

Uprooted in Place: Third Culture Kids & Migrant Movement Implications

by

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Abstract

This paper explores the correlation and differences between migrant groups and Third Culture Kids (TCKs) to determine the impact of moving countries on mental health and the concepts of belonging, tradition, memory and transition. The goals of this study were to explore the statistical implications and changes to immigration laws in Canada between 1950 and 1990; to understand the experiences of the Italian, Portuguese and Chinese migrants who moved to Toronto during the selected timeframe; to determine mental health outcomes of migrants upon settling in Canada during the chosen period and TCKs upon repatriation to their home country. This study uses an autoethnographic approach at times to convey personal narratives. A mixed method approach was taken while grey literature and peer reviewed literature were used to investigate how moving impacted the two groups. The results reveal legal changes impacted the statistics of migrant groups arriving to Canada between 1950 and 1990. Mental health challenges were present in both groups but TCKs found the transition more challenging due to an absence of affiliation with a singular cultural. Both groups referred to the concepts of belonging, tradition, memory and transition. The methods and findings of this thesis are transferable to further studies on other time periods or migrant communities.

Key Words: Third Culture Kid, migrant, Toronto, repatriation, transition, family, place, memory, identity, belonging, community, culture, tradition, customs, memory

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by acknowledging that my thesis was completed in Mi'kma'ki. Part of my thesis research looks at what is currently Toronto. Once known as Tkaronto. Toronto is the traditional territory of many nations, under the Dish With One Spoon Treaty, including the Mississaugas of the Credit, the Anishinaabe, the Chippewa, the Haudenosaunee, the Wendat, the Huron and the Attiwonderonk (Neutral) peoples (Elliott, 2019, p. 49). I acknowledge that Toronto is covered by the Williams Treaties and Treaty 13 with the Mississaugas of the Credit. Toronto continues to be the home of many First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples despite the continual settlement on and migration to the land.

I wish to thank my family: my brother, grandma and parents for their continued support and love, not only for this year but throughout university. You have all lifted me up and through the hard times. You believed in me when I did not believe in myself and I cannot express how grateful I am and how much I love each of you. I know my parents did not know if I'd ever achieve graduating or reaching high school considering the setbacks. Thank you for always providing for me and being a lifeline, both now and then.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Self-Introduction

I must acknowledge my positionality within this research. I cannot officially, as far as I understand, be considered a Third Culture Kid (TCK), because I have never officially repatriated to my birth country: The United States of America. Nevertheless, that was the original plan for university, and I have returned prior to the age of 18 to North America or Turtle Island. I lived much of my life in commonwealth countries all whose primary language is English, and I am not bilingual or multilingual unlike most TCKs. Additionally, I hold a passport to my host country, Australia, and do not hold one yet for Canada; nor are either of my parents Canadian. TCKs live in diverse countries, often with differing languages and vastly different cultures, making repatriation or immigration that much more complicated. Disparate cultures challenge individual cultural differences, which take various forms including customs, terminology, and food. These differences make transitioning to and from places complicated. It too has a great impact on mental health and wellbeing. Despite not officially falling into the TCK category, I relate to the feelings of homelessness.

There's No Place Like Home

“You never really leave a place you love,
part of it you take with you,
leaving a part of you behind.” – Unknown

Untethered Roots

Clear and fresh - the smell when it rains.
When the world is washed clean.
My eyes open, wind flows around me as I run along the forest path.
I raise my head to the sky as misty rain falls on my face.
The trees that surround me stand tall with roots that expand out for miles.

Those roots are what connect the trees to the ground and allow them to grow and remain in that very place for decades and centuries.

They know their place in the world and where they belong.

They have a home. The trees and I are not alike.

My roots are not settled and perhaps they may never be.

Yet to me, this is not entirely a down fall.

It's who I am; I am a nomad, a wanderer, transient.

1.2 Introduction

How do you define home? Home to most is a place where they feel safe, loved, it is familiar. Even if someone has lived elsewhere there is often a sense of home where their origins lie. Home could be a structure with four walls and a roof, your kin or perhaps objects. It could be a continent that holds the most memories or where your ancestors emanate. Your thoughts or mind could be home, where you stay and ponder, where it is only you, where you recede away from everyone and everything, where you can return to, a specific home, where extended family live, and those who accept you for who you are, at any stage or place in your life. A place you can be yourself, be silly, cry or laugh. Even dance about without a single care, just being simply at ease. For most, family is an unacknowledged background in connection to home. Despite this, as Schneiderman & Barrera (2009) assert “[t]he family is also the basic unit in which personal and shared problems can be solved and where emotions can be communicated directly, even if this is not often the case” (p. 355). For certain groups family plays an important role. As Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, and Lucca (1988) note: “The centrality of family to Asian and Latino cultures [despite their distinctive cultural backgrounds] reflects shared collectivist emphasis on the paramount role of family as a valued-in group and potential source of social support” (as cited in Chang et al., 2013, p. 237). For those who have lived in the same place all their lives, they are used to the same people and the same places; it can be home to some, yet it might be merely just routine.

Many of us carry pieces of home with us such as sacred objects, to remind us of those we miss and those we will always hold dear. The senses that take us back to memories we bury deep

within. Yet, “[m]emories are the glue that holds the past and the present together. They give shape and texture [. . .] to identities that are fragmented by immigration, displacement, and diasporic living” (Agnew, 2005, p. 19). Memories can be the reminders of certain foods our parents made, or music they played to us as children. The scent of a parent’s cologne or perfume, or the odour of your house as you enter through the front door, such as the smell of grandma’s freshly baked cookies; the sound of your father playing the single song he knows on the piano; the antique piece of furniture passed down through generations; the toys we played with as children that are tattered and worn yet well-loved; or the books our parents recited to us before bed and still stash in a box in the cupboard. These pieces of home can be transported wherever we are in the world. It is how we stay connected to home. It is the “lived experience drawing in tangible and intangible practices and interrelationships” that solidify such memories (Mason & Muir, 2013, p. 625).

How do traditions allow us to connect with those we care about and to feel at home? Traditions are varied and often unique to every family or relationship. Family traditions, as Classen (1994), and Sliwa and Riach (2011) acknowledge, are “both lived in and recounted through sensory, embodied, and atmospheric as well as discursive registers” (all as cited in Mason & Muir, 2013, p. 615). It could be decorating as a family during a holiday; playing a song in the car every morning on the way to school; eating a certain dessert with friends at a sleepover; playing dolls at your grandparents’ house; visiting family once in a while to share dinner; or watching a certain movie every festive season. Family traditions are “central in how generational dynamics and person family histories take shape, and how memories are ‘indexed’ in and through time” (Mason & Muir, 2013, p. 608). It is how we share a bond with those that matter and without these traditions it just wouldn’t be home. I hold onto traditions to link me to those I’ve connected with in my life.

Untitled

Fleeting.

Just out of reach.

Once you’ve gotten a hold it slips from your grasp.

That is home for now, but what of the future?

Who can say where I’ll end up;

we never stop discovering ourselves and that is the truth.

For maybe a little while, home will be tangible, but as we change, so too does home. As pointed out by Handler and Linnekin (1984), and Smart and Shipman (2004), family traditions are “not fixed entities, practices or rules passed down, intact or otherwise, from generation to generation” (all as cited in Mason and Muir, 2013, p. 625). I’ve let go of so many things along the way; friends, memories and pain. I know that nothing is constant. Harvey (1990) addresses this very notion as modernity brings about a “sense of fragmentation, ephemerality, and chaotic change. [. . .] The transitoriness of things makes it difficult to preserve any sense of historical continuity” (p. 11). I want my home to be where I am myself. To discover fully who I am. To make a home within myself.

Fundamental to the tree are the roots, the supportive foundation. It lives and dies in that singular place and for some that is their life. They experience only one town, city, or nation. The pieces of home I carry with me and the traditions I will carry on are how I shall build my own home. Suffused with the knowledge and experience of those who love me and have travelled with me around the globe. For when the time comes I will feel my roots grip firmly within me, holding strong and true.

1.3 Background

This thesis explores the concepts outlined above—tradition, memory, and mental health, and their relation to individuals who have moved throughout or within their lifetime. Two groups will be the focus of this study: TCKs and adult migrants to Toronto between 1950 and 1990. The reason for choosing these two groups is because they have correlating experiences related to moving countries. As noted previously TCKs come from a plethora of backgrounds and so it was important to reflect that same diversity amidst the migrant groups chosen. The relationship between TCKs and migrant groups has not been studied at length and certainly not with a focus on Italian, Portuguese and Chinese migrants. European and Asian immigrants are represented in this study and mirror, at least in part, the diversity of TCKs.

The term TCK was developed by John and Ruth Hill Useem to describe American children living in India (Straffon, 2003, p.489). Yet, while the concept of TCK had expanded to include a wider range of children living in numerous regions Fanning and Burns assert that “[t]he concept has served a significant role in articulating the unsettling and disorienting experiences of

growing up and schooling outside one's home culture, but not being fully part of the culture of one's schooling and upbringing" (Fanning & Burns, 2017, p. x). This is an experience migrants and migrant children share. Migrant children's experience is largely on:

the overall social and cultural climate they encounter, as well as the opportunities available to them and their families. [Here] climate is largely shaped by the general attitudes and beliefs held by members of the host society about migration and migrants. [The host country's] reception [based on these factors] frames children's perceptions of their position in their new society, contributes to the development of a sense of belonging—or exclusion—and influences their behaviors and identities. (Ensor & Gozdzia, 2010, p. 3).

The TCKs' and migrants' relations to their host society directly influence mental health and the holding on to or the letting go of traditions or memories. Nevertheless, children who migrate “often play an active role in assessing their own situation, making decisions about their life projectories, and negotiating the challenges and opportunities posed by displacement” (Ensor & Gozdzia, 2010, p.3). While this thesis does not explore children migrants it is worth mentioning their experience as it relates to TCKs. This thesis does not look specially at children migrants but rather adults, because of constraints on time and research, and because often research and “[n]umerous studies purporting to explore children's health [or migrant] experiences rely primarily on data generated from parents than from children themselves” (Spencer et al., 2019, p. 100). As such, many of these studies and the literature looking specifically at migrant children cannot be used. Additionally, this study focuses on the repatriation or movement back to the TCKs' home country which often occurs when they are adults. Therefore, looking at adult migrants in Toronto within the given timeframe is more reasonable.

1.4 Terms Defined

Family traditions are “defined as customs, beliefs, cultural values, ethics, mores, and attitudes established within the parent-child framework and passed along from one generation to the next” (Schneiderman & Barrera, 2009, p. 354).

According to Pollock and Van Reken (1999) Third Culture Kids (TCKs) are “individuals from any country who have spent formative years in second or third cultures other than their parents’ first culture” (as cited in Peterson & Plamondon, 2009, p. 755).

The term migrant often is used for “persons moving within or between countries to improve their economic and social conditions” (Douglas et al., 2019, p. 1).

1.5 Purpose & Objectives

The purpose of this research is to understand how individuals connect to the concept of place and what are some elements that have influenced their sense of belonging either in their host or home culture in relation to place or lack thereof. To understand this, the concept of Third Culture Kid will be employed and several groups (Portuguese, Italian, Chinese) of migrants to Toronto between 1950 and 1990 will be explored to determine if these groups have similar reactions to adjusting to a different culture and new environment.

Objectives:

1. To explore the statistical implications and changes to immigration policy in Canada during middle to late 20th century
2. To determine the mental health outcomes of TCKs upon repatriation and that of migrants in Toronto in the late 20th century
3. To understand the experiences of Toronto immigrants in the late 20th century and how they connect to concepts of transition, family, place, memory, identity, belonging, community, culture, tradition, customs, memory

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Context

Benedict Anderson points out in his work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism* his understanding of a nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (2016, p. 6). Nations are imagined because they contain a vast number of people who can never know all the members of that nation but somehow share an understanding or sense of knowing everyone within said ‘community’ (p. 6). Anderson further asserts: “The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” (p. 7). This idea of the nationalism, however, gives migrants or TCKs a sense of identity but only partially because they have connections to several places or nations. They connect to this imagined community or idealized memory of a place or nations to which they relate. In this way the notion of Erin Manning’s rhizomic societies—diasporic communities or people who have an unnoticed or vast connection across vast expanses of land or ocean—fits well by asserting the multiplicity and underlying connections to place (2003, p. xx-xxi, 15).

TCK Origins

Much of the literature surrounding the term ‘Third Culture Kid’ pertains to the themes of identity, belonging, international schooling, and post-secondary transition (Lijadi & Van Schalkwyk, 2017)(Poonoosamy, 2018)(Carson, 2015)(Melles, 2015)(Smith & Kearney, 2016)(Purnell & Hoban, 2014). While the original term ‘Third Culture Kid’ was coined by John and Ruth Hill Useem in the 1950s to describe children of Americans working in India, it has since been further developed by numerous scholars and no longer merely refers to American expats (Melles & Schwartz, 2013, p. 260). The term ‘Third Culture Kid’ (TCK) is now described as: “the first culture being the country from which the parents originated (the home culture), the second the country in which the family was currently living (the host culture), and the third, the expatriate community in the host country” (Pollock and Van Reken, 2001, Useem, 1993, as cited in Melles & Schwartz, 2013, p. 260). In more recent TCK literature Pollock and Van Reken, in

their book *Third-Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing up Among Worlds* (2009), assert a TCK is;

a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experiences, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background (p. 19)

TCKs form bonds best with other children who have also moved from foreign countries because they can relate to each other via their shared experiences.

Figure 1. (Van Reken & Pollock, 2009 p. 14)

Differentiation

The differentiation between TCK and children of immigrants or refugees, despite often sharing communities, is that TCK or children of sojourners aim to return to their home country and as such repatriate while immigrants or refugees plan to remain in the country after having moved (Useem & Cottrell, 1996, as cited in Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011, p. 18). The term sojourner, of which TCKs are a type (Altweck & Marshall, 2015, p. 4), describes a “a population who leave their parents' home culture for an extended stay in a host culture, then return to the home culture” (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011, p. 18). Children have various responses to navigating the new culture or partaking in acculturation. Berry posits four main responses: integration, assimilated, separated and marginal (p. 18). The integration response allows the individual to balance their relationship with each country, that of the host and the home culture, while assimilation describes their partial letting go of their home culture (p. 18). On the other hand, the

separated response means the individual does not integrate with their host culture and solely remains attached to their home culture and finally marginal whether neither host nor home culture affords them strong ties (p.18). These different responses depend on whether or not the individual can align the two cultures or if there is a disconnect (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002, all as cited in Hoerstring & Jenkins, 2011, p. 18). If they are able to connect the two cultures and integrate, they can potentially form bicultural competency (p. 18).

Identity

The notion of place is a key aspect of understanding identity, as Carson notes “places emerge as localities inhabited on a global scale, grounded physically in the lived experiences of TCKs” (2015, p. 236). Moreover, Lengen and Kistemann (2012) state “[p]lace identity is important for maintaining a personal and social identity and for emotional well-being” (as cited in Lijadi & Van Schalkwyk, 2017, p. 120). Often this concept of place provides a connection for the individual and is developed early on in an individual’s childhood. As Proshansky et al. (1983) and Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) argue: “The notion of place-identity develops as people identify with the place in which they live and where they establish their self-identity embedded in their sense of belonging and emotional connection to the place” (as cited in Lijadi & Van Schalkwyk, 2017, p. 121). Due to this strong association with place that forms early in childhood, TCKs are at a disadvantage because of their transient upbringing. Poonoosamy writes, “home is particularly complex for TCKs; it often can represent a mosaic of (sometimes conflicting) experiences and memories” (2018, p. 209), because TCKs do not remain within one geographical location and move during this place-identity development stage. As such, “a high mobility lifestyle might cause these individuals to feel confused about which place to call home, and their sense of belongingness is always questioned, which may further lead to the confusion of their identity” (Bowman, 2001; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Easthope, 2009, all as cited in Lijadi & Van Schalkwyk, 2017, p. 121). Moreover, there is an important connection between nationality and identity for TCKs. However, often the “complex amalgamation of national identities renders it peculiarly difficult for TCK to produce a coherent national history” (Carson, 2015, p. 202). Moreover, Carson asserts: “For TCKs, national identity defines, confuses, and dictates to them their future employment paths. National identity may, for some, cement

otherwise fragile and complex selves” (p. 207). Therefore, TCKs are at a greater risk of developing cultural homelessness (CH) (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999, as cited in Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011, p. 18). However, they can also form cross-cultural identities (CCI) (p.18). Hoersting and Jenkins findings confirm that “adults who led a cross-culturally mobile childhood and adolescence are at risk of CH, which may not only provide adaptive cognitive and social benefits but also impact an individual’s emotional security and self esteem” (p. 28). Nevertheless, those who focused more on CCI despite experiencing CH more often had higher self esteem (p.28).

Belonging

The notion of belonging or struggling to feel a sense of belonging is explored within several TCK studies. Poonoosamy articulates this saying: “Belonging recognises a sense of identification with others and with places as contributing to who we are” (2018, p. 112). However, because of TCKs movement a sense of belonging can be harder to establish. As Carson writes:

For TCKs, arriving at a shared history and cultural experience in a landscape of relationships that may be constantly shifting is the particular challenge of belonging. [. . .] The multiple moves experiences by TCKs led many to engage in complex interactions with friends and even acquaintances over multiple locations. In this way, TCKs may be said to achieve a sense of *transnational* belonging (2015, p. 156).

Specifically, language and language acquisition can determine a TCKs sense of belonging (Carson, 2015, p. 148). Additionally, “TCKs’ sense of identification with people around them, with the cultures of host countries and schools, and the ties they create with people of different cultures, languages and nationalities are significant factors that can shape their sense of belonging” (Poonoosamy, 2018, p. 208). However, this sense of belonging, can be multifaceted. Nevertheless, “a sense of belonging is a subjective, emotional response to a place or community of people” (Fail et al., 2004, p. 326)

International Schooling

A number of papers detail the experiences of TCKs at international schools. As Fanning and Burns acknowledge: “The effect on these young people’s schooling is markedly different from experiences of education for those staying within the country of their birth” (2017, p. 148). This is because TCKs are often disconnected from their home culture due to partaking in ulterior education systems, dialects, relationships and customs (p. 147-148). Nevertheless, often to conform, children “adapted their accent and language as they travelled, and [in some cases] modified [their] speaking manner in the countries to which [they] moved” (159). Yet, due to this adaptation, those who interacted with these individuals could not fully comprehend their identity because it did not correlate to said individual’s outward expression.

A study done by Lijadi and van Schalkwyk (2018) identified three themes featured prominently in narratives presented by adult TCK participants: “(a) availability and accessibility of international schools, (b) the curriculum and language of instruction at international schools and (c) social interactions in the international schools” (Lijadi & van Schalkwyk, 2018, p. 54). They found participants 40 and older, who had attended school in the 1960s, had few options and so were often homeschooled at a young age and transitioned later in their schooling to formal education (p. 54). However, post 1980s international schooling options increased, especially in urban environments (p. 54). In regard to curriculum, schools change the availability of subjects making it challenging to adapt to each new system (p. 55). As for language, some schools did offer TCKs home dialects but English was soon favoured by many schools and families (p. 55). With social interactions, those aged 40 and above felt connected to peers within international schools as students attending all came from different regions (p. 56). Those attending international schools during and after the 1990s, however, had many peers who were from the local area (p. 56) Thus, the TCK individuals felt isolated and inadequate in regards to language acquisition (p. 56).

Fail, Thompson and Walker articulate the frequent themes brought up by adult TCK interviewees including their negative or advantageous marginality to their surrounding community and reverse culture shock upon repatriation (2004, p. 332-333). Some adult TCKs, despite having lived in a certain place or their home culture/ passport country for some time, still do not feel at home but rather on the periphery of their communities (p. 332-333). Others, however, feel a special pride in their differences and uniqueness compared to those in their

communities (p. 333). Yet, upon repatriation to their home culture, often for university, TCKs experience difficulties and adjustment challenges (p. 333).

Transition

Several studies look at TCK's ability and experience transitioning to their home country for university. A study done by Purnell and Hoban looks at TCKs repatriating or returning to Australia for post-secondary education and "provides a contextual overview of the rationale for this research by examining TCKs' experiences of social engagement, managing practicalities and emotional health during transition or repatriation" (Purnell & Hoban, 2014, p. 81). The transition for TCK individuals within the university system varies but many participants within Purnell and Hoban's study "faced re-entry hardships upon arrival to their 'passport country' or country of citizenship" also known as their home country (Bikos et al., 2009, Hervey, 2009, all as cited in Purnell & Hoban, 2014, p. 81). These individuals experience culture shock because they are entering an unfamiliar environment and do not know the nuances of said culture (p. 82). Thus, "[r]e-entry training is among recommended strategies to increase the likelihood of a successful transition during repatriation" (Anderson, 2001; Arthur, 2003; Black, Gregersen, and Mendenhall, 1992; Cox, 2004; Forster, 1994; Furuya, Stevens, Bird, Oddou, & Mendenhall, 2009; Nelson, 2005; Riusala & Suutari, 2000, all as cited in Purnell & Hoban, 2014, p. 82).

Another such study looked at TCKs returning to the United States for university (or 'college'; as they refer to it within the article). This article points out that "upon returning home, many TCKs fail to establish a sense of belonging, have difficulty building friendships, feel like misfits, become depressed, and are so dissatisfied with their university experience that they transfer institutions multiple times or drop out of higher education" (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009, as cited in Smith & Kearney, 2016, p. 959). The most common struggle that participants faced within this study were cultural differences and a disrupted sense of identity (Smith & Kearney, 2016, pp. 963-964) while data "reported emotions were primarily aligned with the stages of anger and depression and all were associated with identified losses" (p. 967).

TCK Benefits

There are also various other benefits to identifying with multiple cultures. As Abe notes: “an impressive body of research on immigrants and ethnic minorities has found that biculturalism or identifying with more than one culture is positively associated with psychological and sociocultural adjustment” (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013, Yoon et al., 2013, as cited in Abe, 2018, p. 811).

Upon growing up these individuals become known as Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs). Studies on ATCKs are predominately related to repatriation and their “search for identity [which] tend to be impressionistic and anecdotal” (Abe, 2018, p. 813). Nevertheless, they “highlight some of the advantages associated with an international upbringing including adaptability and open-minded-ness, they also give the impression that feelings of rootlessness and unresolved grief are pervasive among this population and almost inevitable” (p. 813).

TCK Criticism

The term ‘TCK’ has been criticized because these individuals “come from such diverse backgrounds and have no permanent place of settlement, there are ‘no premises for the creation of a ‘hybrid’ third culture”” (Dervin & Benjamin, 2015, p. 4, as cited in Abe, 2018, p. 813). Furthermore, there are other troublesome components to the term: “overly binarised cultural understanding, interstitial conception of personal culture, unacknowledged geo-political centrism” (Fanning & Burns, 2017, p. 149). The two binaries often associated with TCKs is that of their home culture belonging to the West or seen as developed while the host culture will be viewed as other or developing (p. 148). The interstitial conception of personal culture is controversial because:

TCK hybridity has been viewed contradictorily: as a ‘third’ culture, but also as merely ‘interstitial’. [. . .] Thus, on one hand the concept does not really propose a hybrid culture since identity created is simply interstitial between ‘home’ and ‘other’ culture (p. 149)

Moreover, literature on TCKs often does not note its primary concern with “geo-political self-centredness around western identity” especially that of the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom (p. 149).

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Approach Rationale

For this thesis a mixed approach was taken in order to provide a well-rounded study. A mixed approach and incorporation of quantitative data will provide greater validity to the final outcome and research as a whole. The qualitative data used within this study is mainly in the form of narratives that show the personal experiences of migrants and TCKs. These narratives and experiences are varied but provide information important to understanding numerous individuals' stories. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber notes in her book *Mixed Methods Research: Merging Theory with Practice* that mixed “[c]omplementarity allows the researcher to gain a fuller understanding of the research problem and/or to clarify a given research result. This is accomplished by utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data and not just the numerical or narrative explanation alone to understand the social story in its entirety” (Hesse-Biber, 2010, p.4). Furthermore, statistics gathered from census data will accompany the narrative results to give insights into the changing immigration patterns in Canada during 1950-1990. Thus, by using mixed methods for this thesis both qualitative and quantitative will provide data to analyze.

3.2 Data Collection

Secondary data was collected from grey both grey literature and various primary source documents including peer reviewed journals, published books, magazines as well as census and immigration records. Peer reviewed journals provided much of the data on TCKs and their experiences. Published books, however, supplied much of the information on the migrant groups to Toronto between 1950 to 1990. These items were then compared to the stories gathered from peer reviewed journals. Both existing statistics and those formulated by analyzing the data were gathered from immigration and census records to identify the changes in policy and cultural background of immigrants/ refugees moving to Canada between this same time period. Both deductive and inductive reasoning was used. In terms of deductive information certain terms

were identified to potentially correlate as themes between the two groups while other information was inductive and came out of the research.

3.3 Methods of Analysis

To analyze all the data gathered from these two searches several methods were taken to ensure the most information was obtained from all the sources used within this study. For the qualitative data collected, a thorough analysis and close text reading of key themes or phrases was undertaken. Analysis was conducted of the published material concerning the two groups in order to identify similarities and differences between TCKs and immigrants and their experiences. This careful close text reading allowed for key themes or words to be pulled out despite every individual's experience being unique to their situation. These words included: tradition, belonging, custom(s), barriers and struggle. The statistical data compiled from census and immigration records was then compared to the experiences of the narratives given by migrants and TCKs on their experiences to draw final conclusions.

3.4 Personal Narrative Inclusion

This thesis includes personal narrative elements in order to highlight my own experience as someone who has dealt with similar feelings to a TCK and as an immigrant to Canada. They correlate to some of the emotions highlighted by individuals within peer reviewed sources. While my experience is unique in some ways it also is not a new experience for young adults or children who have moved around or have varying cultural identities. The personal elements included in this thesis are not meant to universalise the experience of others, nor discredit the lived experiences of marginalized communities. I can only offer my own experience as an immigrant or TCK.

This method can best be described as autoethnographic. Such a method “allows researchers to draw on their own experiences to understand a particular phenomenon” (Méndez, 2014, p. 280). This type of method can take on many forms and depends highly on the researcher and their aim of including autoethnography (Méndez, 2014, p. 281). This is in part due to how “forms of autoethnography differ in how much emphasis is placed on the study of others, the

researcher's self and interaction with others, traditional analysis, and the interview context, as well as on power relationships" (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 278). This method can aid in highlighting and bringing forth a greater understanding of cultural experience (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 276). An autoethnography "can be in the form of a poem, a narrative or a story" (Denzin, 1989; Connelly and Clandinin, 1999; Nekvapil, 2003, all as cited in Méndez, 2014, p. 281).

Chapter 4: Results & Discussion

4.1 Canadian Immigration Shifts

Post-World War II Canada underwent various changes in immigration policy, especially between 1950 and 1990. In the late 1940s “British, American, and Northern European, particularly Dutch, immigrants, were actively courted. Legislated bars against Asians remained in place and administrative tinkering assured that Southern and Eastern Europeans, especially Jews, would find it difficult to get into Canada” (Troper, 2003, p. 28). The immigration exclusions were due to Canada’s hesitancy toward allowing immigrants from certain national or cultural backgrounds into the country who did not align with Canadian values. Despite this, in 1947 the repeal of the Exclusion Act (Chan, 2011, p. 97) occurred which had banned Chinese immigrants—other than a few exceptions—from entering Canada for 24 years beginning in 1923 (Chan, 2013, p. 85). Nevertheless, the repeal’s implementation did not occur for several decades. As Chan writes: “[t]he inequality of the immigration laws was readily apparent; Canada had no such limiting rules for post-war groups from Europe” (Chan, 2011, p. 97). The reason for these shifts was not because Canada recognized their discriminatory policies but rather because of labour shortages and needs. The three thesis case study groups—Italian, Chinese, and Portuguese—had immigrants brought to Canada for labour reasons at one time or another. While both the Italian and Portuguese populations had significant increases in immigrant numbers post-1950, the Chinese began coming to North America in the mid nineteenth century due to overcrowding, poverty, natural disasters and food shortages in China (Chan, 2013, p. 16). The appeal of gold brought them to the continent and while they began seeking gold in California they headed north in hopes of benefitting from the Frazer River Gold Rush and (p. 16).

Beginning in “1952, the government passed a new immigration act designed to attract a continuing stream of industrial and urban-bound immigrants without casting an ethnic or racial immigration net beyond Europe’s borders” (Troper, 2003, p. 30). The design, however, was not followed in practice and the minister of immigration was still able to pick and choose who came into the country based on ethnic or racial parameters (p. 30). By “1954, the Portuguese and Canadian governments collaborated to recruit men from the Portuguese mainland and the Azores to work in remote areas in Canada, on the railway lines, on farms, and as tradesworkers”

(Hawkins 1988:49-50, Anderson and Campbell Davis 1990, as cited by Giles, 2002, p. 26). This process continued thanks to the Conservative government between 1957 and 1963 in order to access cheap labour (p. 27). Further alteration to immigration acts continued to occur but began to no longer be based on labour needs. As Chan writes:

The first step toward dismantling Canada's 'white's only' immigration policy occurred in 1962, when 'country of origin' was removed from the selection criteria, with a new emphasis on the economic contribution of unsponsored immigrants. Despite this change, a distinction forbidding the sponsoring of all but one's closest relatives remained for immigrants from Asia (2011, p. 125)

The biggest shifts in immigration occurred in 1967 and 1976 (p. 125). In 1967, the discriminatory basis for which people were allowed or not allowed into the country was replaced with a point system, whereas in 1976, multiculturalism became a national policy (p. 125). Regardless of these changes and the allowance of more racially diverse groups into the country, "nationalistic projects are highly individualistic strategies which are limited in their provision of advantages to immigrants and their descendants, who cannot easily take on the identity of a dominant Anglo-European group" (Giles, 2002, p. 3). In fact, "the way Canada's immigration and multicultural policies operate to transform a highly heterogenous group into the homogenous category of 'immigrant' [is detrimental]. [. . .] This emphasis on ethnic identity conceals many other aspects of the lives of immigrants, most importantly, their contributions as workers in the Canadian labour market" (p. 4). Additionally, immigrants are not afforded the same opportunities or rights as naturalized citizens. Therefore, "immigrants and their descendants, positioned as 'the other,' are limited in the extent to which they can choose or challenge an identity that would allow them equitable access to resources and rights" (p. 3).

4.2 Statistics

The following results were gathered from immigration data taken from the 1981 Canadian Census. Figure 2 shows the number of immigrants and the prominent nationalities allowed into Canada between 1955 and 1981 (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984). While the British were the most prominent group to arrive to Canada between 1950 and 1990,

they were not analysed for two reasons: their culture is similar to Canadian culture and thus they would have very few elements to adjust to upon arrival and due to TCKs varied cultural backgrounds it was important to get a sense of varied cultural groups and their experience in migrating to Canada to compare to TCKs. Therefore, three of the most common national groups to arrive in Canada during this period chosen are: Italian, Chinese and Portuguese.

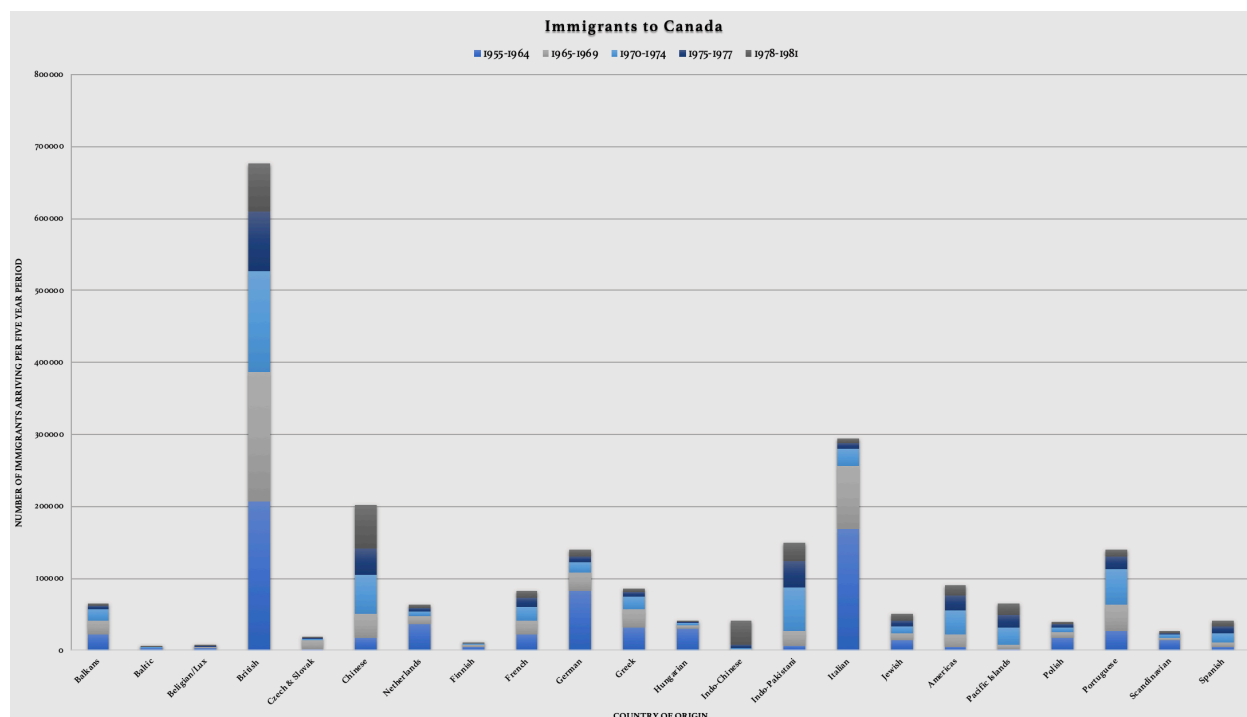


Figure 2. (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984)

The following four figures are developed by *The Toronto Star*. They provide a more in-depth analysis of the groups arriving in Toronto proportionally and shows where they settled upon arrival. Figure 3 and Figure 4 demonstrate that between 1951 and 1970 the most prominent immigrants to Toronto were especially from southern Europe. Whereas Figure 5 and Figure 6 show a shift to more American and Asian immigrants.

Figure 3. Toronto 1951 – 1960 (Relph, 2014).

Figure 4. Toronto 1961 – 1970 (Relph, 2014).

Figure 5. Toronto 1971 – 1980 (Relph, 2014).

Figure 6. Toronto 1981 – 1990 (Relph, 2014).

4.3 Mental Health

Mental health information was sparse or non-existent prior to the 1990s, especially in terms of immigrants in Canada. An article from Maclean's, published in 1958, gives key insights into the widely-shared information and opinions available and at the time about the mental health of immigrants. It states: "immigrant males between the ages of fifteen and forty-four who had been in the country five years or less had an admission rate [to hospital or mental health facilities] about forty percent higher than nonimmigrants" (Katz, 1958, para 8). This statistic provides key information on mental health of immigrants during the period under study. Moss noticed the same stating: "college-aged missionary kids experienced significantly higher levels of loneliness than their American peers" (Melles & Frey, 2014, p. 349). For both groups, a number of factors contribute to these higher levels of loneliness or administration rates. Immigrants come to Canada (or other countries) having a great deal of aspects to adjust to upon arrival.

The same is true of TCKs who note a "number of cultural differences they [experience] between their host country and [their home country upon repatriation]" (Smith & Kearney, 2016, p. 963). These cultural differences and the adjustment needed to their new environment leads TCKs to experience a variety of mental health challenges. TCKs experience "symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, burnout, adjustment disorders, and depression" (Schubert (1987a,b,c), Powell (1987), and Schubert and Powell (1987) as cited by Melles & Frey, 2014, p. 349). As well, depression and anxiety were common in a number of studies done on TCKs (Smith and Kearney, 2016, p. 968; Purnell & Hoban, 2014, p. 85). Immigrants, on the other hand often come from countries where safety is a concern and/or where there is a lack of trust in the government. Often immigrant experience occurs as follows:

During the first few weeks, according to Libuse Tyhurst, of Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, the immigrant feels exerted and on top of the world. [They] have arrived in body, but not in mind. The next period—roughly up to about six months—is the period of 'psychological arrival.' [They have] now come face-to-face with the practical problems

of living. During this period [immigrants] are apt to be anxious, depressed and critical. (Katz, 1958, para 39)

These feelings are shared with TCKs who can experience “[a] deep grief that sometimes continue[s for] up to 6 years after repatriation” (Smith and Kearney, 1967). For immigrants during the late 20th century, this is in part due to the native Canadians’ “unfriendliness [toward immigrants, which] can have disastrous effects on the newcomers: they feel inferior, inadequate and their personalities disintegrate” (Katz, 1958, para 19). Canada did not always pride itself on being multicultural. In fact, many Canadians wanted immigrants to assimilate during the 1950s to 1980s and saw immigrants as a threat to their own ability to find or fill job positions. As the Maclean’s article further asserts “[t]he first few years are usually fraught with anxiety and insecurity” (Katz, 1958, para 24). Moreover, one reason little is published during this period on mental health is due to the fact that many immigrants did not seek mental health support or were not reported by medical professionals out of the risk of individual’s deportation (Katz, 1958, para 24). Yet, immigrants face further hardships posed to them by the Canadian population. In fact, the “greatest mental-health hazard to non-English speaking [immigrants was] the manner in which they [were] rejected by the vast majority of native Canadians” (Katz, 1958, para 18). Nevertheless, immigrants too can come with their own unrealistic expectations of their new life in Canada and have a very challenging time adjusting to new social norms (Katz, 1958, para 27). As Katz notes:

the extent to which an immigrant will withstand social rejection as well as other rigours of [their] early life in Canada will depend mainly on three factors: [their] motives in coming here, the robustness of [their] personality and the amount of knowledge [they] have about conditions in Canada. (para 21)

Their ability to withstand harsh treatment or ostracization depends on the immigrant or TCK and is situational to how they adjust to the transition. However, most immigrants and TCKs within two years have settled and are more comfortable in Canada or their repatriation country (Katz, 1958; Purnell & Hoban, 2014, p. 87). An immigrant’s involvement in community events or TCKs club establishment or group can help in this process to establish friendships between themselves, non-immigrants or other immigrants. Ultimately, it has to be up to the individual’s

pace and comfort level as to how they integrate or adopt a country's customs or social norms. Yet, services and mental health support need to be made available and cater to these two groups.

4.4 Experiences

The experiences of immigrants in Toronto between 1950 and 1990 vary but each group – Italians, Portuguese and Chinese – explored in this thesis have similarities and of course some differences. Toronto during the late 20th century, and post-World War II, became a diverse city with various cultural groups establishing communities, leading the city to become “among the most, if not *the* most, pluralist of the major cities in the Western world” (Anisef & Lanphier, 2003, p. 3). However, this was due to huge changes in Canadian immigration policy as shown succinctly above in Section 4.1. Below (Figure 7) is a map of the three case study communities in Toronto between the chosen time period of 1950 to 1990. The reader may notice the length of the Portuguese case study is slightly longer than that of the Chinese or Italian's. This is because more first-hand accounts were provided for the Portuguese within the literature used.

The Third Way

Third Culture Kids (TCKs) connect experience to the concept of place somewhat differently than immigrant groups because they cannot position themselves accordingly to one culture in particular. One instance Carson (2015) articulated within her work is:

For David, photographs conjured up the echoes of past lives, memories anchoring his experience to the concreteness of place. In addition to these pictorial artefacts, however, David also treasured collections of toys and books from his childhood. These material objects were as close as he could get to his otherwise insubstantial memories of place. Objects could be carried around with him (p. 254)

These objects or photos were transportable from one place to another, regardless of how many moves David, a TCK, made. Each immigrant, like TCKs, is unique in how they conjure up or relate to memories or items from their past. In Carson's (2015) interviews “TCKs described the literal marks they left on their childhood landscapes, while others grappled with artefacts of place, photographs, or other objects, that stirred memories of place” (p. 253). It is a reciprocal

relationship to place in which parts of your past are taken with you or are left behind. Moreover, Carson (2015) asserts that “familial sense of belonging plays a significant role in mediating the construction of landscape as the site of social relationship, or ‘place’” (p. 242).

This is certainly the case, too, in terms of how TCKs, again, relate best to others who have a shared experience. TCKs feel most comfortable “within groups of others who [share] outsider experiences within a dominant culture. The connections established through shared experiences of being and living with difference fostered emotional grounding and stability” (Espada-Campos, 2018, p. 50). The same is true of immigrants who often feel most comfortable with those of a shared language or experience.

Queries

Here I am

But where is here?

How long must I stay to make it a home?

How long till it feels comfortable?

How long till it feels like mine?

Here I am

But who is here?

Who am I and who are they?

Are we alike or far from tethered?

What connects me to them and us to here?

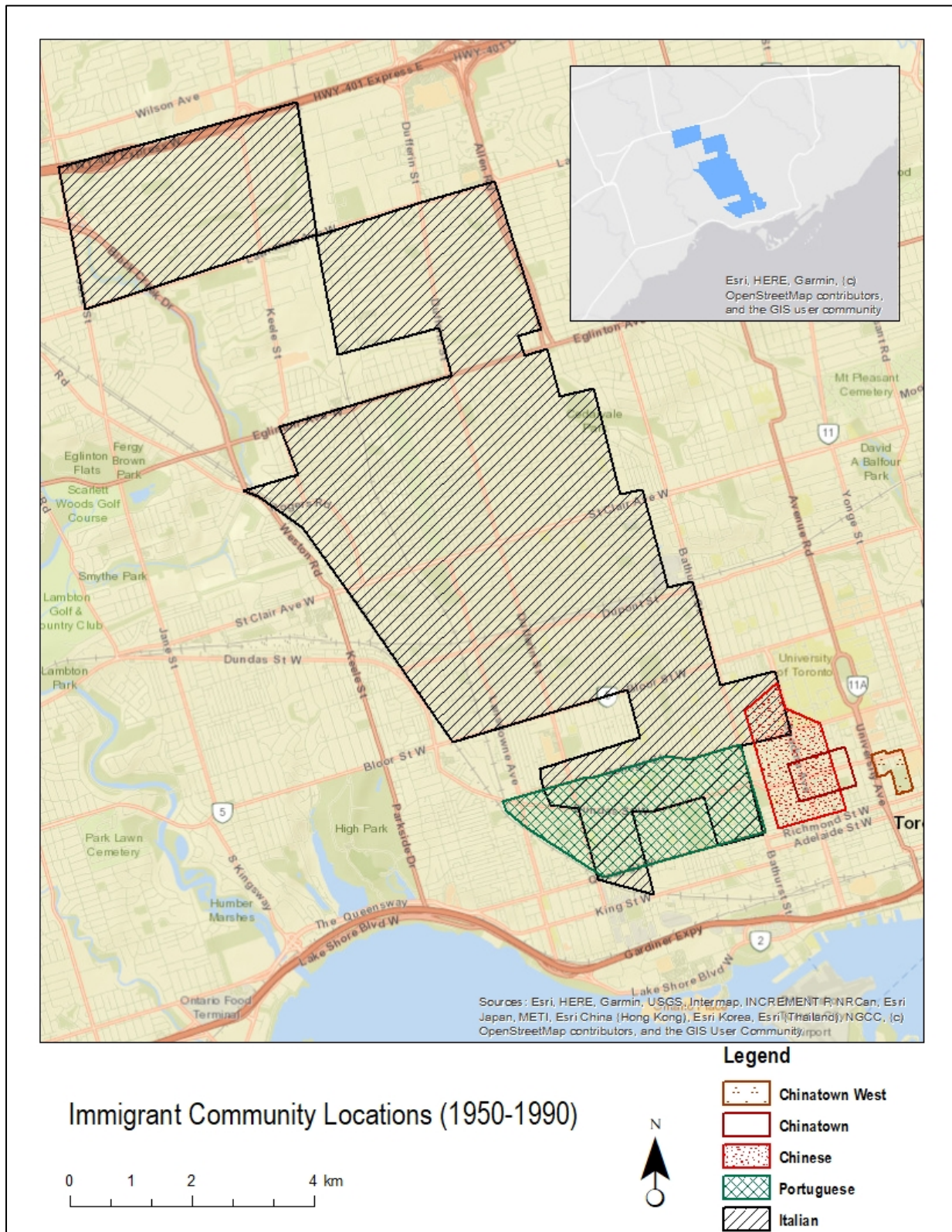


Figure 7. Case study groups distribution in Toronto.

The Italians

Immigrant from Italy, especially from the south, arrived in Toronto beginning in the late 1940s due to economic hardships (Iacovetta, 1992, p. 4). This was in part since “[a]s early as 1950, the north showed remarkable signs of recovery as foreign aid revived industrial output [. . . which] did not extend to the south” (p. 7). There was, therefore, huge discrepancies between poverty rates in the north and south of Italy, as well as harsh living conditions which prompted a huge emigration of southern Italians (p. 8). As Iacovetta highlights, “[b]etween 1951 and 1961, close to 90,000 Italians, or 40 per cent [entering Canada during] these years, settled in Toronto. Another 33,000 Italians came to Toronto by 1965; and by 1971, 38,760 more had come” (p. xxi). However, they were not necessarily welcomed in Toronto for a few reasons: “The peasants who arrived in postwar Toronto brought with them values and habits forged in the rural peasant economy of southern Italy” (p. 9). This created some tension between Italians and the general Toronto population.

Southern Italians, however, “were not uprooted peasants who abandoned their value systems, cultural rituals, and institutions on arrival in Canada. Neither did [they] preserve their traditional ways completely intact amid the new material circumstances” (p. xxv). Upon arrival in Toronto they settled and began businesses around the intersection of St. Clair Avenue and Dufferin Street, which “was the focal point” of the community (Buzzelli, 1997, p. iii). This region experienced a number of changes thanks to southern Italian immigrants, especially regarding spatial organization or architectural design. Prior to Italian arrival in the city Toronto’s architecture was predominantly Georgian in style thanks to Toronto’s connection to Britain (p. 106). The Georgian style for retail buildings contained numerous ornate features including sliding-sash windows with varying numbers of panes, ornate window “sills and lintels—often of stone, [. . .] and a formal entrance bay or vestibule” (p. 104). Yet, upon the Italians moving into the region and setting up businesses along St. Clair the architecture took on a very different appearance. In fact,

Italian immigration and entrepreneurship brought visible changes to the original Georgian [architecture], namely the widespread use of stucco, marble/granite and tile. Georgian features were also removed and/or replaced. Vestibules were coopted for plate glass

windows, café windows installed to serve sidewalk patrons and new outdoor patios for cafes and restaurants (p. iii-iv)

Italians transformed the space to reflect their culture and traditions. Moreover, “merchants spoke of their pride and preference for Italian-style renovations, work which was usually done with aid of family and community members” (p. iv). Family or extended ties were crucial for the Italian community. It was “[k]in networks [that] helped to steer enterprising immigrants into businesses in which their relatives or paesani were already engaged” (Iacovetta, 1992, p. 63). This further created community ties and upheld the Italian identity. In many ways, “like most immigrants, southern Italians were keen to nurture their treasured cultural and religious beliefs [. . .] and successfully transplanted cherished rituals and traditions” (p. 124).

In response to the formation of these enclaves, organizations aimed to help with the adjustment into Canadian society. It was not, however, all for just causes as “[b]y offering such help, they also hoped to make the women more receptive to the lectures and educational courses aimed at converting them, and their children, to Canadian ways” (p. 127). However, this was not received as well as Canadian organizations had hoped, since Italians were particular about what community organizations they attended or joined. Moreover, Italians formed a number of community organization to provide their own support (p. 146). They “recreate[d] their culture and community life by transplanting the associations, political groups, cultural rituals, and other customs of their homeland” (Buzzelli, 1997, p. xxv). They surrounded themselves with their community and culture in numerous ways.

As such, “Italianness was defined in space. In the process of defining ethnic identity, some things are adapted and others are dropped. The same is true for architecture. Stucco and the arch, for example, have been played up in Toronto’s landscape as expressions of Italian identity much like certain foods, language, and music” (Iacovetta, 1992, p. 119). The Italians made Toronto into their own while adjusting to their surroundings in bilateral exchange and adaptation. The landscape shifted because “Italian merchants collectively altered St. Clair by way of their identity and self-expressiveness” (p. 118). Social standards were also upheld or altered by the Italians in Toronto. Female Italians “incorporated their new experiences as working-class women into traditionally rooted notions of familial and motherly responsibility” (p. 78). Thus, they

achieved “effective place-making” (p. 121) and created a place within the Canadian context reflective of their cultural background and values while also adapting to a new environment.

The Chinese

The Chinese began settling slowly in Toronto in the 1880s and 90s, having come from British Columbia and the gold fields (Chan, 2011, p. 17). They began to settle along York Street, in an area now known as Chinatown West (Figure 7) and, “[b]y 1915, a small cluster of Chinese businesses and residences were established” (Chan, 2013, p. 33). Yet, this growth would soon be halted due to the Exclusionary Act as addressed previously in Section 4.1. The Chinese were one of the least welcomed groups to Canada and therefore “[t]he Exclusion Act had taken its toll. Only 19 restaurants, 29 grocery stores, four drug stores, four insurance agencies, and a handful of other businesses had survived the years of exclusion” (Chan, 2011, p. 105). Yet, this began to shift when it was repealed due to the Chinese Canadians support during WWII (p. 85). This more accepting tone of the Chinese meant immigration from China began once again. Moreover, the repeal meant families could be reunited: “In 1950, for example, 1,036 immigrants arrived in Canada – 60 percent were children and 32 percent were wives” (Chan, 2011, p. 114).

As the Chinese population grew so too did community organizations. Church was a huge aspect and community hub for Chinese immigrants, in which various activities were held (p. 115). Cantonese music and dance groups also became part of the life and traditions since “dances drew from a wide repertoire of stories from mythology, history, and daily life” (pp. 116, 118). In a variety of aspects, the Chinese community drew upon their culture and kept traditions alive. Maintaining language was an important element for Chinese immigrant parents. In fact, “the demand to learn to Chinese remained strongly supported by parents, who believed that language skills were the most important way to instill cultural values” (p. 121). The community too started various associations and organizations to support its people since they were otherwise not welcomed by the greater Toronto population.

Chinatown West (Figure 7) was “viewed as a blighted eyesore – a target for slum clearance and urban revitalization” (Chan, 2011, p. 104) to make way for City Hall. This urban revitalization occurred and “[b]y 1958, two-thirds of Chinatown was expropriated [for the construction of City Hall], ultimately displacing the employment of 500 people” (p. 105). There was further fear of the businesses or other residential infrastructure being demolished and

increasing prices. The community was forced to move “westward along Dundas Street towards Spadina Avenue, less than a kilometre away, to a neighbourhood with more affordable housing, employment opportunities, and space. This culturally diverse area had been home to Irish, Jewish, Portuguese and Italian communities” (p. 133). Despite relocating the fight to stop development was not done for the community. As Chan (2011) acknowledges:

The report to the city from the Save Chinatown Committee in 1969 made an impassioned plea to prevent further development and to preserve what remained. As the room of Chinese community, Chinatown was ‘one of the most popular tourist attractions in the city,’ where at least ‘25 percent of the Chinese population in Toronto’ derived their income and livelihood” (p. 111).

Yet, this plea eventually was dismissed and tall buildings took over the area. However, the Chinese community continued to increase as students from China, particularly Hong Kong, were sent to “prestigious educational institutions” due to the student visa addition to the immigration regulations in 1978 (p. 128). “University student associations” were established in order to aid students in their transition and “integration into campus life” (p. 129). The same is recommended for TCK students in helping them transition to their home culture (Purnell & Hoban, 2014; Wu et al., 2015; Smith & Kearney, 2016). However, TCKs in one study “reported a significantly harder time adjusting to college than their international student counterparts, with 89% reporting having at least some social or personal problems” (Melles & Frey, 2014, 349). For non-student Chinese immigrants, a number of integration indicatives were set up so the transition process to Canada occurred more smoothly.

Chan (2011) notes “organizations, mostly comprised of community centres, helped newcomers settle in Toronto by providing programs and services, such as English instruction, senior clubs, daycare, legal aid, citizenship classes, interpretation and employment counselling” (p. 143). Thanks to these integration strategies Chinese immigrants and other migrant groups slowly began to feel more of a sense of home in Canada. As they remained and became part of the Toronto social fabric “generations of young people – some local-born, some born overseas – wanted to be actively involved in Canada culture and political life” (p. 131). While integrating or participating in Canadian culture and/or political life, however, they did not give up completely their Chinese or cultural identity.

The Portuguese

Portuguese citizens had long emigrated out of the country. The “[m]igrations from the Portuguese mainland to Canada originated from four principal areas in the northerly regions of Portugal: Minho, Trastos-Montes, Beira Alta, and Beira Bai” (Teixeria and Lavigne, 1992, as cited by Giles, 2002, p. 4). However, migrants from Portugal differed if they came from the islands rather than the mainland, which impacted their experience in Toronto. In fact, “[m]ost of Portuguese in Canada originate from the islands of the Azores [. . . and met those from the mainland] as a group for the first time in Canada” (p. 4). These migrants were primarily wage labourers in Portugal but upon immigration to Canada had to adjust to an “industrialized urban society” (p. 4). Post-World War II there was an increase in the population of Portuguese immigrants. In fact, “[t]he Portuguese Emigration Bureau maintains that between 1950 and 1988, 1,375,00 emigrants departed legally [. . .] from Portugal. [. . .] The Bureau estimates Canada received 138,000 Portuguese over this period of 38 years” (p. 5). They settled along Dundas Street, west of Bathurst Street (Figure 7).

Portuguese males/men labourers followed the mass recruitment of Italians in the immediate post war years, although they were fewer in number (p. 26). The “height of their migration [was between] 1967-82 [many of whom were women or children joining their male counterparts] [. . .]. After the later 1970s, the number of Portuguese entered Canada began to drop sharply” (p. 28). The Portuguese within Toronto made a community for themselves and integrated or adopted some cultural aspects. Yet, “[t]hey were among the group of immigrant workers most affected by the restructuring in manufacturing in the 1980s and 1990s” (p. 8). Immigrants within Toronto faced a number of challenges, especially with carving out economic space for themselves and maintaining those financial avenues.

Giles (2002) highlights that “Canadian state multiculturalism privatizes women’s lives, isolating them from the sense of the community espoused in multicultural discourse” (p. 62). They battle the traditional gender roles as well as fewer economic opportunities or educational pursuits afforded to them. Yet, both “[f]irst-and second-generation women, in their struggle to redefine the boundaries of Portuguese identity and home, seek to change their lives beyond the home and beyond the Portuguese community” (p. 62). This was a risk Portuguese women were willing to take to define themselves within their new environment. Giles (2002) states:

[F]irst-generation women are defined as those who came to Canada at age 15 or older, were unable to speak English fluently, and entered the workforce upon arrival. Second generation are those, born either in Portugal or in Canada, who attended school in Canada” (p. 5).

These two groups have differing experiences related to migration and belonging, however, the Portuguese were tied to their culture in various ways. In fact, even upon immigration to Canada, certain cultural expectations or roles for women were made and expected to be upheld (p. 44). However, traditional gender role views differ between generations (p. 57) as first-generation Portuguese migrants had a “predominant interest in preserving and protecting traditional gender roles in their households” (p. 10). Part of the reason for this was due to the women’s transition to the labour market from a rural lifestyle. However, depending on competency in English the opportunities available varied (p. 54).

On a whole “[i]mmigrant households are influenced by traditional ideologies and remembered attachments to home and households in Portugal” (p. 61). Despite this, migrant experiences and cultural accommodation to their new ‘home’ cannot be understood as homogenous, even if they are from the same culture. Giles (2002) recounts two separate stories of Portuguese migrant women—two years apart in immigration to Canada and both born in Azores—who differed in their transition since “[t]he type of household in which each woman is located is what most differentiates them” (p. 54). Helena, a second-generation Portuguese woman, chose values to keep or replace, based heavily on her childhood environment. Helena, despite her cultural roots,

shunn[ed] the traditional Portuguese household and a marriage relationship, [and instead] cast back to her early years in Portugal ‘in a household run by women’ as the formative time in her life. And it is those memories, not necessarily or solely, the ‘modernizing’ experience of living in Canada, that ha[d] moved her beyond the traditional household and family ideologies she encounter[ed] in Toronto. (p. 54).

Helena recounts her sense of home and recreates a similar experience from her childhood despite moving and its differentiation from general Portuguese gender roles or social norms. As for Januaria, a first-generation Portuguese woman, she “struggle[d] with definitions that her husband

and others [sought] to impose on her, that would exclude her from defining herself as a wage working woman, who ha[d] a legitimate place outside the household” (p. 54). These contradictions were challenging for women who were not only navigating a new culture but also the expectations of others.

The Portuguese culture was not only instilled and replicated in the home but was maintained in other spaces. For these women “[a]long with the household, these [community groups or associations] are sites in which symbolic forms of the reproduction of Portuguese identity are enacted and shared” (p. 84). These sites of reproduced Portuguese identity served to solidify their cultural roots. Nevertheless, the household remained the most crucial site of Portuguese identity. For first-generation Portuguese women Giles (2002) points out that

[u]nlike second-generation women, this generation engages with Portugal through a household insularity in Canada in which a Portuguese world view is nurtured and maintained by spouses, children, and other relative located in close proximity, as well as by associations with an extended, and to a certain extent, ‘imagined community’ in Portugal. (p. 114)

The sense of an ‘imagined community’ is because first-generation Portuguese migrants maintain a connection to Portugal, often through money remittance or investing in the business or property economy in Portugal (p. 32). Additionally, many first-generation women saw themselves returning or retiring to Portugal, however, this was dependent on economic ability which differentiated between those from the mainland and Azorean families (p. 34). Regardless,

[s]econd-generation Portuguese do not express the same ties to the land of Portuguese as do first-generation immigrants. [. . . Yet,] they still identify themselves as Portuguese. Their experiences involve a degree of rejection of some aspects of the cultural or politics of the older generation [. . .]. They neither accept wholly the culture of their parent nor a Canadian identity. (p. 114).

Second-generation Portuguese individuals have a complicated sense of identity and this interstitial identity is similar to the complications a TCK faces in their host country. Portuguese parents from the mainland even “want [their] children [to be] prepared to go back to Portugal.

And they want them even to have their studies organized in Portugal” (p. 115). These children then become TCKs themselves. If they do in fact repatriate to Portugal they face the same challenges of TCKs having returned to their home culture. In this instances Giles’ highlights the ununified notion of Portuguese identity and the non-homogenous understanding and relationship to identity or nationhood.

Conclusion

Comparison

Ultimately, TCKs and migrants share some experiences when moving from one country another. The two groups bring up similar themes or questions surrounding identity, memory, belonging, transition and community. Yet, as acknowledged, TCKs have a harder time adjusting because of their interstitial understanding of culture. They cannot retreat to a cultural community because they have no one cultural connection.

Limitations

The limitations of this study were time constraints, COVID-19 restrictions and confidential document access. COVID-19 restrictions in particular meant collecting primary data was challenging because the archives were closed, and access to the Toronto Reference Library was restricted. As such, secondary data from primary sources was gathered. Additionally, confidentiality surrounding census documents made specific statistics on migrants impossible to collect.

Next Steps

More research needs to be conducted on TCKs and second-generation migrants specifically to compare their experience as they seem more compatible. Additionally, interviews would greatly assist in further understanding the differing or coinciding experiences between TCKs and migrants. Overall, the methods and findings of this thesis are transferable to further studies on other time periods or migrant communities.

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