LINKING MIGRATION AND EDUCATION ACROSS GENERATIONS: ISMAILIS IN VANCOUVER

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ABSTRACT

Research pertaining to Canadian-born children of immigrant parents is sparse; that on refugees' children in Canada is even more lacking. Drawing on interviews with Canadian-born Ismaili Muslims and their East African parents in Lower Mainland, B.C., this research explores how first and second generation Ismailis negotiate the educational upbringing of second generation children in tandem with the personal geographies of the first generation. The aim is to fill the gap in immigrant research in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and augment the literature on second generation adult children in North America by examining how Ismaili parents' migration histories condition first and second generation perceptions and expectations of education. In so doing, my analysis suggests that Ismaili parents' migration histories from East Africa are deeply rooted in the educational expectations and upbringing of their second generation children.

Keywords: first generation immigrant; second generation immigrant; Ismaili; East Africa; migration; education

Subject Terms: Muslims – North America; Muslims – Canada

READER'S SUMMARY

Research pertaining to children born in Canada of immigrant parents is sparse; that on refugees' children in Canada is even more lacking. This study looks at Canadian-born Ismaili Muslims and their East African parents, many of whom fled Idi Amin's violent and racist regime in the early 1970's. Others came as voluntary migrants from Kenya and Tanzania. Drawing on forty-seven individual interviews and four focus groups with Canadian-born Ismaili Muslims and their East African parents in Lower Mainland, B.C., conducted in July and August 2005, this research explores how first and second generation Ismailis negotiate the educational upbringing of second generation children in tandem with the personal geographies of the first generation. The aim is to fill the gap in immigrant research in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and augment the literature on second generation adult children in North America by examining how Ismaili parents' migration histories condition first and second generation perceptions and expectations of education. In so doing, my analysis suggests that Ismaili parents' migration histories from East Africa are deeply rooted in the educational expectations and upbringing of their second generation children. By focusing on the testimonies of both first and second generation Ismailis, I show similar and different interpretations with respect to these histories and expectations between generations, and therefore advocate for a multigenerational approach to studying the second generation. My analysis also reveals 'the second generation' to be much more differentiated than research on this generation suggests.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all the people
who participated in this project.

Thank you for your hospitality.
Thank you for your generosity in sharing your stories and histories.
Thank you for entrusting me with your responses.

This project could not have been done without you.

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BACKGROUND: DISPLACEMENT

During the 1970's, two key political events in Uganda and Tanzania set in motion

the largest diaspora of Ismaili Muslims from East Africa.[1] In 1971, the government of

Tanzania "redressed [its] economic and social balance through the practice of *Ujamaa* or

African socialism" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.155), establishing control

over the fundamental means of production and distribution of wealth. In turn, the

Tanzanian government nationalized property and enforced an education curriculum

confined to agriculture and farming practices. These limitations on educational and

economic prosperity induced a small number of Ismailis to leave the country (Waugh,

Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983). A second political event that significantly contributed to

this out flow of Ismailis from East Africa occurred shortly after Idi Amin came into

power on January 25th 1971 in Uganda after "leading a military coup against the

government of Milton Obote..." (Mickleburgh, 1999, p.4). A year and a half into his

presidency, Idi Amin ordered the expulsion of all Asians[2] living in the country. In his

expulsion address, he repeatedly underscored political, economic, and social accusations

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[1] East Africa for this project refers to the three countries under study: Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya.
[2] Most of the Asian migrants came from "either the Punjab or Gujurat in Western India" (p.3) with Hindus being the largest group followed by Shia Muslims (Mickleburgh, 1999). The largest and "most prominent Shia community were the Ismailis..." (p.3).

against Asian Ugandans. The Ugandan exodus also sparked a sense of insecurity throughout East Africa causing many Asians to voluntarily leave their country of birth. This thesis examines the intergenerational exchanges between these East African Ismailis (a.k.a. *khojas*) and their Canadian-born children in British Columbia, Lower Mainland. The goal is to explore how these migration histories condition the expectations and identity of children born in Canada. To do this, it is important to understand the context in which East African Ismailis arrived in Canada. A complete historical analysis of Ismailis from East Africa is beyond the scope of this project. Therefore, in this section I will examine how Ismailis, and Indians more generally, arrived in East Africa, and then present a summary of the major influences that motivated Ismaili emigration from Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya.

Asian Presence in East Africa: British Colonialism and Growing Tensions

Beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century, British colonialism extended power over India, trade with East Africa, and influence over the Indian Ocean (T. Melady & M. Melady, 1976). To further bolster British control over Afro-Indian trade, the British sent Indians to several East African protectorates in an attempt to establish "markets for...British manufacturers" (Adams & Bristow, 1978, p.154). Indian farmers were encouraged to colonize portions of East Africa so as to fulfil Britain's dream of reaping the benefits from this vast new land. A proposal to build a railroad (i.e. know as the Ugandan Railway) from the coast of Mombasa to Lake Victoria in Uganda in 1895 intensified contact between Africans and Indians (T. Melady & M. Melady, 1978); the lack of sufficient manpower for the Ugandan Railway forced the British government to

import Indian workers (Adams & Bristow, 1978). Though many scholars indicate that this mega-project was a failure in permanently settling Indians in East Africa for British aspirations, the railway recruitment provided the "first systematic labour input of the Indians on the soil of Africa" (Adams & Bristow, 1978, p.152).

While the railroad was under construction, small communities of Indian traders were established in East Africa. The motive for these communities was primarily economic, and by 1913 the number of Indians in East Africa doubled from that of 1906 to 25,000 (T. Melady & M. Melady, 1976). Indians were forced to move into the business sector as they were restricted under British authorities to settle on the land and harvest crops (Jamal, 1976). Consequently, while Africans were more likely to own and profit from their land, the British concentrated their trade and processing of cash crops in the hands of the Asians. Following the demise of British colonialism, and the birth of independent African rule, this economic imbalance gave rise to a significant source of tension between East Africa's black and Asian populations (Jamal, 1976).

By the 1960's, several East African protectorates gained their independence from British rule. Tensions between black and Asian Africans intensified during this period of liberation as Asians in East Africa were recognized "as an economically privileged group" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.154). With the rise of independence, Asians found themselves in an isolated position between the colonizer (i.e. British) and colonized (i.e. Africans), and black Africans identified them as "generally unintegrated into the mainstream of new African society" (p.154). With major political and economic changes throughout East Africa, Asians were "called upon to revise and adapt their roles to the changing situation" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.154). Between the

1960's and 1970's, the Ismaili[3] community in East Africa responded by developing an even stronger economic base and experienced great economic and education growth, generating further hostility between the two groups. This in turn tempted "both business and professional Ismaili people to look beyond East Africa, and precipitated the first emigrations to North America" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.155). The majority of Ismailis however elected to stay and apply for citizenship in their independent nations. It took two cataclysmic political events in Tanzania and Uganda to push large numbers of Ismailis from East Africa.

African Socialism: The Tanzanian Case

Soon after independence from British rule in 1961, Tanzania declared its intention to practice a policy of socialism and self-sufficiency (Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983). The goal was to exercise control over the fundamental means of production and distribution of wealth.[4] This was achieved by strengthening agricultural practices through the "new ideology of *ujamaa*[5]" (Joseph, 1999, p.40) and taking ownership over businesses and rental houses. In so doing, the government ensured that the lives of those Tanzanians who earned their livelihood in the agricultural sector would improve. In contrast, business-orientated and education-seeking (i.e. education in fields other than farming) Tanzanians would suffer through this new policy. Nationalizing private property, businesses, and education in this way created a "state-regulated economy" (Joseph, 1999, p.40) that did

[3] Ismailis are members of a branch of Shiism that follow a living Imam (i.e. a leader of all aspects of life appointed by God). The current Imam is Shah Karim Al-Husayni Hazar Imam. Ismailis are therefore known as Shia Imami Muslims.
[4] The Arusha Declaration was introduced on February 1967 whereby the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) affirmed a plan to "move away from over-reliance on foreign assistance and development" (Stein, 1985, p.105).
[5] *Ujamaa* was a practice based on self-reliance whereby "citizens would devote their services to the sovereign nation, with the greater good of the Federation of East Africa in mind" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.40).

not permit some of the population to benefit from their business ventures and educational achievements and aspirations. The Ismailis were one such business-orientated and education-seeking group that "were unable to make the psychological transition of accepting independent African rule" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.155). This new policy of self-reliance limited their economic and professional opportunities, and many Ismailis lost their jobs and businesses. These limitations on educational advancement and entrepreneurship induced a small, but significant number of Ismailis to leave the country. A majority of the community however remained in Tanzania.

The Ugandan Exodus: The Rationale for Displacement

In his expulsion address to Asian Ugandans on August 5th 1972, President Idi Amin repeatedly underscored political, economic, and social accusations of narcissism. During the period of Ugandan Independence from British rule on the 9th of October 1962, criteria for citizenship were established. Citizenship could be automatic or registered; the former a default by birth (Gupta, 1974). Asians were differentiated in that they had to apply for citizenship even if they were born in the country. Despite these stipulations, a large number of Asians refused to become registered citizens as they did not consider Ugandan citizenship to have any economic or political value (Adams and Bristow, 1978). Only a small number of Asians opted for Ugandan citizenship, namely Shia Ismaili Muslims. This led to Idi Amin's expulsion decree, justifying it by accusing the Asians of their lack of commitment to the country of Uganda.

A spate of studies on African Asian relations suggests that Idi Amin's economic accusations stemmed from an inequality of income between African and Asian Ugandans (Adams & Bristow, 1978; Adams & Bristow, 1979; T. Melady & M. Melady, 1976). This

economic inequity arose from the racial division of labour, in which the Africans

supplied their manual labour and the Asians their entrepreneurship and capital to the

Ugandan economy (Jamal, 1976). With the Asian community dominating the modern

sector of the Ugandan economy, their skilled labour, capital, and entrepreneurship finally

culminated in the expulsion order by the Ugandan president, a move that signified the

first phase of "the war of economic liberation" (Jamal, 1976, p.615). Within this context,

the expulsion of Asians was an economic war that would eventually return the economy

to the possession of black Ugandans. In conjunction with the war of economic liberation,

Phase II of the Ugandan exodus was aimed at the transfer of Asian homes, shops, and

industries to Africans and thus establishing the new rich to be Africans (Jamal, 1976).

Within a sociological context, the expulsion represents an act of defiance as the

Asians embraced a strongly "segregationist and supremacist attitude" (Amor, 2003,

p.370) toward native Ugandans of African origin. There was little social contact between

Africans and Asians, and Idi Amin capitalized on this lack of rapport creating the

expulsion decree, which had a lasting effect on Asian Ugandans.

At first, the expulsion decree was confined to non-citizen Asians, but during the

ensuing verification of citizenship claims, a majority of those who regarded themselves

as citizens were disenfranchised and they too were ordered to leave Uganda (Jamal,

1976). Consequently, 50,000 Asians in Uganda, including 10,000 citizens, departed by

November 9th 1972 (Adams & Bristow, 1978; Adams & Bristow, 1979; Jamal, 1976).

The Ugandan Exodus Revisited

The impact of the Ugandan exodus was devastating to the entire Asian Ugandan

population, non-citizens and citizens alike. In a span of three months Idi Amin shattered

the lives of thousands of Asians, including the Ismailis, ordering them into a refugee[6]

status. Nearly 60,000 Asians were now seeking new homes. A few Ismailis found refuge

in neighbouring African countries and India, but a larger number sought shelter in the

'West'. Several thousand Ismailis found homes in Canada, developing "what by the end

of the 1970's had become a new centre of Ismaili settlement in the world" (Waugh, Abu-

Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.156). However, the impact of the exodus was not short-lived,

nor was it specific to Ismailis in Uganda. Two outcomes from the events in Uganda had a

lasting effect on Ismailis in bordering Tanzania and Kenya. As mentioned earlier, the

political events in Tanzania did not induce a mass migration of Ismailis from the country.

Rather, a majority opted to remain in the country and apply for Tanzanian citizenship.

Waugh, Abu-Laban and Qureshi (1983) indicate that the Ugandan expulsion generated a

lasting sense of social and economic insecurity throughout the region of East Africa

causing thousands of Ismailis to voluntarily leave their country of birth. Put another way,

the events in Uganda extended in Tanzania and the crisis sparked a sense of panic in

Kenya as well. Secondly, a majority of Ugandan Ismailis had come to British Columbia,

Ontario, and Alberta as refugees, and there was a sense that Canada had become a major

site of Ismaili settlement. Within this context, the departure of Ismailis from East Africa

was partly "a result of the impact of the Ugandan expulsion and partly because there was

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[6] According to the 1951 Convention, the U.N. defines a refugee as "a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to remain there for fear of persecution" (Citizenship and Immigration Website, 2005).

a feeling that henceforth [Canada]…was likely to become a major settlement of Ismailis…" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.157). By 1975 then this influx of Ismailis in Canada, expatriates and others, "had swelled the community to 10,000 strong" (Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983, p.157).

In this prologue, I have examined how Ismaili Muslims arrived in East Africa, and reviewed the major influences that motivated their emigration from Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya. Building upon this introduction, the next chapter introduces my research question and notes the importance of this project. In particular, the following chapter provides a comprehensive review of research on immigration in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and the second generation in North America to illustrate the paucity of empirical knowledge on parents' migration histories specifically in regards to the upbringing and settlement of their Canadian or American-born children. In this way, I create a space for this research and assure its place within these bodies of work.

CHAPTER 1
ESTABLISHING THE RESEARCH:
RESETTLEMENT AND THE SECOND GENERATION

With significant immigration changes in the later half of the 20th century[7],

immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and Africa have come to dominate Canada's

immigration (Hiebert, 2000). With a large proportion of non-European immigrants since

the early 1970's, a particularly visible, vulnerable, and important new demographic is

emerging in Canada, that of non-European children of immigrant parents.[8] Second

generation children are especially vulnerable because unlike their first generation[9] parents

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[7] Canada, in the 1960's, was pressed to attract labour from non-traditional sources to fulfil the demand in "manufacturing and construction sectors" (Hiebert, 2000, p.26) and Canada therefore designed and adopted a new method of selection. The points system emerged in 1967, in response, emphasizing the skill and educational qualification of applicants. With the elimination of discrimination in immigration on the basis of race or ethnic origin, Canada in the 1970's witnessed a dramatic dip in immigrants entering from Europe and the United States, "while those coming from Asia, Latin America, and Africa increased... (p.27). The visibility of non-European entrants was further amplified by the Canadian government's decision to increase its "annual targets for immigrants from below 100,000 to well over 200,000" (p.27) in the 1980's. Added to this was the inception of the multicultural policy in 1971, whereby the project was created to value all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origin, their language, or religious affiliation. In 1988, the Multiculturalism Act was created to enshrine the policy, which "recognizes and promotes the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage" (Murji, R., & Hebert, Y., 1999).
[8] Immigrant children refer to both first and second generation youth.
First generation youth represents persons immigrating as children, also referred to as the 1.5 generation.
Second generation youth represents persons who are Canadian-born but have at least one foreign-born parent.
[9] First generation immigrants represent persons who immigrate as adults.

(and possible siblings who are foreign-born) their process of identity[10] formation is problematized by the emerging meanings and standards of both their country of birth and the immigrant group; parents and the immigrant community in the host country have a profound impact on how second generation children evaluate themselves and construct their identities. This generation is particularly important because the task of defining what is Indo-Canadian, Afro-Canadian, Asian-Canadian, and any other hyphenated identities "falls primarily to the second generation members of these still emerging...ethnic groups" (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p.148).

The literature on non-European second generation immigrants in North America is limited, especially when weighed against their increasing visibility in Canada and the United States. Whereas research on the first generation is abundant, the experiences, processes of settlement, and socioeconomic situation of the second generation has hardly been addressed (Boyd & Grieco, 1998; Sherrell, 2003). This research is even more insufficient for refugee's children, especially in Canada (Hiebert, 2000). This is particularly alarming when we consider that "the second generation in Canada is as large as the first generation..." (Boyd & Grieco, 1998, p.860). What research has been done on the second generation simply reflects on the differences between this generation and their immigrant parents, consulting only members of the second generation. Seldom has this research examined interactions between these generations. In particular, little research

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[10] Identity here refers to individuals' sense of belonging/connection to particular cultural groups (e.g. Canadian-Ismaili, East African Ismaili). It is past circumstances or histories that constitute a culture. Drawing on Hall's conceptualization of cultural identities as points of identification or positioning within discourses of history and culture, in Rutherford (1990), I explore how Ismailis interviewed define and position the second generation within those histories, at present. In particular, what of their parents' migration histories is specific to their cultural identity, and the processes through which that identity or positioning is forged. Identity will also refer to how concepts of home (e.g. Canada, East Africa) are conjured up by the second generation in their points of identification or positioning.

explores the ways in which parents' migration histories shape second generation settlement and identity.

Within the context of Shia Ismaili Muslims from East Africa, there exists a grave absence of studies on the identity formation, belonging, and social and economic status of second generation Ismailis in Canada. Moreover, the literature is non-existent with respect to parents' migration histories and the settlement of second generation children. While a second generation literature is emerging, the body of work on immigration in relation to Ismailis from East Africa is scant in this regard.

Through an examination of the (re)settlement of, and exchanges between, East African Ismailis and their Canadian-born children in B.C., Lower Mainland, my research seeks to shed light on the following question:

How do the personal geographies[11] of immigrant parents condition, if at all, the way first and second generation Ismailis think about education (for Canadian-born children)?

The objectives of this research are to ascertain, from first and second generation narratives, what educational expectations first generation East African Ismailis have for their Canadian-born children, as well as to assess the effects of these expectations on second generation children. In so doing, the intention is:

> • To examine how second generation children's expectations and identity are rooted in their parents' migration histories (i.e. to document exchanges between generations and to assess the effects of these exchanges on second generation children);

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[11] Personal geographies in this regard refer to first generation socioeconomic conditions in their country of birth, their reasons and conditions of departure, and their resettlement processes and experiences in the host country.

- To assess the merit of intergenerational research (i.e. to document and examine first and second generation narratives, identifying similar and different negotiations of education with respect to parents' migration histories across generations);

- To highlight the heterogeneity within 'the second generation' itself (i.e. to identify similar and different narratives and experiences, with respect to education and parents' migration histories, among second generation children).

This project is not an attempt to generalize from first and second generation East African Ismaili (re)settlement processes to all non-European immigrant groups. Rather, the aim is to make and explore connections among one broadly defined immigrant group and the settlement of the second generation.

Current government interest in the experiences and prospects of second generation immigrants further reinforces the importance of this research as both timely and policy relevant (Metropolis Conversation Series, 1999). Experts from academia, government agencies, the media, and the community sector, who attended a Metropolis Conversation Series on November 29th 1999 for example, all suggested that the "current focus is misplaced and that rather than focusing on the socioeconomic performance of first generation immigrants" (p.2), policy makers and researchers "should direct their attention to the second generation" (p.2). Further research is therefore needed to understand first generation migration processes in relation to the health and well being of the second generation. The dearth of literature on the second generation in academia and the government's portfolio highlights the importance of this research project. Though

second generation East African settlement represents one case study, research with this group may grant important insight into future policy.

Situating the Research: Reviewing the Literature and Finding the Gap(s)

The theoretical framework for this study will be drawn largely from two bodies of literature: the immigration literature related to Ismailis from East Africa, and research on the second generation in North America, with further reference to relevant scholarship on methods. Part of the literature review for this project will focus on the Asian Ugandan diaspora because this group has been extensively covered and marks the first significant influx of Ismaili immigrants, as refugees, on Canadian soil (R. Murji & Y. Hebert, 1999). Accompanying this literature will be a content analysis from a study of Canadian press coverage on the Asian Ugandan diaspora that I conducted on February 28th 2005. Work on the second generation is scant at best within a Canadian context, so literature on this generation will be predominantly drawn from a North American context.

The Asian Ugandan Diaspora: Fleeing to Canada, Britain, and India

From the population of expelled Asians, Canada accepted some 6,500 ex-Ugandan citizens (Gupta, 1974; Jamal, 1976; Moudgil, 1977). Since Canada had no political or cultural affiliation with these refugees, in that Asian Ugandans were neither Canadian passport holders nor did they possess any lineage to the country, the Canadian government applied their own immigration criteria in accepting ex-Ugandan citizens. As such, Canada admitted almost exclusively those who displayed a high economic potential; entrants with "good English skills ... a sponsor or a job waiting for them ... a reasonable economic means" (p.464) and who were young in age (Moudgil, 1977). As

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good economic risks, those Asians that went to Canada sought available work and found

it. Moudgil (1977), however, suggests that while the majority of Asian Ugandan refugees

in Canada did seek and obtain employment, a large number moved to a lower

occupational level than they had enjoyed in Uganda. The struggle for employment was

most apparent for qualified Asians, as white-collar jobs were "difficult to locate and the

market [was] fully saturated with university degree holders" (Moudgil, 1977, p.110).

Additionally, academic degrees obtained by Asian Ugandans outside of Canada or Britain

were not acknowledged in Canada and many qualified Asians had to re-qualify

themselves in their respected vocations, which in some cases took years to accomplish

(Adam & Jesudason, 1984). Since educated Asian Ugandans faced so many obstacles in

recognition of their academic status, and because of the downward trend in their careers,

more highly educated Asians tend to show more dissatisfaction with life in general in

Canada and initially experienced an economic downward mobility (Moudgil, 1977).

Scholarly research paints a much different picture of those Asians who fled to

Britain. More than half of those departing from Uganda in response to Amin's decree

were British passport holders, and therefore were hoping to go directly to the United

Kingdom (Mattausch, 1998). It was not until some weeks of international pressures from

India and other Commonwealth countries, domestic protests, Amin's increasing

seriousness, and the realization that a large number of Asians were to be expelled that

Britain recognized their obligation to their British subjects and the international

community (Gupta, 1974). Britain, in turn, facilitated the entry of some 25,000 refugees

from Uganda (Adams & Bristow, 1978). More than two-thirds of Asian Ugandans in

Britain had either tried unsuccessfully to find work, or had found work at a lower

occupational level than that in Uganda (Adams & Jesudason, 1984). Many of those bound for Britain had not received any formal education and were usually the elderly (Adams & Jesudason, 1984). Age, resources, education, health, and more pertinent language, therefore operate much more clearly in explaining those who had been economically downwardly mobile in Britain (Adams & Jesudason, 1984).

India, facing pressures from the Commonwealth organization and with a sense of moral obligation to 'its people' overseas, received a significant number of Asian Ugandan refugees, all of whom held Indian passports (Adam & Jesudason, 1984).[12] The economic mobility of those first generation Asian refugees who fled to India has been considerably better in contrast to Asian Ugandans in Canada and Britain. Namely, the Asian Ugandans in India who have tried to find work "have not just found work but have come close to replicating their Ugandan occupational level" (p.474), in part a result of the "short-term contract returnees" (p.474); those Asian Ugandans who were once a part of the Indian labour force had same-level positions waiting for them upon their arrival, contributing to an equivalent economic rank (Adam & Jesudason, 1984).

The Canadian Asian Ugandan Diaspora: An Exceptional Case

While Britain and India collectively received over half of those expelled from Uganda, my project will consider only those Asian Ugandan refugees who fled to Canada. The resettlement of Asian Ugandans is an exceptional case in the context of Canada as the country posed greater challenges to immigrant resettlement and integration, in part due to its vastly different economic, political, and cultural conditions

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[12] India received five thousand Asian Ugandan refugees, all of whom were their own citizens (Adam & Jesudason, 1984). In addition, the Indian government agreed to temporarily house a good number of British passport holders until the U.K. was prepared to receive them (Adam & Jesudason, 1984).

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to that of Uganda. For example, a large number of Asian Ugandans retained their British passports and were thus politically affiliated with Britain. Those bound for Britain were also fortunate to have financial assets in the country; a significant proportion of British passport holders frequently deposited funds within British accounts as they had anticipated the possibility for hostile conditions in Africa, and were hoping to be repatriated if such predicaments were to prevail (Mattausch, 1998). A small number of Asians also preserved their Indian passports, and were further tied to India by their ethnic and cultural lineage. Canada, on the other hand, received the second largest number of refugees and the largest number of ex-Ugandan citizens who departed during the three-month period[13], among them a large contingent of Shia Ismaili Muslims (Adams & Jesudason, 1984). Those bound for Canada were in the worst predicament because they had fully settled in their African homeland, exemplified by their Ugandan citizenship (political affiliation); invested in the Ugandan economy with a large majority owning businesses and refraining from depositing funds in foreign bank accounts (economic affiliation) (Adams & Jesudason, 1984); and maintained ethnic solidarity in Uganda (cultural affiliation), which was dismantled by their dispersal both internationally, dependant on citizenship, and nationally[14] (Mattausch, 1998). With no linkage to the country, and with strong political and socioeconomic ties to Uganda, those bound for Canada were forced to forgo their political, economic, and cultural affiliations with their African homeland and re-establish themselves within a foreign context.

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[13] Idi Amin allotted three months for Asian Ugandans to depart the country, from August to November 1972, after which coercive measures would be applied.
[14] For example, a small amount of Asian immigrants that were accepted in Canada were scattered in Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec (Mattausch, 1998).

Juxtaposing Asian Ugandan Literature with Media Information: Exposing the Gap(s)

Parallels exist between the scholarly research outlined above and current media information. Contemporary media also considers the economic hardships and downward mobility endured by first generation Asian Ugandan migrants in Canada and Britain (Anderssen, 2003; Ghadia, 2003; Robin, 2000). Despite these commonalities, current media has had a propensity to address transnational social links for first generation migrants, as well as the contemporary successes of first generation Asian Ugandan youth. By juxtaposing contemporary Canadian media information with scholarly work on Asian Ugandan refugees, significant gaps in the scholarly literature come to light.

While the economic mobility of this generation has been explored in scholarly research (Adams & Jesudason, 1984; Bach & Bach, 1980; Community Relations Commission, 1974; Moudgil, 1977), this body of work is limited in terms of the social mobility of first generation migrants. For example, in terms of the social links upon arrival in Canada only Moudgil (1977) briefly touches on the disparity between educated and less educated Asian Ugandans and their reliance on "community connections for securing jobs" (p.112). A lone study also mentions that for Asian Ugandans who made their own resettlement arrangements in Britain, "access to friends or employment has been largely the motivating factor in choosing where to settle" (Community Relations Commission, 1974, p.42). In conjunction, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada suggests that a network of "family and friends has at least as much impact as economic factors on an immigrant's choice of destination..." (The Daily, 2003). Empirical research is required to document the local social links upon arrival, and assess

the impacts of such links on the (re)settlement and integration of first generation immigrants, and possibly their second generation children in Canada.

Al-Ali and Koser (2002), and Portes (1997) suggest that immigrants take actions, form decisions, and maintain relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states. As such, immigrant (re)settlement and integration cannot be entirely understood without reflecting on the social ties that are maintained across countries. Within the Asian Ugandan context, research has yet to determine whether these refugees maintain transnational linkages. Employing a transnational approach identifies that Asian refugees may retain contacts and relationships between Canada, Britain, India, and Uganda. Processes of (re)settlement for first and second generation Ismailis may therefore vary between those refugees who preserved international social links with friends and family and those that halted or lost such transnational linkages.

Another pressing matter is the absence of studies on the identity formation, belonging, social and economic status of second generation children. This project will seek to contribute to the existing literature by exploring how Ismaili parents' migration histories shape expectations for their children born in Canada. In so doing, this research can begin to fill the gaps that exist in East African Ismaili research in relation to the subsequent generation.

A Review of the Second Generation Literature in North America

Information on the immigrants' family structure and parental characteristics is vital when conceptualizing second generation identity formation. In their study on socioeconomic achievements of the second generation in Canada, Boyd and Grieco (1998) note that second generation immigrants with two foreign-born parents are

particularly symbolic of high "educational and occupational intergenerational mobility"[15] (p.862) compared to when only one parent is foreign-born. This, in part, may be attributed to higher levels of social capital within two foreign-born parent households. Specifically, these households provide tightly knit social networks that may produce "better psychological conditions, higher levels of academic achievement, ... stronger education aspirations" (Zhou, 1997, p.993) and greater exposure and sanction to westernized customs and traditions within academic circles than those in single parent foreign-born households.

The origin of the immigrant family is also an important factor for second generation mobility, whereby its members upward or downward mobility may depend on the resources brought by their families to the host country. Those children from families with advantageous resources (educated, middle-class families) are able to benefit from "financially secure families, good schools, safe neighbourhoods, and other supportive formal and informal organizations" (Zhou, 1997, p.988), which secure them better futures academically and occupationally in the host country. Conversely, parents with fewer resources (poorly educated, unskilled) often find their children maturing in "underprivileged neighbourhoods subject to poverty, poor schools, violence and drugs" (Zhou, 1997, p.988) and, hence, exposed to a path of socioeconomic downward mobility.

Scholarly research stretches beyond the relationships between structure and origin of the immigrant group and the opportunities available to their children. Several geographers are attempting to illustrate how immigrant groups influence the choices that the second generation will make (Ghuman, 1994; Gupta, 1994; Kibria, 1997;

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[15] The mobility of the second generation in this context is defined as the difference between their educational or occupational position and those of their fathers and mothers (Boyd & Grieco, 1998).

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Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Pratt, 2002; Zhou, 1997). In particular, they ask how the identity of first generation immigrants and the immigrant community influence the cultural references that the second generation gravitate towards and ultimately choose as their identifying characteristics.

Research on the second generation has centred on the marker of religion and marriage to frame an understanding of the ways in which the immigrant group shape second generation identity (Dwyer, 2003; Ghuman, 1994; Kibria, 1997; Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Murji & Hebert, 1999). Parents expect and ensure, through internal institutions (e.g. mosques), that their children preserve those religious norms, values, and standards that are both a common practice in their homeland and a part of their sense of belonging; a marker of their identity. It is this sense of belonging to a religion, its customs, values, and vernacular (mother tongue) that the first generation expect and demand their children to adopt (Dwyer, 2003).

Marriage is another cultural reference that has been intensely covered in second generation scholarly literature. The question of marriage is essential when conceptualizing second generation identity formation because it signifies the ultimate marker of assimilation of an immigrant community into the host society (Kibria, 1997; Mohammad-Arif, 2000). Marriage holds much value because it is interlaced with the survival of religious, class, and ethnic norms, values, and standards (Mohammad-Arif, 2000). As such, second generation children are exposed to 'traditional' marriage norms, values, and standards reverberated in parental narratives. Parents ensure that the second generation are aware of their religious and ethnic customs (in terms of marriage), and any

infringement of these customs disturbs the community's and their sense of belonging to a

particular social group, and immobilizes intergenerational continuity.

The marital norms, values, and standards that first generation migrants bring with

them as part of the migration process is also discussed by Ghuman (1994), but to a lesser

extent. He notes that the issue of intermarriage is further problematized by disparate

parental expectations for second generation male and female children. Sons, normally,

enjoy more freedom than daughters in choosing their partners as well as their mode of

marriage. That is, parental pressures and expectations for arranged marriages are greater

for daughters, while sons benefit from more liberty and autonomy. For some daughters

therefore "staying on at school beyond the compulsory age may be very difficult"

(Ghuman, 1994, p.230); schools in North America appear to encourage the development

of independence and critical thinking, which may lead children to question their customs

and family's interests. For example, schools may provide daughters with an opportunity

to aspire personal interests which may contradict their parents' aspirations for arranged

marriages. While restrictions for education and arranged marriages are relaxed for sons,

whereby they are encouraged to stay in school and are permitted to date the opposite sex,

Ghuman (1994), Kibria (1997), and Mohammad-Arif (2000) conclude that Canadian and

American second generation boys are expected to engage in endogamous[16] marriages, so

as to maintain their families' honour and identity within the immigrant community.

Geographical research on the second generation infers that parents play a much

more intrinsic role in second generation processes of identity formation. A scant amount

of research explores the role of immigrant stories to second generation settlement in the

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[16] Endogamous refers to marrying within the community; within the ethnic group, irrespective of territorial proximity (Johnston et al., 2000).

host country. Parental narratives of hardships can yield feelings of "displace[ment] [for the second generation] ... within their country of birth" (Pratt, 2002, p.3), whereby first generation wounds of resettlement are recycled to their offspring causing the second generation to identify with their parents' struggles. The identity of the first generation as toiling foreigners in the host country reverberates in their anecdotes and thus has a significant impact on the identity of the second generation; a majority of this research has convincingly shown that the second generation's sense of belonging is of their parent's struggles as immigrants rather than as native born members of the host country (Kibria, 1997; Pratt, 2002).

Though modestly covered in the literature, researchers suggest that second generation members also face parental pressures and expectations to adopt certain norms, values, and standards from the host society. Kibria (1997) in her study on second generation Chinese and Korean Americans, Ghuman's (1994) on South Asian adolescents in Canada, and Zhou's (1997) on the new second generation in the United States note that immigrant parents place a high level of achievement at school for this generation. These authors contend that second generation children are expected to excel educationally and occupationally which, in part, entails their advancement in English proficiency, critical thinking, and fulfilling individual aspirations, characteristics that contradict their ethnic norms and customs of maintaining their mother tongue, obeying their traditions without question, and fulfilling collective goals for the family or community. Moreover, not achieving these levels in the host country is a detriment to "family honour" (Kibria, 1997, p.536). Within this context, the reputation of the family is, in part, dependent on the academic and occupational success of immigrant offspring.

Immigrant parents place contradictory expectations on their children. On the one hand children are expected to retain those norms, values, and standards that are a fundamental marker of their parent's identity, which they bring with them in the migration process.[17] On the other hand, they are aspired to adopt certain norms, values, and standards that are essential to their academic and occupational upward mobility in the host country.[18] Parents therefore strive to prevent the second generation from fully escaping their cultural customs and traditions, while simultaneously encouraging their educational and professional mobility in the host country.

Going 'Back Home'

Out of the second generation research explored, only two studies thoroughly discuss the role of first generation immigrants' country of origin on the second generation, a literature discussed by Dwyer (2003) and Pratt (2002). In her study, Pratt (2002) notes that second generation Filipinos "made actual trips to the Philippines" (p.12), which served as "therapeutic returns"[19] (p.12). That is, viewing and uncovering the struggles of poverty, for example, in their parents' country of birth "becomes an important means of establishing self-worth" (p.15) for the second generation. These visits can work very differently however. One the one hand, they can strengthen second generation identification with their country of origin. On the other hand, they can be a reminder of the 'traditional' nature of their ethnic community, confirming their progress and evolution, further bolstering their identification with the host country (Dwyer, 2003).

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[17] Research has shown that these cultural identity markers primarily include religion and marriage.
[18] Research indicates that parents encourage children to succeed in their education and thus experience occupational upward mobility, which requires the adoption of certain identity markers of the host society: English language, critical thinking, and personal autonomy for example.
[19] It is important to note that for many these 'returns' constitute their first visit.

Whether the second generation applies these 'therapeutic returns' toward recognizing and identifying with their ethnic heritage or toward validating their modernity and progress in relation to members in their parents' country of birth, they understand the events in their parents' country of birth as fundamental to their sense of belonging.

Host Society and Second Generation Challenges

Reception by the host society has intrigued a few geographers. The sparse literature focuses on the marker of religion and the complex ways in which different forces within the host country cause the second generation to either resist or accept their religious roots. Within the receiving country, there exist forces that both permit and forbid second generation immigrants from exercising their religious customs and beliefs. For example, freedom of expression of religious beliefs and customs (forces that permit), and the enforcement of anti-immigrant sentiments (forces that forbid) resulted in second generation Islamic Muslim immigrants to acknowledge their place within the Islamic community, denying them from affiliating or having a sense of belonging with the host society (Mohammad-Arif, 2000).

Much of the research reviewed explores the many ways that the host society consistently identifies the second generation as immigrants (Dwyer, 2003; Kibria, 1997; Ng, 1996; Pratt, 2002). This imposed identification with an immigrant's ethnic and cultural roots occur within institutional and everyday practices in the host society. Researchers indicate that this enforced status works very differently. On the one hand, it may cause the second generation to preserve their ethnic customs and traditions. On the other hand, it may compel the second generation to adopt westernized norms, values, and standards. As such, "legal citizenship is not equivalent to cultural citizenship and

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racialised immigrants are perpetually produced as cultural outsiders" (Pratt, 2002, p.7),

forcing them to assert a sense of belonging with either their cultural traditions or with the

customs of the host society.

Second generation identity formation is further problematized by their personal

experiences of reception and treatment within different institutions, and their members, in

the host country. Mohammad-Arif (2000) suggests that academic environments during

childhood deny the second generation opportunities to embrace their ethnic customs and

traditions. For example, during childhood the daily experiences[20] of the second

generation appear "to be modelled on that of their peers" (Mohammad-Arif, 2000, p.74).

Second generation children may not relate to these westernized norms, given that they

may be unrehearsed within their parental home. As such, these children may be "victims

of mockery, sometimes of a discriminatory nature...deeply contribut[ing] to mold their

vision of their parents' homeland and... [thus] weigh on their will to preserve or not their

ethnic heritage" (p.74). The university environment in the host country, however, plays a

much different role in their identity formation. The campus setting appears to provide and

permit an atmosphere for ethnic solidarity (Maira, 1998). Parental pressures may

therefore be less potent than the reception and treatment of second generation immigrants

within different environments of the host society in explaining the preservation or

discarding of ethnic and cultural roots.

The In-Between Generation

Emerging patterns of second generation identity formation suggest a complex

process. The difficulties facing the new second generation derive from the struggles of

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[20] Second generation immigrants are exposed to westernized schools, forms of media (i.e. television), friends, holidays and festivals (e.g. Thanksgiving), and food.

individuals to balance the demands and expectations of Canadian or American cultures with those of immigrant cultures. One of the salient findings from the literature surveyed is that the second generation is willing to accept the customs and social practices of the host society, while not entirely rejecting their cultural way of life. They are in search of a synthesis between the two cultures (Dalton, R. & Virji-Babul, N., 2006). As such, non-European second generation children in North America neither fully assert a westernized or an ethnic sense of belonging. Rather, they are persistently negotiating and renegotiating their sense of belonging between the norms, values, and standards of their country of birth, and those reverberated by their parents in the parental home while offspring are maturing. These intricate forces imply a creation of a new hyphenated identity (e.g. Indo-Canadian), whereby this relentless process of identity formation has resulted in a "double culture" (Mohammad-Arif, 2000, p.77). The majority of second generation South Asians, for example, tend to maintain their Islamic traditions within the private sphere, while conforming to western values in the public; a type of hybrid identity (Mohammad-Arif, 2000). Some of the second generation appear to mix their cultural heritage with norms, values, and standards common to the host society. Second generation South Asian women, for instance, often wear their hijabs (veils) with "jeans and in some cases with make-up" (p.88), suggesting that this generation is creating their own identity, a sense of belonging and synthesis to both South Asian and western customs.

Final Thoughts: Establishing the Research

The second generation literature in North America predominantly focuses on expectations that immigrant parents bring with them in the migration process as well as

expectations that parents absorb and aspire their children to adopt from the host society (i.e. conflicting expectations), with little attention to how expectations may be conditioned and informed by this process. Though Pratt (2002) and Kibria (1997) make an important contribution to the second generation literature, with respect to first generation wounds of resettlement and their impact on second generation children's sense of belonging, more research is needed to better understand how first generation experiences of migration are echoed to, and rooted in the daily life cycle of, their Canadian-born children.

While a small number of researchers are beginning to explore similarities and differences in the educational and marital expectations between male and female children (Ghuman, 1994; Mohammad-Arif, 2000), and differences in the educational expectations and achievement of children with two-foreign-born parents compared to when only one parent is foreign-born (Boyd & Grieco, 1998), much of the second generation literature tends to homogenize the perceptions and experiences of this generation. Most of this research fails to identify 'the second generation' as individuals who are highly differentiated. Researchers must begin to explore differences in the stories of second generation children to document and gain a nuanced understanding of their varying experiences, and to further show their heterogeneity.

Another factor in this body of work speaks more to a methodological gap. Researchers that have explored intergenerational exchanges between first and second generation members, and subsequent outcomes for children, have done so primarily through narratives of the latter group (Ghuman, 1994; Kibria, 1997; Pyke & Dang, 2003). That is, they examine these exchanges by asking the second generation about their

experiences with their parents. More research needs to investigate the perspectives of and negotiations made by both generations to gain a more thorough understanding of their relations and outcomes.

This study seeks to contribute to research on immigration in relation to East African Ismailis, and the second generation in North America, documenting and exploring exchanges between generations through conversations with both first and second generation Ismailis. The goal is to better understand how the migratory histories of East African Ismaili parents might condition expectations for their Canadian-born young adults. In so doing, my intention is to advance knowledge on the economic and social mobility of first generation immigrants specifically in regards to the upbringing and settlement of their Canadian-born children.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine how parents' migration histories condition several expectations for their second generation adult children. This study therefore uses education as the chosen focus of analysis. Education is an important avenue to probe for two key reasons. Firstly, much of the literature on the second generation in North America pays significant attention to marital and religious expectations, while knowledge on educational expectations for the second generation is sparse in comparison. This project therefore aims to add to the paucity of research on the second generation in North America, with respect to parental educational expectations. Secondly, my content analysis of Canadian press coverage on the Asian Ugandan diaspora suggests that first generation socioeconomic losses during migration are shared with first generation youth when parents are trying to impress upon their children the importance of education, which have been imperative to their educational and

occupational successes (Anderssen, 2003; Ghadia, 2003; Legge, 1997). I want to further probe this link between migration histories and education, and determine whether empirical research is in accord with the tidings presented in contemporary media sources.

Pressing Forward

Chapter two provides a reflexive discussion of my research methodology. I outline my methods of research and present my framework for accessing, recruiting, and interviewing participants. I consider my role as researcher and explore some of my experiences in studying my own community. I then introduce 'Team Ismaili' and explore how our team configuration provided a diverse group of people and perspectives, which alleviated much of the messiness in conducting research with my own community. In chapter three, I illuminate first and second generation Ismailis' perspectives of education, with respect to parents' migration histories, and put forth an argument for studying both generations simultaneously and within the same household. Chapter 4 delves into the individual experiences of second generation Ismaili adults. I aim to show the heterogeneity evident within the experiences and stories of 'the second generation' itself, with respect to their education and their parent's migration. I conclude in chapter five by connecting my findings with the literature outlined in chapter one, illustrating similarities and exposing new understandings. I then show how this research is limited in scope, and close with a discussion of some potential areas of concentration for future geographic research.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

This research focuses on first and second generation East African Shia Ismaili

Muslims in B.C., Lower Mainland. The goal is to examine the ways in which parents'

migration histories from East Africa shape the upbringing of their Canadian-born

children. While these Ismaili immigrants have resettled in various regions within British

Columbia, and Canada at large, the Lower Mainland constitutes the site of study for two

primary reasons. Firstly, more than 15,000 of the estimated 75,000 Ismailis in Canada, a

majority originating from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, are a settled part of the region

(Gandhi, 2005) (see Figure 1).[21] The immigration literature related to Ismailis from East

Africa also suggests that immigrants who resettled in other provinces (e.g. Alberta)

relocated to British Columbia (Adams & Jesudason, 1984; Moudgil, 1977). Secondly,

Moudgil (1977) suggests that Ugandan Ismailis who resettled in Canada were

predominantly of prime child bearing age, a claim supported in my findings as well.

Conducting research on first and second generation East African Ismailis in the Lower

Mainland therefore offered optimal opportunities for group and individual interviews

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[21] The Lower Mainland is home to approximately 30 percent of the 6,500 Asian Ugandans that entered
Canada between 1972 and 1973 (Moudgil, 1977). An even larger number of Shia Ismaili Muslims from
Kenya and Tanzania live in this region.

with second generation adults.[22] These two factors meant that a sizeable population of at least two generations resided in B.C.'s Lower Mainland. The Lower Mainland offered an ideal research site because of the research team's geographical proximity to participants as well. Consequently, informants were given the flexibility to be interviewed at their convenience. Focus group interviews were conducted in July 2005, followed by individual interviews in August 2005.

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[22] Second generation adults, for this study, refer to those who are 18 years of age or older. The study was specific to second generation adults and first generation members.

FIGURE 1: Map of participants' location of departure in East Africa and the number of participants from each location

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Participant Location Breakdown		
Kenya (5 people)	**Tanzania (10 people)**	**Uganda (9 people)**
Nairobi – 2 people	Dar-es-Salaam – 5 people	Kampala – 6 people
Mombasa – 1 person	Dodoma – 2 people	Mbale – 2 people
Kisumu – 1 person	Mbeya – 1 person	Mengo – 1 person
Kisii – 1 person	Tanga – 1 person	
	Moshi – 1 person	
TOTAL 24 people		

I use this chapter to present and reflect upon my methodological framework for researching these first and second generation Ismailis in the Lower Mainland. I begin by outlining my methods of research, arguing a need for intergenerational research in response to a second generation literature dependent on the narratives of those born in Canada. I continue with my approach for accessing, recruiting, and interviewing participants, and highlight some limitations and difficulties encountered in implementing this approach. I then call attention to my position as both a subject (i.e. cultural insider) and stranger (i.e. outsider-within) within the Ismaili community. My goal here is to explore this 'in-betweeness' in relationship to the research process. I press forward by presenting another layer to my fieldwork, that of 'Team Ismaili', our four-person research team. I conclude with some practical methodological issues and intellectual benefits encountered in our experiences as 'Team Ismaili'.

Intergenerational Research:
Incorporating Stories from Both Generations

A growing literature strives to capture the processes of (re)settlement for immigrants and their North American-born children (Boyd & Grieco, 1998; Dwyer, 2003; Kibria, 1997; Mairi, 1998; Maryse, 1999; Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Ng, 1996; Pratt, 2002; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Zhou, 1997). Much of this research pays significant attention to the individual socioeconomic outcomes of the first and second generation. Seldom has this literature explored in-depth the interaction between generations and the ways in which these interactions impact outcomes for the second generation. Furthermore, the few studies that have attempted to capture these intergenerational exchanges have done so primarily through an examination of those born in Canada (Ghuman, 1994; Kibria,

1997; Pyke & Dang, 2003); these researchers tackle intergenerational exchanges by asking second generation members about their experiences with their parents. I argue that a thorough and rich understanding of these relations and their outcomes can better come from a multigenerational approach; that is to interview both generations about each other. Such an approach can provide important multilayered information on how the upbringing of second generation children in Canada may be conditioned by the migration experiences of their first generation parents. Therefore, to understand the negotiations made by both generation members it seems important to explore the experiences and circumstances of the first generation too, and not limit the study to the testimony presented by any one generation. This study therefore incorporates and examines narratives from both generations. I juxtapose the stories of the two groups so as to yield a deeper understanding of intergenerational relations, and outcomes for second generation Ismailis.

Such rich information is further enhanced by conversations with first and/or second generation informants that belong to the same family (i.e. nuclear family, not always living in the same household). I suggest that there may be significant disparities between first and/or second generation accounts from the same family, and excavating these accounts can therefore better expose their intergenerational negotiations. Expanding on Valentine's (1998) study of heterosexual couples' households, interviewing both men and women too "may expose the negotiated and contested nature of household relationships, and so contribute to the development of more complex and nuanced understandings of gender relations…" (p.67). This study is attentive to both intergenerational and gender relations, defining a family unit as two or more people from

the same family. That is, the composition of family units vary from husband and wife, father and mother and child(ren), father and child(ren) to mother and child(ren).[23] Though I was not always able to recruit two or more members from a single family, our research team interviewed thirty-three 'family' informants out of the forty-seven individual interviews conducted. We interviewed thirteen family units in all.

Informants from all family units were interviewed separately. The decision to conduct separate interviews was meant to give participants more space and freedom to express accounts in their own terms. As Valentine (1998) points out, separate interviews "give participants more freedom to express their own individual views than when interviewed jointly…[and may also] allow for more privacy for discussing other…[family] members [and] relationship secrets…" (p.71). In this way, joint interviews may cause individuals to censor their responses in an attempt to minimize and conceal conflicts between family members present. Moreover, people have individual lives and balance multiple roles so interviewing family members together would not always have been possible; nor was it always possible to interview family members on the same day. Utilizing separate interviews therefore offered individuals the flexibility to be interviewed at their convenience, yielding, I think, a greater number of participants and family units than if we were limited to joint interviews.[24]

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[23] It is important to note that some family units also included those who did not live at the same address. For example, interviewing a mother and father in the same household and their son in a university dorm room would constitute three family members and one family unit.

[24] A few second generation members for example lived on campus while their parents lived in a home several municipalities away. In these cases, separate interviews gave us the chance to interview participants at their convenience and to include more family units in the study. This enabled me to "tackle a broader and more relevant research agenda than one based on the maximizing individual" (Wheelock & Oughton, 1996, p.143).

The time-period at which this study is being conducted will allow for a thorough exploration and understanding of the lived (re)settlement experiences and processes of first and second generation members. Studying first and second generation Ismailis twenty years from now would presumably present greater challenges. That is, a large number of first generation participants, if not already deceased, would be in their mid-to-late eighties and thus maybe unlikely to recall, in great depth, details of their migration and expectations, yielding a study contingent on second generation accounts.

Shifting Our Methodological Trajectory

Before undertaking primary research with members of the East African Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland[25], I found it necessary to communicate my intentions to the Ismaili Council for British Columbia, the governing body of Ismailis province-wide. My core pursuit was to gain permission from the Council to use five *Jamath Khanas* (i.e. religious and social gathering centres) in the Lower Mainland for the distribution of pamphlets and the voluntary enrollment of participants for this study. Further details about the methods of research, and responding to any questions, concerns and or comments that the Council may have had, was to be clarified upon request. In addition to providing a medium for participant recruitment, a collaborative partnership with the Ismaili Council could have enhanced the ability to conduct research with Ismailis. Building rapport and forming a trusting relationship with participants, a central aim of my study, could have been facilitated through this partnership. With the aid of the Ismaili Council for British Columbia valuable modifications to focus group and interview

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questions, in terms of "content, order and language" (Mountz et al., 2003, p.34), could have also been made. This kind of collaboration could have assisted in the production of data valued by people from both academic and community organisations. Yet, after sharing our research interests and possible collaborative intentions with the Council, they were reluctant to take part in the research. As a result, we had to modify the research plan. The following paragraph will discuss our modified methodological trajectory.

To draw a random sample of the East African Ismaili population in the Lower Mainland is not possible. I therefore employed a purposive sampling design so as to select the widest variety of respondents to test the broad applicability of my questions (Babbie, 1992). Without the aid of the Ismaili Council for British Columbia, a new recruiting method was necessary. Given my position as a member of the East African Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland, I was aware of a number of community events taking place during June 2005. I attended two major events[26] and distributed in excess of two hundred pamphlets delineating my research intentions. These pamphlets outlined some potential benefits of the research, criteria for eligible participants, and my senior supervisor's and my contact information (Appendix A). These community events were selected as the site of recruitment given that they attract and receive a large concentration of community members in the Lower Mainland (Talib, 2004).[27] In addition to these event-attending-participants, pamphlets were circulated to several Simon Fraser University (S.F.U.) and the University of British Columbia (U.B.C.) students. While a number of pamphlets were circulated in person, the details and criteria for eligibility were

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[26] The events that I attended include: 1) The annual World Partnership Walk held at Stanley Park in Vancouver, B.C; 2) An Ismaili festival held at the P.N.E. centre in Vancouver, B.C.
[27] These events attract in excess of five thousand Shia Ismaili Muslims (Talib, 2005).

also emailed to students attending these universities.[28] Given that S.F.U. and U.B.C. are the only two campuses that house Shia Ismaili religious institutions within the Lower Mainland, these university *Jamath Khanas* offered good opportunities for locating potential second generation interviewees.

Collecting Raw Data:
Focus Groups and Individual Interviews

Shortly after recruitment, focus groups were organized with thirty-eight East African Ismailis from the Lower Mainland. All focus group sessions were held at the British Columbia Institute of Technology (B.C.I.T) on July 17th 2005. Second generation members attended the morning session, followed by first generation participants in the afternoon. At the end of each focus group session, a small honorarium was awarded in appreciation of their time and efforts.[29] Further, the costs associated with participation were also recognized and each driver was reimbursed for parking costs at B.C.I.T.[30] Each participant was asked to participate further by being interviewed at a later date. To avoid pressuring participants, each individual was asked to indicate on their survey form whether or not they were willing to partake in an individual interview at a later time (Appendix B). In this way, voluntary informants were identified from the focus group sessions.

Given that individuals manage multiple responsibilities, participants were contacted three weeks in advance to confirm their participation. Further, a reminder-

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[28] A list of email addresses for students at both universities was provided by a member of the Simon Fraser University *Jamath Khana*. This member was responsible for organizing events, including daily prayer sessions, at the *Jamath Khana*.

[29] Participants were given a choice of three gift certificates worth twenty dollars: The Bay, Save-On-Foods, or The Gap.

[30] Drivers were reimbursed three dollars, the cost of parking at B.C.I.T.

phone-call was made to each participant on the weekend before the event. Attempts were also made to minimize the time necessary to attend and partake in the sessions, and focus groups were therefore limited to two-hours in length.

Apart from announcing my project to and establishing a rapport with participants, these focus groups were structured to enable me to gather preliminary information, salient themes, issues and/or concerns to be pursued in interviews. To ensure equality and comfort between participants, separate focus groups were conducted with first and second generation members (Refer to Table 1). Furthermore, focus groups were divided among men and women to minimize hierarchical relations and to ensure that participants' comfort to discuss issues was maintained (Refer to Table 1).

As such, four separate focus group sessions were organized (Refer to Table 1). In addition to myself and my senior supervisor, two Simon Fraser University master's graduates were employed to conduct these sessions and therefore constituted the focus group research team.[31] A semi-structured interview guide was used for all four focus group sessions (Appendix C). This semi-structured format provided some degree of predetermined order in tandem with some level of flexibility (Dunn, 2001). In particular, an overall structure in terms of what is to be

Table 1: Focus Group Participant Breakdown

	FIRST GENERATION	SECOND GENERATION
MALE	12	8
FEMALE	10	8

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[31] The focus group research team was comprised of Jennifer Hyndman, my senior supervisor and associate professor at Simon Fraser University; James McLean, sessional teacher at, and master's graduate from, Simon Fraser University; Rob Lidstone, master's graduate from Simon Fraser University; and myself.

discussed was established, while flexibility was permitted and tolerated in the way questions and issues were addressed by the research team. In this way, respondents were able to answer in their own terms and interviewers to pose questions in different ways in order to explore issues thoroughly as well as follow-up on issues that had not previously been anticipated (Babbie, 1992; Dunn, 2002; Valentine, 1997).

Although our method of recruiting yielded an extensive response from the community, our reliance on these methods limited our access to those Ismailis who are community-minded, that is to say active in Ismaili social and religious services. To diversify this obvious bias, efforts were made to expand our participant pool. Another call for participants was launched on August 19th 2005. The research team placed an advertisement within The Courier[32], which is distributed throughout the Lower Mainland, to attract both first and second generation members who do not attend community events and to recruit participants through a different medium.

Table 2: Response from Courier

We wanted to interview a diverse set of participants in order to resist generalizing East African Ismailis and their Canadian-born children as community-oriented.

Respondents	Accept/Reason	Reject/Reason
Respondent 1		Y/Born in India
Respondent 2	Y/Born in Uganda	
Respondent 3		Y/Born in Egypt
Respondent 4	Y/Canadian-born with parents born in Tanzania.	
Respondent 5		Y/Born in U.S.
TOTAL	3 Individuals	3 Individuals

The response from *The Courier* however was not as extensive as we anticipated. As Table 2 illustrates, out of the five people who responded to the advertisement only one individual and one family unit were eligible to

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[32] The Courier is an organization that distributes twelve different newspapers throughout the Lower Mainland. These community-based newspapers are free to homes. The advertisement that I placed in the Courier was under the Community Notice Board section of all twelve papers.

participate.[33] Further, a few people responded to the advertisement weeks after its release but we were unable to accommodate their participation at that time.[34] In hindsight, this method may have been more rewarding (in terms of the number of participant responses and participants accepted) if we had issued/released the advertisement a month in advance to allow for a greater delay between the date of release and the last day of enrollment. Further, placing the advertisement in several other newspapers may have yielded a better response; this was however not financially feasible for this study.

Although focus group interviews enable the researcher to build a rapport with and gather a wide variety of information from participants, depth and detail about the research topic can only be elicited from individual interviews (Babbie, 1992; Rubin, H & Rubin, I, 2005). Moreover, each individual interview is unique, "as researchers match their questions to what each interviewee knows and is willing to share" (Rubin, H & Rubin, I, 2005, p.4). Intimately listening to participants' life stories gives them the space to talk about their past and present experiences as well as future expectations. These stories and situations were at times painful subjects for participants to talk about, and survey methods for example would not succeed in giving respondents the opportunity and space to express these feelings verbally and with emotion. Employing semi-structured individual interviews as the primary research method therefore gave the research team a chance to raise some orientating questions as well as maintain a comfortable atmosphere and character of the interview in which "the narrator feels free to express [his or] her

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[33] It is important to note that several respondents had family units who were willing to participate. Having to reject three out of the five respondents therefore had a great effect on the success of this secondary recruiting method.

[34] The team decided to end the recruitment phase by 29th August. We tried to accommodate participant responses beyond this date but several participants requested to be interviewed towards the end of September and beyond. This was unfortunately unfeasible by the research team.

complex....experiences" (Ghorashi, 2005, p.367). The decision to conduct both focus group and individual interviews with East African Ismaili immigrants and their Canadian-born children is meant to enable me to enhance the broader themes and issues that transpire from the focus sessions with deeper information, about migration histories and expectations for second generation children, that may be gained from face-to-face interactions.

Table 3: Interview Participant Breakdown

Forty-seven semi-structured individual interviews (Refer to Table 3) were conducted with Ismailis in the Lower Mainland in August 2005 (Refer to Appendix D). The times and venues for interviews were contingent on the needs and preferences of each participant. The majority of interviews

	FIRST GENERATION	SECOND GENERATION
MALE	14	9
FEMALE	10	14

took place in peoples' homes, though a handful were conducted in parks, libraries, and universities. Interviews were conducted by the research team, and each was approximately one and half hours in length.

'Team Ismaili' is a four-person research team that emerged as a result of scholarly interest and personal networks. From the beginning, Jennifer Hyndman, my senior supervisor, and myself united to conduct the research for my master's study. Shortly after, James Mclean, a master's graduate and sessional instructor at Simon Fraser University and close friend, joined Jennifer and myself to form the first team

configuration. A few months later, Serin Houston, a master's student and instructor at the University of Washington, Seattle, teamed up. Jennifer, James, Serin and I joined forces to become 'Team Ismaili', a nickname we came up with for ourselves during the summer of 2005.

While focus group informants were also individually interviewed in many cases, the influence of the focus group experience on the interview and respondents' answers is unclear. Participants' exposure to focus group questions was one visible drawback of this method, and may have influenced the nature of interaction during personal interviews. Participants may also make more informed decisions when answering questions by knowing the collective responses of members in the group (Morgan, 1998). In this way, respondents may reflect on group members' answers to screen their responses during individual interviews, either amplifying or censoring certain responses (Carey, 1995). Although it is not possible to determine the extent of this noted 'focus group effect', the research team is aware of its potential impact.

A third methodological aspect was a content analysis of local and national print media related to Asian Ugandan migratory and (re)settlement processes, examining the coverage over a thirty-two year period.[35] The decision to conduct an analysis of Ismailis

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[35] I conducted advanced searches for articles related to the Asian Ugandan diaspora in Canadian print media using the same formulas for each year from 1972 to 2005. The words "Asian Ugandan(s)" was required to appear anywhere in the article, along with "Canada" and/or "Uganda." The databases employed for this study include: Academic Search Elite, Canadian Newsstand, Lexis Nexus, and the Globe & Mail. Within these four databases, articles were grouped according to local and national Canadian newsprint. Articles from the *Globe & Mail* were treated as Canadian national print media, while articles from provincial newspapers were treated as local print media. Utilizing multiple databases increased the potential for a broader scope of newspaper articles related to the Asian Ugandan diaspora in Canada. Sixty-three articles relating to the Asian Ugandan diaspora were retrieved in total, with twenty-seven coming from national print media and thirty-six from local print media.

from Uganda was contingent on its extensive coverage in both media sources.[36] This

content analysis provided further insight into the rationale for displacement, Canada's

selection criteria of Asian Ugandan immigrants, perceptions of revisiting East Africa, and

intergenerational relations among first and subsequent generation members. Juxtaposing

these documents with empirical evidence provided a comparative context among

individual stories and societal discourses of their (re)settlement, expanding my

understanding of these processes.

Ethics and Confidentiality

In agreement with S.F.U. policy, I submitted and received ethics approval prior to

conducting my fieldwork. At the outset of each interview[37], we asked participants to sign

a consent form underscoring their participation as voluntary (Refer to Appendix E). At

this stage, we stressed the voluntary nature of their involvement, and informed them that

they could choose to not answer any question(s) as well as withdraw their participation at

any time. Further, participants were reminded of the voluntary nature of their

participation, particularly when individuals appeared unsettled with any question(s).

Given that several participants stressed their concern for confidentiality and anonymity,

each interviewee's name is replaced with an assigned number and letter delineating their

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[36] Although an analysis of Ismailis from Tanzania and Kenya would have further augmented my
understanding of their experiences and processes of (re)settlement, coverage on these groups is limited and
difficult to obtain.
[37] Focus group participants signed their consent forms during the focus group sessions and were therefore
not asked to sign another consent form prior to individual interviews. Informants who did not participate in
the focus group interviews but took part in an individual interview were asked to sign a consent form
before being interviewed.

gender, generation, and household unit.[38] As such, their names do not appear on the transcripts. Pseudonyms are also used in the writing of this project. No identifying information or characteristics of participants (e.g. where a participant lives and the gender of his children) are revealed, thus ensuring anonymity. A list of names, addresses, and related codes (i.e. number and letter codes) of everyone interviewed is stored separately, as are the consent forms. These documents can be accessed by only my senior supervisor and myself. The steps taken to maintain confidentiality and anonymity were shared with participants. On occasion, participants expressed concern that their responses would become public within the Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland. In these cases, each member of the research team warranted their commitment to take the appropriate steps to maintain confidentiality during and following the research process. Before defending my thesis, I will be disseminating a summary of findings to each participant interviewed (Refer to Appendix F). As per my agreement with S.F.U. ethics policy, the list of names of participants will be destroyed upon completion of the M.A. degree.

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[38] A number ranging from 100-400 and a letter ranging from a-n was assigned to each interview. 100's refer to first generation males, 200's refer to first generation females, 300's refer to second generation males, and 400's refer to second generation females. Letters were assigned to those who belonged to a family unit (i.e. 2 or more people). For example, 201a would indicate a first generation female belonging to family unit a.

Interpreting the Data: Transcribing and Coding Data

Before each focus group and individual interview, permission to digitally record[39] conversations for transcription was sought, a request sanctioned by all participants. I transcribed[40] four focus group sessions and forty-seven individual interviews during the fall semester of 2005. Where phrases and sentences were not fully discernable in my first undertaking[41], several attempts were made to revisit those transcripts, reviewing them at different speeds, volumes, and pitches in an attempt to ensure errors and blanks (i.e. indiscernible phrases and sentences) in transcription were minimized. The research team also recorded notes about what was said and by whom, which enabled me to fill in these blanks.

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[39] Although digitally recording interviews and focus groups allowed me to transcribe and analyze discussions at a later time, they are not devoid of errors. Creating transcripts is arduous work. Utilizing a digital recorder in place of the conventional tape recorder did allow me to input and secure (i.e. save on hard drive and external drives) each interview into my laptop as well as manipulate interviews in terms of speed, volume, and pitch. However, "going from recording to typed version is easier if you use a transcribing device operated by a foot pedal so you can stop and start the recording while keeping both hands on the keyboard" (H, Rubin & I, Rubin, 2005, p.204), a device not available for the software utilized. Employing a digital recorder therefore meant that I had to start the recording from my laptop using the Voice Studio program, listen to a few words, stop the recording, switch screens to my Microsoft Word program, type what I remembered, switch back to Voice Studio, and repeat. This meant that my hands were never on the keyboard for more than a few seconds, as I had to switch from the mouse and keyboard to operate each program. This of course made a laborious process even more challenging, and it took me far longer to transcribe fifty-one interviews without the aid of such a device.

Another drawback of using digital recorders is that some information can be lost in the process. A few interviews were incomplete as they were missing the last ten or fifteen seconds of recording. For some inexplicable reason, when transcribing I noticed that the closing statements were missing from the interviews. Although these statements are not pivotal to the research process, in that they do not substantially alter the intended meanings, omitted information was a minor drawback of working with digital recorders.

[40] Transcripts were reviewed and salient themes were identified and used to code the information. Due to the quantity of information obtained, I elected to code the findings using Ethnograph v5.0 software. Ethnograph v5.0 is a qualitative research package distributed by Qualis Research Associates designed to facilitate the following processes: noticing interesting things within your data, marking those things with code words, and retrieving those things for further analysis. Though other coding software (e.g. Atlas.ti, NU*DIST) are equipped to perform similar tasks, I elected to use Ethnograph v5.0 because it is more practical (i.e. in terms of analytical clarity) and a more user-friendly software program.

[41] Parts of interviews were rendered inaudible by extraneous noises (e.g. phone calls, wind, vehicles), people speaking too softly or away from the digital recorder, and poor recording quality.

Given the factors outlined above, I found it difficult to produce a 'perfect transcript'. Another issue I grappled with during this process was whether or not to include all 'uhms' and 'ahs'. I was initially compelled to produce a 'perfect transcription', including every 'uhm' and 'ah', but I soon experienced transcriber fatigue. Instead, I decided to include only a "few to indicate the flavor" and not influence the interpretation (H, Rubin & I, Rubin, 2005, p.204). I also found it important to include "gestures of emphasis and puzzlement" (p.204), such as laughter for example, that might influence the interpretation. For interviews conducted by myself, remembering important non-verbal gestures, for example a thumbs up or nod of the head, were also important for me to include in the transcript; I could not incorporate such gestures for interviews conducted by other team members because there was no way for me to know what these gestures were.

Reflecting on My Position as Researcher

As a researcher, it is important to negotiate any complex issues about my positioning relative to the individuals I am studying. As Einagel (2002) notes, "researchers never enter 'the field' as neutral or impartial observers but arrive with extensive 'baggage'" (p.229). While researching East African Ismailis in the Lower Mainland, I frequently found myself in "in-between positions" (p.229). I use the following section of this chapter to expose and explore two aspects of this ambiguity; namely my position as stranger (i.e. researcher and 1.5 generation East African Ismaili) and subject (i.e. member of the East African Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland) in relation to my research participants. Drawing upon feminist conversations on research, I reflexively examine how my complex positionality contributed to, and at times

complicated, the process of research. It is my goal here to highlight how this in-betweeness intersected with issues of access to as well as trust and rapport with my research subjects, though in ways I can never fully discern.

I grew up as an immigrant child of Kenya, East Africa, who arrived with my parents and two elder siblings in Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1987. I spent the first seven years of my life in Kenya and the following nineteen in the Lower Mainland. I identify strongly as a member of the East African Ismaili Canadian community. Memories of my country of birth are murky at best. Given that I have never returned to Kenya since arriving in Vancouver, my connections to my country of birth emanate from the stories communicated by my parents, family, and fellow community members. Much of what my parents went through when resettling however is vivid to me; I have a good understanding of their resettlement experiences first-hand. My years spent in Kenya, although relatively short to those spent in Vancouver, mean that my upbringing is influenced by this relocation and both cultures, however in a much different way to that of the second generation. My diverse background, coupled with my graduate studies in human geography, provide the basis for my interest and experiences in this research project.

A central aspect of my work became acknowledging and understanding how I was a part of my own research, and negotiating the contributions and challenges that being an East African Ismaili, on the one hand, and an academic researcher, on the other, presented. Much of the literature on what is now known as the insider/outsider debate suggests that insiders and outsiders are viewed as bringing a unique vantage point that can yield both advantages and disadvantages to the research process (Beoku-Betts, 1994;

Bhopal, 2001; Delyser, 2001; Lomba De Andrade, 2000; Merriam et al., 2001; Platzer & James, 1996; Routledge, 2002; Wilkes, 1999). As Beoku-Betts (1994) suggests, a researcher with insider status is considered to bring "a special sensitivity and engagement in the research process because of the shared experience and understanding of rules of conduct and nuances of behaviour associated with that shared reality…[and is also less likely therefore] to generate distrust and hostility from research participants or exclusion of the researcher…[from accessing members of the community and] particular types of information" (p.416). On the other hand, this shared reality (i.e. insider status) can also present challenges with access, trust, and rapport. Much research also notes that an "outsider-within" (p.419) provides a unique position in which a researcher previously identified as an insider can "retain a critical perspective to understand aspects of behaviour not immediately obvious to the insider" (Beoku-Betts, 1994, p.419). Drawing on my own research experience, I will now consider how my connections by birth to, and social location within, the East African Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland, in which my fieldwork is being conducted, and my position on the margins impacted the research process in ways that I had never anticipated.

As I mentioned above, my interest in this project is in part due to my cultural connections to the research participants. Before embarking on my research, I envisioned that my shared identity would be an asset for gaining access to the Ismaili community. In many ways, my cultural affinity with the research subjects was key to the success of the recruiting phase. For instance, I knew of cultural events happening in the Lower Mainland and recruited subject participants accordingly. Though all of our informants spoke English fluently, I was also in some senses privileged by my ability to

communicate in the local languages (i.e. Gujarati and Kutchi), as well as my knowledge of 'proper' dialogue etiquette, which I feel aided me in approaching potential participants during these events. This was especially true for first generation Ismailis. For example, long before beginning the research I had made a conscious choice to greet potential first generation participants in a manner that they considered 'respectful'. I greeted several first generation Ismailis therefore with a 'traditional' and 'respectful' salutation, 'Ya-Ali-Madat' (translation: may the Imam Ali be with you). Giving elderly people (i.e. first generation), relative to myself, the respect routinely accorded to them by other Ismaili people younger to them in this way created an instant sense of mutual respect and "a sense of...belonging" (Bhopal, 2001, p.284) with the individuals I was recruiting. My initial introduction and interaction with first generation members had a salient impact on my success in establishing rapport with potential participants (Routledge, 2002).

Several individuals participated because they saw their involvement as a crucial part of my educational advancement. Education is an important theme for, and expectation of, many East African Ismailis, and several participants made comments such as 'it's my pleasure to help another Ismaili out', or 'you know I always tell my kids to do their master's and I think the whole family should help you'. My position as an Ismaili graduate student motivated the involvement of most participants. This became even more evident to me during my focus group session with first generation males, when one participant stated "it's nice to know that there's, there's, you're doing this and it's a something new, something no Ismaili has done...I am glad to help with this..." (First Generation Male Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.2). Expanding on Routledge's (2002) study on the performance of collaborative research in Goa, India, I became acutely aware

of the importance of my status as a university researcher, and I found it helpful to emphasize my university affiliation in conjunction with my racial and cultural heritage. Hence, I believe that both my status as an East African Ismaili and my position as a graduate student smoothed the way for conducting sensitive research, in terms of recruiting and building rapport, within a tight-knit community.

While my shared cultural status eased the recruitment process, it was also a source of some unexpected challenges. My conversation with one first generation female is a case in point. During our conversation, she told me that she had seen me at several religious functions and was interested in the project. She then paused, however, for what seemed like several minutes before stating that she would definitely like to participate and help me with the study because she 'feels responsible to help people in the community', but that she would like to, if possible, get back to me within the next few days. As this example points out, my insider cultural status impacted her decision to participate and, because of ethical considerations, I did not want to in any way obligate individuals to participate because it could imply coercion. In collaboration with my supervisor, we prevented predicaments such as these by providing a pamphlet to each individual that invited their participation, assured anonymity, and underscored our research goals and contact information. My response to the woman was to read over the pamphlet and contact my supervisor or myself if she had any questions or wanted to participate in the study, and that she was not *required* to participate. This alternative gave potential interviewees space to make an informed, uncoerced decision about their participation.

My access and immediate rapport was predicated on my cultural affiliation with my informants. Some participants however demonstrated overt sentiments of reluctance to reveal certain types of information because of their concerns about confidentiality and anonymity of their responses and identity. Though these concerns were largely mollified prior to interviews, a few participants were cautious about revealing 'too much' information. Zaver is a case in point. During an interview with Zaver, he was initially asked to identify how many children he had in tandem with his expectations for his child(ren). Zaver was quick to express his concerns about confidentiality, stating "that is personal now. People will know…." (112i, August 24th 2005, p.25). Zaver's excerpt portrays his overt reluctance to share information about his children because he believes that in doing so his and his children's identity would be exposed to other community members.[42] Whether Zaver was concerned about other participants reading this project and unmasking his identity, or uncertain about my efforts to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, I believe that my status as a cultural insider played a significant role in his qualms about responding to questions about his children, though I can never be sure.

With such a sensitive research topic, I entered the field with some trepidation about how people in the community would respond to my questions. I was uncertain about how open participants might be about their experiences and processes of migration and resettlement. I thought however that my East African Ismaili identity would ease this process, and reinforce the trusting rapport that was built between myself and my respondents during the recruitment phase. Further, I was aware that I had "insider knowledge about some of the forms that identity issues took in the community" (De

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[42] It is important to note that upon assuring anonymity and confidentiality Zaver did eventually talk openly about his children.

Andrade, 2000, p.274). I expected this knowledge would help me recognize some of the obstacles of this research that an outsider researcher might not see. In my research, the very things that helped me access and recruit participants (i.e. my cultural connection to participants) also problematized the research process in ways that I had not anticipated. This became increasingly apparent during the interview process. My identity as an Ismaili was acknowledged by several participants and had an unexpected impact on the way they responded to interview questions. The following excerpt from an interview with Farin provides a good example:

> **I: "Did you find that these were things that were being taught in *khana* as well and discussed in *khana*, so it was kind of...the other things were much more your parents?"**
>
> **P: "Well, these are the things that don't get taught in *khana, khana* is more of a religious place that has social aspects to it but these, like preaching like this don't happen um it's very like sayings that we have are very vague and it's very, like Arif would understand what I was saying um yeah so this kind of stuff isn't taught in *khana*, I think it's just the way that they were raised and they were brought up and in that type of community and I guess if you hangout with the wrong people here than that kind of leads them to think that you'll, you won't go to school and you won't get a good job and you'll become a bum on the street kind of deal" [403e, Second Generation Woman, August 22nd 2005, p.30].**

First, it is clear from this quote that Farin identifies me as an insider. This shared identity is grounded in an assumption that as Ismailis with parents from East Africa we share similar experiences and perspectives, and Farin assumes that I know about the role that *khana* plays in the life of an Ismaili. As such, she is responding to this interview question with an "assumed shared knowledge" (Delyser, 2001, p.3). At first, I was taken aback by these assumptions and my anxiety about participants' responses escalated, but I quickly realized that I need to make participants aware of my role as a researcher as well. Rather

than pretending that I did not know what participants were trying to say when they responded in these ways, I reminded participants that I am an academic researcher that requires their individual accounts in detail to accurately represent and document their lived histories and stories. Similar to what Delyser (2001) reports in her study on the Bodie community, this technique helped me obtain a deeper understanding of participants' experiences but "didn't erase all awkwardness" (p.3). I will revisit Farin's excerpt in the following section to illustrate the role of my team members.

During the research process, I became increasingly aware of another way in which I was very much an "outsider within" (p.419) or insider as outsider (Beoku-Betts, 1994). Although I carried insider status as a member of the Ismaili community in Canada, I became sensitive to my outsider position as a 1.5 generation East African Ismaili. Put another way, my study focuses on first (i.e. those born in East Africa who immigrated to Canada as adults) and second (i.e. those born in Canada with at least one parent born in East Africa) generation Ismailis, whereas I am positioned generationally in-between my informants (i.e. I am born in East Africa and immigrated to Canada as a child). A few of my participants utilized this in-between position of mine as a way to explain their experiences as very different from my own. For instance, Azra explains:

> P: "Um as far as my generation, I think that it, it's almost like a seesaw between um that world that my parents...like you can picture them in villages and get togethers...and having friends that are about the same age but came when they were fourteen from there [East Africa] and know, and speak the language, so your, your group of friends are a mixture of people that have been raised here"

> I: "And there?"

> P: "And there, especially I think even like Arif's generation, which is younger, well Arif actually came here but other kids that were

born here and who were born in 1980, all their friends have the same experience" [415, Second Generation Woman, August 22nd 2005, p.30].

What is most riveting from Azra's quote is her negotiating my foreign position as a 1.5 generation Ismaili to explain in detail and contextualize her lived experiences. I am indeed a part of the text and, in Azra's case, very different from second generation members of my study.

The Research Team: Becoming 'Team Ismaili'

In this section, I briefly discuss the benefits of 'Team Ismaili' to some of the issues outlined in this chapter. I explore the role of the team, highlighting both cultural insider and outsider team members from the group being studied, as well as their variations in research experience. My goal is to explore how our team configuration "broaden[ed] the available perspectives" in crafting the interview schedule (Thomas, Blacksmith & Reno, 2000, p.819) and maximized participants' responses. I aim to demonstrate the importance of 'Team Ismaili' to the research process, both before and during our exchanges with participants.[43] I conclude this section with some practical issues in our experiences as 'Team Ismaili'.

Some of what I have noted in this chapter suggests that participants were aware of my identity as a 1.5 generation East African Ismaili in Canada. While some used this identity to differentiate themselves from myself, and others to connect researcher with researched, examples presented in this chapter suggest that participants drew on this identity to contextualize their experiences as second generation Ismailis. In the same way,

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[43] This section is a prelude to a larger body of work that was conducted by the team in the summer of 2006. The team got together in April and wrote a paper which was presented at the 'Pacific Northwest Symposium: Geographical Perspectives on Race, Ethnicity and Immigration.' This symposium was held at the Department of Geography in U.B.C. on May 12th -- 13th, 2006.

I drew on my cultural knowledge of participants to conduct this research, in particular to formulate specific research questions. My relative novice status, in terms of formulating interview questions, however, became apparent during our first team gathering at Simon Fraser University. The meeting was designed to pool our resources as cultural insiders and outsiders to discuss and revise the interview questions. My team members were quick to point out that I had made an assumption about my participants' lived experiences. That is, I had initially asked the question '*How* many times have you visited East Africa since coming to Canada?' Because I was aware of several family members and Ismaili friends that had gone back to the region, I automatically assumed that participants had revisited. By framing the question with 'How' I assumed that all participants had revisited East Africa. With the influence of my cultural outsider team members, we revised the question devoid of assumptions, asking '*Have* you visited East Africa since coming to Canada?' It is clear from this rather simple example that my connection to, and cultural knowledge of, my informants influenced the way in which I framed my questions. With the aid of a cultural insider/outsider research team, our interaction created what Burtunek & Louise (1996) describe as "a kind of marginal lens through which to examine subject matter" (p.61). "Crossing experientially and cognitively different standpoints…[created] this lens" (Merriam et al., 2001, p.410), which enabled me to be more critical about my position as a rather novice researcher studying my own community.

As I have previously indicated, to elicit a deeper understanding of participants' experiences, my status as a researcher was brought to the forefront. With the aid of a cross-cultural team, I quickly learned to also draw on my team members to elicit fuller explanations than would have been given to me, the insider, "who was assumed to

'already know'" (Merriam et al., 2001, p.410). At these junctures, I would point out that I was familiar with participants' experiences but they had to further explain their answers so that my team members, cultural outsiders, could better understand their accounts. The team was therefore an invaluable tool, for myself, in assisting this process.

At this stage, I would like to return to Farin's excerpt outlined in the preceding section. I chose to include her passage as it clearly depicts the impact of my identity on the research process, in tandem with the role of my team members. As I have previously suggested, Farin acknowledges me as an 'insider' and answers the question with an assumed shared knowledge. However, upon assuming shared knowledge with me, Farin went on to provide a deeper understanding of her accounts without being probed. I believe that this was, in part, due to the identity of the interviewer; Serin interviewed Farin and because of the interviewer's identity as a cultural outsider, Farin did not automatically assume that the interviewer has knowledge about the role of *khana* in the life of an Ismaili. Hence, both the presence and recognition of cultural outsider team members harvested fuller explanations of participants' accounts. This is not to say that cultural outsiders can generally elicit deeper accounts than insiders and are not vulnerable to the 'short version'. Rather, during these junctures in our study the presence and recognition of cultural outsiders became an asset with regard to eliciting fuller explanations without scepticism. As is noted in Merriam et al.'s (2001) study, an insider's efforts to elicit for fuller explanations "was met with a look of disbelief and the comment, 'Why do you ask this? You should know!'" (p.410) because these questions seemed 'obvious' or "ludicrous" (p.410) to participants. A cross-cultural research team was therefore invaluable in eliciting deeper and fuller accounts without suspect.

The benefits of our cross-cultural research team became even more apparent when functioning as an insider/outsider interview team. Though joint interviews were not often performed, I draw this conclusion from our collaborative (i.e. Serin and myself) interview with one second generation male informant (Armaan, August 5th 2005). With regard to obtaining fuller explanations, our cultural insider/outsider pairing made this process genuine and effortless. In other words, I did not have to introduce my team members as cultural outsiders and therefore explain my reasons for a more thorough response. Rather, both members (i.e. insider and outsider) were present during the interview process causing the informant to naturally script his responses towards those he perceived as 'cultural natives' and those he viewed as 'cultural foreigners'. Functioning as partners in inquiry (i.e. in separate and joint interview settings) therefore alleviated much of the difficulties and complexities in research in relation to eliciting fuller participant narratives than a lone researcher may easily achieve.

To say that I am an insider raises the question of 'What is it that I am an insider of?' Within this chapter, I have explored the ways in which I am culturally connected, and my team members culturally separated, from the research subjects. It is important to remember however that all team members are insiders and outsiders of a certain kind (Merriam et al., 2001; Routledge, 2002). For example, Jennifer and Serin were perhaps insiders with female participants because they shared gender affinity; it is difficult to know if female participants would have told James or myself (i.e. male interviewers) about sensitive issues to the same extent. The same can be said about James and myself and our gender affinity to male participants. Drawing on our collaborative interview with

Laila, it becomes clear how Serin and I were insiders and outsiders to the research

participant on many different levels and at different times (Merriam et al., 2001):

> Serin: "Yeah, I love Bollywood movies, I think they're fabulous. Yeah."
>
> P: "So do you like *Saris* and everything?"
>
> Serin: "Oh I have one."
>
> P: "Really?"
>
> Serin: "Yeah, I've been to an Indian wedding. Yeah, I lived in India for a while too."
>
> P: "Oh you live in India too?"
>
> Serin: "Yeah…"
>
> P: "Yeah."
>
> Arif: "Serin's also been to Africa, right?"
>
> Serin: "Yeah, I've also been to Kenya."
>
> P: "Kenya, Nairobi?"
>
> Serin: "Yeah, and all around the rift valley and Masai Mara…the first Ismaili family that I knew was in Kenya."
>
> P: "Oh okay."
>
> Serin: "Yeah. Yeah."
>
> P: "You better get married to Ismaili."
>
> Serin: "Yeah, I know. (laughs) And then I can go to more weddings and (laughs) really, right?"
>
> P: "I'm preparing *Saris* because I'm going end of the month, right? My uncle's son is getting married"
>
> Serin: "Wow" [206, First Generation Woman, August 17th 2005, p.43].

Two aspects of this excerpt clearly indicate how Serin was connected to, and how I was detached from, the research participant. Firstly, during Laila's discussion on marital expectations for her daughters, she begins to talk about 'proper' Ismaili wedding attire and situates her discussion towards Serin by asking her if she likes *saris* (i.e. *saris* are the traditional attire for females during weddings and other Ismaili religious occasions). It became clear to me that as a female researcher, Serin was positioned as an insider during Laila's discussion on appropriate formal female wedding attire. As such, it is difficult to know if Laila would have raised this issue, or discussed it in such detail, if I was the lone interviewer. Secondly, though I am connected to East African Ismailis by birth, in that I was born in East Africa, Serin certainly could relate better to Laila's association with East Africa because she has recently spent a significant amount of time in Nairobi, Kenya, whereas I have never returned to my birth place.

Rewinding to Laila's discussion on her family members' migration to Canada, it is clear how she now considers me as the insider:

> **Arif: "So one moved because her husband moved there in England and couldn't get the papers to come down here"**
>
> **P: "Yeah"**
>
> **Serin: "and the other one moved because she found a job or?"**
>
> **P: "No, uh what happened that uh…his name is…I don't know if you know him Arif?"**
>
> **Arif: "No." [206g, First Generation Woman, August 17th 2005, p.35].**

My cultural connection to, and social location within, the Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland clearly causes Laila to feel connected to me during this portion of her interview. A researcher's position is thus determined by where he/she stands in relation to

the research subject. Furthermore, these "positions can shift: The loci along which we are aligned with or set apart from those whom we study are multiple and in flux" (Merriam et al., 2001, p.411). Features such as gender, education, or simply experiencing life in the same country or region, just to name a few, may at different times overshadow the cultural identity that is so often associated with insider or outsider status.

Team Building: Some Practical Issues for 'Team Ismaili'

In working together as 'Team Ismaili', it became important to recognize the potential intricacies of our team and the need for continued team building (Thomas et al., 2000). In our group, members emphasized the potential for individualistic and collective expectations. Therefore, there was a need to respond to these aspirations. In response, much discussion in our first group meeting went to establishing an agreed upon publication arrangement. The group clearly recognized that each member had "an individual identity and career that would be judged on its own" (Bantz, 2003, p.9), but that we agreed to elicit and build an archive of information collectively, and "that each person was an equal member…[in that] every person would be involved in decision-making" (Mountz et al., 2003, p.32). A collective decision was reached that all members had access to this archive and could produce individual or collective papers following the completion of my master's study. While acknowledging and accepting variability in team members' individual goals was delicate and sensitive at times, it was essential to expose and resolve these issues at the outset in order for the team to accomplish its task. The tactic here was to build "social cohesion and a common group goal that met individual needs" (Bantz, 2003, p.9).

Interviews with participants were scheduled throughout August 2005, and it became important to coordinate frequent team meetings during the research process. Though these meetings were often wide-ranging in their discussions, I would like to focus on a particular item of discussion; that is, the scheduling of interviews. Weekly meetings were organized and designed to review the interviews for the following week and assign interviewers to particular informants. Two factors complicated this process. Firstly, geography had an impact on our project. Interviewees were not limited to any particular city, while three of our team members lived in Vancouver and one lived in Coquitlam; participants were interviewed from North Vancouver, Vancouver, Burnaby, Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, Delta, and Richmond (see Figure 2). It became increasingly important therefore to consider the geography of participants and researchers when scheduling interviews, though this was not always possible. Working together

FIGURE 2: Map of the location of participants interviewed in the Lower Mainland and the number of people in each location
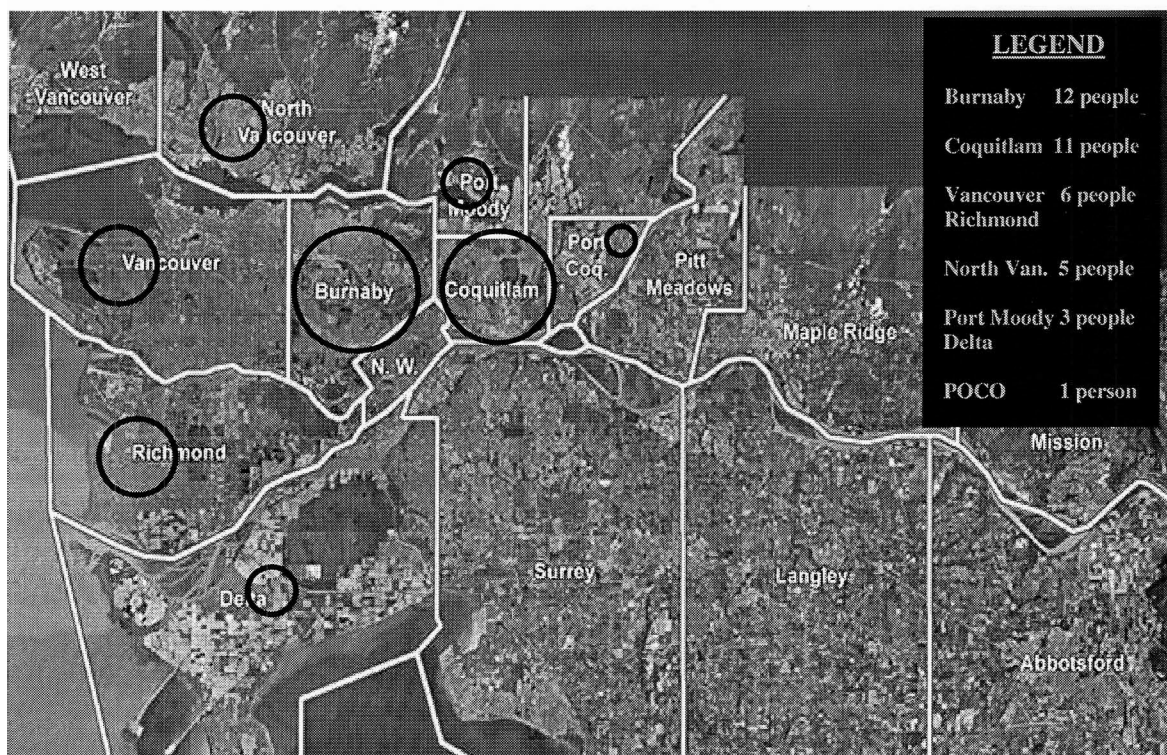
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therefore required flexibility so that all participants could be interviewed at their convenience, and these weekly meetings alleviated many of the problems research teams face with scheduling interviews among team members. Secondly, it is important to acknowledge that team members also balance multiple responsibilities and to "quickly recognize such differences and integrate that recognition into the group process" (Bantz, 1993, p.13). Our weekly meetings were a useful tactic in discussing each member's weekly work calendar, commitments for the following week(s). Further, we started the research process with a discussion of the calendar – any holidays or social events that were pre-planned for example – in order to prevent any unnecessary complications. In so doing, resolutions were agreed upon well before the calendar day in question. Given the fundamental importance of a productive and committed team to the research process, weekly meetings were a necessary and salient component of our experiences as 'Team Ismaili'.

Household Research

Throughout the research process, thirteen family units were interviewed by the team. These household interviews were at times conducted simultaneously, with each participant interviewed individually. When interviews were structured in this way, several inconsistencies in perceptions and stories between family members surfaced. The interviews with household F provide a good illustration of these diverging stories.[44] In particular, when interviewees from this family were asked about their thoughts on dating and marriage for second generation children, they all presented very different stories and

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[44] Though these excerpts from family F do not speak to migration histories and the educational upbringing of second generation children, they present a potent example of the potential benefits of household research.

viewpoints. Firstly, Aleesha, a second generation woman, says that dating non-Ismaili

men was prohibited for her sister and herself:

> **We weren't allowed to date. We are still not allowed to date….[Laughs] What I mean is, I went out with someone last time…and…my father didn't speak to me for two days. So, if you want to date, you have to do it away from home….Or it has to be someone Ismaili that they [parents] know here….So, they have to, you know, investigate the family and my dad used to sit up all night and wait for me [404f, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, p.22].**

Aleesha goes on to comment on her engagement:

> **…I was engaged…and…I came back to an empty house, no furniture, no clothes, uh, no car…nothing. He [fiancé] had you know…identity theft…taken my identity….It was so humiliating…that I just said I'm leaving [my parents home]. I left my car…gave the keys to a friend and got on a plane. [I] called my parents from Amsterdam and said, I'm not coming back because this happened…and they [parents] stopped talking to me….They didn't speak to me for about six months…[404f, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, p.14].**

It is clear from Aleesha's comments that dating was a very sensitive topic in her

household, and that she was restricted to date only Ismaili men that were well-known to

her parents. What is more, Aleesha says that her sudden separation with her fiancé was

very humiliating for her parents and herself, and that her breakup had a lasting effect on

her relationship with her parents.

When asked about their thoughts on their children's marriage, Amina and Abdul,

Aleesha's mother and father, have a very different interpretation of their expectations for

their daughters. Amina says that she always tells her daughters that:

> **if you…don't find an Ismaili that is okay because I don't want you to find somebody who is not right for you. I want you to find someone who respects you, cares for you, and that you respect and care for…have a happier relationship…[205f, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, p.24].**

Abdul comments:

> ...they could make the decision otherwise...to marry a non-
> Ismaili...but then in making the decision what are we having? Uh,
> we are having a very...fragmented family...What will happen to
> the children?...[108f, Second Generation Man, August 16th 2005,
> p.30].

In addition to saying that their children have the space to date and marry non-Ismaili

men, Amina and Abdul do not even allude to Aleesha's engagement. These silences in

their stories, as well as the diversity in family members' narratives, were quickly detected

and uncovered by the research team during our post-interview discussions, as this de-

brief indicates:

> Arif: ...her [Aleesha's] parents didn't talk to her for six months
> after her engagement broke because it was a huge
> embarrassment...for them...it caused a huge rift in the family....
>
> James: Okay, did you get any of this Serin? Because I got none of
> that.
>
> Serin: No...
>
> James: And when I asked him [Abdul] about marriage and dating
> and the expectations of Ismaili, non-Ismaili, like he didn't even
> bring that up! Why...not bring that up?
>
> Arif: Yeah. I don't know. When it came to dating and
> marriage...she's still not allowed to date...
>
> James: That's not what he said.
>
> Arif: ...she's never been allowed to date, and whenever she did date
> she had to do it behind their back...
>
> James: Oh my gosh!
>
> Arif: ...and in terms of marrying a non-Ismaili, it was a
> humongous issue...[her] dad's like no way!

James: Well then he's [dad] flat-out lying to me because he said...whatever makes them [children] happy [Post-Interview Dialogue, August 16th 2005].

In the post-interview dialogues we often came across these distinct narratives between household members, and quickly established that simultaneously interviewing each family member may elucidate stories and viewpoints that might otherwise be missed. In particular, separately interviewing family members simultaneously gave participants the privacy and space to express accounts in their own terms. That is to say, structuring interviews in this way ensured that participant responses would not be influenced and censored by family members present or by post-interview family discussions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined my methodological framework and charted the steps taken to access, recruit, and interview subject participants. I placed particular attention on my position as a researcher. I argue that my shared racial and cultural background with my participants proved instrumental in awarding access to research participants and in minimizing the social gap between researcher and researched at a vital part of the research process. However, my identity as an East African-born Ismaili (i.e. 1.5 generation) and as an academic researcher often operated independently and in conjunction with this shared identity to facilitate and complicate the research process. I frequently found my research participants, and myself, using these multiple identities in different and unexpected ways during the research process, which highlights the fluid and political nature of these identities and our social interactions. I subsequently introduced 'Team Ismaili' and pointed out how our team configuration provided a unique lens with which to critically study East African Ismaili immigrants. Though this team configuration

did require a considerable amount of time and effort, I believe that the wealth of our

research findings is in part attributable to our cultural insider/outsider research team. As a

novice researcher, my experiences in the field turned into a very personal journey of

reflection and analysis, which has enriched my understanding of the intricacies in

conducting research in one's own community and in performing fieldwork as a team.

CHAPTER 3
INTERGENERATIONAL
PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION
FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION ISMAILIS

In this chapter, I consider whether East African Ismaili parents' migration

histories condition first and second generation perceptions of educational attainment. The

intention here is to first elucidate how parents stress upon their Canadian-born children

the importance of education. I then press forward and pay significant attention to how

immigrant Ismaili parents and Canadian-born Ismaili children perceive and negotiate first

generation immigrants' migration histories vis-à-vis the educational attainments of the

second generation. More specifically, I show that there are multiple ways that migration

histories become employed as motivators for educational attainment between generations.

I also illustrate that 'educational attainment' is fraught and has much variance between

Ismaili parents and Canadian-born Ismaili children. I illuminate first and second

generation perspectives of education revealing points of connection as well as points of

divergence across generations. In light of these parallel and disparate narratives on

education between first and second generation Ismailis I provide evidence for my most

substantive argument in this chapter, that there are benefits to a multigenerational

approach in second generation research.

Stressing the Importance of Education

All first and second generation Ismailis interviewed overwhelmingly express that

migration histories emerge in interactions between immigrant parents and their Canadian-

born children. Nashir, a first generation man, says:

> **[My children] know that we came through an exodus and we were
> thrown out of the country….In the back of their heads they're very
> much aware of all that….From their perspective of
> westernization…[they] cannot relate to the fact that we did go
> through this but at the same time she [the daughter] knows where
> we were and the stories have been told of how we came to
> Canada…stories of survival. The foundation of survival is built
> around those stories and….I think their survival and our goal…[for
> our children] is built around that…My older one, she did her
> Kines. [i.e. Kinesiology] degree at S.F.U. [Simon Fraser University],
> then went to U.B.C. [University of British Columbia], and now
> she's working as a therapist. So, now she has…shown that she has
> achieved. Now I can say she's done [104c, First Generation Man,
> August 9th 2005, pp.46-47]!**

Nashir indicates that his children have not lived through his and his wife's migration

experiences. His children are Canadian-born and can only connect and relate to their

parents migration from East Africa through the stories conveyed to them throughout their

lives, a finding consistent with second generation Filipino-Canadian youths (Pratt, 2002).

For Nashir, these migration stories of survival surface particularly in his educational

expectations and goals for his children.

For Arisa, a second generation woman, her parents' migration histories also

surface when education is being emphasized:

I: ....When you were saying it is [education] drilled into you since you were little, how did [your parents]...impress upon you that this [education] is a very important aspect of life?

P: Well, like you hear stories....They explain to you that you know...we came here [to Canada] for you...to get a better education, so take advantage of it because...in other parts of the world it's, um education, a privilege and...[so] you should take advantage of the fact that you...have it so easily....[413, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, pp.5-6].

Similarly, Galib, a second generation man, points out:

P: I think education was a good...push. It...[had] a lot to do with their migration background...because they had to work so hard to get an education....My dad was always telling stories about how...he was working two jobs and he would be dishwashing till five in the morning....

I: When did those stories come up?

P: Um anytime that we'd be bitching about going to school or didn't want to go to school or missed a lecture....[305m, Second Generation Man, August 28th 2005, p.13].

It is clear from Arisa's and Galib's passages that some second generation children agree

with first generation Ismailis in terms of where parents' migration histories surface within

intergenerational Ismaili interactions. They both suggest that migration struggles are

recalled when their parents want to stress upon them the importance of education.

Although Arisa and Galib illustrate that they perceive their parents' experiences as

wrought with hardship, Nashir explains that such tales are only partial:

P: ...You know... my wife and her family they were not well off, they had to work really hard. I was provided [with] everything...[from my] family. [There is a] big difference ...They lived in...an apartment and uh so everybody had to work, there was no choice....When she moved to Canada, she started to take on her own life, she had to support her own life....

I: How...do you think your...two very different backgrounds, in terms of growing up and [migration] experiences you had,...play out in terms of raising your own kids and the expectations you have for them?

P: ...She would bring a new...[and] different viewpoint from her upbringing than I was bringing from my upbringing. My upbringing had two...sides. One was [that] I was living by myself, I had nothing....I was working, so I was at her level at that time....But when I was in Uganda I...had everything I wanted....With my children, we...tend to speak with them in...a level of her side, her growing up and her being able to come here [to Canada] by herself and with me having to survive...[as well]....[We] try...to relate them to that, [our] survival....

I: So...you and your wife focused on that narrative about having and struggling and sort of surviving....What about that other narrative of...you...[growing] up just [with everything given to you]....Do they know about that aspect of your life story...?

P: I don't go past my [Laughs]...survival....They know that we came through an exodus and we were thrown out of the country and that we begin to live [again]...[104c, First Generation Man, August 9th 2005, pp.45, 46, 50].

In this example, Nashir suggests that sharing these migration stories with his children is more of a planned parenting tactic. He clearly indicates that his wife and he not only make a conscious decision to share these migration stories with their children, but that they select specific pieces of their personal geographies to pass on to their Canadian-born children. That is, though Nashir has experienced a privileged life in Uganda, he elects to withhold these narratives of prosperity and share only stories of deprivation and fortitude. The following section will further probe this idea of the scripting of histories. Namely, it will illustrate how Ismaili parents employ particular parts of their personal histories to encourage their children's educational attainments, in tandem with how second

generation children reference these very histories as motivators for their educational

advancement.

Employing Migration Histories as Motivators for Educational Attainment

While both generations suggest that these migration histories are passed on

through stories that predominantly emerge when parents are trying to impress upon their

Canadian-born children the importance of education, they understand and negotiate these

histories and stories very differently. This first generation woman indicates that she

employs her migration stories to motivate her child in relation to education:

> **.... education was the number one priority....[I want to] make sure
> they get nothing but the best...and what I kept drumming into
> them is that...[even though we lost] our personal possessions,
> money, wealth, whatever... education [is something
> that]...somebody can never take...away from them [First
> Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.13].**

In this example, the hardship of losing material possessions and wealth upon departure

from East Africa is used to characterize and prioritize education as a trait or identity that

cannot be taken away. In this way, education carries with it a sense of security and

protection; this first generation interviewee frames education as a source of security for

her Canadian-born children.

When asked about his experiences in finding a job upon arrival in the Lower

Mainland, Shiraz, a first generation man, also reveals how he prioritizes education with

stories about his migration:

> **P: "It was quite difficult because I think at that time [period of
> arrival in Vancouver] there was um a shift...a lot of the employers
> were looking for university education."**

I: "Really. And...so do you share your stories in terms of you know your difficulties finding employment here in Canada?...."

P: "Yeah...primarily...to motivate them to um do well in school...So, I used my example to try and move them ahead" [103b, First Generation Man, August 8th 2005, pp. 9 &15].

Shiraz strategically uses his experiences of being uneducated and therefore economically downwardly mobile upon arrival in the Lower Mainland to motivate his children to educate themselves and avoid enduring his difficulties in finding employment. Education, for Shiraz, provides a pathway to better job security.

For Arianna, a second generation woman, her parents' stories of losing their material possessions in migration translates into a very different understanding of the importance of education for her and her brother:

> ...One thing that my brother talks about a lot...[is] that...because my parents talk about how they started out with nothing [in Canada] he wants to completely...take...our family to a different level. Like he just wants to...avenge their situation....My brother feels like because my parents...[had] such a struggle he has to work extra hard [in school] so that the rest of their life is just completely relaxed. And I feel that [way] too...[411, Second Generation Woman, August 10th 2005, 27]!

For this second generation woman and her brother, parents' stories of their first years of survival in Canada engenders a feeling of responsibility to pursue education and excel academically so as to "avenge" their parents downward economic mobility. In this way, education is conceived as a tool through which second generation Ismailis can mend the migration struggles and hardships endured by their parents, in relation to losing and having to re-establish financial wealth after arrival in Canada.

The importance of education is conveyed and prioritized to the second generation through parents' narratives of their migration hardships from East Africa ('there') to

Canada ('here'), including both processes of departure and processes of arrival. Asif

expresses that narratives of opportunities, or lack there of, to obtain an education in East

Africa are also used to motivate his children to adhere to a path towards educational

excellence:

> **Our children would have never got the kind of education [in East Africa] which they have today, never!...I don't know what would have happened but they would have never got the kind of education they have here, and that is where I used to give them motivation. That look, you are in a land of opportunity. There we were given no opportunity....[To] tell....you the truth, being refugees is [a] blessing in disguise, absolutely, a hundred percent [111, First Generation Man, August 18th 2005, p.32]!**

Asif is reinforcing the significance of education through a different narrative of 'here and

there', Canada/here as "a land of opportunity" and East Africa/there as a land lacking in

opportunities. This geographical narrative is used by Asif to motivate his children to take

advantage of the educational opportunities in Canada.

Aman, a second generation man, paints a very different picture:

> **....I think in both their cases they always thought [about moving to Canada]...for their kids to have a better life and that was always the focus...that as long as our kids are going to have a better life, this is all for you kind of thing....So, you grow up thinking there's no pressure [Laughs], there's a lot of pressure....It's always in the back of your mind that...this is all for you, whatever is in this country is yours for the taking....And I think it's something that we've grown up with, my brother and I, because living in Canada offers so many opportunities and that's always in the back of your mind....This [awareness comes from] home, [my parents] saying that go and take advantage of what's out there...whereas...when both my parents were growing up it [educational opportunities] didn't exist....[304h, Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005, p.8].**

For Aman, his parents telling him about their motivation to migrate from East Africa to Canada makes him feel pressured to excel academically. Similarly, during our focus groups with second generation Ismailis, these two men explain:

> **Person 5: I think our parents know we can get a certain level of education here [in Canada] and they...want us to take advantage of that. Maybe we would not have the same opportunity back home....**
>
> **Person 2: Yeah...I think the reason why they moved out here was so that we have the opportunities [that they didn't have in East Africa]....If we don't take advantage of it then what was their point of coming here?...[Second Generation Male Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.2].**

For these second generation Ismailis, becoming aware of their parents decision to move to Canada through these narratives of 'here and there' compels them to capitalize on the educational opportunities that are available and accessible in Canada. Put another way, second generation Ismailis in this study reference their parents' migration histories as a rationale for why they have to realize their educational attainments. According to this generation of Ismailis then, these 'here and there' narratives embody geographical dichotomies that do more than just motivate them to pursue education; they conjure up feelings of obligation and responsibility to reward their immigrant parents with their educational achievements.

Intergenerational Perspectives on Education: Markers of Educational Attainment

In the preceding section, I show that both generations agree that parents' migration histories surface as stories that are communicated particularly in intergenerational conversations around educational expectations and attainment. I subsequently illustrate that there are, however, salient disparities in the way first and

second generation Ismailis understand and employ these stories as motivators for educational attainment. What are these educational expectations according to first and second generation members of my study? Abdul, a first generation man, hopes that his children will experience upward economic mobility and therefore avoid the economic hardships that he endured:

> **[I would hope that my children will experience] economic mobility. And how does the economic mobility come about? It comes about through education. So,…what do you have in education? I think basically the expectation is…[to] have a basic degree….Once you have that basic degree…you can go into various professions … [because] there is a paper on hand…[108f, First Generation Man, August 16th 2005, p.24].**

Education is about more flexibility and opportunity (mobility) in employment (cf. Boyd and Greico, 1998). In this way, Abdul sees a basic degree as a requirement for his children to have better economic outcomes than his experience as an immigrant. During our focus groups with second generation Ismailis, one man commented:

> **I think…my parents…were closed minded that the only post-secondary [option] is university and if you go to colleges it would be like…oh what's going on here?…I think…[in] my situation my dad wasn't very open minded for me to go to college. I went to Douglas College and then did a two-year transfer to university…and he was still not okay with it the first year and then uh slowly [he began] understanding…[because] I got my first degree and that was most important to him…[Second Generation Male Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.8].**

In addition to stressing the importance of a degree for his father, this second generation male participant makes a clear distinction between a college and university education. Nadia, a second generation woman, also expresses her parents' preference for a university institution:

> **[T]hey weren't really open, my dad wasn't open to me…going to a college…[because] like all around you there's just that**

> social...pressure....Here [in Canada] there's a clear distinction
> between college and university and usually you go to college if you
> can't get into university....So, it's sort of like people I guess around
> you, just [this] social pressure...[406j, Second Generation Woman,
> August 22nd 2005, p.19].

Universities signify higher standards and a sense of success. Consequently, Nadia says

that her educational success, for her father and people associated with her father, is in

part evaluated and determined by her university attendance.

Amina, a first generation female, elucidates her educational expectations

for her children:

> ....I did have in my mind that my kids should go to the university to
> have a degree and, um, I think I kept that quite strong and related
> them to it many...times when they were growing up that that was
> my goal...[205f, First Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, p.20].

For Amina, educational expectations for her children are also to attend a university and to

obtain a degree from that institution. Similarly, Tazim suggests that university is her

ultimate goal for her children:

> ....I...really feel bad that [I didn't]...go further, you know we just
> have college educations and I really would like my kids to have the
> best of the best...as far as studying. You know it doesn't matter
> what they do...[I just want to] give them...[a] university
> education....The younger one will probably not end up at
> university. He'll probably end...up [going to] BCIT [British
> Columbia Institute of Technology] or something like that, so be it!
> It took me a long time to accept the fact that he's not university
> material...[201b, First Generation Woman, August 8th 2005, p.21-
> 22].

Finding it difficult to cope with and adjust to the fact that her youngest son is "not

university material" speaks to the importance of a university education for Tazim.

Compared to second generation Ismailis though, Tazim has a very different

understanding of why her children should attend a university institution. This goal has much to do with her feelings about her own academic achievements.

Asif conveys that his expectations for his children do not entail specific fields of study or career paths:

> [My children's] career, I left it to them....[I told my children] do whatever you think is right but make sure that that line you [choose] you should be the best...[111, First Generation Man, August 18th 2005, p.32].

While several first generation Ismailis indicate that their children have the space and freedom to pursue any field of study offered in a university institution, several second generation Ismailis reveal a very different scenario. Arianna, a second generation woman, is a case in point:

> ...I understand that [for my parents] a bachelors of science [is important] for me [to get]...so what I did was I found a program that is...integrated, so I'm doing an arts and science program....[It's called] Cognitive Systems at U.B.C. and it's a computer science, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, and then you do your biology and your science components. So [I] was able to keep my parents happy with a bachelors of science...[411, Second Generation Woman, August 10th 2005, 27].

Arianna suggests that her parents prefer a degree in a science field. Arianna responds to her parents' expectations by finding a degree program that will give her a joint science and arts major. In this way, she can fulfill both her parents' expectations for a science degree and her own aspirations for a degree in arts. Omar, a second generation man, echoes this sentiment:

> [When I enrolled in] Psychology [my parents said] what are you talking about?....They never realized that there are other options...rather than just a doctor...or accountant....Even though they're [professions other than a doctor or accountant] not stable or well paying jobs...I think our generation is not just about how

much you get paid, it's about whether you like your job....To them it was a lot more about how much you get paid...because they struggled for every buck they made [in Canada]...and we've never had to do that....Hence...we feel that it's not just always about money, it's about, um, life satisfaction and job satisfaction...[302h, Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005, p.18].

Omar suggests that the importance placed on financial returns has much to do with his parents' migration hardships and that it is difficult for him, a Canadian-born Ismaili, to identify with his immigrant parents line of thinking. Nadeen, a second generation woman, also discusses why her parents are uncomfortable with her chosen field of study:

...[T]hey want me to be comfortable and you know like have a good income, you know not worry about money....[A]nd as far as Communications goes, it's sort of like a toss up....Like they don't know what the income...[will] be...in that position....So, it's...more that it's foreign to them and because of that they're not comfortable with it....Whereas like engineering...law, um medicine...pharmacy, like all [those professions are]...the norm....Like they go to doctors...they know all [those professions]...[401a, Second Generation Woman, August 2nd 2005, p.19].

Nadeen suggests that Communications, her chosen field of study, is an unfamiliar field for her parents, in that they are unaware of the remunerations associated with this field. Her parents would rather have her enrol in fields such as medicine, law, or engineering, fields that they are financially comfortable with and frequently come across in their daily life. Arisa's parents also stress the field of medicine because of its reputation for well-paying professions:

P...[T]hey'll always be like become a doctor....something that's like reputable....

I: What would be something that...would be deemed not quite reputable?

P: ...I guess it's like if you become something that didn't need a lot of schooling it wouldn't be that reputable. Like they just want us to

be...financially stable...[413, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005, p.6-7].

In this example, Arisa makes a connection between the duration of schooling and financial stability. She suggests that, for her parents, the more time one spends in school the better their financial stability. In this way, becoming a doctor, for example, is recognized as a 'reputable profession' because it entails extensive schooling and therefore financial security.

Navroza, a second generation woman, expands on this definition of 'reputable':

> ....When I had first announced that I wanted to become a Psychologist they were a little bit surprised or...insecure with my choice...because it's not a typical Ismaili profession....You know...there's the doctor which is kind of the parents...goal for their children...and if not a doctor...then a lawyer...an engineer...something that's recognized because those were the types of professions they had back home [in East Africa]....There was no such thing as [a] Psychologist there....Yeah it was definitely different from the norm... [408n, Second Generation Woman, August 8th 2005, pp.27-28].

With Navroza forging new ground for Ismaili professions, she suggests that her decision to pursue Psychology is met with some resistance and dismay from her parents because Psychology is not a well-recognized profession within the East African Ismaili community. For this Canadian-born Ismaili, East African Ismaili parents' educational expectations for 'reputable professions' are conditioned by how common or established those professions are in East Africa.

Educational Expectations and Gender Distinctions

> [My daughter]...doesn't have a boyfriend so I always tell her, I think...now it's high time that you find a boyfriend....[My son] always says why do you tell her to find a boyfriend and you're not telling me to find a girlfriend? [Laughs]....So, I said to him, I said you're only twenty....you haven't even got your first degree yet.

Get me a first degree...then we'll talk [209k, First Generation Woman, August 25th 2005, p.41].

Evident in Zahida's statement is a notion of identical educational expectations for both male and female second generation children. This first generation woman expects both her male and female children to succeed in education equally, regardless of sex. Much of the scholarly research on the second generation in North America paints a much different picture, noting that educational aspirations for this generation are problematized by disparate expectations for males and females. The literature suggests that for some daughters "staying on at school beyond the compulsory age may be very difficult" (Ghuman, 1994, p.230) as parental pressures for early arranged marriages are greater for daughters, while sons benefit from more liberty and autonomy (Ghuman, 1994; Gupta, 1994; Mohammad-Arif, 2000). It is obvious that for Zahida, and for the majority of first generation interviewees in this study, educational expectations exceed marital expectations for both daughters and sons; both children are expected to obtain a degree before engaging in serious relationships.

Zahida's son, Shameer, also suggests that his parents' educational expectations are identical for his sister and himself. He says that educational expectations are:

> **...pretty much the same...identical....[M]y sister's now doing her masters [and because of that] my parents are kind of like okay it's okay for her now to date....But before my sister couldn't...date, until her school was good and confirmed....I...sometimes bring it up...'when am I allowed to date?'...They're like you got to finish your degree...[309k, Second Generation Man, August 25th 2005, pp.29-30].**

Similarly, when asked about educational expectations for second generation men and women, Omar says:

> ....I think...it's basically the same....I don't think academically
> that...they [second generation women] have a lesser pressure. I
> think all families want their children to succeed equally...[302h,
> Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005, pp.20-21].

Though first and the majority of second generation Ismailis of both genders agree that

educational expectations are identical for second generation men and women, some

second generation Ismailis indicate disparities between Canadian-born men and women. I

will expand on these differences in chapter 4.

Several first generation Ismailis indicate that a higher level of education is

especially important for girls in Canada. Noorie, a first generation woman, explains:

> ...[I]n those days [in East Africa] boys were, um they
> were...supposed to take more education than girls but as the time
> changed you know, um, now they [Ismailis] think it's more
> important for girls to be more educated because the mothers spend
> more time with the children....[and mothers can] pass it on
> and...help...children. Like [I was]...not that educated...and...[my
> daughter], who went to university,..[I] could never help her...[211n,
> First Generation Woman, August 15th 2005, p.32].

Noorie suggests that education has become a fundamental part of being an Ismaili woman

in Canada. She suggests that women are likely to spend more time than men with their

children during their formative years of childhood and, if educated, can pass on their

academic knowledge to their children. Noorie says that she experienced a distancing

between her daughter and herself because of their differing educational opportunities, and

she hopes to minimize that in future generations. In this way, Noorie views education as a

bridge between the generations. Nashir, a first generation man, also explains why

educating his daughters is important to him:

> ....[B]eing a girl, that education is for their children...[to] make
> sure they are taught [what you know] so that they can grow up
> properly. So, it is a more generative education field...[to make

sure] you've passed that knowledge onto your children....That is my expectations of them [104c, First Generation Man, August 9th 2005, pp.38-39].

Zaver, a first generation man, indicates how this is very much an expectation that his

daughters did not fulfill:

P: I expected more than...what they were doing.

I: You expected more, what do you mean? So, give me an example?

P: ....[T]hey could have had more education than they have right now....They did only [a] diploma and, uh, certificate courses....

I: So...was that a bit of a disappointment that they didn't go [to university]?

P: Yeah...it's a failure on them, it's a failure....I'm hoping it will change but...if it doesn't it's their loss...They had opportunities, they lost it. Right now I believe it's a lost part because...when they get married they'll have to teach these things to their children. Like...if you have two kids, one boy, one girl, educate the girl more...[112i, First Generation Man, August 24th 2005, p.32, 37, 39].

For Zaver, his daughters have failed to fulfill his expectations of getting a higher

education. With "only a diploma", Zaver believes his daughters have a tough road ahead

of them because they will have a difficult time teaching and preparing their children

(third generation Ismailis) for higher learning. Though Mohammad-Arif's (2000)

research on young South Asian Muslims in the U.S., and Wakil et al.'s (1981) on

children of immigrant Indian and Pakistani families in western Canada do reveal that

second generation women are, too, expected to excel academically, this finding forges

new understandings of gender distinctions concerning educational expectations for the

second generation.

Thus far, I have illustrated similar and different perspectives of educational

attainment between first and second generation Ismailis. I indicate, on the one hand, that

first generation parents expect their children to achieve a university education in any field of study, regardless of sex, and experience upward economic mobility. On the other hand, a majority of second generation Ismailis of both genders indicate that they are expected to attain a university education in specific fields of study that have a reputation for high financial returns and that are well-recognized in their parents' country of birth. It is perhaps also important to note that a few second generation Ismailis do reveal more lax educational expectations for certain second generation children; I will visit and expand on these voices and stories in the chapter to follow. With this in mind, I want to now further probe both generations' perspectives on the importance and purpose of Canadian-born childrens' educational attainments for East African Ismaili parents.

Educational Attainments and Adaptation: First Generation Ismailis

East African Ismaili parents in this study suggest that survival for their Canadian-born children in Canada necessitates very different sets of skills than was required in their country of birth. That is, their Canadian-born children cannot replicate the business-orientated careers that were so much a part of the livelihood of Ismailis in East Africa to succeed in Canada. Rather, Ismaili children need to adjust to the educational requirements in Canada and derive a strong academic footing, a finding consistent with Kibria (1997), Ghuman (1994), and Zhou (1997). Nashir speaks to the importance of education for his children through narratives of 'here and there':

> **Being here the professional, educational level, people are qualified people...there's lots of PhDs, a lot of doctors, a lot of lawyers....We were all business people [in East Africa], we were not into the education stream...until we moved out of [East Africa]...into...places to be educated and then the degree came to be the one to get [for our children]....You have to have the highest and best education to compete!...The world is changing...and**

things are…a lot…faster [in Canada] than they were in Uganda [104c, First Generation Man, August 9th 2005, p.6].

One aspect of this 'here and there' narrative is a shift from a kind of business-orientated network in East Africa to a more educated and professional network in Canada. For Nashir, the need to pursue education (i.e. a university degree) has much to do with where his children are geographically located and the career norms in that location. In that respect, Nashir's expectations for his children are to adapt, through education, to the normative and widely held career paths in Canada. Tazim says that:

> **….Um we don't want [our children] to be mediocre, we want [them] to be the best…[201b, First Generation Woman, August 8th 2005, p.35].**

When prompted to define or expand on her interpretation of 'to be the best', Tazim says:

> **Education…you know, like hook or crook, I mean that's…a norm [in Canada]….We've kind of instilled that in our kids [201b, First Generation Woman, August 8th 2005, p.42].**

In this example, education is seen as a norm for elite individuals in Canada. Therefore, education, for Tazim, presents one way for her children to adapt and fit into this elite category. Nashir expands on Tazim's sentiments, suggesting that education has become a tool with which Ismailis can excel professionally and in turn mark and claim their position within Canadian society:

> **The focus now is the education. Education has played a…role in trying to make the community very visible because we understand very well now how we can articulate, how we can….stand up in public and talk….Education has…led us to do a lot more areas that we will not have [been able to without education]….We've got highly talented…highly placed people in the government, we have MPs, you know…Canadian government, provincial governments, municipalities….Education [allows us to be] ready to…talk…to [have] something to contribute to the Canadian society….[W]e can physically…say…that we are here to be [a] part of the Canadian society….We've [first generation Ismailis] been sitting…thirty-five,**

> **forty years...and waiting for the right educational stream of people to come up...and now we have them [the second generation of Ismailis] [104c, First Generation Man, August 9th 2005, pp.49-50].**

Education here is seen as a tool with which second generation Ismailis can reach powerful political positions and in turn increase the presence of Ismailis within Canadian society. Educational success and adaptability merge in such clarity for Nashir that he recognizes the educational achievements of the second generation as a tool for this generation to affirm their own, and the Ismaili community's more generally, value and worth to Canadian society. Expanding on Park's (1999) study of Korean-Americans in Los Angeles, educating the second generation then does more than just facilitate their upward economic and occupational mobility and adaptation, it also has collective benefits for the Ismaili community at large.

This notion of adaptation and the pursuit of excellence does not seem specific to East African or second generation Ismailis. Rather, Amin, a first generation man, suggests that adapting to different landscapes and cultures is a characteristic of Ismailism:

> **....[We] are very adaptable....[That's] why you find that when we migrated from Africa to Canada or to London...or to Australia or some other country...it didn't take us long to settle down and adapt. So, changes you know I think for us is nothing because as long as it's for [a] good [reason]....It's a progressive [religion]...and [now] we are very westernized...[115n, First Generation Man, August 15th 2005, p.42].**

In this case, being Ismaili is about adapting to your physical and cultural landscape. Ismailism, according to Amin, is about progressing and evolving, constantly adapting to fit in to your environment. From this first generation male's perspective then, adaptation through education for second generation children appears to be a typical expectation of immigrant Ismaili parents in Canada.

Educational Attainments and Reputation: Second Generation Ismailis

While first generation Ismailis suggest that education presents one way in which their children can excel and adapt to a Canadian way of life, second generation Ismailis perceive and negotiate the importance of their education for their parents very differently. Several second generation interviewees state that their parents' expectations for their educational attainments has as much to do with recapturing what was lost in migration as it does to adapting to life in Canada. Nadeen, a second generation woman, says:

> ....Since I was younger...[my parents have always stressed the field of] science. [Laughs] [My parents] say you know this person's kid is doing medicine and becoming a lawyer....And if someone asks, oh what is your daughter doing in school? [They will answer] Communications. [Ismailis will respond by saying], oh Communications? Why is...[your daughter] doing that?...And [my mom]...doesn't know how to defend it....So, she'll come back to me and tell me...oh well this person said why [are you]...doing Communications. [This person said] tell [your daughter]...to do nursing or something...it's just...it looks good...you know...wow you know my daughter's a doctor...[401a, Second Generation Woman, August 2nd 2005, pp.18-19].

Nadeen negotiates her parents' aspirations for certain fields of study as having much to do with how reputable those fields are for other members in the East African Ismaili Canadian community. Similarly, this second generation male says:

> [My parents] vision is influenced by the Ismaili community ... because it is [all about]...how do my kids...look to the rest of the Ismaili community....I think a lot of Ismaili youth [who] go to university...really shouldn't be going...yet. They're only going to university because their parents are pressuring them to [do so]....I don't think they want [their children]...to go to university because they think it's going to help them achieve success, I think it's because they want to be able to tell their family and friends that look my child is in university....The way I look at it is...there are Ismaili youth that go to B.C.I.T. They do their two year diploma..., they start working..., they have good jobs. They might not have the university degree, quote, unquote, [and] so the family does not have the option to say, oh my child is going to university, but that child is

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just as successful at the end of the day....So are you focusing on the child...or are you...focusing on yourself?....[I think] it fulfils my parents ego more than anything else...[302h, Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005, pp. 19-34].

In this example, Omar suggests that East African Ismaili parents' educational expectations for their Canadian-born children are not aimed at yielding better economic outcomes for second generation children. Rather, Omar points out that Ismaili parents want their children to attend a university institution so that they can announce their children's educational accomplishments to other Ismaili members and, in turn, satisfy or perfect their self-image. As such, Omar is making a connection between the educational attainments of second generation children and the increased self-image of their immigrant parents. Salima, a second generation woman, expands on this argument when asked about the importance of education for her parents:

....It's huge...because if your kid got [accepted at]...University of British Columbia you [parents] would tell everyone in [the]...mosque [i.e. *khana*], oh my kid got [into]...U.B.C. What's your kid doing, going to college?....So, yeah there's...bragging rights....It's competition....It was highly competitive from the beginning [410, Second Generation Woman, August 1st 2005, pp.23-24].

She continues:

But like [if]...you go to...U of T [University of Toronto], U.B.C., McGill...there is so much more prestige in that...compared to if your kid goes to college....Like even U.B.C. is better than S.F.U [Simon Fraser University]....It's almost...bragging rights for the parents...[410, Second Generation Woman, August 1st 2005, pp.28-29].

Salima suggests that there is a great deal of competition among first generation Ismailis regarding their children's educational achievements. She indicates that Ismaili parents do not simply want their children to go to a university institution but there are hierarchies of

universities. Salima says that second generation Ismailis' educational accomplishments have a lot to do with their parents ability to brag to other first generation Ismailis in *khana*; the better university one's child attends, the greater the "bragging rights". Galib, a second generation man, extends this argument and suggests that his parents have elected to stop attending *khana* because their children are not educated in certain fields of study:

> ....I'm not a big fan of the Ismaili community [because of]...the competition...[and the] gossip....For my parents...it's important for them to be confidential....My parents aren't exactly *khana* going people because...they didn't want the whole...[Ismaili] community knowing that...their kids aren't lawyers and doctors like the other kids...[305m, Second Generation Man, August 28th 2005, pp.16-17].

The reputation of parents within the larger East African Ismaili Canadian community therefore appears to be largely contingent upon the attainments and conduct of their Canadian-born children; in other words, on their children's ability to study medicine, law, engineering, or accounting within a reputable university institution. From our focus groups with second generation Ismailis, this participant comments:

> ....I think the reason why um they [parents] use us [and our educational accomplishments] as a measurement...is because...their lives were disrupted...with their move and...all the struggles [they endured]....They've made...many sacrifices and can't judge...their success on themselves because they've been through so much...[Second Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.8].

This second generation woman encapsulates the message that surfaced in most of the second generation interviews. She notes that East African Ismaili parents' lives have been disrupted and scarred by their migration and, as a result, they are unable to ascertain their success through their personal achievements. Several second generation Ismailis express that their parents' barometer of their own success is what their Canadian-born children

accomplish through education; second generation Ismailis perceive themselves and their educational achievements as an indicator of their parents' success in Canada. Whereas first generation Ismailis recognize the educational attainments of the second generation as a tool with which their children can adapt to a Canadian way of life, the majority of the second generation understand their educational attainments as a medium through which their parents can reproduce their class position, lost in migration, in Canada.

Conclusion: A Multigenerational Approach to Second Generation Research

This chapter has examined perceptions of educational expectations and attainment between first and second generation Ismailis. What I heard most frequently from both generations is that first generation migration histories surface as stories that emerge when parents are trying to shape their children's behaviour and attitudes toward education. Although these second generation Ismailis were born in Canada and have not lived through their parents' adversities and adjustments, setting them apart in time and place, the migration experiences of the first generation echo throughout their interviews. In particular, in conversations about education, second generation Ismailis continually reference the hardships and struggles of their parents. Put another way, second generation Ismailis educational experience in Canada can be understood "with reference to a classic, prototypical 'immigrant story'...[that] revolves around a series of oppositional dichotomies..."(Kibria, 1997, p.535), in this case between hardships and opportunities for Ismailis in East Africa and in Canada. The significance of parents' memories of their migration in their Canadian-born children's lives supports the notion of a 'generational legacy' as argued by Sugg (2003). That is, "the wounds of exile are shared collectively

by subsequent generations, whose identification with these wounds can be seen as based on overidentification and repetition…[on] the constitution of one's self as a surrogate victim" (p.475). In several cases though, second generation interviewees in this study suggest that the relevance and prominence of these migration histories are specific to their generation. Amar and Armaan, two second generation men, explain:

> ….I think the biggest change [between second and third generation Ismailis will be]…like understanding the concept of…what our parents went through in migration, and the history behind [all of that]….I think our generation has a pretty good understanding of our parents [migration history] because…they live in the same house [with us]….But two or three generations down Canada might just become…our home [as Ismailis]….[So] it is our responsibility to give back to them [304h, Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005, p.31].

> ….[For] the next Ismailis [that] are being born here [in Canada]…the African identity is sort of going to fade….I…think they'll be like oh yeah you know a long time ago we were originally from there…just like…originally when [Ismailis] had gone to India…and [now] the Indian part has faded…[306, Second Generation Man, August 5th 2005, p.30].

From these examples, it is clear that first generation East African Ismaili parents' migration histories resonate with and in the lives of second generation children. Moreover, evident in these excerpts is the loss of this East African legacy with succeeding generations. In other words, the upbringing of third and subsequent generation Ismailis may not be conditioned by an East African migration history.

Though first and second generation Ismailis agree that parents' migration histories surface particularly in intergenerational conversations around educational expectations and attainment, the differences between them are also readily apparent. First generation interviewees in this study indicate that their migration histories are used to motivate their second generation children, men and women alike, to obtain a university degree that will

give them the skills and mobility to adapt to the widely held professional career paths in Canada. In contrast, several second generation Ismailis of both genders note that their parents' migration histories engender feelings of responsibility to obtain a university degree in particular 'reputable fields of study' that will reward or recompense the sacrifices made by their immigrant parents. In other words, the effort expended by second generation students is often fuelled by an awareness of the immense sacrifice made by their parents and the recognition that education presents one way in which their immigrant parents can reproduce their class position in Canada.

In light of the similarities and disparities between first and second generation Ismailis' perceptions of migration histories with respect to education, I advocate for a multigenerational approach to second generation research. Findings from this study suggest that a thorough and rich understanding of intergenerational exchanges and outcomes for children come from interviewing both generations about each other. Hence, by exploring and examining the experiences and circumstances of Ismaili parents too, I have been able to juxtapose testimonies presented by first and second generation Ismailis and reveal points of connection as well as points of divergence across their perceptions. Such rich information is further enhanced by conversations with first and/or second generation informants that belong to the same family.

While differences between first and second generation Ismailis were evident within this study, other disparities emerged during the research that spoke to the diversity and heterogeneity within 'the second generation' itself. Consequently, these disparities among second generation Ismailis must also be accounted for. With this in mind, I now

turn my attention to the variance evident within the experiences and stories of second

generation Ismailis.

CHAPTER 4
INTRAGENERATIONAL
PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION
SECOND GENERATION ISMAILIS

Second generation Ismailis interviewed in this study unveil a myriad of breaks

and gaps in their educational experiences. Through an examination of Ismaili children's

perspectives on their education, the aim of this chapter is to show that this generation is

in fact differentiated by disparate parental migration antecedents, birth order, and gender.

I elucidate the context of their perspectives to expose points of connection as well as

points of conflict across their experiences; I show how different second generation

educational perspectives and experiences are largely defined and expressed through

relations with their immigrant (i.e. East African) parents' move to Canada.

Employing Migration Histories as Motivators for Educational Attainment: Disparate Migration Antecedents

> I've heard so many stories that they've told me about their
> migration...and...I guess it's been...a huge factor...on my own life
> and how I approach everything....I'm always...using that as a
> reference point...like they were there [in East Africa] and...I have
> all this [educational] opportunity here....So, it would be stupid not

to take it...[Second Generation Male Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.15].

Second generation Ismailis in this study reference their parents' migration histories as a rationale for why they have to realize their education. According to this generation of Ismailis, their parents' migration stories embody geographical dichotomies ('here' and 'there') that engender feelings of responsibility to reward their immigrant parents with their educational accomplishments. Though a sense of responsibility is evident for all second generation Ismailis interviewed, different perspectives on why second generation children feel as though they have to recompense their immigrant parents with their education surfaced in the transcripts. Specifically, second generation children of parents who were forced (i.e. they were forced into a refugee status in times of political strife) out of East Africa and children of parents who voluntarily (i.e. they decided to leave the region on their own accord) left the region reveal some similarities and a critical difference in their sense of responsibility towards education.[45] Aleena, a second generation woman whose parents were forced out of East Africa, says:

> ...You know my parents didn't have...neither of them had a
> university or college education...because...neither of them had the
> opportunity to do so in East Africa....[A]nd so I think, like I always
> felt like I wanted to do well, like I wanted to please them, I wanted
> them to be proud of me, so I always tried hard [in school]...because
> I always felt that...I [should] do well to please them ... because ...
> that's um been talked about in our family...you know keep doing
> your education, go to university, do something more than we
> [parents] did...[414, Second Generation Woman, August 10th 2005,
> pp.19-20].

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[45] Hereafter 'forced parents' will refer to those parents who were forced into a refugee status and expelled out of their country of birth during political unrest. Hereafter 'voluntary parents' will refer to those parents who moved out of their country of birth on their own accord and who were not compelled to move on account of political disorder.

For this second generation woman, her sense of responsibility to "please" her parents with her educational achievements is rooted in her understanding of opportunities, or lack there of, to obtain an education in East Africa ('there') and Canada ('here').

Second generation children of parents who were forced to relocate also feel a sense of responsibility to reward their parents with their education because of the financial sacrifices made by their parents during resettlement:

> ...[T]hey talk about...the negative...when they had to leave [and]...when they had [to]...come here...and [how] lucky they were [because]...like Pierre Trudeau...he did such a good job of you know getting people here...but they saved up since they first came...to ensure that my sister and I can go to um post-secondary [schooling]....[L]ike it was never um something that they even....thought about not doing...like they rather not have this stable [lifestyle] in order for us to have that....[And so] we can't imagine not doing it [education]....[S]ince we were little...it's [been] huge [409, Second Generation Woman, August 29th 2005, pp. 14, 21]!

Malyka, a second generation woman, suggests that her sense of duty to educate in a post-secondary institution emanates from her parents efforts, since arriving in Canada, to save funds and sacrifice their livelihood for their daughters' educational opportunities. Malyka hints at a sense of responsibility to give back to and recompense her parents for the financial sacrifices they made during resettlement through her educational attainments.

Consistent with children of parents who were forced from East Africa, second generation children of parents who voluntarily left their country of birth also talk about different educational opportunities in East Africa and Canada. Nadeen, a second generation woman, explains why she feels compelled to educate herself:

> ....That's their first and foremost thing, education!...[E]ducation is such a huge thing....I think they want us to learn...that we have an

> **opportunity and that...is given to us and we have to take advantage
> of it!...That's why I think they did it, coming to Canada, for their
> children [401a, Second Generation Woman, August 2nd 2005, p.10].**

This quote highlights Nadeen's sense of obligation to "take advantage" of the educational

opportunities in Canada because of her parents voluntary efforts to reposition and rebuild

their lives so that these opportunities are available and accessible for their children.

This second generation woman also notes a sense of responsibility to educate because of

the wilful sacrifices made by her parents to advance their children's educational

opportunities:

> **....I was pushed to do really well in school....My parents moved
> here so that we can have a better life, as opposed to what they
> had...like the better schools, the better teachers, the better books,
> compared to what they had....So...we should take advantage of the
> education that we have here...[Second Generation Female Focus
> Group, July 17th 2005, p.1].**

Arisa expands on this second generation groups' (i.e. of parents who voluntarily

migrated) sense of responsibility:

> **....I [have] noticed...with...Ismaili kids you never have to pay for
> your own education....I think it's that whole thing [of] why they
> moved here, like [to] establish and make sure that your kids get a
> good education. Maybe they saved up [for our education] because I
> noticed like none of my [Ismaili] friends have to pay for their own
> education....[M]y mom was really smart...she liked saved, like
> right when we were born she made education saving bonds...So,
> like I'm going to school right now and I don't have to pay for my
> education at all [413, Second Generation Woman, August 16th 2005,
> p.11].**

Arisa indicates that education is a salient part of the upbringing of second generation

children. She notes that first generation parents chose to move to Canada for their

children's educational advancement, and further established and reinforced this

expectation by accumulating and saving funds for their children's educational mobility,

the latter resembling perceptions of second generation children of parents who were

forced out of East Africa. Arisa recognizes this immense sacrifice made by Ismaili

parents during resettlement.

Aman expands on Arisa's sentiments:

> ....If the scholarship...in form of a fellowship...wasn't there, my
> push to do it [educate] would probably be less....So, knowing
> that...they put so much in just putting that money aside...like...
> [my parents] could have lived a more extravagant life but...[they
> were] putting money aside....So, they actually formally gave
> something out of their world for me...and all I have to do is just go
> to school?...[M]any people go to school and pay, and take loans....I
> didn't have to!...If I had started college [and]...if I had to worry
> about money at that point, if I had to say where is the money going
> to come from for school? I wouldn't continue....[K]nowing that I
> didn't have to worry at that point...I felt more guilt because I knew
> that was my mother and father...who struggled and wanted me to
> go to school...[304h, Second Generation Man, August 23rd 2005,
> pp.23-25].

These Ismaili children suggest that their sense of responsibility to educate is rooted in

their parents' deliberate decision to sacrifice their lives in East Africa, as well as a more

"extravagant" lifestyle upon resettlement in Canada, for better opportunities for their

children to educate.

While several second generation interviewees indicate that different parental

migration histories conjure up similar and different feelings of responsibility towards

education, one interviewee hints at second generation children's date of birth relative to

first generation parents' migration date and disparate educational experiences. Azra, a

second generation woman, observes:

> ...[V]ery few children...were born soon after arriving, so we
> [are]...pretty spread out. I mean [there were not]...many born
> between 1973 and 1977...because they [parents] had to settle...[415,
> Second Generation Woman, August 22nd 2005, pp.15-16].

Azra attributes low birthrates upon arrival to parents' efforts to acclimatize to a new

environment and rebuild their lives within a foreign context. Azra goes on to say:

> **...as far as my generation [born soon after arrival], I think that...it is almost like a seesaw between um that world of my parents...like you can picture them...moving....Other kids that were born here and who were born in [the] 1980's don't...have the same experience. They are all...used to their parents being established, um having jobs when [in] school, when going to university....Our memories [of our] parents are sort of old, transition ones. So um I think that I have, like I was able to reach back and remember them [415, Second Generation Woman, August 22nd 2005, p. 30].**

Azra indicates that she has lived through her parents' resettlement and that her

knowledge is based on actual memories of struggles and hardships endured by her

parents, while children born several years after their parents move are only aware of these

adversities through stories conveyed by their parents. Second generation children's birth

date relative to their parents' migration date may therefore be as potent as disparate

migration antecedents in explaining the heterogeneity within 'the second generation'.

That is, similar to children of parents who experienced voluntary and forced migration

histories, children born soon after their parents' migration and children born several years

later may have different perceptions of their parents' migration and may therefore also

have distinct feelings of responsibility towards education. While Azra expresses

differences in the way early and late-born children (i.e. relative to parents' migration

date) relate to and understand their parents' migration histories, the dearth in testimonies

and evidence in this study do not fully prove this differentiation of 'the second

generation'.

Markers of Educational Attainment and Birth Order

In the preceding section, I show that parental migration antecedents condition second generation children's sense of obligation towards education. Specifically, I illustrate that children of parents who were forced out of East Africa and children of parents who voluntarily left the region express some similarities and a critical difference in their sense of responsibility to reward parents with their educational achievements. The heterogeneity among second generation Ismailis is also evident in their perceptions of educational attainment. That is, though the normative message in the narratives of second generation children (including narratives of both first and subsequent-born children) suggests very specific and rigid markers of educational attainment for this generation (as indicated in chapter 3), a few second generation children (including both first and subsequent-born children) reveal differences in the educational upbringing of first[46] and subsequent-born[47] second generation Ismailis, that is to say in what constitutes educational success for first and subsequent-born children. Findings from this study indicate that there is an important relationship between birth order and educational attainment in the context of immigration. They suggest that parents' migration experiences, as well as birth order, strongly influence the educational upbringing of second generation children.

A few first-born second generation children in this study suggest that their parents' educational expectations for their younger Canadian-born siblings do not bear a resemblance to the expectations inculcated on them. Imran, a first-born second generation man, observes:

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[46] First-born for this study refers to children who are born first after their parents' move to Canada.
[47] Given that second generation children did not always specify their birth order, subsequent-born for this study refers to children born after their first Canadian-born sibling.

> **My parents wanted me to excel in every aspect of life...and...the expectations for him [younger brother] are completely different than they were for me. The standards for him are a lot lower...than they were for me....Like if he doesn't go to U.B.C. that would be okay...they'll understand....And if he doesn't go into university, if he goes to like a college or something it probably wouldn't be a big deal [302b, Second Generation First-Born Man, August 14th 2005, p.16].**

Imran is specifying particular markers of educational attainment that are relaxed for his younger sibling. Imran says that his parents do not expect his younger brother to attend specific universities that were considered more reputable during his years of schooling. Furthermore, Imran's parents' preferences for particular institutions during his upbringing (i.e. universities over colleges) do not apply to his younger brother.

Omar also expresses more lax educational expectations for his younger brother's age group:

> **At Simon Fraser University everybody [Ismaili] was on that charter accountant...and I was the one that was doing business and psychology....So, when I was growing up everyone I knew was an accountant you know or on that track to become...and never arts. But now like I'm only a couple of years older than my brother but...his peer group...um I think sixty percent are doing communications....So, it was only that middle years that they [parents' educational expectations] changed....So I...go there [Simon Fraser University] often now and I saw all these kids that were now doing communications, that were doing sociology, um doing things that probably in my year would never be equally thought of...and that was just a...few years [ago] [302h, Second Generation First-Born Man, August 23rd 2005, pp.19-20].**

In this quote, Omar suggests that particular fields of study that were frowned upon and uncommon during his upbringing are permitted and normative among his younger brother's cohort. His younger brother's demographic appear to have more space and freedom to select and specialize in different fields of study that span across the academic spectrum of arts and science degree programs.

Niya, a first-born second generation woman, expands on this notion of lax educational expectations for subsequent-born second generation children. She says:

> ...they forced me to do things that I didn't want to do...career wise....They were more lenient with her [younger sister]....They didn't put the same pressure on her....[T]hat's what happens when you are the youngest [402c, Second Generation First-Born Woman, August 9th 2005, pp.35,36].

In this example, Niya illustrates that her parents had specific expectations for her career goals, goals that were not necessarily synonymous with her self-aspirations. In contrast, Niya says that her youngest sister has more flexibility and autonomy to choose her line of paid work.

Nadeen, a second generation woman, comments:

> I think my parents did it [moved to Canada] for their children...because you know education is such a huge thing...and like I'm the oldest child you know....They have suffered so much when migrating...and they never want us to go through that...and [therefore]...since I was younger it has been...sciences...doing medicine...becoming a lawyer...But because he's [younger brother]...four years...younger...he's never had that much pressure....Like not as much as I have had....Their expectations drop for my brother [Laughs] ...you know...you [brother] can do whatever, it's okay [401a, Second Generation First-Born Woman, August 2nd 2005, p.20].

Nadeen perceives her parents to be placing much more pressure, educationally, on their oldest Canadian-born child, a finding consistent with Romeo (1994). Whereas she connects her parents' arduous experiences in migration to her strict educational upbringing, Nadeen suggests that her parent's migration condition less the educational expectations for her younger second generation brother. In this way, her brother seems to have more space and freedom to plan his education route.

The narratives of subsequent-born second generation children echo the claims of their first-born siblings. Azra says:

> **Um...I think my brother...when I was fifteen, he was twenty-five...I think they had higher expectations for him...[415, Second Generation Subsequent-Born Woman, August 22nd 2005, p.23].**

Through multiple interviews within one household, for example, it becomes evident that first and subsequent-born children in this household converge on the notion of lax educational expectations for the younger sibling. Similar to the sentiments of his older brother [Imran's (302b) comments in the preceding paragraphs], this subsequent-born child says:

> **It's always been since I was...younger...that...my brother, he had...higher expectations than I did....I guess my parents just sort of realized that times have changed a little bit...from when they struggled...and migrated...[301b, Second Generation Subsequent-Born Man, August 8th 2005, p.15].**

This subsequent-born second generation man suggests that his older brother's high educational expectations are conditioned by what his parents went through in migration. Conversely, his parents' migration histories appear to be less pressing in his educational upbringing.

While the majority of subsequent-born second generation children also indicate more lax educational expectations for their demographic, they suggest that their educational expectations are conditioned by their first-born siblings' educational decisions and performance. Azra is a case in point:

> **...[S]o he was being pushed towards that field [engineering]...a lot of his generation [first-born second generation children] are accountants and engineers and lawyers...but um...he struggled [with these expectations] and...I think my parents are trying to**

> say...when it was my turn...well [let's] re-evaluate and let her pick
> what she likes....Like he was forced and [because of] the toll it took
> on him, the wrong way,...they said [to me] just do something you
> like....And also see my brother was, it was just more university and
> degrees [for him], and like here now [with me] they were just
> saying what will get you there....So, I was able to...go to the British
> Columbia Institute of Technology [415, Second Generation
> Subsequent-Born Woman, August 22nd 2005, pp.23, 24, 25].

This second generation woman indicates that her parents had decided on very specific

educational institutions and career paths for her first-born brother. Azra says that because

her brother struggled and collapsed under the pressure of such high and rigid

expectations, her parents strategically decided to place more lax and flexible expectations

on her. As such, it is clear that her brother's educational performance, or lack there of,

influenced the decision made by her parents during her upbringing; this influence is

clearly evidenced by the discretion with which her parents chose her educational

institutions and defined her career plans.

Nasreen, a second generation woman, also alludes to more lax educational expectations

for her:

> ...[M]y parents have been very, um they are very open minded
> [with me]....I think because I have...an older brother...they
> understand...sort of what I'm going through...because my
> brother...went through it as well....My brother always says you
> know you have got it easy, you have got it made [Laughs], I have
> battled and paved the way for you [Laughs], you should feel lucky
> [412, Second Generation Subsequent-Born Woman, August 13th
> 2005, p.21].

Nasreen suggests that her parents are much more tolerant with her education path than

they were for her first-born brother. She suggests that this adjustment by her parents is

influenced by her brother's decision to confront and defy the expectations placed on him.

Subsequent-born second generation children's educational expectations and first-born

children's educational decisions merge in such clarity for Nasreen that she recognizes her more lax expectations as having much to do with her brother's low level of conformity to or discord with the educational aspirations placed on him.

While the majority of subsequent-born second generation children express more lax educational expectations, from their parents, for their demographic, two interviewees suggest that their first-born siblings' educational decisions can also lead to equivalent as well as higher expectations for subsequent-born children. Ziad, for example, says that because his older sister is conforming to the educational expectations for her (i.e. she is becoming a lawyer), "it does put...pressure" (p.23) on him to attain similar goals (Interview 307, August 17th 2005).

During one focus group session, this subsequent-born second generation woman comments:

> **...because my brother choose not to go to university...they are kind of putting his pressure on me now. I have to achieve...like for...both of us now [Second Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.7]!**

In this example, her first-born brother's decision to deviate from the educational expectations placed on him yields even more pressure for her to fulfill her parents' expectations; she suggests that her parents aspiration for university attendance now falls solely on her shoulders.

Though there is some variance in perceptions of educational attainment between first and subsequent-born second generation children, a constant message surfaces in their stories, that there is much difference in the educational upbringing of first and subsequent-born second generation Ismailis. In particular, given that specific and rigid educational expectations appear to be conditioned by what parents went through in

migration (as seen in the narratives of second generation children in chapter 3 and 4), the

conditioning effect of parents' migration histories may be less profound in the

educational upbringing of subsequent-born children compared to children born first.

Markers of Educational Attainment and Gender

Expanding on gender distinctions among Ismaili children in chapter 3, this section

will reveal gender differences apparent in the interviews of second generation children. A

large number of second generation Ismailis say that parents expect identical educational

standards for both their men and women children. Some second generation women,

however, suggest that while they are also expected to attend and obtain a 'reputable

degree' from a university, they are differentiated by geographical limitations on their

place of residence and study. Salima says:

> **P: ...I applied for [a job at] the University of British Columbia bookstore....So, I work there right now....So...I have like four hour shifts and I spend four hours in total commuting. So, it's like I'm working eight hours because I'm spending two hours going and two hours coming home and then four hours at work.**
>
> **I: Oh my god! Would you ever consider moving out there [to UBC]?**
>
> **P: I want to, I really do but....like...I think it would be a lot easier if...I were a boy...[410, Second Generation Woman, August 1st 2005, pp.57-58].**

This second generation woman suggests that her geographical mobility within the Lower

Mainland is limited. Salima indicates that while she can attend a university far away from

home, she is restricted from living on university grounds. She says that her parents would

easily tolerate a second generation man relocating for school within the Lower Mainland.

Consistent with Salima's comment, Arianna also expresses restrictions on her mobility to

relocate for school within the Lower Mainland. However, Arianna says that eventually

her parents were:

> ...cool with me living on campus because I told them that the
> commute was hard and I felt like I was jeopardizing my studies
> [411, Second Generation Woman, August 10th 2005, p.17].

She suggests that these mobility restrictions are relaxed when one's academic

advancement is suffering as a result of these geographical limitations.

Salima continues on and comments:

> I should have applied to Ontario, I really wanted to go to McGill
> [university]...but...I kind of looked around here....Like I actually
> really wanted to go to the University of Victoria as well because
> that's close enough but...then like my parents weren't to keen on
> me moving away [410, Second Generation Woman, August 1st 2005,
> pp.29-30].

Similarly, Arzina comments:

> I...was allowed to apply everywhere [for university] but once I got
> acceptance letters...[my parents] were sort of like no...I don't see
> the point [of]...why you have to go....[But for my brother] I think
> there's a little difference....My brother actually did go away after
> grade twelve....He went to U.V.I.C.....I think...it was easier for him
> to go away than...for me [407k, Second Generation Woman,
> August 25th 2005, p.24].

While second generation members of both genders are expected to attend and obtain a

'reputable degree' from a university institution, these Canadian-born Ismaili women

express restrictions in their mobility for attending universities outside of British

Columbia. Conversely, these restrictions are relaxed for second generation men. Though

there is no difference in the educational expectations for second generation Ismaili men

and women, it is clear that in terms of freedom women's margin for manoeuvrability to

fulfill these expectations is much more limited than for men.

Conclusion: Differentiating 'The Second Generation'

The diaspora of Ismaili Muslims from East Africa presents a unique case because of their conditions of departure and arrival. Beginning with Tanzanian's intentions to practice a policy of socialism and self-sufficiency soon after independence in 1961, and with Idi Amin's decision to exile several thousand Ismailis from Uganda in 1972, as well as the voluntary migration of Ismailis from Tanzania and Kenya, Canada has become a major settlement of both East African Ismaili immigrants and refugees. It is this diversity in migration that has yielded and allowed me to expose very different educational experiences for second generation Ismailis in this study. In this respect, second generation children of parents who were forced out of East Africa, and children of parents who voluntarily left the region reveal some similarities and a critical difference in their sense of obligation towards education. That is, while Canadian-born children of both parents feel compelled to take advantage of the educational opportunities that their parents did not have in East Africa, as well as of the financial support provided by their immigrant parents, children of parents who voluntarily migrated endure an added sense of responsibility to excel academically. In particular, these children feel responsible because of the wilful sacrifice made by their parents to relocate and resettle so that their children can access and avail from the educational opportunities in Canada. It is evident therefore that second generation Ismaili children's sense of obligation to repay their parents with their educational attainments is, in part, conditioned by the social, economic, and political conditions from which their immigrant parents exit as well as the context that receives them.

Another exceptional feature of East African Ismailis is that the majority has elected to remain in Canada. While several immigrant and refugee groups may relocate through secondary migrations, most Ismailis in this study have made Canada their home for more than thirty years since emigrating from East Africa. It is this permanence in Canada, coupled with the time at which this study is taking place that allows me to examine the experiences of different groups of second generation children. More specifically, I have been able to explore the stories and experiences of first and subsequent-born second generation children. What I heard most frequently from both these groups of children is that the first-born experience more pressure to fulfill particular educational expectations from their parents, while subsequent-born children benefit from more liberty and autonomy in their educational upbringing. As such, the conditioning effect of parents' migration histories appears to be more prominent in the educational upbringing of children born first than subsequent-born children. Though perceptions of both groups converge in this way, subsequent-born children suggest that their educational upbringing can be, in part, conditioned by their first-born sibling's level of conformity and performance to their parents' educational expectations. By examining Ismailis more than thirty years after their arrival therefore, I have been able to speak with first and subsequent-born second generation children and illuminate some of the similarities and differences in their perspectives, with respect to education and migration histories.

A few second generation children in this study express differences in the educational upbringing of Canadian-born men and women. While all second generation Ismailis express the same conditioning effect of parents' migration histories and therefore identical educational expectations for children of both genders, some second generation

women point to differences in their geographical mobility to fulfil these expectations. In particular, these women indicate that they face harsher parental restrictions for living on campus grounds as well as for attending academic institutions outside of the province of British Columbia. Conversely, second generation men benefit from a broader margin of manoeuvrability, even mobility, to fulfil these expectations.

In light of these similarities and differences among Canadian-born Ismaili children in their perceptions of education and migration histories, I suggest that 'the second generation' are a heterogeneous group that do not follow any singular path of educational upbringing. Through an analysis of second generation Ismailis of parents who were forced out of East Africa and who voluntarily left the region, and of children who are born first and who are subsequently born, as well as of second generation men and women I have been able to differentiate 'the second generation'. My analysis reveals 'the second generation' to be a multifaceted and highly differentiated group. As such, there is nothing singular or agreed upon as 'second generation'.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH:
REFLECTIONS ON A GENERATIONAL LEGACY

Drawing on forty-seven individual interviews and four focus groups with first and second generation Ismailis in Lower Mainland, B.C., the research presented documents Ismaili parents' and children's educational expectations for second generation children. The thesis explores how both generations understand and negotiate the educational upbringing of second generation children in tandem with the personal geographies of the first generation. More specifically, I examine whether Ismaili parents' migration histories condition first and second generation expectations and perceptions of education (for Canadian-born Ismailis). I identify similar and different negotiations of education (i.e. patterns) across generations as well as within the second generation. In so doing, I have explored how these migration histories are rooted in the expectations and identity of second generation children born in Canada. Methodologically, I have probed the findings of intergenerational research and made a case for the importance of studying both generations concurrently and within the same household.

My conclusions open with a review of my key arguments and their relation to existing research on immigration in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and the second generation born in North America. I then show how my research findings shed light on some of the gaps identified in the literature. Finally, I outline some of the limitations of my thesis, and close with potential areas of concentration exposed by this project that warrant further research.

Research Contributions: Filling in the Missing Pieces

While immigrant research has focused on the socioeconomic resettlement experiences of first generation parents, attention to the identity formation, belonging, and social and economic outcomes for second generation children has been sparse (Metropolis Conversation Series, 1999). Research relating to refugees' children born in Canada is even more deficient (Hiebert, 2000). This is particularly alarming given that "the second generation is as large as the first" in Canada (Boyd & Grieco, 1998, p.860). Research is needed to document and better understand the socialization of these children and the factors that condition their upbringing. To date, immigrant research in relation to Ismailis from East Africa is minimal but what has been done explores the resettlement processes of immigrant parents (Adams & Bristow, 1978; Adams & Jesudason, 1984; Gupta, 1974; Mattausch, 1998; Moudgil, 1977). Existing scholarly literature focusing on the second generation has looked at how parental expectations straddle both norms, values, and standards of their country-of-origin and of the host society (e.g. Canada), as well as how the second generation respond to and negotiate these conflicting expectations (for example, Ghuman, 1994; Kibria, 1997; Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Zhou, 1997). Little attention, however, has been given to how immigrant parents and their migratory

experiences play a prominent role in the everyday lives of the second generation. Government interest in the settlement processes and prospects of children of immigrant parents also necessitates further research on the second generation (Metropolis Conversation Series, 1999).

In response to the paucity of research on the role of parental migration histories on the settlement and upbringing of second generation children, the work of Pratt (2002) and Kibria (1997) offers important contributions to the literature. In particular, these authors examine how first generation wounds of resettlement are recycled to and ingrained in the lives of second generation children. In her study of second generation Filipino youth in Canada, Pratt (2002) suggests that parents' stories of resettlement hardships can yield feelings of displacement for children born in Canada, causing the second generation to identify with their immigrant parents' struggles and to the Philippines than to their country of birth. Similarly, Kibria's (1997) research on intermarriage and ethnic identity among second generation Chinese and Korean Americas reveals 'the immigrant story' as powerfully related to second generation children's conceptions of what is particularly Asian-American about them. My study expands on Pratt's (2002) and Kibria's (1997) conceptions, and suggests that Ismaili parents' migration histories from East Africa, in the form of immigrant stories, have a profound effect on second generation children's educational expectations and upbringing. What is more, these histories and stories are referenced by both first and second generation Ismailis in their perceptions of second generation children's education. In so doing, this study is a response to the dearth in immigration in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and second generation literatures.

Ghuman (1994) suggests that South Asian second generation children face disparate expectations from their parents and the host society. Pyke and Dang (2003) add that second generation Asian Americans balance both Asian and American identities to fulfill parental and host society norms and expectations. Kibria (1997) reveals the power of Asian parents' immigrant stories in second generation children's sense of belonging. All of these authors explore exchanges and expectations between immigrant parents and their second generation children, and outcomes for these children, but only by asking the second generation about their experiences with their immigrant parents. This study corrects for this methodological bias in second generation literature by including first and second generation narratives, as well as by examining the negotiations made by both generations. The research presented is therefore methodologically different from much of the literature on the second generation in North America as it doesn't take second generation Ismailis' testimonies of their exchanges with their parents at face value, but examines what first generation Ismailis have to say about these exchanges as well. As chapter 3 shows, the stories of first generation parents and second generation adult children, sometimes from the same family, often conflict or come across very differently. As such, this study is about intergenerational research as much as migration histories and educational expectations.

Much of the North American literature on second generation children tends to homogenize the perceptions and experiences of this generation. 'The second generation' is actually a highly diversified group of Canadian-born youth, stratified by class, distinguished by gender, age, location, sexuality, and other differences. In terms of parental expectations, for example, only Ghuman (1994) and Mohammad-Arif (2000)

suggest that second generation women face greater expectations and pressures for endogamous and early arranged marriages, and therefore are expected to achieve a lower level of education, while men benefit from more freedom in choosing their partners, mode and period of marriage, and therefore are aspired to achieve a higher education. Further, only Boyd and Grieco (1998) reveal that second generation children in Canada with two foreign-born parents experience higher expectations for educational and occupational success and mobility compared to when only one parent is foreign-born. While empirical studies on second generation children is sparse at best, the majority of researchers who do explore this generation tend to homogenize them as 'a generation' rather than as individuals who are highly differentiated. This is also evidenced by Kibria (1997) who says that "the second generation Chinese and Korean Americans understood themselves as Asian-American" (p.524), by Pyke & Dang (2003) who suggest that "the second generation" (p.148) evaluate themselves in relation to the host society, and by Zhou (1997) who reviews research on "the new second generation" (p.975) and says that immigrant cultures place a high value on education for second generation children. By referring to this generation as "the second generation", these authors, for example, fail to acknowledge and notice differences in second generation children's perceptions and experiences. While a few researchers are beginning to turn their attention towards differences within this generation (Ghuman, 1994; Mohammad-Arif, 2000; Boyd & Grieco, 1998), my study delves into Ismaili adult children's perceptions and experiences of settlement in Canada, and suggests that second generation children are differentiated by disparate parental migration antecedents, birth order, and gender. Though my project focuses on a particular group of immigrants and their children and therefore represents

one case study, research with this group exposes as well as expands on the heterogeneity that is 'the second generation'.

Findings

A common thread among first and second generation participants in this study is a sense that parents' migration histories do emerge in interactions between parents and their Canadian-born children. Like Pratt's (2002) argument that Filipino parents displacement and resettlement are shared with their Canadian-born children through stories, first and second generation Ismailis suggest that migration struggles are recalled as 'here' (Canada) and 'there' (East Africa) narratives. Resembling what has been documented in contemporary Canadian media sources on the Asian Ugandan diaspora, Ismailis of both generations indicate that these histories and stories emerge when parents are trying to shape their children's behaviour and attitudes toward education. Similar to Sugg's (2002) claim that the hardships of Cuban exile "are shared collectively by subsequent generations" (p.475), both generations of Ismailis therefore suggest that parents' migration wounds are shared by and rooted in the lives of second generation Ismailis. In other words, though second generation Ismailis are Canadian-born and have not lived through their parents' hardships and adjustments, their educational expectations and upbringing are conditioned by this East African legacy.

While first and second generation perceptions of education and migration histories converge in this way, chapter 3 looked at some of the conflicts apparent in their negotiations. First generation Ismailis negotiate their migration tales as a source of encouragement or motivation for their children to take advantage of their educational opportunities in Canada. Second generation Ismailis also refer to their parents' migration

histories as a rationale for their educational attainment. According to second generation respondents though, these 'here' and 'there' narratives engender feelings of responsibility, even guilt, to repay their immigrant parents with their educational accomplishments. A discourse of sacrifice for the future education of children emerged in many of the interviews:

> **They said that...the reason why they moved out here was so that we can have the...educational opportunities....If we don't take advantage of it then what was their point of coming here?...[Second Generation Male Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.2].**

This research also reinforces 'educational attainment' as a fraught and unstable category that is understood differently by Ismaili parents and Canadian-born Ismaili children. While both generations interviewed suggest that a university education marks the pinnacle of success for Ismaili parents, first and second generation Ismailis have a different understanding of what a 'university education' entails. First generation Ismailis, on the one hand, say they employ a very laissez-faire educational upbringing for both male and female children, allowing them to achieve a degree in any field of study from a university institution. On the other hand, a majority of second generation participants indicate that parents expect their male and female children to achieve very specific and rigid educational goals, that is a university degree in specific fields of study that have a reputation for high financial returns and that are valued in their parents' country of birth.

The motivation and purpose behind second generation children's educational accomplishments for Ismaili parents is negotiated very differently by first and second generation respondents. Several first generation Ismailis in this study say that their children cannot succeed in Canada by replicating the business-orientated careers that were so much a part of their livelihood in East Africa. Expanding on Kibria's (1997),

Ghuman's (1994), and Zhou's (1997) claim that second generation children face parental pressures to adopt the normative educational standards in the host country, Ismaili parents want their children to adjust to the standards that the Canadian job market demands as well as experience upward economic mobility, and therefore to derive a strong academic footing. In this respect, second generation children's 'educational attainment' for Ismaili parents is shaped by where their children are geographically located and the career norms in that location. While several first generation Ismailis merge educational success and adaptability in such clarity for their Canadian-born children, a few parents also link the educational accomplishments of second generation children to having collective benefits for the Ismaili community at large:

> **We've been sitting...thirty-five, forty years...and waiting for the right educational stream of people to come up...and now we have them [second generation Ismailis]....We've got highly talented ... highly placed people...and...we [Ismaili community] now...have something to contribute to Canadian society....we can say that we are [a]...part of the Canadian society...[104c, First Generation Man, August 9th 2005, pp.49-50].**

Ismaili parents associate the educational achievements of second generation children to a heightened presence and sense of worth for the entire Ismaili community in Canadian society, a finding similar to Park's (1999) claim that second generation Korean-Americans in Los Angeles can serve as advocators and be the 'voice' for the entire Korean community in America and bring about political change.

Several second generation Ismailis, on the other hand, more clearly associate their parents' expectations for their education to recapturing what their parents lost in migration than to adapting to life in Canada. Most of the Ismaili children interviewed say that their Ismaili parents' lives have been disturbed and scarred by their migration and, as

a result, their parents' barometer of success is derived from what their Canadian-born children accomplish through education. The vast majority of second generation Ismailis therefore recognize their educational accomplishments as a medium through which their parents can recoup their reputation or class position within the larger East African Ismaili community, lost through migration in some cases, in Canada:

> **....I think the reason why um they use us [and our educational accomplishments] as a measurement...is because...their lives were disrupted...with their move and...all the struggles[they endured]....They've made...many sacrifices and can't judge...their success on themselves because they've been through so much...[Second Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.8]**

In this way, second generation Ismailis learn things about their parents and their migration through stories that allow them to form their own worth and "forge a...sense of self in the present out of resources of the past" (Pratt, 2002, p.6).

Can researchers understand exchanges between the first and second generation, and outcomes for second generation children, by speaking with only the latter group? My research confirms that intergenerational exchanges can be better understood, in rich detailed layers, by speaking with both first generation parents and second generation children. A number of studies tackle intergenerational exchanges through conversations with second generation children about experiences with their immigrant parents (Ghuman, 1994; Kibria, 1997; Pyke & Dang, 2003). Though engaging in dialogues with either generation may present a wealth of information, findings from this study reveal similar and conflicting narratives about education between generations. This study suggests that a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of these exchanges and their outcomes can better come from talking with both generations about one another.

Similar to Pratt's (2002) methodological approach to conducting research on second generation Filipino youth through conversations with parents born in the Philippines and children born in Canada, for example, I advocate for a multigenerational approach to studying this generation.

This research project further extends the methods available for investigating intergenerational exchanges between first and second generation groups by incorporating conversations with first and/or second generation informants that belong to the same family. By individually speaking with multiple household members at the same time, about identical subject matters, significant inconsistencies between first and second generation accounts, as well as among second generation narratives, emerged. Expanding on Valentine's (1998) recommendation that household research with heterosexual couples can expose the contested nature of household relationships and yield a more thorough understanding of gender relations, analyzing these accounts from informants that belong to the same family contributes to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of intergenerational relations, and exposes the potential methodological benefits of household research.

Different explanations about the role of Ismaili parents' migration histories in the educational upbringing of Canadian-born Ismaili children are evident between first and second generation respondents. Other differences also surfaced during the research that spoke to the heterogeneity within 'the second generation'. Chapter 4 delves into these individual experiences of second generation children, and shows different explanations of parents' migration histories in relation to education within 'the second generation' itself.

Though all second generation children interviewed express a sense of obligation to reward their parents, with respect to their educational attainments, their sense of obligation is to a certain extent, conditioned by their parents social, economic, and political situation before departure as well as the context of their arrival. Expanding on Zhou's (1997) argument that second generation children's educational and occupational progress may be largely contingent upon the "social conditions from which their families exit as well as the context that receives them..." (p.999), second generation children of parents who were forced out of East Africa and children of parents who voluntarily emigrated express some similarities and a critical difference in their sense of responsibility.[48] That is, children of both parents say that a part of their sense of obligation emanates from their parents' efforts during resettlement to save funds for their educational upbringing. What is more, children of parents who were forced out of and who voluntarily left East Africa express a sense of obligation to educate because of better educational opportunities in Canada than East Africa. A critical difference in some of these children's sense of obligation is also apparent. Expanding on Fuligini's (1997) study on the academic achievements of adolescents from Latino, East Asian, Filipino, and European families, several children of parents who migrated voluntarily express an added sense of responsibility to reward parents with their education because of the wilful sacrifice made by their parents to relocate so that their children can access and benefit from the educational opportunities in Canada.

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[48] Much of the second generation literature [e.g. Pratt's (2002) study on parents who were forced out of the Philippines] that has explored the conditioning effect of parents' migration histories on second generation children has done so by looking at how forced or voluntary parental migration histories condition this generation. This study is unique to the body of literature as it explores how both forced and voluntary East Africa Ismaili parental migration histories condition the educational upbringing of second generation Ismailis.

The heterogeneity within second generation children is also evident in their

perceptions of 'educational attainment'. Modin (2002) finds that educational expectations

become more lax and school marks worsen with increasing birth order. Romeo (1994)

shows that parents often spend more time with and expect more from their first-born

children resulting in better verbal skills, for example, and educational success for these

children than subsequent-born children. Findings from this study suggest that this

relationship between birth order and educational attainment is pertinent in the context of

immigration. While I didn't set out to assess birth order as a basis of differentiation of

second generation Ismailis, nor did I expect birth order to be a noticeable variable, ample

evidence points to consistent differences in parental expectations of educational

attainment for first and subsequent-born children of immigrant parents in this group as in

the broader population. A few second generation Ismailis revealed that first-born children

are expected to attain very specific and rigid educational goals, while later born children

benefit from liberty and autonomy in their educational upbringing:

> **I think my parents did it [moved to Canada] for their
> children...because you know education is such a huge thing....They
> have suffered so much when migrating...and they never want us to
> go through that...and [therefore]...since I was younger...and like
> I'm the oldest child...it has been...sciences...doing
> medicine...becoming a lawyer...But because he's [younger
> brother]...four years...younger...he's never had that much
> pressure....Like not as much as I have had....Their expectations
> drop for my brother [Laughs]...[401a, Second Generation First-
> Born Woman, August 2nd 2005, p.20].**

A small number of second generation Ismailis further differentiate children born first and

the subsequent-born. That is, some subsequent-born children say that their educational

upbringing is, in part, determined by their first-born sibling's level of conformity and

performance to their parents' educational expectations. This understanding indicates a

rather remarkable departure from the scenario presented by first-born Ismailis. My findings coincide with the claim made by several authors researching across diverse cultures that more is expected of the first-born than their younger siblings, but reveal a new layer of analysis to this argument[49]. They suggest that parents' migration experiences, as well as birth order, strongly influence the educational upbringing of second generation children. In particular, my findings show that parents' migration histories deeply condition the educational expectations of the first-born and are likely to fade in influence with increasing birth order.

While second generation children of both genders are expected to attend and obtain a 'reputable degree' from a university institution, Canadian-born women face a narrower margin of manoeuvrability, even mobility, to fulfill these expectations than men. My analysis extends Ghuman's (1994) claim that South Asian boys in Canada get more freedom to pursue higher education than girls, revealing the same conditioning effect of parents' migration histories on education and therefore similar expectations between genders, but less freedom to attend universities outside of B.C. as well as to live on campus for second generation women. These mobility restrictions are relaxed for second generation men.

The educational upbringing of second generation children is differentiated by disparate migration antecedents, birth order, as well as gender. From these findings, I

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[49] Studies examining a variety of different cultural groups find that more is expected of the first born than their younger siblings. For example, Zajonc and Markus (1975) say that first-born children face higher educational expectations because they are seen as a mentor for their younger siblings. Powell and Steelman (1990) suggest that the first-born are expected to accomplish more educationally because greater socioeconomic resources are distributed to these children than children born subsequently. My study introduces parents' migration histories as a new layer of analysis to this argument.

contend that 'the second generation' is a heterogeneous group that does not follow any singular or agreed upon path of educational upbringing.

Methods of Research

In her study of African American Sea Island communities, Beoku-Betts (1994) notes that insiders and outsiders are seen to bring a unique vantage point that can yield both advantages and disadvantages to the research process. Ismailis in this study were often wary of my position as cultural insider and outsider. While studying Ismailis, my identity as an East African-born Ismaili and as an academic researcher often facilitated and, on occasion, complicated the research process. In particular, my identity as cultural insider facilitated access to participants for this study and reduced the social gap between me and those who I was studying during the recruiting phase. At times, my identity as a 1.5 generation Ismaili as well as an academic researcher operated independently and in union with this shared identity to facilitate and complicate issues of access, trust, and rapport. The introduction of 'Team Ismaili', our research team, provided a diverse team of people that brought a multiplicity of perspectives to studying Ismailis, which helped mitigate the messiness of conducting research with my own community. For example, conducting research with a team allowed me, the cultural insider, to probe participants for more information about their educational expectations without scepticism. Performing fieldwork as a team, therefore, played an important role in the design, implementation, and overall success of the research.

Limitations and Future Research Trajectories

In probing the findings of intergenerational research with first and second generation Ismailis, potential avenues for future research come to light. While I have expanded on a small archive of studies here, more work is needed to better understand the ways in which first generation migration histories are echoed to and rooted in the lives of second generation children. Firstly, I have expanded on gender discrepancies among second generation children, and confirmed disparate parental migration antecedents as well as introduced birth order as a differentiation of this generation. Participants in this study also hint at differences in the educational upbringing and experiences of early and late-born second generation children (i.e. relative to parents' migration date). Future research could build, in rich detailed layers, a body of empirical knowledge on these and other potential differentiations of 'the second generation', so as to avoid homogenizing their stories and experiences.

Secondly, while this research primarily explores how parents' social, economic, and political circumstances of departure from their country of birth and of arrival in the host country shape the lives of second generation children, it falls short in examining how ongoing connections with East Africa as well as connections upon arrival in Canada, or lack there of, may shape the upbringing of Ismaili children. The study presented here is but a snapshot in time of the lives of those interviewed. Longitudinal studies on transnational relations and local social links upon arrival may reveal distinct patterns of settlement and upbringing for second generation children. Furthermore, analyzing first and second generation members in this way might also highlight how their perceptions

and negotiations sway and shift in time, thus presenting a more thorough understanding of intergenerational relations over time.

Thirdly, this research project explores the educational upbringing of second generation children. As such, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine how parents' migration histories may condition other aspects of their lives. While the body of work on second generation children in North America has focused on children's religious, marital, and academic expectations and experiences, more analysis is needed to explore the conditioning effect of parents' migration histories on these, and other parts of their upbringing. In so doing, researchers can add to our collective knowledge of intergenerational relations and outcomes for second generation children.

Lastly, this research reveals similar and conflicting stories about second generation children's educational upbringing, as it relates to parents' migration histories, between generations, as well as within the second generation. Cursory attention, however, is given to possible differentiations in perceptions within the first generation itself. Given that second generation children are differentiated by disparate migration antecedents, birth order, and gender, further research needs to expand on intergenerational relations by delving into the variance in the stories and experiences of first generation members as well.

Migration Histories and Linking Generations:
A Perpetual Generational Legacy?

I end my discussion by exploring an area of further research. While this study has explored how the first generation shares its migration histories and how these are rooted in the lives of second generation children, the conditioning effect of these histories on

subsequent, third-plus generations is beyond the scope of this research. A few second generation Ismailis interviewed in this study touch upon the upbringing of their third generation children. Arzina, for example, comments:

> **...I think I'd like them to have a childhood like I have had....I think that education will still be important. It is ingrained in us...and...we have to pass it on...[407k, Second Generation Woman, August 25th 2005, p.33].**

While this second generation woman says that her children's education will mirror her own upbringing, a few second generation children also express, in passing, that the "[East] African identity is sort of going to fade [for]...the next Ismailis...being born here" (306, Second Generation Man, August 5th 2005, p.30). Whereas ample evidence in this study confirms that first generation parents' memories of their migration histories play a significant role in the educational lives of their second generation children, future research needs to attend to the upbringing of third and succeeding generations and determine whether these histories are employed and negotiated in the lives of these children. Are third and subsequent generations exempt from the conditioning effect of first generation East African Ismailis' migration histories? Or are these histories echoed to and rooted in the lives of third-plus generations? What characteristics shape the third and subsequent generations who are not raised by immigrant parents, but by their children? What notions of heritage, belonging, culture and home will be fostered? Future research can unravel these generational links.

APPENDICES

Appendix A:
Project Pamphlet

ELIGIBLE PARTICIPANTS

If you identify as a Shia Ismaili Muslim immigrant:

* from Uganda who came to Canada during the Ugandan Exodus of 1972-74;

* from Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda and immigrated voluntarily to Canada during the time period 1970-1990.

If you are born in Canada of two parents who emigrated:

* from Uganda to Canada during the Ugandan Exodus of 1972-74;

* from Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda and immigrated voluntarily to Canada during the time period 1970-1990.

I am interested in adult immigrants (18 years of age or older), both men and women.

Anyone who fits the description on the previous page and would like to participate in this study, or if you have any questions, please contact:

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Senior Supervisor

RESEARCH GUIDELINES

* all participation is voluntary;

* all personal identities will remain confidential;

* all of the research conducted will:

  * be confidential and subject to an informed consent by each participant;

  * undergo an ethics review by the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University.

* for further information on ethical procedures at Simon Fraser University please visit www.sfu.ca/~dore/

East African Migration: a study of settlement among first and second-generation Shia Ismaili Muslims in Greater Vancouver, British Columbia

For Further Information Please Contact:

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BACKGROUND

Toward the end of 1972, then Ugandan President Idi Amin ordered the expulsion of the Asians living in the country, giving them ninety days in which to depart. Canada became a key recipient of ex-Ugandan citizen Asians, among them a large contingent of Shia Ismaili Muslims. Many of these Shia Ismaili expellees faced socio-economic and cultural hardships upon their arrival, as they were forced to reestablish themselves within Canada.

A large number of Shia Ismaili Muslims from other East African countries have also immigrated to Canada. What makes this immigrant group distinctive from the Ugandan Asian departure is their voluntary movement to Canada.

Today, Ugandan and other Shia Ismaili Muslim immigrants from East Africa have made Canada their home. With their astounding triumph over the calamities of their resettlement they are recognized as one of the most successful immigrant groups in Canada. My interest is in tracing the paths of those who came to Canada as well as their children who are second-generation immigrants.

RESEARCH GOALS

The objectives of this research are:

* to determine what expectations and demands that first-generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslims had for their children;

* to trace these expectations and demands of first-generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslims, and assess the effects of these expectations and demands on the identity, aspirations and expectations of the second-generation.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

The research methods for this study will include:

* several group discussions; and

* a series of individual, confidential interviews.

EXPECTED BENEFITS OF RESEARCH

For Local Ismaili Community

* We expect the research to enhance the understanding of settlement and integration among first and second-generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslims in British Columbia and Canada more generally.

* We hope to document these findings and share the results with participants and the Ismaili Council of Canada.

For Policy Makers and Academics

* Immigration is a shared jurisdiction between national and provincial departments in British Columbia. The information gathered in this research will inform both Federal and Provincial governments, immigration settlement agencies, non-governmental organizations (community and aid organizations) and researchers.

  * Due to the lack of research on second-generation immigrants, policy makers know little about these immigrant groups, their economic outcomes and the social expectations and demands that shape these outcomes;

  * This research aims at filling this gap, in an attempt to identify relationships and key factors that shape the identity and achievements of second-generation immigrants;

  * This research will give a voice to the histories and stories of the East African Shia Ismaili community in Greater Vancouver.

Appendix B:
Participant Survey Form

First generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslim Immigrants – questionnaire

Thank you for your voluntary participation. Your identity and all identifying information collected from these questionnaires will be kept confidential. You may choose to not answer any questions. While we do ask for your name and phone number within this questionnaire, the purpose is to be able to contact you for any clarification that we may need. This personal data will be stored separately from the surveys which will simply be numbered. We will not be citing or publishing anyone's name or phone number at anytime in our research.

Please take a few minutes and answer the questions below. Write your answers in the blanks provided and circle the answer for questions 4, 5 and 7.

****

Name: _____   Phone Number(s): _____
    (First name is sufficient)

                                        _____

Sex: M   F

****

1) What year were you born? _____

2) Where were you born (i.e. country and city)? _____

3) Where are your parents born (i.e. country and city)? _____

4) What is your current marital status? single common-law married divorced widowed other

5) Do you have any children?   Yes   No

       5a) If yes, please complete the following chart.

	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	BIRTH LOCATION
Child 1	M F		Canada Foreign
Child 2	M F		Canada Foreign
Child 3	M F		Canada Foreign
Child 4	M F		Canada Foreign
Child 5	M F		Canada Foreign
Child 6	M F		Canada Foreign

6) What month and year did you come to Canada? _____

7) Did you voluntarily choose to come to Canada?   Yes   No
   Please explain.

8) What month and year did you come to British Columbia? _____

9) Where did you live before Canada (i.e. country and city)? _____

     9b) How long did you live there?

_____

****

We would like to have the opportunity to involve you in a group discussion and/or interview on a one-to-one basis so as to better understand your experiences in Canada. This study aims to determine what expectations first generation East African Ismaili Muslims had for their children as well as to assess the effects of these expectations on the second generation. This information is vital for both the Shia Ismaili and academic communities in Canada. Would you be willing to participate in an interview or discussion session?

     Yes   No

Thank you.

Second generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslim Immigrants – questionnaire

Thank you for your voluntary participation. Your identity and all identifying information collected from these questionnaires will be kept confidential. You may choose to not answer any questions. While we do ask for your name and phone number within this questionnaire, the purpose is to be able to contact you for any clarification that we may need. This personal data will be stored separately from the surveys which will simply be numbered. We will not be citing or publishing anyone's name or phone number at anytime in our research.

Please take a few minutes and answer the questions below. Write your answers in the blanks provided and circle the answer for questions 4, 6, 7 and 8.

****

Name: _____   Phone Number(s): _____
    (First name is sufficient)

                                                      _____

Sex: M   F

****

1) What year were you born? _____

2) Where in Canada were you born (i.e. province)? _____

3) Where were your parents born (i.e. country and city)? _____

4) Did your parents voluntarily choose to come to this country?   Yes   No
   Please explain.

5) How long have you lived in British Columbia? _____

6) What is your current marital status?   single   common-law   married   divorced   widowed   other

7) Do you have any children?   Yes   No

8) Do you have any siblings?   Yes   No

8b) If yes, please complete the following chart.

	SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	BIRTH LOCATION
Sibling 1	M F		Canada Foreign
Sibling 2	M F		Canada Foreign
Sibling 3	M F		Canada Foreign
Sibling 4	M F		Canada Foreign
Sibling 5	M F		Canada Foreign
Sibling 6	M F		Canada Foreign

****

We would like to have the opportunity to involve you in a group discussion and/or interview on a one-to-one basis so as to better understand your experiences in Canada. This study aims to determine what expectations first generation East African Ismaili Muslims had for their children as well as to assess the effects of these expectations on the second generation. This information is vital for both the Shia Ismaili and academic communities in Canada. Would you be willing to participate in an interview or discussion session?

Yes   **No**

Thank you.

Appendix C:
Focus Group Interview Guide

<u>**First generation**</u> **Shia Ismaili Muslim Immigrants – Male Immigrants**

****
<u>**TURN ON DIGITAL RECORDER**</u>

All of you have lived a considerable portion of your lives in East Africa and every one of you has had to resettle in Canada. With this process of resettlement comes many new opportunities and sometimes challenging obstacles, may they be economic, social, cultural or political. *I would like to begin with a discussion on resettlement in Canada.*

****

1) **When still in East Africa, before coming to Canada, what did you imagine Canada to be like? How did you imagine yourself living here?** (I.e. what were your expectations of work? Family life? Cultural community) **Did anyone tell you what it was like here before coming?** (I.e. family/friends in Canada)

2) **After moving to Canada did you maintain contact with family and/or friends in Africa or elsewhere?** (probe where, who, how) **Do you still maintain contact with them?** (probe where, who, how)

3) **If you were identifying yourself to a new neighbor here in the Lower Mainland, would you identify yourself as Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these?** Please explain.

****
The following questions are specific to parents who have Canadian-born children, but our interest is broader, namely what impact, if any, have those who immigrated here had on the subsequent generation, through one's family, the community and so on.
****

Introductory question **How many of you have Canadian-born children? (For those who do and who do not**; note taker note: try to identify which speakers do not have Canadian-born children with this symbol (*) so their testimony can be differentiated from that of those with Canadian-born children)

4a) **Can you specify some of the expectations/hopes you had for your children when they were small and were growing up in Canada?** (leave some time for people to ponder this)

      <u>**Probes:**</u>

- What kinds of jobs/careers did you expect your children to have?
- Did you expect them to marry other Ismailis, if they choose to marry?
- Did you expect them to regularly attend mosque and take part in community activities? Please provide examples.

> **4b) What about your expectations today? Are they the same? Have they changed? Why?** (some people will still have younger kids) Please provide examples.

5a) What do you think is the <u>most</u> important thing you give your children in terms of their upbringing? (I.e. education, cultural maintenance/connections, religious adherence, marriage, financial well-being, etcetera)

> **5b) Has there been any conflict between your and your children's vision of their future?** (I.e. yours versus your children's hopes/expectations)

6a) Do you feel that your Canadian-born children have, for the most part, fulfilled your expectations/aspirations for them? (I.e. ask for particular examples and expectations)

> **6b) In what ways have they not met your expectations?**

7a) If your children were identifying themselves to a new neighbor here in the Lower Mainland, how do think they would describe themselves, as Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these? Please explain.

> **7b) Is the Canadian influence dominant?**

8) As an immigrant parent or first generation member of the Shia Ismaili community here in Greater Vancouver, how would you describe – generally speaking – the second generation? (I.e. Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these) Please explain.

> **8b) What would be some exceptions to that general view?**

TURN OFF DIGITAL RECORDER

- Explain that focus group sessions have now come to an end

- Thank participants for their participation

- Explain that they can now sign up for interviews on the calendar outside

- Explain to participants that they are required to return their parking tickets to Farah in order to be reimbursed

Second generation East African Shia Ismaili Muslim Female Immigrants – focus group interview 4

****

TURN ON DIGITAL RECORDER

Thank you for your voluntary participation in this focus group session. All information collected will be kept confidential. While discussions will be recorded, we will not be using anyone's name at anytime in our research. You may withdraw your participation at any time. You can also turn off the tape at any time.

The purpose for these discussions is to get a better understanding of your settlement processes and experiences in Canada. This information is important in identifying some key factors that shape the social and economic situation of first and second generation immigrants in Canada. This information is not only absent within the Shia Ismaili community in the Lower Mainland, but also lacking within academic research. Your participation is therefore necessary so as to initiate a project that documents the processes of settlement, adjustment, and expectations between generations as well as benefits future immigrant communities. Hearing stories and documenting the achievements as well as the obstacles of Ismaili immigrants is an important way to include Ismailis in Canadian history and geography and to inform the Shia Ismaili and academic communities.

****

I would like to discuss your relationship with your parents.

1) Did your parents initially, upon resettling in Canada, have any specific expectations or aspirations for you? If so, what were they? (probe, by saying for example, did they have particular universities/colleges picked out for you, did they have particular expectations picked out for you, did they have a clear idea of who you would marry, etc.)

2) Moving to the present, do your parents have any particular expectations or aspirations for you today? (again, probe as above) Have these expectations/aspirations changed over time? (are they different from those that you stated above?) If so, why do you think they changed?

3) How would you describe your relationship with your parents? What was/is it like living under these expectations? What were some of your reactions to these expectations? How, if at all, have these reactions changed?

When a generation of children are born in a different country than their parents, double demands of culture and multiple reference points make negotiating one's own identity difficult. Has this in-between space of being Canadian and East

African Shia Ismaili Muslim caused any conflicts at home or between you and your parents? (long pause to probe this sensitive question)

4) Could you speak a bit more about your parent's expectations for you? This time, though, perhaps you could focus on your dreams and aspirations and how those compared to your parent's dreams for you? How do you think your parents would describe your career, educational experiences, marriage (i.e. spouse, age at which you got married) and attendance/commitment to mosque thus far? What might they say about the decisions you have made thus far?

5) What are your plans for the future? Do you think it is necessary for you to relocate (i.e. internationally), as you parents once did, to achieve better socioeconomic and cultural opportunities for yourself? If so, where would you consider resettling and why? If not, why is Canada an ideal place for your future? What is your connection with Africa now? Do you stay in touch with family/friends? Visit?

TURN OFF DIGITAL RECORDER

- Thank participants for their participation

- Explain that focus group sessions have now come to an end

- Explain that they have a few minutes to stretch and use the washroom

- Explain that they can now sign up for interviews on the calendar outside

- Lunch will be served at 1:45pm – 2:30pm in their focus group room

- Explain to participants that they are required to return their parking tickets to Farah in order to be reimbursed

Appendix D:
Individual Interview Guide

<div align="center">

Interviewer: Date:

Interviewee:

Interview #

</div>

> **Note: Please do take notes on this sheet during interview sessions.**

<div align="center">

First generation Shia Ismaili Muslim Interview Questions

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Before we begin, I would like to thank you for your voluntary participation in this research. You may choose to not answer any questions. You can also turn off the tape at any point. You may also elect to withdraw your participation at any time. Your identity will be kept confidential throughout the entire research process. **Please feel free to take a few minutes to go to the washroom, to stretch etcetera.**

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I would like to talk about life before you came to Canada.

1) Can you tell me a little bit about your life in East Africa before coming to Canada?

Probes

a. Where in East Africa did you live and for how long?

b. What kind of work did you do in Africa? Were you happy with this line of work? (I.e. personal accomplishment, earning power, quality of work, etcetera)

2) What was the one defining thing about the Ismaili community in *(location in East Africa)*? **How is it different here?**

Probes

a. Was there a large Ismaili community in your home country before you left?

b. How often would members of the community get together and where would members gather (I.e. mosque, community centre, park)?

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I would like to talk about your departure from Africa as well as life in Canada.

3. Can you tell me a little bit about your reasons for departure from *(location in East Africa)?*

Probes

a. When did you leave your home in Africa?

b. Did you choose to leave Africa or do you feel that you were forced to leave? (I.e. voluntary or forced)

c. Did you know where you were going?

4. Can you tell me a little bit about your arrival in Canada as well as your reasons for coming to country?

Probes

a. Did you choose to come to Canada? Why or why not?

b. When did you arrive in Canada? (d/m/y) And where?

c. Did you initially live with family/friends? Why or why not?

5. Can you tell me a little bit about the influence that your family and Ismaili friends, that arrived to Canada before you, had on your resettlement in Canada?

Probes

a. Did their presence help you decide where to resettle in Canada?

b. Did their presence ease your process of resettlement? (I.e. provide financial help, social network, a sense of community)

6. What were your experiences with finding a job once you came to Canada?
<u>Probes</u>
a. How long did it take you to find a job? (days, months, years?)

b. What job did you find?

c. Were you happy with this line of work when compared to the job you had in Africa? (I.e. personal accomplishment, earning power, quality of work, etcetera)

d. What job do you have today and how does it compare with the work you did in Africa?

7. What do you do for a living? What does your husband/wife do for a living? Were these working arrangements the same in *(location in East Africa)*?
<u>Probes</u>
a. Have your opportunities for employment/education as a woman/man changed compared to Africa?

b. Do you think that men/women have different employment/educational opportunities in Canada?

8. What are the working arrangements at home between you and your husband/wife? Have these working arrangements had to be reworked since coming to Canada?

a. Are there any jobs around the house that men are particularly responsible for?

b. Are there any jobs around the house that women are particularly responsible for?

9. What has become of the money and property (I.e. house, business) **that you had in** *(location in East Africa)*?

Probes

a. Do you have any access to it/them?

10. What has become of the family that you had in *(location in East Africa)*?

Probes

a. Did you initially leave any family behind when you emigrated from Africa?

11. What were your feelings on leaving Africa within your first few years in Canada? Today, how do you feel about having left Africa?

a. Have you visited Africa since coming to Canada? Elaborate on any dates and experiences.

b. Do you expect to visit Africa in the future? Why or why not.

12. Currently, what is your contact with family and Ismaili friends in East Africa or elsewhere?

Probes

a. How and why do you keep in contact with them?

b. Can you compare for me your level of contact today with that of when you first immigrated to Canada?

c. Do you provide any financial help for family and friends in Africa or elsewhere?

If so, do you know what it is used for? (e.g. day-to-day expenses)

If so, is this affordable or hard to finance? (i.e. more hours, multiple jobs)

13. Currently, what is your involvement, if any, with the events/organizations in *(location in East Africa)*?

Probes

a. How do you find out about these events? (e.g. internet, media, newspaper)

14. What kind of Canadian groups, clubs, sports teams or other activities have you or your children gotten involved in, if any? (E.g. sports, charity groups, government)

****

I would like to talk about your sense of belonging to Canada.

15. How do you describe/identify yourself now? (E.g. Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these)

16. How does that compare to before you came to Canada?

17. Currently, where is 'home' for you, geographically speaking? Why do you believe this place to be 'home'?

a. Do you believe that you belong in Canada?

b. Do you feel like Vancouver is your (permanent) home?

c. Would you go back to Africa permanently if you had the chance?

18. How important was/is khana (I.e. mosque) proximity to you when selecting a neighbourhood to live in?

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I would like to talk about your perceptions on your children's sense of belonging to Canada.

19. If I was to ask your son/daughter how they identify/describe themselves what would they say? (E.g. Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these) **Is that different from how you would identify/describe them?**

a. **[If applicable]** How does this differ between your male/female children?

b. **[If applicable]** How does this differ with your children who are born in Africa?
****

I would like to talk about your relationship with your children

20. Can you tell me a little bit about the particular expectations/hopes you had for your Canadian-born children when they were in elementary school, high school, university and now? (E.g. education, marriage, attendance at mosque, involvement in community) **How were these expectations/hopes conveyed?**

a. What were your motivations behind these expectations/hopes?

b. **[If applicable]** How did your expectations/hopes differ for your male/female children?

c. **[If applicable]** How did these expectations/hopes differ with those placed on your children who were born in Africa?

21. How have your Canadian-born children fulfilled the expectations/hopes you had for them during their years in elementary school, high school, university and now? How were these feelings affirmed?

a. **[If applicable]** How does this differ between your male/female children?

b. [If applicable] How does this differ with your children who are born in Africa?

22. Have there been instances where your son/daughter has made decisions that have caused them to go in a different way than what you had expected/hoped for? Tell me about this?

a. [If applicable] How does this differ between your male/female children?

b. [If applicable] How does this differ with your children who are born in Africa?

23. Is there any particular situation that stands out regarding agreement to these expectations or resistance to them by your Canadian-born children? If so, how was this expressed?

a. Has there been tension between your and your partner's vision of their future?

24. Keeping these expectations in mind, what is/was a typical day for your Canadian-born child in elementary school? High school? University? Now?

a. [If applicable] How does this differ between your male/female children?

b. [If applicable] How does this differ with your children who are born in Africa?

25. If I was to ask your Canadian-born son/daughter if they fulfilled your expectations what would they have said in elementary school? High school? University? Now?

a. [If applicable] How does this differ between your male/female children?

b. **[If applicable]** How does this differ with your children who are born in Africa?

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I would like to discuss your thoughts on the future of Ismailis in Canada.

26. Given the changes that you witnessed within your family and Ismaili community in Canada, how do you envision your family and Ismaili community in the future?

<u>Probes</u>

a. What do you envision for your children's children?

> **Note: Please do take notes on this sheet during interview sessions.**

Second generation Shia Ismaili Muslim Interview Questions

Before we begin, I would like to thank you for your voluntary participation in this research. You may choose to not answer any questions. You can also turn off the tape at any point. You may also elect to withdraw your participation at any time. Your identity will be kept confidential throughout the entire research process. **Please feel free to take a few minutes to go to the washroom, to stretch etcetera.**

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I would like to talk about the stories that were told to you by your parents about their life before coming to Canada.

1. Can you tell me a little bit about their life in East Africa before coming to Canada?

Probes

a. Where in East Africa did they live and for how long?

b. What kind of work did they do in Africa? Were they happy with this line of work? (I.e. personal accomplishment, earning power, quality of work, etcetera)

2. What was the one defining thing about the Ismaili community in *(location in East Africa)*? How is it different here? When did your parents tell you these stories?

Probes

a. Was there a large Ismaili community in their home country before they left?

b. How often would members of the community get together and where would members gather (I.e. mosque, community centre, park)?

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I would like to talk about the stories that were told to you by your parents about their departure from Africa as well as life in Canada.

3. Can you tell me a little bit about their reasons for departure from *(location in East Africa)*? When did these stories come up?

Probes

a. When did they leave their home in Africa?

b. Did they choose to leave Africa or do they feel that they were forced to leave? (I.e. voluntary or forced)

c. Did they know where they were going?

4. What was it like when they came to Canada? Why did they come to the country? When did these stories come up?

Probes

a. Did they choose to come to Canada? Why or why not?

b. When did they arrive in Canada? (d/m/y) And where?

c. Did they initially live with family/friends? Why or why not?

5. Can you tell me a little bit about the influence that their family and Ismaili friends, that arrived to Canada before them, had on their resettlement in Canada?

Probes

a. Did their presence help your parent's decide where to resettle in Canada?

b. Did their presence ease your parent's process of resettlement? (I.e. provide financial help, social network, a sense of community)

6. Can you tell me about their experiences with finding a job once they came to Canada? When were these stories told to you?

Probes

a. How long did it take them to find a job? (days, months, years?)

b. What job did they find?

c. Were they happy with this line of work when compared to the job they had in Africa? (I.e. personal accomplishment, earning power, quality of work, etcetera)

d. What job do they have today and how does it compare with the work they did in Africa?

7. What has become of the money and property (i.e. house, business) that they had in *(location in East Africa)*?

Probes

a. Do they have any access to it/them?

8. What has become of the family that they had in *(location in East Africa)*?

Probes

a. Did they initially leave any family behind when they emigrated from Africa?

9. What did your parents tell you about their feelings, within their first few years in Canada, on leaving Africa? Today, how do they feel about having left Africa? When did these personal stories of 'back home' come up?

Probes

a. Have they visited Africa since coming to Canada? Elaborate on any dates and experiences.

b. Do you expect them to visit Africa in the future? Why or why not.

10. Currently, what is their contact with family and Ismaili friends in East Africa or elsewhere?

<u>Probes</u>

a. How and why do they keep in contact with them?

b. Do they provide any financial help for family and friends in Africa or elsewhere?

     If so, do you know what it is used for? (e.g. day-to-day expenses)

     If so, is this affordable for them or hard to finance? (i.e. more hours, multiple jobs)

11. Currently, what is your contact with family and Ismaili friends in East Africa or elsewhere?

<u>Probes</u>

a. How and why do you keep in contact with them?

b. Do you provide any financial help for family and friends in Africa or elsewhere?

     If so, do you know what it is used for? (e.g. day-to-day expenses)

     If so, is this affordable or hard to finance? (i.e. more hours, multiple jobs)

12. Currently, what is their involvement, if any, with the events/organizations in *(location in East Africa)*?

<u>Probes</u>

a. How do they find out about these events? (e.g. internet, media, newspaper)

13. What kind of Canadian groups, clubs, sports teams or other activities have they gotten involved in, if any? (E.g. sports, charity groups, government)

****

I would like to talk about life in Canada for you.

14. Are you in school or are you working?

Probes

a. How long did it take you to find a job? (days, months, years?)

b. What job did you find?

c. Are you happy with this line of work? (I.e. personal accomplishment, earning power, quality of work, etcetera)

15. What particular influences has/does your family and Ismaili friends had/have on your daily life? [i.e. settlement]

Probes

a. Did their presence help you settle in Canada? Please elaborate on which family members and friends and your experiences.

16. What kind of Canadian groups, clubs, sports teams or other activities have you or your children gotten involved in, if any? (E.g. sports, charity groups, government)

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I would like to ask you about your experiences as a woman/man since coming to Canada.

[Note: if they are not married you can ask them to imagine what their working arrangements would be like if they were married]

17. What are the working arrangements, both at home and with employment, between you and your partner?

<u>Probes</u>

a. Do you think that men/women have different employment/educational opportunities in Canada?

b. Are there any jobs around the house that men are particularly responsible for?

c. Are there any jobs around the house that women are particularly responsible for?

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I would like to talk about your sense of belonging to Canada.

18. How would you identify/describe yourself now? (E.g. Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these) **Do you think your parents would identify/describe you in a different way?**

19. Currently, where is 'home' for you, geographically speaking? Why do you believe this place to be 'home'?

a. Do you believe that you belong in Canada?

b. Do you feel like Vancouver is your (permanent) home?

c. Would you go to Africa permanently if you had the chance?

20. Does Africa have a significance for you in terms of who you are?

<u>Probes</u>

a. Have you visited Africa? Why or why not? Elaborate on dates and experiences.

b. Do you expect to visit Africa in the future? Why or why not?

21. What is the importance of khana proximity, for your parents, when selecting a neighbourhood to live in? Was/is khana proximity an important factor for you when selecting a neighbourhood to live in?

****

I would like to talk about your perceptions on your parent's sense of belonging to Canada.

22. If I was to ask your father/mother how they identify/describe themselves what would they say? (E.g. Indian, African, Canadian or a combination of these) **Is that different from how you would identify/describe them?**

****

I would like to talk about your relationship with your parents.

23. Can you tell me a little bit about the particular expectations/hopes your parents had for you when you were in elementary school, high school, university and now? (E.g. education, marriage, attendance at mosque, involvement in community) **How were these expectations/hopes conveyed?**

a. What were their motivations behind these expectations/hopes?

b. **[If applicable]** How does this differ from your male/female sibling(s)?

c. **[If applicable]** How does this differ from your sibling(s) who were born in Africa?

24. Do you feel that you have fulfilled the expectations/hopes your parents had for you during your years in elementary school, high school, university and now? Can you think of a particular scenario where they vocalized these feelings to you?

a. **[If applicable]** How does this differ from your male/female sibling(s)?

b. [**If applicable**] How does this differ from your sibling(s) who were born in Africa?

25. Have there been instances where you have made decisions that caused you to go in a different way than what your parents had expected/hoped for? How did your parents express these feelings to you?

a. [**If applicable**] How does this differ from your male/female sibling(s)?

b. [**If applicable**] How does this differ from your sibling(s) who were born in Africa?

26. Is there any particular situation that stands out regarding agreement to these expectations or resistance to them? If so, how was this expressed by you?

a. Has there been tension between your parents due to conflicting visions of your future?

27. Keeping these expectations in mind, what was/is a typical day for you in elementary school? High school? University? Now?

a. [**If applicable**] How does this differ from your male/female sibling(s)?

b. [**If applicable**] How does this differ from your sibling(s) who were born in Africa?

28. If I was to ask your parents if you fulfilled their expectations/hopes in elementary school, high school, university and now, what would they say?

a. [**If applicable**] How does this differ between your male/female sibling(s)?

b. [**If applicable**] How does this differ with your sibling(s) who are born in Africa?

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I would like to discuss your thoughts on the future of Ismailis in Canada.

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29. Given the changes that you witnessed within your family and Ismaili community in Canada, how do you envision your family and Ismaili community in the future?

<u>Probes</u>

a. What do you envision for your children?

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Form 2- Informed Consent By Participants In a Research Study

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 604-268-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by professional ethics. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on research materials. Materials will be maintained in a secure location.

Title: **Linking migration and education across generations: Ismailis in Vancouver.**
Investigator Name: **Arif Jamal**
Investigator Department: **Geography**

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I

understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:
There are no risks to participants, third parties or the Ismaili community/society as all the research conducted will be voluntary and confidential.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:
My interests are to probe the intergenerational relationships among first and second-generation Ismaili immigrants from Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. I aim to identify relationships and key factors that shape the aspirations and achievements of second-generation immigrants in the Lower Mainland. These histories and narratives are absent within both community-based and academic literature. Given this scarcity in research, I believe it is important to initiate a project that documents the processes of settlement, adjustment, and expectations between generations.Hearing these stories and documenting the achievements as well as the obstacles are important ways to include Ismailis in Canadian history and geography. This project will also be instrumental in conceptualizing immigrant settlement for first and second-generation immigrants and may benefit future immigrant communities.

This research aims to contribute to the existing literatures on both immigration and settlement, in relation to Ismailis from East Africa, and second-generation research, and advance knowledge about the socio-economic adjustments for first-generation immigrants and their impacts on the social and economic integration of their children in the host country.

Procedures:
Participants will be asked to attend a focus group session, as well as participate in an individual interview that will be approximately one hour in duration.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics or the researcher named above or with the Chair, Director or Dean of the Department, School or Faculty as shown below.

Department, School or Faculty: Chair, Director or Dean:
Geography   **Dr. Nickolas K. Blomley**

8888 University Way,
Simon Fraser University,
Burnaby, British Columbia, V5A 1S6, Canada

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting:

Arif Jamal at ajamala@sfu.ca or 604 525-4961 or Jennifer Hyndman at hyndman@sfu.ca or 604 291-5464.

I have been informed that the research will be confidential.

I understand that my supervisor or employer may require me to obtain his or her permission prior to my participation in a study of this kind.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

The participant and witness shall fill in this area. Please print legibly

Participant Last Name: Participant First Name:

Participant Contact Information:

Participant Signature: Witness (if required by the Office of Research Ethics):

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY)

Appendix F:
Thank You Letter and Summary
of Findings to Participants

December 5, 2007

Dear Participant(s):

We would like to express our gratitude for your participation in our research exploring Ismaili migration and identity in the Lower Mainland, and in the forthcoming master's thesis entitled "Linking Migration and Education across Generations: Ismailis in Vancouver".

During July and August 2005, Dr. Jennifer Hyndman, Serin Houston, James McLean, and myself conducted the research for my master's study. We set out to speak with Ismaili Muslims in the Lower Mainland to examine the migratory experiences of Ismailis born in East Africa specifically in regards to the upbringing and settlement of their children born in Canada. These histories and narratives are absent within both community-based and academic literature.

Given the scarcity in research, your involvement was fundamental in initiating a project that documents the processes of settlement, adjustment, and expectations between generations. Please find enclosed a document summarizing the research project and key findings from my master's study. We thank you for your contribution in the study.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,

Arif Jamal   Jennifer Hyndman
M.A. Candidate   Associate Professor
Geography, SFU   Geography, SFU

The findings from my master's study entitled "Linking Migration and Education across Generations: Ismailis in Vancouver" are part of a larger body of research funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and supervised by Dr. Jennifer Hyndman. The study is based on both group and individual interviews with Ismaili Muslims from East Africa (first generation Ismailis) and their adult children born in Canada (second generation Ismailis). Initially, the research team spoke with 22 first generation and 16 second generation Ismailis in a focus group setting on July 17th 2005 at the British Columbia Institute of Technology. This was followed by individual interviews with 24 first generation and 23 second generation Ismailis throughout August 2005. Several Ismailis belonging to the same family agreed to participate in this study, and we interviewed 13 households (2 or more people from the same family and different generations) in all.

The aim of this study is to examine the ways in which parents' migration from East Africa shape expectations for their Canadian-born children. We found that first and second Ismailis suggest that parental sacrifices of losing property and businesses in migration and of enduring difficulties in finding work upon arrival are passed on to their Canadian-born children in the form of stories. These stories appear to come up especially when parents are trying to shape their children's behaviour towards education.

How do first and second generation Ismailis use parents' migration stories with respect to education? Several Ismaili parents say they use their migration stories to motivate their second generation children to obtain a university degree that will give them the skills to adapt to the widely held professional career paths in Canada. Many second generation Ismailis, on the other hand, say that their parents:

> **...have made...many sacrifices and can't judge...their success on themselves....[O]ur education...[is] the measurement....If we don't take advantage of it what was their point of coming here?...[Second Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.8].**

> **My parents moved here so that we can have a better life, as opposed to what they had...like the better schools, the better teachers, the better books, compared to what they had....So...we should take advantage of the education that we have here...[Second Generation Female Focus Group, July 17th 2005, p.1].**

These children note that their parents' migration stories generate feelings of obligation to educate in particular 'reputable fields of study' that will reward the sacrifices made by their immigrant parents.

Ample evidence in this study also points to differences in the educational upbringing of children born first and their younger siblings. A few Ismaili adult children say:

> **My parents wanted me [the first-born] to excel in ... education ...
> and...the expectations for him [younger brother] are completely
> different than they were for me. The standards for him are a lot
> lower...[302b, Second Generation First-Born Man, August 14th
> 2005, p.16].**

In this way, some Ismaili children indicate that parents' migration histories may
condition less the educational upbringing of subsequent-born children than children born
first.

All respondents say that second generation men and women face identical educational
standards and expectations from parents, but that Ismaili women experience less freedom
to fulfill these expectations because they have greater mobility restrictions placed upon
them to attend universities outside of British Columbia. On average, these mobility
restrictions are more relaxed for second generation men.

Research Outcomes

In addition to my master's thesis, the information gained from this research has been
instrumental in initiating a number of projects. First, information obtained from this
research was shared at The Pacific Northwest Immigration Symposium held at the
University of British Columbia on 12th May 2006. The research team conducted a
presentation entitled "Becoming Ismaili: Scales of Identity", which exposed the variance
within participant's notions of what it means to be Ismaili. We also presented a second
talk entitled "Another Take on Team Research: Methodologically Becoming Too" which
explored our experiences as a four-person research team studying Ismailis in the Lower
Mainland. Both presentations were very well received.

Second, James McLean is presenting a paper entitled "Multiple Meanings of Muslim:
Geographies of 'Being' and 'Becoming' Ismaili" at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario
Division of the Canadian Association of Geographers on 14th October 2006. This
presentation argues that categorizing Ismaili identity is anything but straightforward, and
that scholars should be careful not to oversimplify faith-based identity in rigid typologies.
It various depending on context.

Third, in response to much bad press on young Canadian Muslims in Ontario, Dr.
Jennifer Hyndman and myself are working on a press release entitled "'A Good News
Story' on Canadian-Born Ismaili Muslims in B.C.". The aim of this press release is to
reveal how second generation Ismailis, above all, identify as Canadian, and also feel at
ease with their religion in Canada.

Thesis Defence

My master's thesis entitled "Linking Migration and Education across Generations:
Ismailis in Vancouver" is scheduled to be defended in the fall semester of 2006. If you
have any questions or comments about the study, please contact Dr. Jennifer Hyndman at
(604) 291-5464 or at hyndman@sfu.ca, or contact Arif Jamal at ajamala@sfu.ca

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Focus Groups

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Focus Group 2, First Generation Women, Conducted on July 17th 2005.

Focus Group 3, Second Generation Men, Conducted on July 17th 2005.

Focus Group 4, Second Generation Women, Conducted on July 17th 2005.

Interviews

Interview 103b, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 8th 2005.

Interview 104c, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 9th 2005.

Interview 106e, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 22nd 2005.

Interview 108f, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 16th 2005.

Interview 111, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 18th 2005.

Interview 112, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 24th 2005.

Interview 115n, First Generation Man, Conducted on August 15th 2005.

Interview 201b, First Generation Woman, Conducted on August 8th 2005.

Interview 205f, First Generation Woman, Conducted on August 16th 2005.

Interview 209k, First Generation Woman, Conducted on August 25th 2005.

Interview 211n, First Generation Woman, Conducted on August 15th 2005.

Interview 301b, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 8th 2005.

Interview 302b, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 14th 2005.

Interview 302h, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 23rd 2005.

Interview 304h, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 23rd 2005.

Interview 305m, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 28th 2005.

Interview 306, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 5th 2005.

Interview 307, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 17th 2005.

Interview 309k, Second Generation Man, Conducted on August 25th 2005.

Interview 401a, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 2nd 2005.

Interview 402c, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 9th 2005.

Interview 406j, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 22nd 2005.

Interview 407k, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 25th 2005.

Interview 408n, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 8th 2005.

Interview 409, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 29th 2005.

Interview 410, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 1st 2005.

Interview 411, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 10th 2005.

Interview 412, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 13th 2005.

Interview 413, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 16th 2005.

Interview 414, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 10th 2005.

Interview 415, Second Generation Woman, Conducted on August 22nd 2005.