NEITHER HERE NOR THERE:

NEGOTIATING HYBRIDITY IN SECOND GENERATION LATINX CANADIAN IDENTITIES

by

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Negotiating Hybridity in Second Generation Latinx Canadian Identities

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Abstract

This study examines the diverse ways second generation Latinx Canadians form and negotiate hybrid identities. The forthcoming analysis relies on a literature review and other secondary research sources, namely blog entries and social media accounts such as Instagram. The question that guides this study is: How do second generation Latinx Canadians express and assert multiple cultural identifications (ie: being Canadian and being Latinx)? Other areas that are explored include comparisons to the first generation, pressures from society to identify a certain way, how their sense of belonging is impacted, and if age and race is a factor in influencing identity formation. The study finds that the employment of a hyphenated identity is the principal means by which the second generation in the Latinx Canadian community express their hybrid identity. The role of technology also proves to be significant as well as the ability to acquire and command the Spanish language.

Key Words: second generation, Latinx, Canadian, identity, identity formation

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Dedications

To my parents...thank you for always showing me that the sky is the limit.

To my fellow second generation Latinx Canadians...your place in this world is special. Don’t let anyone take that away from you.

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"Adherence to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin as by one's sense of belonging to the group and its collective will to exist".

- (Trudeau 1971 as cited in Jedwab 2008, p. 25)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Literature and public discourse has steadily progressed the understanding of Canada as a "country of immigrants" (Waldinger 2013, p. 763). This in and of itself presupposes ethnic diversity and cultural variation. Considering Canada is a multicultural society, one can assume that there are many different identities that make up the country. Furthermore, within the context of immigration, there should be a consideration for the generational differences between all these different identities. With regards to identity, we can think of first generation Canadians, the second generation, the third generation, and so on. There surely is variation between these groups, and this major research paper will take a specific focus on second generation persons of the Latinx community.

According to the National Household Survey, the second generation in Canada accounted for more than 5.7 million of the country's population in 2011 (as cited in Patel, 2016). When speaking of the second generation (and the first) in the context of immigration, certain terminology is often used that is considered to be widespread and standard. There can be variation between how these groups are understood, but in different research contexts it is important to be clear in regards to fundamental meanings. The first generation is understood as anyone residing in but not born in Canada (Jantzen, 2008). Subsequently, the second generation is generally understood as anyone that is born in Canada to at least one parent born outside Canada (Jantzen, 2008). The second generation, on the basis of their socialization taking place in Canada, also refers to people who migrated to Canada as babies or young children, although

would some call them generation 1.5 (Jantzen, 2008).

However, it is important to question mainstream terminology because there can be discrepancies in understanding different concepts upon application. A lot of the literature on the second generation labels them as "second generation immigrants" on the basis of their parents' immigration processes (Kobayashi, 2008). On the basis of the definitions of first and second generation provided above, the use of "second generation immigrants" is inaccurate. This paper problematizes this term as it implies that the second generation can be considered guests in their own birth country (Kobayashi, 2008). For this reason, the term "second generation immigrant" is not used. To keep things straightforward, I simply rely on using "second generation" as the marker for the group being studied.

More specifically, the second generation community that this MRP looks at is the one pertaining to the Latinx population in Canada. It is important to outline here why 'Latinx' is being used instead of "Latino/a". The term "Latinx" is a gender neutral word for people of Latin American descent (Merriam-Webster, 2018). This term has garnered increased attention in both the literature and public discourse in terms of its inclusivity. However, it is important to be critical of the use of this term and to think intentionally about engaging with the term. Alan Pelaez Lopez, an Afro-Indigenous poet from Oaxaca, Mexico proposes that we go beyond the practical use of the "X" to consider the visible wounds that are represented in the "X" and that are confronted by the Latin American diaspora. The four wounds that he highlights pertain to settlement, anti-blackness, femicides, and inarticulation (Pelaez Lopez, n.d). Although all of these are crucially important, for the purposes of this paper, I will only discuss settlement and inarticulation in the following paragraph.

The first wound, that of settlement, is identified as the "emergence of a Latinx identity

facilitated through settler-colonialism" (Pelaez Lopez, n.d.). This wound represented in the "X", existing for over 500 years in Latin America, is a reminder of the violent Indigenous dispossession and colonization exercised by conquistadors (Pelaez Lopez, n.d.). This colonial history (explored further in section 3.3.1), has contributed to the creation of hierarchies between Latin American groups (Salvatore, 2010) in which some Latinx identities, in terms of national origin, are valued more or less based on their proximity to being more Spanish or European. One of the other wounds that Pelaez Lopez speaks to is inarticulation. Due to the colonial history of Latin America, there is no language that contextualizes their experiences; rather they have inherited the language of their colonizers (Pelaez Lopez, n.d.). The "X" has been problematized for its grammatical and linguistic complications, but members of the community argue that it does make sense as the nonsensical of the "X" is the same as the nonsensical of living at the intersection of a violent colonial past (Pelaez Lopez, n.d.) and being unable to clearly articulate what that means for their identities.

Even though the term "Latinx" has become widespread, this particular group has attracted relatively little consideration in the Canadian immigration landscape (Armony, 2014 & Moldes, 2016). According to Stats Canada, as cited in Robles (2017c), there were 35,151,728 people living in Canada by the year 2016. Of this number, 495,090 spoke Spanish, a language that constituted the fifth most spoken immigrant language in Canada (Robles, 2017c). Although broad in nature, this information points our attention to the prominence of this particular, although understudied community in Canada. In the context of immigration and settlement, it has typically been assumed that the second generation is the link between the first generation (immigrants) and "mainstream" society (Social Planning Council of Ottawa 2012). In light of these perceived linkages, the particular component regarding this group being examined is that of

identity negotiation and formation.

The ideas discussed above form the basis for the main research question that guides this project. The overarching question that this research adheres to is as follows: How do second generation Latinx Canadians express and assert their multiple cultural identifications, for example being Latinx and being Canadian simultaneously? Furthermore, considering the Canadian context, how do Latinx Canadians articulate a sense of identity within and outside of multiculturalism (Moldes, 2016 & D'Souza, 2016)? Answering these questions rely on analyses of relevant literature and other mediums (to be discussed) as well as the exploration of sub questions to flesh out details connected to identity in this research context. The secondary research questions being addressed in this major paper aim to engage with various aspects of identity formation. The aim is to hit the following key markers: How does the second generation leverage their experiences against that of their immigrant parents (first generation)? Do second generation Latinx Canadians feel outward pressure from society to negotiate their identity? Or is it internalized on an individual basis? How does a hybrid identity impact their sense of belonging to mainstream Canadian society? Are age, gender, or race factors in influencing identity formation? Through these questions I hope to shed light on this population.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Researcher Positionality

Prior to conducting a study or engaging with research, it is important for the researcher to be aware of the personal lens they bring to the project. It is almost inevitable that the experiences of the researcher will have some sort of connection and relevance to the subject matter. A consideration of the worldview and background of the researcher is also important as it can affect how they construct their surroundings, employ language, ask questions and seek answers,

and select the viewpoint they will use to filter collected information, in turn shaping the findings of the study (Berger, 2015). This may impact the research as the investigator navigates through the process of conducting the work while leveraging their own experiences as they connect to the research being done. Therefore, it is important for the researcher to engage in a reflexive manner to understand their position in relation to the subject matter.

As a researcher who belongs to the specific community being studied in this major research paper, I have insight into the issues being examined based on personal experiences and my family background. Both of my parents were born in Mexico into families that would be considered low to middle class. As they started to grow up into their teen and young adult years, it became apparent that the quality of life in Mexico was one that would not sustain the dreams and aspirations they had for themselves. In the case of my father, by the age of sixteen, he and his siblings along with my grandfather, were already coming to Canada on a seasonal basis to work. They would do several months of farm work then go back to Mexico. This circular migration was sustained for many years until my grandfather's passing. By the time my father met my mother, he had already been awarded Canadian citizenship. My parents wed in 1990 and a couple years later they both immigrated to Canada permanently. Because of this history, my brother and I found ourselves realizing that we had unique personal narratives compared to mainstream Canadians. Our early years consisted of frequent trips between Mexico and Canada. Interestingly, we grew up developing our Spanish speaking skills at the same time we were learning to speak English. Perceived by ourselves, certain cultural norms and traditions differentiated us from our predominantly White friends in school, but definitely made for some unique experiences leading into adulthood.

This family history has greatly influenced the formation of my personal identity and

holds great significance for the way I see myself in this country as a second generation Latinx Canadian. However, the combination of my "Canadianness" and my "Mexicanness" have proven somewhat problematic for me as I would often, and still to this day, find myself questioning my authenticity to either identity. For some reason I feel as though I have to prove myself to both cultures, even though I personally do not feel pressure from others to do so. I have internalized and developed these feelings on my own and have put that weight on my shoulders as I have gotten older. Now in my twenties, I am compelled to celebrate my Mexican identity more than my Canadian one, principally as an homage to my parents and the sacrifices they made leaving Mexico behind to immigrate to Canada. Even though the privileges awarded to me by being Canadian are incomparable, I have found that being different and having this hybrid identity provides me with a unique outlook on life.

The dialogue that goes on in my head between my two worlds gets confusing for me, and this is precisely the reason why I have chosen to take on this specific topic and research population for this major research paper. I am attracted to subjectivity and different interpretations of identity formation in the Latinx community and interested in reflecting upon the dynamics that emerge both in the literature and upon my personal reflections. However, it goes without saying that this could cause discrepancy in the research process. It is important that I be cognizant of how the interaction between my personal experience and the research implicates the overall tone of the project (Kacen & Chaitin, 2006). I must be conscious of my positionality and try not to impose my ideas or experiences on the research process and findings as to not generalize and not equate my experience to that of others.

2.2 Qualitative Approach

The methodology for this study lends itself to being qualitative in nature. The feature of

qualitative research that is most prevalent for this project is the interest in subjectivity and different interpretations (Onishenko, 2020). This subject matter leaves room for variation and challenges uniformity. More specifically, the methodological approach that this research takes is phenomenological. Phenomenology is commonly understood as a strategy where the researcher looks into and examines the lived experiences of individuals about a particular phenomenon as defined by the population being studied (Creswell, 2013). The culmination of this approach is the description of the "heart" of the experience, or centering aspect, and its meaning that is applicable to all those experiencing the phenomenon within the group (Creswell, 2013). This application of phenomenology effectively provides a holistic picture of the research population while also allowing room for the exploration of some specific details.

This approach enables the research to explore the phenomenon of engaging with complex identity formation processes in second generation Latinx Canadians. On a macro scale it allows for the research to consider what influences a particular phenomenon, which in this case references the first generation and immigration journeys. At the micro level, it empowers the investigation of the dynamics of self-identification and the creative ways in which the group (second generation Latinx Canadians) asserts and expresses their hybridity.

2.3 Data Collection

The type of research being conducted for this project is secondary, meaning that the data is information that has been produced by previous research. This major research project is comprised of literature and other digital mediums, rather than data collected from primary research. The collection of data for this research has taken on various strategies. Beginning with the literature, searches within ProQuest and/or Ebscohost databases have produced pieces regarding the second generation in both a general context and the Canadian context. In order to

obtain more Canadian pieces, transnational and multicultural bodies of literature have been consulted. As the research progressed, snowballing inevitably occurred and became part of the data collection. Referencing the works cited page in some main pieces of literature produced more information to be analyzed, which opened the scope of the research and diversified the findings.

On top of the literature, this research paper turns to other digital media for data. Research indicates, as discussed in the literature review, that the second generation has taken to an online presence to express their cultural identities as the resources are not extremely visible in the community (Veronis, 2007). Searches produced interesting blog entries on the subject that complement the literature, for example Huff Post's "Born and Raised" series that will be explored in subsequent sections. Social media also proved to be an asset, namely Instagram. Certain searchers snowballed and helped me find more entries, especially in the Canadian context.

2.4 Data Analysis

The analysis for both the literature and other media sources took on similar patterns. The bulk of the analysis adhered to the literature and was tackled first. A deep revision of the works in terms of their connection to the main research question formed the basis for the next step which was grouping the works according to converging themes. The same was done for the other data being examined although these articles and blog entries required closer readings as they are written in very personal ways. It was important to also be critical of non-academic pieces in terms of how they relate to and align with the academic literature on the subject. The analysis of media sources shed powerful insight and produce interesting findings that alert us as to what issues are being discussed and what particular phenomenon are being experienced by

individuals.

Since I have personal connections to the research, it was important that I recognize my position in relation to the data and consider the implications my biases could have on the research. Phenomenological research calls for the investigator to "bracket" themselves out of the study in which they discuss and reflect personal experiences and set them aside (Creswell, 2013). This enables the researcher to take a fresh perspective and impressions to the phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2013), and attempts to prevent any potential negative implications and/or skews in the research and data analysis. This was an ongoing strategy throughout the research process to ensure that my biases and relationship to the data did not adversely affect the work being presented. Bracketing also served as a useful reflexive activity for academic development moving forward.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Orientations

3.1 Ontology

Ontology is concerned with the issue of what exists or what constitutes the fundamental nature of reality (Neuman, 2014). As it pertains to research, its application adheres to the way we make assumptions about what is being studied and its placement in the world (Neuman, 2014). The fundamental philosophical orientation that forms the base of this research project is a relativist ontology. Understanding the nature of this research context must comply with relativism in that reality is constantly being negotiated, debated, and interpreted (Onishenko, 2020). In conjunction with this topic and population, the second generation are debating their various cultural identifications, or even singular ones, for example, being either Canadian or being Latin American, or being some kind of nuanced combination.

3.2 Epistemology

Building on the foundation provided by a relativist ontology, the epistemology that is being employed for this research is interpretivist, but can also be named constructivist. Epistemology is concerned with how we know about our surroundings and what claims can be made and what we can do to produce knowledge (Neuman, 2014). This type of epistemology allows for the examination of lived experiences in specific social and historic settings and embraces the reasons and/or motives people hold that guide certain decisions (Neuman, 2014). Furthermore, for this research project, an interpretivist/constructivist framework allows for the interpretation of socially constructed meanings within (Neuman, 2014) within reality in order to understand what occurs around the persons being studied (Onishenko, 2020). This emphasis on socially constructed meaning (Neuman, 2014) within this research context points to how the second generation understand and interpret the ways identity, plural or singular, impact their lives.

3.3 Theoretical Frameworks

This research project uses multiple theoretical frameworks to inform both processes of data collection and data analysis. It is far too difficult to examine subject matter relating to immigration using a singular body as there are many modulations involved. Breaking down the main components of this paper, this research looks at the second generation, processes of identity formation, and the Latinx Canadian community. The manner in which these units intertwine and interact with one another calls for a nuanced application of theory. This section will discuss how these multiple theoretical frameworks relate to and inform the research in a holistic manner. The specific theoretical bodies being engaged with are postcolonial theory, diasporic theory, transnational theory, and social constructionism.

3.3.1 Postcolonial Theory

As an overarching reference point to the population being studied in the project, it is salient that there be a cognizance of the historical structures influencing the formation of Latin America. Postcolonialism serves as a lens to examine specific challenges faced by both the first and second generation in relation to processes of identity formation.

Postcolonial theory is a body of thought that is primarily concerned with accounting for the political, historical, and social impact of colonial rule around the world (Elam, 2019). Postcolonial theory maintains that it is impossible to examine the world we live in without understanding the relationship between imperialist colonial rule and the oppression it created (Elam, 2019). It is important to highlight the word 'post' in postcolonial; there is the implication of lingering forms of colonial authority (Elam, 2019), and seeing colonialism as a structure, not an event. Postcolonial theory has generally adhered to academic thought from Europe's relationship to South Asia and Africa, which has often overshadowed its theoretical application to the Latin American context (Elam, 2019).

The lack of reference to the Latin America is problematic as it obscures the eurocentrism that still prevails in that context (Seth, 2009). Colonialism in itself has influenced the way we broadly think about culture (Zein-Elabdin, 2009), and if the history of Latin American countries is reflected upon, we can see how it created divisions between groups. Latinx communities are all from former colonial countries; the Spanish conquest and rule was extremely widespread and continues to be dominant even in the aftermath of the acquisition of independence by Latin American countries (Salvatore, 2010). The result has been intra-group tensions and the creation of hierarchies where there are issues pertaining to race and shadeism (Salvatore, 2010). Evident in these discrepancies are references to who actually "looks" Latinx (Moldes, 2016), and who actually seems more European or Spanish (Salvatore, 2010), despite their being social

constructions.

Considering the above discussion on postcolonial theory, we can see how the colonial history has impacted the Latinx community. Within the application to the Canadian context, it can be imagined how both the first and second generation have to tend with these issues as they relate to identity formation. On the one hand, the connection of postcolonialism to Canada points to a settler colonial society that is very much Anglo and Franco white supremacist (Moss, 2003). This serves to be disadvantageous for racialized groups like many of those from Latin America. On the other hand, the struggle to assert and express one's Latinx culture and identity is further exacerbated by social hierarchies between groups. On the surface there may be solidarity within the panethnic grouping (Veronis, 2007); however, on a more micro scale, friction between groups adds another layer of complexity to an already nuanced process and experience.

3.3.2 Diasporic Theory

Since this major research paper is engaging with the second generation, it is important to understand the first generation and their immigration and settlement journey in a broad manner. When talking about immigration and related experiences, there are often discussions of the term "diaspora". This notion is not a new concept, rather it has developed and proliferated to include various features (Brubaker, 2005). It can be considered a collectivity, a condition, a modality, a process, as well as a field of inquiry (Brubaker, 2005). It is a term that can surely be interpreted differently between peoples and groups but there are threads that are typically consistent.

Diaspora is defined as the place where people live, and conceptualizes it as the movement and scattering of their people from their original (ancestral) homeland (Beine, Docquier, & Özden, 2011), although not necessarily forceful in nature (Brubaker, 2005). Associated features of this term also include, but are not exclusive to collective memory,

community, and boundary maintenance in connection to the homeland (Brubaker, 2005). Collective memory is associated in accordance with homeland orientation and the creation of networks (Epstein & Heizler, 2016) that facilitate a sense of value, identity, and loyalty (Brubaker, 2005). However, more recent examinations of diasporic theory have moved away from a centered approach to homeland orientation as being rooted in place towards a position that sees the ability to recreate culture in diverse locations (Brubaker, 2005). Boundary maintenance is constitutive of the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis the destination society through resistance to assimilation (Brubaker, 2005), which adheres mainly to the first generation. This criterion of diaspora is met with some ambivalence in the literature as some scholars have called for the recognition of heterogeneity over homogeneity and conceptions of identity that live through, not despite, hybridity (Brubaker, 2005). The field of diaspora studies has advanced significantly and its characteristics are not limited, rather they are becoming widespread to include diverse conceptualizations. Brah (1996) brings to our attention the study of a "diaspora space" that examines the cultural space where identities brought from home are crafted, challenged, and negotiated. This particular conceptualization highlights hybridity and perceives diasporas as an experience that is dynamic, evolving, and non-static (Brubaker, 2005 & Brah, 1996).

Within the application of diasporic theory to this research project, it is interesting to consider the Canadian context. Veronis (2007) and Armony (2014) outline that the Latinx diaspora in Canada is not rooted in physical space nor community, rather groups are spaced out, spanning physical boundaries. Unlike the Latin American diaspora in the United States (Epstein & Heizler, 2016), the networks and homeland orientation fostered by Latinx Canadians operate in the face of geographic dispersion. Subsequent paragraphs will connect back to Brubaker's

(2005) discussion of the ability to recreate culture in various locations and how the second generation engages with Brah's (1996) "diaspora space" to negotiate hybridity in their identities.

3.3.3 Transnational Theory

Over the past thirty years, transnationalism has emerged in the literature as one of the most significant fields of research within migration studies (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006). As the theory gained prominence, many different conceptualizations of the term have sprung up with both descriptive and practical connotations. Initial definitions of transnationalism were quite rigid and normative; for example, Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt (1999) restricted their definition to occupations and activities across national borders. As the concept evolved, nuanced understandings offered focus on the individual and the ties that exist across national borders (Faist, 1999). Erdal & Oeppen (2013) extended these postulations to account for the networks, flows, and spaces in between countries of origin and countries of current residence/settlement.

For the purposes of this research paper, the definition that is being used is the one identified by Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc (1994), which understands transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. Even though this understanding of transnationalism is tied to immigrants, which would be considered the first generation in the context of this paper, the main idea can be extrapolated and applied to the second generation as well. Some pieces of literature are actually reflective of the second generation holding strong transnational ties even though they are rooted in a home country (Gowricharn, 2009).

In regards to identity formation, transnationalism sees one's identity de-linked from place (Krawatzek & Sasse, 2019), meaning that geographic location is not necessary to identify with

that particular label or culture. Considering the context of Canada and the prevalence of multiculturalism, it is important to be critical of the ways transnationalism shapes the concept of identity and the ways individuals feel they belong. Along this thread, nationality is proven difficult to define (Anderson, 1999) as different meanings and beliefs can be held by different individuals. There are a variety of practices that allow for this, such as communication by means of technology, which can enable people to figuratively be in more than one place at one time and to hold multiple allegiances to multiple countries. Transnational practices inform and diversify the ways in which identities can be formed and transformed.

3.3.4 Social Constructionism

The third theoretical framework informing this research is social constructionism. Perhaps the clearest and most useful way to characterize the formation of various kinds of identities is through the social constructionism lens. Stemming from the field of sociology, this approach looks at the creation of different understandings and meanings that form ideas about lived reality and how (social) phenomena develop in particular contexts (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2016). It emphasizes that people jointly construct these shared meanings and ideas in coordination with one another (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2016). Therefore, notions of identity do not just appear, there are some type of processes that inform them.

It is therefore easy to draw the connection to the context of this paper: it can be inferred that the cultural identity, or identities of the second generation in the Latinx community, on the basis of their subjective realities, have been constructed by the influences around them. We can draw reference to postcolonialism and the construction of intra-group hierarchies (Salvatore, 2010). This can also be leveraged back to both the first generation and the theory of transnationalism in that migrants themselves constructed their own social networks as well as

flexible, diverse, and dynamic identities (Kim, 2009). This framework helps me as the researcher examine both the first and second generation Latin American community in Canada in conjunction with the ways they negotiate, construct, and express their hybrid identities.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

Even though the academic literature that pertains to the children of immigrants within the Latinx Canadian community is sparse, the literature that is out there provides valuable insight into the population and signals for there to be more studies on this group. For the purposes of this paper, the following literature review will adhere itself to two bodies of literature so as not to deviate too far from the scope of this research. The first grouping of academic pieces will look at the general literature on the second generation whose articles refer to processes of identity formation, with some specifically looking at the Latin American community. The second and most important body of literature to be examined is the Canadian literature on second generation Latinx Canadians. The Canadian literature will build upon the ideas presented in the general section of the literature review and will hone in on how this population negotiates hybridity and diversity in their identities. It is likely that reference will be made to some articles coming from outside the aforementioned bodies that will serve as support for the main pieces of literature. After a discussion of these two bodies, the gaps in the literature will be highlighted as well as reference to how these gaps can be filled as research in this area continues to build and progress.

It must be mentioned that the majority of the research to be found on second generation Latin Americans is attached to the American context in the United States (Armony, 2014). A lot of the Canadian literature is quick to draw upon this context as a reference point, which is not invalid, however it must be acknowledged that the reality for second generation Latinx Canadians is much different than that of their American counterparts. The migration histories

and patterns are distinct, the visibility of diasporas are different, and the exposure of the community in political and social context are dissimilar (Armony, 2014). For these reasons, the following literature review will not rely on Canadian literature that is comparison focused as the primary interest for this major research paper is the Canadian context. Some ideas from the American literature may be included but will not be a focal point. The ubiquitous use of the American context in comparison to the Canadian context will be explored further in the "gap" section of the literature review.

4.1 General Literature

The literature found within this body aptly draws attention to differing conceptualizations of identity. Perhaps the most prominent understanding of identity that is put forward is the self-regulatory and adaptive nature of identity formation. Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones (2006) speak to how the essence of who an individual is and how they identify is constantly in flux, and that their identities cannot be defined as any one thing in particular. Similar to discussions on how culture is not static, the same can be said for identity. Just because an individual identifies a certain way at a certain time does not necessarily mean they will continue to identity that way. Certain life events, marriage or even trauma for example, can influence identification or non-identification to a cultural group. Attachment to a given culture can also vary across generations. The role of parents is often times crucial, there are social pressures that must be accounted for, and community settings also play a role (Padilla, 2006). This implies that the individual can modify themselves based on the context they find themselves in, also taking into account the time/space lens (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006).

Additionally, Portes & Rumbaut (2001) highlight three different types of identity classification that can be taken on at any given time. The first is known as a national origin

identity. This is tied to birthplace (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) and would take the form of a singular term; for example, identifying as a "Venezuelan". The second classification is called a hyphenated identity in which an individual combines multiple identities, for example, "Cuban-Canadian". The hyphenated categorization is becoming very common, especially in the second generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The third bracket is known as the panethnic category. This adheres to an overarching grouping (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), such as "Latin American" to name an example. Although presented as three separate classifications, the individual may choose to move in and out of these categories as they see fit based on a given social, political, or cultural climate. McConnell & Delgado-Romero (2004) capitalize on the identity brackets suggested by Portes & Rumbaut by revealing that the panethnic label is seemingly employed more than the national origin label. According to their research, panethnicity is seen as a more "meaningful construct" that contrasts against the simplicity of national origin (McConnell & Delgado-Romero 2004, p. 298). However, the use of panethnic labels must be navigated carefully since the grouping can be imposed by outsiders. Subsequent paragraphs will discuss how panethnic labelling, whether expressed intentionally on an individual basis or applied assertively by others, homogenizes and understates diversity and hybridity. Perhaps more than anything, these classifications serve to display the malleability and unfixed nature of identity formation processes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

One of the overarching ideas that emerges from within this literature, and pertains to the understanding of identities, is whether or not ethnic identities need to be sacrificed (Parra Cardona, Busby, & Wampler, 2004). When thinking about the first generation (immigrants), we often think about the country of origin and the "destination" country. Along a similar vein, we can consider the varied cultures that exist between the societies in question. Something alike

happens to the second generation in which there is a consideration of the differences between their home country (first generation destination) and the country of origin of their parents. The questions asked here are if the culture deriving from the origin country and race relations stand in the way of social connectedness in the destination/home country (Parra Cardona, Busby, & Wampler, 2004). What this points to is a contemplation of the ways cultural identity is impacted by acculturation (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). In order to attempt to answer this question, it is important to examine multidimensional experiences, especially that of immigration, that can be transmitted between generations. Upon arrival and settlement in the destination country, immigrants undergo cultural shifts as they adapt to their new realities. These shifts are surely passed down to their children, and Parra Cardona et al (2004) imply that the roots of the second generation always remain in their own ethnic cultural experiences and that of their parents as well. Within this context however, Portes & Rumbaut (2001) stress the importance of being aware of the fact that even though patterns in identity formation can be seen, there can still be variance on both an individual level and the group level.

The general literature on the second generation points to the unique ways this population generates a sense of community and belonging. Marino (2015, p. 2) coins the term "digital togetherness" in which the transnational identities of children of immigrants is shaped through a rise in online communities where socialization and interaction actively take place. Participation in these forums, be it through social media, journaling, and/or blogging, creates and constructs identities that are different from their immigrant parents (Marino, 2015). Social media use and consumption allows for the quick and facilitated exchange of shared experiences (Komito, 2011). The rapid increase in technology use and complexity has targeted the younger generations and has provided them a means of communication that was relatively unavailable to their parent

counterparts. Through this concept of digital togetherness, identity and community are linked, and seen as mutually reinforcing (Marino, 2015). Strong ties of affinity (Komito, 2011) and a sense of "we-ness" and solidarity is seemingly fostered through these digital spaces in which the second generation obtains a new kind of visibility. The electronic landscape disrupts and unsettles the notion that there is a physical connotation attached to being seen and being accounted for. Distance proves not to be an issue for communication (Komito, 2011) and interactions do not need to take place in person; rather these online forums act as transmitters of information that allow for the building of connections that reinforce their hybrid identities. This idea of digital togetherness brings forward the prevalence of transnational ties, and how social relations and concepts of community can be sustained in spite of physical space.

Capitalizing on the aforementioned ideas of hybridity and community, an interesting phenomenon emerges from the literature with regards to the specific population in question within the scope of this paper. Even though feelings of solidarity and togetherness are emphasized, there are strong indicators of the need to differentiate between Latin American groups, for both for the first and second generation. There is often a group label applied to Latin Americans (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006) and Parra Cardona, Busby, & Wampler (2004) stress that sameness cannot be assumed as it will perpetuate stereotypes about the Latin American population. According to Oboler (1992), not only do outsiders have to dismantle false representations, but members of the Latinx community have to as well. There may be unifying factors such as language, geographical proximity, and cultural practices; however even these similarities can diverge into widespread differences within the larger group. Failing to account for the differences between groups, and the inaccurate stereotypes they create, contributes to the othering of Latin Americans (Oboler, 1992), including the second generation. Given that this

group label is often rejected, the literature seeks to define and understand what it means to belong (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006) to both the larger group (Latin Americans) and the smaller, sub groups (for example: Mexicans, Colombians, or Puerto Ricans, to name a few). In this search to define what it means to belong, the literature is also cognizant of the problematic nature of the term "Hispanic" (Oboler, 1992). This panethnic group label homogenizes and prejudices members of the Latin American community, collapses Latin Americans with people from Spain, actively failing to account for the hierarchies created in the postcolonial context (Salvatore, 2010), and omits racial and class diversity (Oboler, 1992). All of this can be exacerbated when applied to the Latinx second generation; their ambiguity in terms of cultural identifications may actually hinder their visibility and create the impression that everyone is the same and has the same experience.

Bearing in mind what it means to belong to and identify with the Latin American community for the second generation is an awareness of the pressures that inform the different processes of identity formation. Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones (2006) also express how the dynamics between two different groups often result in competing pressures. This literature conveys how some community members may be at odds with one another. Belonging to a certain community is made difficult when one side seeks to exclude on the basis of "incomplete membership". Take for example a situation where a second generation individual claims their "Canadianness" (jumping ahead to the Canadian context) but are told they do not completely belong because their heritage is rooted in Latin America. The same can occur vice versa when that individual tries to claim their "Latinx" identity but are told they do not completely belong because of they were born in Canada. As stated by Leitner & Ehrkamp (2006), it goes without saying that there is an increasing prevalence of groups identifying with multiple communities.

Even though the hybrid identities that can emerge can reinforce one another, the diversity can also be a source of conflict in the form of personal confusion and invalidation by those not necessarily accepting of a diverse identity.

The literature coins these diverse identities as being bicultural (Padilla, 2006) or even multicultural. As already mentioned, these identities often times foster social flexibility and cultural transmission across generations, but they also bring on challenges. For the second generation, and evident for individuals within a Latinx reality, there is immense pressure to conform "coming from the inside" (Padilla, 2006). Being bicultural can place children, teens, and even adults in conflict with one another. Padilla uses the example of a Mexican parent demanding their child express a Mexican identity even when that person has never lived in Mexico (2006). Therefore, it must be acknowledged that even though the second generation has the possibility and privilege to identify with multiple cultures, they may choose not to out of disinterest or frustration. In their 2001 book *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation,* Portes & Rumbaut speak to how this pressure from family and even peers can contribute to the emergence of reactive identities for the second generation. This type of identity can be understood in terms of the second generation conforming to the cultural identity of their parents in the face of perceived hostility from family and mainstream society. Family members and members of general society, especially in a white supremacist society like Canada (Moss, 2003) may regard the second generation's Latinx cultural identification as being lacking or insufficient (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), and in turn the second generation overcompensates and expresses an identity to please the people putting this pressure on them.

4.2 Canadian Literature

This portion of the literature review will examine the Canadian context as it pertains to

the Latinx second generation. The academic pieces presented here will build on the ideas mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

Similar to an idea presented above, the Canadian literature on Latin Americans points to the problematic nature of "groupness" and a reliance on panethnicity (Armony, 2014). The term "bounded collectivity" is used to describe the constant grouping of Latinx people under the same umbrella (Armony 2014, p. 14) in which it seems like members assigned to this collective are unable to break loose of the simplicity apparent to such a broad grouping. The literature maintains that in the Canadian context, the panethnic identification is easier to define and use than the national origin identification (Poteet, 2001). Therefore, ethnic identity development is not only a dialectical process; it is also a process influenced by external categorization (Sano, Kaida, & Tenkorang, 2015). The literature suggests that the second generation engages in reflective exercises asking themselves what the differences are between the ways they define themselves and the ways other define them (Ari, 2019). What kinds of interactions inform these assigned rather than asserted categorizations and constructions? Because of this unfair reality, on the basis of being labelled a certain away instead of defining oneself, Armony (2014, p. 14) discusses "this population's discernable need to address their intra-group differences in their struggle for belonging". This author argues that in order to conceive of Latinx Canadians as unique and fluid beings, we must privilege self-identification, not primordialism; we must fight the contention that nations and their groups will develop with shared and static cultural characteristics (Armony, 2014). On this basis, it is important to see intra-group tensions within the Latinx not necessarily as a bad thing, rather as a rejection of the understanding of "latinxness" as being one dimensional. Here Armony (2014) unintentionally picks up on Portes & Rumbaut's identity classifications in connection to both the first and second generation. He

focuses our attention on leveraging persistent identification with national origins without contradicting the attachment to the settlement country (in this case, Canada). Poteet (2001) alludes to this engagement with identity at different levels based on context and community: family, friends, etc. Armony, however, does not speak to how leveraging these identities can blur the clarity some members of second generation seek in regard to how they belong to Canada as Latinx beings.

A lot of the general literature on the second generation falls back on the overarching idea that the children of immigrants constantly find themselves "caught between two worlds". This postulation recurs in the Canadian literature as well, and is actively challenged by many scholars. Nedim Karakayali (2005) challenges readers and researchers to think beyond second generation lives as being rooted in duality. We are asked to question whether or not the second generation is actually caught between the world of their immigrant parents and their migrant perspective (Veronis, 2006), and that of their own reality. The research conducted by Karakayali (2005) reveals that the second generation is more nuanced and complex than they are given credit for. The second generation themselves reject this "in between" narrative (Moldes, 2016) and advocate for freedom in terms of expressing their identity. There are many intersecting factors that account for their diversity and hybridity, such as race or ethnic loyalties. According to Moldes (2016), this increasing complexity can be attributed to increasing transnationalism. The ability to foster connections and linkages across societies reveal the dynamic, negotiating tactic and constantly shifting nature of identities; it does not automatically mean the second generation is in between two worlds. In this sense, Moldes (2016) also maintains that the second generation effectively operate as a cultural bridge that makes them relatable to their home society and their parent's country of origin. In other words, the hybridity that the second generation brings to the

table in terms of identity encompasses negotiating between the self and the other (Poteet, 2001); drawing upon both heritage and mainstream in a woven blend (Ari, 2019). However, attempting to understand the second generation should not stop at this dichotomy, rather we have to account for increased fluidity between these two sides (Poteet, 2001) and not make quick and uneducated assumptions. In relation to the aforementioned ideas, Kobayashi (2008) stresses the significance of recognizing the autonomy and agency of the second generation. She advocates that members of the second generation are more than capable of interpreting and reframing the dominant narrative in a variety of ways to assert their unique sense of identity (2008). Although the second generation has the power to negotiate against the labels placed on them, it is important to account for the other forces at play as well, especially given that the Latinx community is a visible minority in an Anglo and Franco white dominant society (Moss, 2003).

Building on these ideas, the Canadian literature acknowledges the role of family members and family socialization (Sano, Kaida, & Tenkorang, 2015), especially from parents and grandparents, in the Latinx context as it pertains to identity formation. Inward pressure, to the point of obligation, is put on the second generation to engage with their Latin American culture (Moldes, 2016). This picks up on the ideas presented by Padilla (2006) in which the unfamiliarity with a given ethnic culture can result in family tensions (Moldes, 2016). Once again it is important to recognize the ways in which identity can be imposed on individuals rather than being chosen. Parents and grandparents have a major role in fostering and sustaining cultural identity, often times through the telling of stories and the sharing of memories (Poteet, 2001). However, family members are not the only ones who put pressure on the second generation to conform to certain identities, and this pressure is not always necessarily positive. The literature speaks to the way dominant society pressures the second generation into having to

assert their cultural identity (Moldes, 2016). This tends to be the case for second generation individuals who are not necessarily racialized or appear White skinned within their ethnic community. This can also be understood as "passing" or blending into mainstream White Canadian society. In the case for Latinx Canadians, many research participants have stated that they feel as though they do not "look" Latinx nor do others perceive them as "looking" Latinx (Moldes, 2016). What is compelling about this particular concept of "passing" is the complicated relationship that second generation Latinx Canadians have to both their birth country (Canada) and the Latin American country bringing forward their roots (Moldes, 2016). Interestingly the second generation in this group finds themselves actively refusing to "pass" as White Canadians, and along a similar vein, they want to "pass" as Latinx peoples (Moldes, 2016). Even though both their Latinx and Canadian cultures and heritages are celebrated, general society faults them for not completely "fulfilling the role" of either typical Latinx individual or mainstream Canadian (Moldes, 2016). This is very problematic, as it is necessary to ask and deconstruct what it means to "look" Latinx and who has the power to create such a construction. It is also necessary to question what it means to be and/or "look" Canadian, especially taking into account the prevalence of multiculturalism and transnationalism. Moldes (2016) does an effective job at unpacking this throughout his research and comes to the conclusion that comparisons on the basis of looking Latinx are drawn most often from American entertainment, for example movies, television, etc. Popular figures, namely actors and musicians, are used as the reference point to signify belonging to the group or not.

An interesting idea that the Canadian literature puts forward is the approach to interpreting "being Latinx" as a lived experience. Proposed here is the notion that within lived experiences, a central organizing category for both structural and interpersonal interactions

within different social spaces can be identified (Armony, 2014). What this means is that being Latinx in the Canadian context can bring to light noticeable patterns that converge on different social contexts and realities. For example, take different aspects of culture as the unifiers that lie at the centre of different interactions at different times. Throughout his research, Moldes (2016) touches upon a few of these unifiers that influence the identity formation of second generation Latinx Canadians. His participants reveal that language is an incredible asset contributing to the shaping of identity (Moldes, 2016). The ability to communicate with family members and other individuals in their "cohort" is a form of cultural capital that can be employed strategically (Poteet, 2001) and that is extremely valuable (Moldes, 2016). The Spanish language in the Latinx community is interesting to consider since there are variations between countries such as accent and the usage of different colloquialisms and slang. On this level the varied handling of the language acts as a distinguishing factor between Latin American groups. Social context also matters as language can be performed differently based on who a person is surrounded by (Poteet, 2001). This particular author also identifies music as an organizing category for different interactions. The ability to understand Latinx music and its messages, as well as the ability to recognize certain sounds that trigger childhood memories or notable cultural experiences provide the second generation another outlet to form a diverse identity (Moldes, 2016). On top of these unifiers, food is also mentioned as a means to form a relationship with one's culture as well the ability to travel (the idea of visiting the "homeland") (Moldes, 2016). "Transmigrant" (transnational migrant) experiences of moving back and forth between home and origin countries influences the reception of cultures (Gowricharn, 2009) on the second generation. These cultural practices are part of the community's claim to their culture and identity (Veronis, 2006). Furthermore, what these different unifiers/categories point to are cultural forms of expression

that pave the way for increased representation and visibility across varied spaces (Veronis, 2006). They affirm solidarity (Veronis, 2006) and offer forms of social organization and self-identification (Poteet, 2001).

The Canadian literature picks up on the cues seen in the general body of literature on the second generation in terms of the rise in online communities and digital togetherness. The electronic landscape has unsettled the traditional sense of physical place as well as the symbolism of belonging and identity that is attached (Moldes, 2016). The ability to foster a virtual community is a phenomenon identified for this population, and more specifically, for Latinx Canadians. What should be noted about the Latinx population in Canada is that there is a lack of established regional institutional bodies (Poteet, 2001 using the example of Toronto) where the community can physically gather to socialize and carry out cultural events. Because of this barrier, the community, and especially the second generation, are taking to online forums to communicate and express their identities. This shift to online communication has occurred with the aim to make the community more visible as lack of physical infrastructure can create disconnects within a community (Veronis, 2007). This lack of visibility can be attributed, according to Armony (n.d.), to its unique diaspora formation. This author maintains that the Latinx population in Canada is not necessarily tied to a strong, single nation state or to a hegemonic cultural framework. It is hard to pinpoint clusters of this population since it seems as though there have not been discernable patterns of settlement nor the emergence of ethnic enclaves. The use of online forum accounts for this geographic dispersion in which it is difficult to form a collective identity (Veronis, 2007), not rooted in panethnicity, rather rooted in solidarity with other persons.

Quite thankfully, the Canadian literature on second generation identity formation

acknowledges the reality that cultural identities are never complete (Veronis, 2007). There is no threshold marker that needs to be reached in order to say one is culturally versed and competent. Using the cue provided by the general literature on the subject, this body of academic work subscribes to the idea that identities are constantly being developed, remade, shifted, and negotiated according to social and cultural relations, as well as in reference to a given point in history (Veronis, 2007). Referring directly to the Latinx cluster, Veronis (2006) bears the argument that Latin Americans themselves are constantly learning about their diversity. This engagement with informal education regarding their various cultures equips members of this community with the tools to evolve and not remain static. Individuals, especially considering the distinctiveness of the second generation, have the capability to move in and out of identities as they see appropriate and can choose whether or not to take up certain aspects of identity after the passage of time.

4.3 Gaps in the Literature

As a whole, the literature on the second generation is not very recent. Many academic works date back to the early 2000s or earlier; however, the key literature selected for this paper seemingly reflected the emergence of more up to date studies. Although sparse, the literature from the past few years (2015 onwards) helps point to a potential future where there could be, and should be, more studies conducted with regards to the second generation in the Latinx Canadian context.

Compared to the United States, there is little consideration given to the growing Latin American population in Canada within scholarly research (Armony, 2014). This equates to scarce literature on Latinx Canadians (Armony, 2014) and makes it difficult for researchers to draw upon previous work as points of reference. According to research conducted by Moldes

(2016), it is likely that Latinx peoples in Canada are perhaps not studied since they do not constitute a "problematic" group like in the United States. In terms of their integration and placement in society, Latinx Canadians are not in the spotlight. Their immigration trajectory is much different than the diaspora in the U.S, which in of itself places them in a different light.

Even though comparisons between the Canadian and American context for this particular population can be useful, it is important to tread carefully. Much of the Canadian literature is quick to reference the context in the United States which often results in equating the social realities for this group in various countries. Using the American context to inform the subject matter on the population suffices more than using it as an automatic application to Canada since the two societies are frequently linked and often seen as similar, where in fact there are distinctions. Furthermore, the literature falls short in accounting for discrepancies between geographical locations. Even though the Latinx diaspora in Canada is unclear in terms of region of settlement, the literature would benefit from a discussion on specific whereabouts. What are the differences between urban and rural settlement and how do they inform identity construction for the second generation? If we think about the geography of Canada, is there something important to be said about Quebec? How are Latinx Canadians impacted by living in a region where the language (French), and one's proficiency in it matters (Armony, n.d.)? How does that influence their belonging and notion of identity formation?

Another shortcoming in the literature on second generation Latinx Canadians and their identity formation is the absence of the influence of race. There is mention of race in regards to other groups (Ari, 2019) in Canada but none to the Latinx community. Moldes (2016) talks about the construction of "looking" Latinx or not and whether that can signify belonging or omission to the cultural group; however, this proved to be the bulk of race conversation within extensive

literature searches. Esra Ari centres the race dialogue and speaks to the "white gaze" and how "being and feeling" black, indigenous, and/or mixed race affects processes of identity construction in the second generation (2019). Work revolving around this particular topic would be very relevant to the Latinx community seeing as there are a number of Latinx identities that seemingly are not accounted for in the literature. These include but are not limited to Afro-Latinx, Indigenous, and mixed race. Karakayali (2005) speaks to the nuance and complexity that the second generation encompasses and it is somewhat of a disappointment that this literature does not take up race as a focal point.

Lastly, similar to the way the Canadian literature fails to account for the influence of race in shaping identities, there is also an omission of the relevance of multiculturalism. The multicultural policy introduced in Canada in 1971 has proven to be significant, both in quotidian public discourse and academia as a whole (Jedwab, 2008). However, neither the literature referenced for this project, nor pieces that came up during the research process shed insight into the prevalence of multiculturalism for Latinx individuals, or ethnic groups for that matter, in Canada. The term multiculturalism came up sparsely in a few articles (Moldes, 2016, Padilla, 2006, & Anderson, 1999), however, by no means was it a focal point throughout the accompanying analyzes. The application of multiculturalism to the Canadian context is extremely important as it points to diversity within society. It also would have helped with reference to the research questions, namely how it affects the way second generation Latinx Canadians feel as though they belong to Canada in wake of being surrounded by a medley of different cultures from around the world.

4.3.1 Addressing the Gaps

The implications of the gaps identified above are quite substantial and point to

discrepancies in the literature that need to be remedied. In the Canadian context, multiculturalism is essential, especially in discussions associated with immigration. The lack of reference to it in the literature on second generation Latinx Canadians could mean that it is losing its prominence or importance in determining Canada as a destination for immigration. It also means that more research needs to be done that directly implicates multiculturalism and the role it plays in influencing (or not) processes of identity formation.

In order to address the gaps evident in the literature on second generation Latinx peoples, it is pivotal to treat those in the Canadian realm as being completely separate from those in the American realm. The migration histories and trajectories are completely different, political climates are vastly different as well, and the ways in which community is built are likely to be different. A way to do this would be for there to be more studies on both first generation and second generation Latinx communities in Canada. It is evident that both this community and their processes of identity formation are being talked about in other realms (see Findings). Moving forward it would be of great import to continue to extend these conversations within academia and original research projects.

It would also be beneficial for studies connecting to the second generation to be more narrowed in focus. Overarching context is of course useful, but to really get at what's going on, it is important to be specific. For example, one of the supporting research questions for this project was aimed at examining the role of gender as it relates to identity formation. This marker was completely absent as the foci of a lot of the literature was more macro in scale. In the Canadian realm, discussions of race and multiculturalism would also help narrow in on the dynamics of identity formation. In order to produce more comprehensive studies, this strategy of taking a micro approach could prove extremely useful.

Chapter 5: Findings

The overall goal of this research project was to examine the ways second generation Latinx Canadians construct and express their identity/identities. The academic literature referenced above provides a lot of substance and insight into the topic, but the practical application of the literature is just as important. Therefore, this section of study relies on the critical examination of the data pulled from the digital media sources that were commonly found to be employed by the second generation. The most prominent outlets were blog posts and social media, mainly Instagram.

5.1 Identity Classification

In their book *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation,* Portes & Rumbaut (2001) explore the different types of identity identification that are most often employed by the second generation. As mentioned in the above literature review, the first is national origin, which is tied to birthplace (2001). In this case the label is attached to the parent's birthplace. The second is hyphenated, which sees an amalgamation of multiple identities, likely national origin of the parent(s) and the second generation's home country (2001). The third is panethnic, which adheres to an overall general grouping (2001). What is interesting to note about these different identity classifications is which one is most connected to the second generation in Canada. According to the Canadian census, as cited in Jedwab (2008), there has been an increase in the degree of hyphenation in identities from the first generation to the second. What this tells us is that identities are not necessarily singular, but are becoming more complex through the second generation's inkling into expressing a sense of diversity and hybridity.

The hyphenated identity also serves to articulate a unique sense of belonging. In a blog post titled *Its Time to Start Talking About Second-Gen Canadians,* the idea of having to choose

between cultures and between identities is expressed. Many second generation Canadians often feel as though they do not fit in to either of their cultural identities, be it Canadian or their parents' culture of origin (Patel, 2016). A very powerful Instagram post by Sahaj Kaur Kohli on a profile that advocates for the celebration of bicultural identities reads as follows: "For the children of immigrants, there's a constant duality in our hyphenated existence. We have the freedom to pick and choose from both cultures, identities, and communities, but with that also comes the isolating reminder that we don't totally belong in either" (Brown Girl Therapy, 2020). Not only is this confusion internalized on a personal basis, but there is also pressure coming from the outside (other people in mainstream Canadian society) telling the second generation that they need to choose between identities (Patel, 2016). A typical question that they are commonly asked is "which side are you really?" (D'Souza, 2016), implying that one identity ought to hold a higher importance. Whether this is the intent or not, this type of question "Others" individuals and serves to categorize them into one culture over the other. This is experienced by the second generation in general but can also be directly applied to all those within the Latinx community. Another blog post written by a second generation Salvadorian-Canadian states the following: "being two cultures, and neither at the same time, requires negotiating your identity internally, and among different groups" (Reyes, 2016). As a response to this additional pressure, the hyphenated identity symbolizes the choice and celebration of multiple identities without having to feel guilty about picking one over the other (Reyes, 2016). It's about not having to give an identity up and the realization that "I can be both" (Patel, 2016). Therefore, the second generation is actively redefining what it means to belong to Canada (Patel, 2016); it is not necessarily about blending in to the mainstream or being rooted in a monolithic culture that may not have even been experienced firsthand. By contrast, identity is being understood as a hybrid

entity that can be negotiated and embodied in a variety of different ways. Social norms tend to dictate dichotomies, especially when it comes to a perceived "Other", like Latinx. However, it's not about choosing one thing over the other; it's about embracing all identities (Cardona, 2016) and celebrating how that makes one person different from the rest. The second generation in Canada has roots spanning across the globe, and according to Arti Patel (2016), "it's up to us to redefine our home". Put another way, it is not up to others to determine who belongs to Canada and the degree to which they belong; it is up to the individual (Reyes, 2016).

Furthermore, the employment of a hyphenated identity is also a strategy to create visibility within the community. A blog entry in Huff Post's *Born & Raised* series reveals that the majority of second generation Latinx Canadians often go unnoticed (Robles, 2017c). The reason for this is that there is a large range of ethnoracial backgrounds and phenotypes that fall under the Latinx umbrella, from European to Indigenous to Black (Robles, 2017c), and everything in between; therefore, the community as a whole is very unique (Robles, 2017a). On the basis of looks alone, one could never pinpoint exactly what country a Latinx person comes from or if they even belong to or identify with the community. This not only applies to the ways in which people from outside the Latinx community interact with Latinx Canadians, but this failure of recognition/visibility also occurs within the community between subgroups. In the latter case, a last name or specific accent are often used as the markers to help locate origin (Robles, 2017c). Being rendered indistinguishable from others in their community can be especially concerning for the second generation as they may already be trying to navigate identity formation issues and confusion. In the case of Canada, since there is not too much known about the Latinx diaspora (Armony, 2014), many people fall back on stereotypes to label Latinx Canadians. Unfortunately, patterns of blanketing all Latinx peoples as Mexicans (Reyes,

2016), similar to the context in the United States, have emerged in Canada, which is not only discriminatory, but unwelcomed by members of this diverse community. Therefore, the hyphenated identity classification serves to create necessary distinctions between groups.

5.2 The Role of Technology

Visibility also plays a role when it comes to communication and network building. Many second generation Latinx Canadians have agreed that not many people from this community are publicly visible; there are not many prominent figures to look up to, except for parents (Robles, 2017c). In the absence of visible Latinx leaders in the community, most exposure tends to come from the representations portrayed in the media (Robles, 2017a), albeit American media. Because of this, social media tools have enabled communication and have created a means by which members of this community appear visible to one another (Robles, 2017c). Lisa Robles (2017c), a second generation Ecuadorian-Canadian, writes in her blog post: "with social media tools, I have been able to keep in touch with people", which for the second generation is not only important within their home country of Canada, but also in connection to the origin country/ancestral homeland.

Technology and media have also allowed for the fortification of social and cultural connections, especially evident in the second generation (Huang et. al., 2016). Here enters the prevalence of transnationalism; seeing technology and media as the processes by which multistranded relations are forged and sustained between societies of origin and societies of current residence (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc, 1994). This type of transnationalism has been named "cyber-transnationalism" and is becoming increasingly frequent in use as globalization extends itself and becomes more complex (Lee, 2011). What this type of transnationalism reflects is the ways in which the second generation are able to feel connected to

their ancestral homelands without needing to physically travel to them (Huang et. al., 2016). Therefore, the second generation feel that they do not necessarily need to have the experience of having lived in the origin country nor the experience of having visited there.

The role of technology also points to the importance of social media as a new avenue to engage with identity formation issues. Not only do apps like Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp facilitate communication between people within and across borders, they are also providing a new means to strengthen cultural identifications. Observations on various Instagram accounts, for example *latinopride, latinoswithattitude*, and *wearemitu,* are showing increased articulations of Latinx identities. The emergence of relatable content on online platforms, be it through the posting of jokes, food recipes, or music videos that may trigger childhood memories, is seemingly a way for second generation Latinx individuals to feel connected to their heritage. This significance of technology also proves meaningful in the wake of physical dispersion, where physical contact and interaction may not be possible.

5.3 Age

The research conducted for this project has revealed some interesting patterns in the second generation with regards to identity formation and age. Multiple blog posts reflect the phenomenon of not realizing one has identity issues until they reach adulthood (Robles, 2017a & Ferreras, 2016). The literature does not say much about whether or not age matters in identity formation, but media entries have shown that age does indeed matter, however, this occurs in retrospect. Fatima Reyes (2016) recalls “feeling the need to blend in as much as possible” but not really knowing why. As adults, the second generation is more aware of their placement in Canadian society and of the circumstances that have contributed to said placement (Robles, 2017a). Joy D’Souza (2016) reflects on this awareness and quotes an unnamed individual: “As

I've gotten older, I've developed a firmer definition of my self-identity". With this comes the role other people play as well, taking into account the pressure placed on the second generation to identify a certain way or judging them based on their appearance. Even in the context of Canada where multiculturalism seemingly prevails on the surface, some second generation individuals in the community that are perceived to "look" Latinx (even though it is a construction) are automatically assumed to have been born somewhere else (Robles, 2017a). On the other hand, there are the second generation Latinx Canadians that pass for White Canadians and may never experience racialization (Moldes, 2016). The acknowledgement of these types of instances does depend on age as it is unlikely that a child will be receptive to such an occurrence, or lack thereof. It is for this reason that second generation adults feel the need to assert their cultural identity/identities (Ferreras, 2016). Persistent in online discussion is the idea that looking back on one's childhood as an adult, the formative years in school do indeed matter and a play a part in influencing identity. Friends from a similar background matter; they aid in transmitting language and cultural styles, such as clothing, and help foster a sense of community: the comforting idea that there are other people "just like me" (Robles, 2017a) having similar experiences. Even though on the surface it may seem as if these things do not hold much substance, they actually form a key part of the one's makeup (Ferreras, 2016).

5.4 Language

Both the literature and secondary media sources reveal that language is a huge factor in influencing identity formation and expression in the second generation. A blog entry about second generation Canadians referring to the need to recognize that particular population reads: "for the past twenty years, more than half of second generation Canadians have grown up speaking their family's native language" (Patel, 2016). Language is both a tool and skill set that

can be transferred from the first generation to the second, predominantly in the home, and is a means by which the second generation can feel more connected to their family's heritage. Language is also a uniting thread that facilitates communication between others in the community and family members back in the country of origin (Moldes, 2016). In opposition, being unable to speak the language can play a role in obscuring identity. Language difficulties can actually contribute to feelings of not belonging, not fitting in (or only partially fitting in), and feeling inauthentic (Robles, 2017b). Playing into this idea of not belonging, a blog post states, "I feel like an outsider since I don't think I sound native enough" (Robles, 2017a). The idea of only partially fitting in can be connected to the use of "Spanglish", in which individuals simultaneously use English and Spanish words to piece together conversation (Robles, 2017b). Language can unfortunately also be used as a means of exclusion. A blog post reads the following: "my Spanish didn't have enough slang[...]it was too proper or I would drop the occasional English word like 'okay, which meant that they knew I wasn't originally from there" (Robles, 2017a). As a result of this perceived lack of belonging to the community, the majority of second generation Latinx Canadians have seemingly taken it upon themselves to make the effort in learning to speak Spanish (beyond Spanglish) if they do not already (Moldes, 2016); not only for themselves but as a mechanism to honor their parents and culture alike.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research study, on the basis of my personal connection to the subject matter, hopes to shine light on an understudied population in Canadian literature (Armony, 2014). This study contributes to the sparse literature that does exist on second generation Latinx Canadians by drawing on the everyday experiences of these individuals and the ways they form unique identities as seen in social media activity and online discussions. Through the indirect application

of their voices, this research was able to portray that second generation Latinx Canadians assert and express hybridity through the negotiation of a hyphenated identity, especially during adulthood. The role of technology also proves to be important as it provides a means to engage in transnational activity since the Latinx diaspora in Canada is geographically dispersed. Furthermore, language and the ability to communicate in Spanish impact how the second generation interacts with others in the community and their first generation counterparts. The research revealed that second generation Latinx Canadians feel pressure from themselves and from mainstream Canadian society to negotiate their identity, and in turn are redefining what it means to belong to a multicultural society like Canada.

6.1 Limitations

Like many research projects, this one encountered limitations and barriers throughout the research process, the most prominent being the lack of Canadian literature on the topic. It seems as though not many studies have been conducted regarding the Latinx second generation in Canada. This impacted the data collection phase of the project as I really had to dive deep to find applicable and supporting articles. Because of the lack of Canadian literature, it was tempting to draw on the American context since there has been extensive research done on the second generation Latinx community in the United States. This also would have been problematic as it easily could have overtaken the project and completely changed the scope of the paper. Luckily enough Canadian literature came up that I was able to supplement with secondary digital media. Hopefully the second generation Latinx Canadian community continues to garner attention in academia, as I'm sure there is much more to be said about such a diverse community.

6.2 Future Research

The use of the term "Latinx" in this paper has opened the door for me to examine how

it's popularly used as a catch-all term rather than as a political stance that unapologetically supports and centers the lives of Latin Americans and the battles they constantly face in wake of a deep colonial history (Marquéz, 2018). Moving forward, it is vital that we be critical of how we employ the term. "Latinx" goes beyond gender inclusivity; it encompasses diversity and complicated intersections of violence and everyday life, all of which should be taken into account for future research regarding this group.

This research also lends itself to considering the possibility of expanding upon the ideas presented in this research paper. This paper highlights a population that is underrepresented in the Canadian academic landscape and presents some emerging areas of study that are worth considering. Firstly, this major research paper points to the prevalence of the Latinx community in Canada, and more specifically, that of the second generation. It also points to discussions on identity formation that are actively taking place. This opens up the possibility of future studies regarding this group as well as studies adhering specifically to issues associated with identity. Secondly, the role of technology proves to be quite significant in this particular study, and opens the door for a deeper consideration of the role social media and its varied uses play in contributing to the dynamics of identity formation. Ultimately it is my hope that this research serves as a guide and/or roadmap for future scholarly research; be it myself or someone else to use it as a stepping stone to further explore this incredibly diverse population in Canada.

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