship, may influence assimilation outcomes among the children of immigrants. In comparison to native-born families, immigrant families tend to have stronger ties to other family members (Portes and MacLeod 1996). Particularly, familism is often practised among Asian immigrant families, which encourages their children to develop a sense of family obligation that can involve providing financial resources to their family and taking care of elderly parents (Hwang 1999). Similarly, the collectivist culture of South Asia often emphasises the importance of family welfare, in which family members are expected to sacrifice personal desires for the sake of the family's needs (Ibrahim et al. 1997). Since the pursuit of personal, instead of family, goals is considered disrespectful to family members, South Asians may have strong family bonds (Segal 1991). Against the backdrop that family values are closely tied to ethnic and cultural values, we

hypothesise that higher levels of sense of belonging and trust to family influence ethnic identity formation positively among the children of immigrants, particularly for the Chinese and South Asians.

Among various aspects of family socialisation, language spoken at home is highly important to ethnic identity formation. Earlier research indicates that it cultivates strong communicative ties within families through maintaining heritage languages and also creates exclusive ethnic and racial identifications within homogenous groups (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Moreover, research reports that cultural solidarity is created through intensive use of non-official languages with co-ethnic peers, given that such exclusive within-group communication reminds the group about its cultural heritage and also rejects others who do not understand those languages, including the minority group members (Giles et al. 1977). Empirical studies also suggest that the children of Spanish-speaking immigrants are more likely to be monolingual, and other children who speak both English and Spanish are likely to have strong ethnic identity in Southern Florida (Portes and MacLeod 1996; Rumbaut 1994). We thus expect that the children of immigrants who speak only non-official languages or both official and non-official languages at home are more likely to establish strong ethnic identity than their monolingual counterparts.[5]

Research shows that friendship is an important aspect of social relations among the children of immigrants. Xie and Greenman (2011) state that assimilated children of immigrants are more likely to have friends outside of their own ethnic groups than co-ethnic friends. Maintaining co-ethnic friends indicates the level of interactions within ethnic communities that may provide cultural support and prevent discrimination (Fong and Isajiw 2000). Past studies also find that speaking ethnic languages with other friends may be an influential factor for a

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[5] In 1969, the Official Language Act began to enforce Canada's multiculturalism, in part by claiming that both English and French are the country's two official languages.

stronger sense of belonging to one's own ethnic community (Haller and Landolt 2005; Rumbaut 1994). However, Hiller and Chow (2005) report mixed findings regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and friendship in Canada. Their qualitative study shows that while 60% of children of Chinese immigrants agree that friendship has strong implication for ethnic identity as both parties share similar racial and familial experiences, the other 40% claim that they consider factors other than race and ethnicity more important to making friends. To understand this issue with a larger sample size, the current study quantitatively explores the effect of friendship on ethnic identity among the children of immigrants.

Finally, Portes and Zhou's (1993) segmented assimilation theory is developed within the American context; therefore, the role of racial discrimination is particularly highlighted. Recent immigrants who arrive in North America from non-European countries are more often distinguished by their physical attributes. Discrimination based on such physical characteristics may thus play an important role in the second generation's chances of assimilation, and as a result, some racial minority children may grow as stigmatized strangers who are denied integration into the dominant society (Waldinger and Feliciano 2004). Canadian research also shows that racial inequality is similarly a major issue in Canada (Oxman-Martinez et al. 2012). When the racial minority children of immigrants experience discrimination, familial and community networks provide 'better psychosocial and achievement outcomes because it [*a network*] preserves bonds across immigrant generations', thus the children may feel more connected despite negative responses from the dominant society (Rumbaut and Portes 2001, 309). We therefore expect that the children of immigrants with the experience of discrimination are more likely to have higher levels of ethnic identity than those without the experience of discrimination in Canada as well.

Methods

Data and sample

We use data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) conducted by Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Telephone interview was conducted among respondents from those who completed the long questionnaire form of the 2002 Census (Li 2008). The EDS covers more than 42,000 Canadian residents aged 15 or older, excluding members of the aboriginal population. The EDS data is advantageous for this study because it offers rich information related to the social, cultural, and ethnic characteristics among the first, second, and third generations of immigrants across Canada (Walters, Phythian, and Anisef 2007). The sample is restricted to 16,224 respondents, who are children of immigrants, including both the 1.5 generation (e.g., foreign-born children who arrived in the host country before the age 15) and the second generation (e.g., native-born children of immigrants).

Dependent variable

The dependent variable for this study is ethnic identity. It is constructed based on a question where respondents are asked to rate their sense of belonging to their own ethnic communities on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 indicates the weakest and 5 the strongest sense of belonging. This way of conceptualizing ethnic identity is consistent with Phinney's (1990) study, which argues that ethnic identity is reflected in a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community. Due to sample size issues and for statistical reasons, we recode the five-point Likert scale into three categories (0 = weak ethnic identity; 1 = medium ethnic identity; 2 = strong ethnic identity).

Independent variables

The independent variables include racial minority status, parental resources, family socialisation, friendship, and discrimination. The focal independent variable is coded to reflect the three largest racial minority populations in Canada (0 = white; 1 = Chinese; 2 = South Asian; 3 = Black; 4 = other racial minority groups).[6] While studies use different types of parental resources, such as income and occupation, this study uses parental education as the only proxy for parental resources due to data limitations. Also, we keep missing cases on the variable associated with parental education because more than 10% of respondents did not provide any information regarding the level of parental education (0 = university; 1 = some post-secondary education; 2 = high school; 3 = less than high school; 4 = information not provided).

Three variables are included as measures of family socialisation among the children of immigrants, including a sense of belonging to their family (0 = strong; 1 = medium; 2 = weak), sense of trust to their family (0 = strong; 1 = medium; 2 = weak), and language spoken at home (0 = official language(s) only; 1 = non-official language(s) only; 2 = both). To measure how assimilated the children of immigrants are, we include two variables associated with friendship: the language the children of immigrants use to communicate with friends (0 = official; 1 = non-official; 2 = both) and the effect of socialisation with friends from the same ethnic background and therefore includes a variable that indicates how many of their friends are co-ethnic (0 = all; 1 = most; 2 = half; 3 = few; 4 = none). Finally, since racial distinctiveness is emphasized in the theory of segmented assimilation, we include a dichotomous variable regarding the experience with discrimination.[7]

Control variables

[6]The reference category in every independent and control variable is coded ‘0’.

[7] This information is obtained through a question on whether the respondents experienced discrimination in the past 5 years.

We include six control variables in this analysis: gender (0 = male and 1 = female), age at arrival (0 = native-born; 1 = 0 to 5 years; 2 = 6 to 14 years), age group (0 = 15 to 24; 1 = 25 to 34; 2 = 35 to 54; 3 = 55 or older), residential area (0 = other Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs); 1 = Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, 2 = non-CMAs), marital status (0 = married or common law and 1 = single), and highest level of education (0 = university or higher; 1 = community college; 2 = some post-secondary education; 3 = high school; 4 = less than high school).

Data analysis

Ordinal logit models are employed because the dependent variable is a multinomial ordered categorical variable. Results are reported in odds ratios, and this may be done with the form of a proportional odds model, given that the odds ratio of any predictor is assumed to be constant across all categories. It can be expressed as the following:

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi(Y>j \mid x_1, x_2, \ldots x_3)}{\pi(Y\leq j \mid x_1, x_2, \ldots x_3)}\right) = -\alpha_j + \left(\beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \ldots \beta_p X_p\right)$$

where $-\alpha_j$ are the cut points and β_1, β_2, … β_p are logit coefficients. From this model, the estimated cumulative odds may be obtained (Liu 2006). For interpretation, ratios greater than one indicate a higher likelihood of forming strong ethnic identity compared to forming either medium or weak ethnic identity, whereas those less than one indicate a lower likelihood of forming strong ethnic identity.

We run five separate multivariate models in the current study. Model 1 indicates racial minority status, along with control variables. Model 2 adds parental resources while Model 3 further adds the three variables associated with family socialisation, including a sense of belonging to family, a sense of trust to family, and language used at home. Model 4 adds

variables linked to friendship, such as language spoken with friends and the number of co-ethnic friends. Finally, Model 5 includes a dichotomous variable on the experience of discrimination. Weights (adjusted to the same size) are applied to all the models.

[Table 1 about Here]

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 shows a cross-classification analysis of ethnic identity and independent and control variables. Bivariate results suggest a racially segmented pattern of ethnic identity formation. Racial minority groups are more likely to have formed ethnic identity—Chinese (52%), South Asian (67%), Black (69%), and other racial minority groups (59%)—whereas only 45% of their white counterparts report forming strong ethnic identity.

About 45% of the male children of immigrants report strong ethnic identity, compared to 53% of their female counterparts. Additionally, the majority of respondents (54%) living in the three largest CMAs in Canada (i.e., Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) report having strong ethnic identity, compared to those living in other CMAs or non-CMAs. Compared to those with university degrees, a higher percentage of respondents without high school diplomas attain strong ethnic identity.

Bivariate results also suggest that family socialisation contributes to the segmented assimilation of ethnic identity. Some 52% of respondents with strong sense of belonging to family report having strong ethnic identity, compared to 16% and 15% of those with medium or weak sense of belonging to family, respectively. Regarding sense of trust to family, we find that a greater percentage of respondents with strong sense of family also form strong ethnic identity, compared to those with medium or weak sense of trust to family. Furthermore, strong ethnic identity is shared among less than 50% of the children of immigrants speaking official languages

with friends, whereas 69% of those speaking non-official languages and 76% speaking both official and non-official languages report having strong ethnic identity. Finally, 58% of children who report having experienced discrimination have strong ethnic identity, though less than a half of those without the experience of discrimination establish strong sense of belonging to ethnic communities.

[Table 2 about Here]

Multivariate analysis

Results from Model 1 demonstrate a segmented pattern of ethnic identity formation among immigrant offspring in Canada. Compared to the children of European immigrants, Black children of immigrants have notably a higher likelihood of forming strong ethnic identity. For Black and South Asian children of immigrants, the odds of establishing strong ethnic identity rather than medium or weak ethnic identity are 2.18 and 1.89, respectively. The children of Chinese immigrants are 1.3 times more likely to have strong than medium or weak ethnic identity in comparison to their white counterparts. Moreover, immigrant offspring from other racial minority groups are 36% more likely to develop strong instead of medium or weak ethnic identity, compared to children of immigrants from Europe.

Gender is statistically significant. Female children of immigrants are 39% more likely to have strong ethnic identity than medium or weak identity, compared to their male counterparts. Place of residence is also significant to ethnic identity formation; the children of immigrants who live in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver are more likely to develop strong ethnic identity than their counterparts in other CMAs. Finally, lower levels of education contribute to a greater likelihood of attaining strong instead of middle or weak ethnic identity in comparison to having university degrees or higher.

Model 2 examines the impact of parental human capital on ethnic identity formation. We find only maternal education influences ethnic identity of children of immigrants. Compared to children with university-educated mothers, those with mothers without high school diploma are 1.31 times more likely to have formed strong than medium or weak ethnic identity. After including variables related to parental human capital, the magnitude of the coefficient for children of Black immigrants increases. This finding suggests that maternal education is particularly important for the Black in terms of ethnic identity formation.

Model 3 shows that family socialisation is associated with ethnic identity formation. Compared to children with a strong sense of belonging to family, those with a medium sense of belonging to family are approximately 75% less likely to have strong than medium or weak ethnic identity. Similarly, the odds ratio of forming strong ethnic identity for children with a weak sense of belonging to family is 0.12. Compared to children who speak only official languages at home, those who speak only non-official languages or both official and non-official languages are 2.85 times and 2.65 times more likely to report strong than medium or weak ethnic identity, respectively. More importantly, the addition of variables linked to family socialisation completely wipes off the impact of being Chinese and other racial minorities. It also reduces the magnitude of the coefficient for South Asians but increases the magnitude of the coefficient for children of Black immigrants. This implies that ethnic identity formation is strongly influenced by family socialisation among South Asians and Chinese, particularly a sense of belonging to family and language spoken at home.

Model 4 accounts for the importance of friendship to ethnic identity formation for immigrant offspring. Regarding the number of friends from the co-ethnic groups, compared to the children whose friends are all from the same ethnic background, it is observed that those

without any friends from the same ethnic group or with only a few co-ethnic friends are 79% and 66% less likely to form strong than medium or weak ethnic identity, respectively. Similarly, the odds ratio of forming strong than medium or weak ethnic identity for the children with a half of their friends from the same ethnic background is 0.61. After adding this model, the magnitude of the coefficients for South Asians and Blacks are reduced. In addition, although not statistically significant, it is noteworthy that the magnitude of the coefficient for Chinese drops by 24%. This racial variation suggests that the number of co-ethnic friends is an important aspect of forming strong ethnic identity among the racial minority children of immigrants in Canada.

The final model adds a binary variable asking whether respondents experienced discrimination. Compared to those who have not been discriminated against, respondents with this experience are 18% more likely to attain strong ethnic identity. We also observe that it has a strong impact among racial minorities. For South Asians, the odds ratio decreases by 7% in comparison with the previous model, while the odds ratio for Blacks reduces by 17%. Overall, the racial effect on ethnic identity formation is less among racial minorities when discrimination is controlled, meaning that discrimination may play a major role in attaining strong ethnic identity among the children of immigrants.

Discussion

Although the socioeconomic outcomes for children of immigrants are widely examined using the segmented assimilation theory, little is known about how this theory explains ethnic identity formation among this population in Canada. Applying aspects of the segmented assimilation theory, the present study fills a significant gap in the literature by examining what influences ethnic identity formation of immigrant offspring. More specifically, we have investigated the effects of parental resources, family socialisation, friendship, and racial

distinctiveness on this issue, as well as the extent to which these factors account for racial variation in ethnic identity attainment.

Consistent with theoretical expectations, we find that racial minority children of immigrants are more likely to form strong ethnic identity than their white counterparts. Strong ethnic identity formation can occur among whites but is generally optional, given that a nostalgic interest in their ancestry is momentary and tends to fade away with intergenerational mobility (Gans 1979; Waters 1990). By contrast, regardless of generational status, racial distinction is a major marker of foreignness among children of non-European immigrants—a marker that in the host society often prompts prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination again them (Neckerman et al. 1999). This racialization of ethnicity may lead to selective acculturation, because even with successful economic integration, the deliberate preservation of cultural, ethnic, and community norms and values is strongly encouraged through negative feedbacks from the racial majority of the host society (Rumbaut 2005). Since our study has found the lower levels of education contribute to strong ethnic identity formation, it is possible that racial minority children may experience delayed acculturation, which implies that they are excluded from the dominant, mainstream society (Gans 1992). In either case, our study advances knowledge on the topic by demonstrating that ethnicity for children of white immigrants is optional, whereas other racial minority groups are strongly affected by markers of foreignness in Canada, where ethnicity may be non-negotiable aspect of their identity.

The analysis also finds that lower levels of maternal human capital lead to strong ethnic identity among the children of immigrants. As mothers spend more time alone with children than fathers (Craig 2006), maternal socialisation, rather than paternal, with children may have a strong impact on their chance of assimilating into the mainstream society. Immigrants with lower levels

of education are less likely to be fluent in official languages (Baer and Schmitz 2007). Because mothers who cannot speak the dominant language have fewer opportunities to introduce their children to aspects of the mainstream society, children with lower levels of maternal education often face a major barrier to access the dominant culture. By the same token, mothers with higher levels of education are more likely to attain employment (Tastsoglou and Preston 2005). Kaida (2012) finds that female spousal employment helps immigrant families exit low family income. Because low family income often leads to children's marginalisation from the dominant society, given that these children's interactions are often limited to ethnic communities characterised by housing and school segregation (Fong and Wikes 2003), strong ethnic identity may be constructed through intensive socialisation with co-ethnic peers in ethnic communities.

We also observe the coefficient for Black children increases when variables linked to parental human capital are considered. A further analysis (results not shown) indicates that Black mothers are most likely to have university degree and least likely not to have high school diploma, compared to mothers from other racial groups. Furthermore, Raza et al. (2013) find that female Black immigrants do not suffer income disparities. Also, because most Black immigrants come from Caribbean countries, they tend to speak English and/or French (Lindsay 2001a, 2001b). In this sense, given their higher levels of human capital, mothers of Black children are less likely to face difficulties of introducing their children to the dominant society. Therefore, with lower levels of maternal human capital, children of Black immigrants are less likely to construct strong ethnic identity, as socialisation outside of ethnic communities are more likely to be encouraged among them.

The findings also indicate the importance of family socialisation in ethnic identity formation. Specifically, a strong sense of belonging to family contributes to strong ethnic

identity formation, which adds to several other studies showing that family socialisation is an influential factor for assimilation outcomes. For example, among Cuban immigrant families in Florida, Perez (1994) explains that a sense of belonging to family is developed by taking care of elderly family members; since ethnic traditions and values are also sustained through close family interactions, Cubans exhibit higher levels of awareness of their ethnic identity compared to other national groups. Other studies show that a sense of belonging to family is formed through collective and cultural obligations to serve the family (Bacon 1999; Zhou and Bankston 1994); since obligation to family is closely linked to values and traditions cultivated in countries of origin, a strong sense of belonging to family is highly relevant to ethnic identity and its formation. Canadian research reports that interactions at home are a crucial feature of ethnic formation, since parents and grandparents use the home to emphasise ethnic customs and beliefs, including filial respect (Hiller and Chow 2005). These findings partially explain why family socialisation strongly affects the children of Chinese and South Asian immigrants, since these groups tend to emphasise family welfare more than other racial minority groups (Hwang 1999; Ibrahim et al. 1997).

As part of family socialisation, our results also show that language spoken at home contributes to strong ethnic identity attainment. This finding is consistent with that of Woolcock and Narayan (2000), who find that speaking heritage languages creates exclusive ethnic identification within homogeneous groups, since cultural solidarity is established by relying upon with-in group speech that serves both to remind the group of its cultural heritage and to exclude members who cannot share the group's internal messages (Giles et al. 1977). According to research, this dynamic is particularly strong among Chinese and South Asian immigrant families. For example, Nagpal and Nicoladis (2010) find that the majority of children of South Asian

immigrants in the Canadian Prairies speak their heritage languages at home. Similarly, Hiller and Chow (2005) indicate that children of Chinese immigrants tend to establish strong oral and familiarity with their cultural tradition by communicating with their family members in Chinese. Together, these findings illustrate why strong ethnic identity is strongly influenced by language spoken at home, since cultural solidarity can be established by frequent use of ethnic languages.

On the contrary, as already discussed above, Black immigrants are likely to speak one or both of Canada's official languages. As the majority of Black immigrants in Canada come from Caribbean countries, their children are more likely to speak at least one official language at home, which in turn can explain why ethnic identity attainment among Black children of immigrants are negatively influenced in light of family socialisation. In this sense, given their knowledge of official languages, Black children are less likely to perceive themselves as linguistically different from the dominant society, which leads to attainment of weak ethnic identity.

Friendship also benefits the development of strong ethnic identity among children of immigrants, for this aspect extends to their degree of assimilation into the mainstream society. In our study, we find that children with mostly co-ethnic friends are more likely to form strong ethnic identity than those with friends mostly from ethnic groups other than their own. This finding parallels that of Haller and Landolt (2005); the researchers show that among children of immigrants, those who have greater interactions with co-ethnic friends are more likely to develop an acute sense of belonging to the values of the home country. This finding echoes Alba (1990); ethnic identity can be experienced and expressed by socialisation with co-ethnic peers. From another angle, Phinney et al. (2001b) also find that ethnic identity is more likely to be established in vibrant, cohesive ethnic communities than smaller, less cohesive ones. Since Chinese, South Asians, and Blacks represent Canada's three largest racial minorities, our findings imply that

involvement and interaction within these three groups are more active than in those of other racial minorities. This dynamic is clear from our findingthat the effect of friendship is particularly strong among the children of Chinese, South Asian, and Black immigrants.

Lastly, our study shows that experiences with discrimination are statistically significant, which is consistent with that of Rumbaut and Portes (2001), who conclude that familial and community support become crucial for children of racial minority immigrants when they experience discrimination. Such support can provide close bonds associated with ethnic resources, including co-ethnic friendships and close relationships with family members. This finding is further corroborated by Chavira and Phinney (1995), showing that individuals manage discrimination better with the opportunity to discuss and critique racial stereotypes with co-ethnic peers, for doing so fosters highest levels of ethnic identity. Our findings indicate that the effect of discrimination is particularly strong among the children of South Asian and Black immigrants. In an earlier study, Reitz and Banerjee (2007) find that nearly 50% of Blacks and 40% of South Asians in Canada report experiences with discrimination. Because strong ethnic identity can help prevent discrimination and its effects, these findings suggest that the effects of discrimination are specifically powerful among these two racial minority groups.

Conclusion

In this study, we found differences between the children of racial minority immigrants and their white counterparts in terms of ethnic identity formation. We also showed that maternal resources, family socialisation, friendship socialisation, and discrimination may explain such boundaries according to racial minority status.

Our findings have implications for Canada's multiculturalism policy. Although Canada's multiculturalism legitimated cultural retentions and curtail racism at the individual and

institutional levels by emphasising the natural inclusion of cultural groups, even with racial and ethnic boundaries (Kelly 1998), we found that the white mainstream culture did not adopt ethnic identity. This finding suggested that the multiculturalism policy does not adequately provide environments that allow the children of immigrants to promote cultural diaspora regardless of racial minority status. Based on our findings, we recommend that attention to be given to providing more suitable milieus for smooth cultural retentions for the children of immigrants, even beyond racial and ethnic boundaries. First, it is important for these immigrant offspring to have friends from both the mainstream society and co-ethnic communities. This may be done by the national and provincial governments as well as local communities endorsing the importance of friendship among and even between racial groups. Furthermore, discrimination should be minimized to provide such environments. To do so, not only at the national and provincial levels, schools and work places should also implement policies that prohibit racial discrimination. In addition, it is essential to increase awareness of this social issue. Non-government organizations are in an important role in this and are encouraged to deliver lectures in local schools and community centres.

Despite these noteworthy findings of this study, some limitations should be noted as well. First, while the theory of segmented assimilation has been widely used in research, it has also been criticized. For example, Alba and Nee (2003) claim that the uniqueness of new immigrants from non-European countries is overemphasized. Though Portes and Zhou (1993) have highlighted that the racial minority children are more likely to experience difficulties in assimilating to mainstream society, earlier immigrants from Europe often did not fully integrate into the mainstream society until the third of fourth generation (Alba and Nee 1997). It may

therefore be premature to draw the conclusion that new immigrants are distinctively different from earlier waves of immigrants.

Finally, we were unable to consider the impact of parental income and occupation due to data limitations. Although the level of highest education has been widely used as an indicator of parental social origins, income and occupation may have a more direct impact on the outcome for the second generation. This idea is particularly important, since the survey did not ask respondents to indicate the countries in which their parents had attained the highest level of education. Studies have shown that university degrees earned in Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe are often devalued in the host country labour market (Reitz 2001; Zeng and Xie 2004). Given that most immigrants come from these regions to Canada, they might not economically integrate into the mainstream society even with university degrees or higher. Therefore, it would be worthwhile in future to consider examining the effect of parental income and occupation on ethnic identity formation among the children of immigrants.

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Table 1: Percentage Distributions of Ethnic Identity by Independent & Control Variables

	Weak Identity N = 4,339	Medium Identity N = 3,976	Strong Identity N = 7,909
Gender			
Male	30	25	45
Female	24	24	53
Age at Arrival			
Native Born	27	24	49
0 to 5	28	25	47
6 to 14	21	25	54
Place of Residence			
Other CMAs	30	25	46
Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver	22	24	54
Non-CMAs	31	25	44
Marital Status			
Married/Common Law	31	25	45
Single	23	24	53
Age Group			
15 to 24	18	25	57
25 to 34	25	27	48
35 to 54	33	26	4
55 or Older	30	21	49
Level of Education			
University or Higher	30	27	44
College	28	25	47
Some Post-Secondary	25	25	49
High School	27	24	49
Less than High School	24	21	55
Racial Minority Status			
White	30	24	45
Chinese	19	29	52
South Asian	14	19	67
Black	11	20	69
Others	16	25	59
Mother's Education			
University	26	25	49
Some Post-Secondary	26	25	48
High School	27	26	48
Less than High School	26	24	50
Not Applicable	28	25	47
Father's Education			
University	26	25	49
Some Post-Secondary	26	24	50

High School	27	25	49
Less than High School	27	25	48
Not Applicable	30	21	49
Sense of Belonging to Family			
Strong	24	24	52
Medium	50	34	16
Weak	70	15	15
Sense of Trust to Family			
Strong	26	24	49
Medium	39	30	32
Weak	39	26	35
Language at Home			
Official	29	25	46
Non-Official	7	19	74
Both	9	20	71
Language with Friends			
Official	27	25	48
Non-Official	8	21	71
Both	7	16	80
Number of Co-Ethnic Friends			
All	13	14	72
Most	12	21	68
Half	16	25	59
Few	30	27	43
None	41	24	35
Experience of Discrimination			
No	29	25	47
Yes	19	24	58

Note: All figures are rounded to the nearest decimal point; therefore, the total might not be 100.
Source: The 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey

Table 2: Ordered Logit Regression Analysis on Ethnic Identity Attainment on the Children of Immigrants in Canada

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Gender					
Male	1	1	1	1	1
Female	1.391*** (7.51)	1.391*** (7.48)	1.336*** (6.44)	1.390*** (7.12)	1.398*** (7.24)
Age at Arrival					
Native Born	1	1	1	1	1
0 to 4 Years	1.019 (0.27)	1.030 (0.42)	0.989 (-0.15)	0.985 (-0.21)	0.987 (-0.18)
5 to 14 Years	1.170* (2.42)	1.159* (2.26)	0.962 (-0.57)	0.950 (-0.73)	0.951 (-0.71)
Marital Status					
Married/Common Law	1	1	1	1	1
Single	0.987 (-0.24)	1.002 (0.04)	1.048 (0.83)	1.083 (1.39)	1.082 (1.36)
Place of Residence					
Other CMAs	1	1	1	1	1
Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver	1.291*** (4.89)	1.288*** (4.82)	1.258*** (4.29)	1.144* (2.47)	1.140* (2.39)
Non-CMAs	0.966 (-0.58)	0.965 (-0.60)	0.971 (-0.48)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (-0.02)
Age Group					
15 to 24 Years	1	1	1	1	1
25 to 34 Years	0.806** (-2.77)	0.768*** (-3.36)	0.835* (-2.25)	0.876 (-1.57)	0.872 (-1.63)
35 to 54 Years	0.587*** (-6.84)	0.526*** (-7.95)	0.607*** (-5.94)	0.631*** (-5.19)	0.628*** (-5.24)
55 Years or Older	0.752*** (-3.47)	0.656*** (-4.85)	0.773** (-2.87)	0.710*** (-3.67)	0.714*** (-3.61)
Level of Education					
University or Higher	1	1	1	1	1
Community College	1.147* (2.04)	1.119 (1.65)	1.090 (1.24)	1.084 (1.14)	1.081 (1.11)
Some Post-Secondary	1.116 (1.52)	1.095 (1.24)	1.135 (1.65)	1.135 (1.63)	1.129 (1.56)
High School	1.251*** (3.35)	1.203** (2.70)	1.216** (2.81)	1.218** (2.77)	1.220** (2.79)
Less than High School	1.336*** (3.91)	1.272** (3.15)	1.295*** (3.32)	1.277** (3.11)	1.279** (3.12)
Racial Minority Status					
White	1	1	1	1	1
Chinese	1.298* (2.55)	1.277* (2.37)	1.114 (1.06)	0.879 (-1.22)	0.855 (-1.49)
South Asian	1.889*** (5.32)	1.913*** (5.51)	1.650*** (4.37)	1.498*** (3.40)	1.426** (2.95)
Black	2.178*** (5.52)	2.252*** (5.69)	2.511*** (6.66)	2.325*** (5.99)	2.159*** (5.35)

Others	1.357*** (3.34)	1.362*** (3.37)	1.194 (1.87)	1.178 (1.64)	1.141 (1.30)
Mother's Education					
University		1	1	1	1
Some Post-Secondary		0.972 (-0.29)	0.986 (-0.14)	1.054 (0.52)	1.058 (0.55)
High School		1.043 (0.61)	1.013 (0.19)	0.997 (-0.04)	0.998 (-0.02)
No High School		1.305*** (3.77)	1.223** (2.73)	1.179* (2.20)	1.185* (2.26)
Not Applicable		1.219* (2.04)	1.184 (1.69)	1.130 (1.19)	1.141 (1.29)
Father's Education					
University		1	1	1	1
Some Post-Secondary		0.972 (-0.29)	0.956 (-0.45)	0.923 (-0.77)	0.920 (-0.80)
High School		1.009 (0.12)	0.999 (-0.01)	0.930 (-0.96)	0.928 (-0.99)
No High School		1.070 (1.00)	1.021 (0.30)	0.941 (-0.86)	0.938 (-0.91)
Not Applicable		0.909 (-1.02)	0.886 (-1.26)	0.886 (-1.25)	0.883 (-1.29)
Sense of Belonging to Family					
Strong			1	1	1
Medium			0.240*** (-15.20)	0.233*** (-15.18)	0.233*** (-15.16)
Weak			0.122*** (-10.96)	0.126*** (-10.70)	0.126*** (-10.62)
Sense of Trust to Family					
Strong			1	1	1
Medium			0.915 (-0.65)	0.926 (-0.55)	0.916 (-0.63)
Weak			1.166 (0.58)	1.000 (-0.00)	0.991 (-0.03)
Language Spoken at Home					
Official			1	1	1
Non-Official			2.850*** (9.77)	2.248*** (6.83)	2.236*** (6.82)
Both			2.654*** (6.21)	2.101*** (4.02)	2.119*** (4.06)
Language Spoken with Friends					
Official				1	1
Non-Official				0.940 (-0.23)	0.923 (-0.30)
Both				1.394 (1.23)	1.380 (1.19)

Number of Co-Ethnic Friends					
All				1	1
Most				0.934 (-0.44)	0.933 (-0.44)
Half				0.613** (-3.13)	0.613** (-3.12)
Few				0.342*** (-7.19)	0.342*** (-7.16)
None				0.210*** (-10.13)	0.211*** (-10.07)
Experience of Discrimination					
No					1
Yes					1.176* (2.43)
Total	16224	16224	16224	16224	16224
-2 Log Likelihood	-4742346.1	-4731814.0	-4566476.4	-4416775.4	-4414942.5

Exponentiated coefficients; t statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: The 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey