THE IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION AND BICULTURALISM ON THE

SECOND GENERATIONS LIVING IN CANADA

By

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Abstract

The present study explores the experience of second generation Canadian youth in terms of acculturation and possible negative psychological impacts. Stressors that are associated with second generation Canadian youth have been identified as acculturation, biculturalism, cultural conflict within relationships, being a visible minority, and discrimination. This study utilizes a narrative literature review methodology to explore the challenges faced by second generation Canadian youth. Through this literature review I was able to describe, examine, and evaluate research looking at stressors unique to second generation Canadian youth in order to provide a better understanding for counsellors. Findings from this literature review indicated that second generation Canadian youth, compared to other Canadian youth, are experiencing additional stressors that negatively impact mental health and overall well-being. Themes that emerged from this review include: the important role of family, peers and factors associated with the host society's policies and attitude toward second generations. Marginalisation, discrimination, and lack of social support by the host society will create negative acculturation experience for second generation youth. However, acculturation pattern among second generation Canadian youth vary across ethnic groups and in order to avoid generalization more research is required to re-evaluate the story of second generation integration and closely examine day to day lived experiences of these generations in Canada.

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Purpose Statement

The main focus of this thesis is to identify acculturation stressors that are particular to second generation Canadian youth between the ages of 14 and 18, which may have negative effects on their mental health. Through the use of this narrative literature review, it is my hope that counsellors will gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of second generation Canadian youth, and that they will be better-skilled to effectively work with this specific demographic.

Definition of Terms

Because terms can have many meanings and interpretations, it is important to define the terminology I will be using in this paper. This next section will highlight key terms in this paper, and will indicate which definitions I will be using.

Immigrants

Immigrants are people who have become permanent residents of Canada. These people may have come to Canada as immigrants or as refugees. Permanent residents who become Canadian citizens are then no longer classified as permanent residents (Statistic Canada, 2009).

First Generation

The term first generation pertains to a person's nationality or residency in a country, and can imply two possible meanings: a foreign-born citizen or resident who has immigrated to a

new country of residence, or a native-born citizen or resident of a country whose parents are foreign-born.

Second Generation

Second generation immigrants are individuals who were born in Canada and have at least one parent born outside of Canada. Second generations can also be divided into two categories: those whose parents were both born outside Canada, and those with one parent born in Canada and one parent born outside Canada. This division helps to cultivate the understanding that having both parents as immigrants may lead to a different integration experience than for the children who have one parent who has been socialized in Canada (Surro & Passel, 2003). *For the purpose of the present literature review, second generation refers to children with both parents born outside of Canada.*

Multiculturalism

In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. By accepting this policy, Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens, regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation. Through multiculturalism, Canadians are encouraged to integrate into their society and take an active part in its social, cultural, economic, and political affairs (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1985).

Biculturalism

Biculturalism has been defined in a number of ways (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry, 2006; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). Most generally, biculturalism represents comfort and proficiency with both one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which

one has settled. It is applicable not only to immigrants who have come from other countries, but also to children of immigrants who, although born and raised in the receiving society, are likely to be deeply embedded in the heritage culture at home with their families (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006). It may also apply to individuals living in ethnic enclaves, where the heritage culture is likely to be maintained across generations, as well as to individuals from visible minority groups who may be identified as different from the majority ethnic group even if their families have been in the receiving society for multiple generations (Schwartz & Unger, 2010).

Visible Minority

A visible minority is defined by the Canadian government as people who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in skin colour and who do not report being Aboriginal. The term visible minority is used primarily to identify demographic categories. The qualifier "visible" is important in a Canadian context, because historically, Canada's political divisions in its colonial history have traditionally been determined by language (i.e. French or English) and religion (Catholics or Protestants), which are invisible traits (Statistic Canada, 2009).

Diversity

Canada has adapted and extended the meaning of diversity beyond race and ethnicity to include language, gender, religious affiliations, sexual orientation, abilities, and economic status. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom defines diversity as every individual in Canada, being considered equal regardless of race, religion, national or ethnic origin, colour, sex, age, or physical or mental disability. This means that governments must not discriminate on any of these grounds in its laws or programs (The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1985). In this

literature review, the term diversity represents the extended definition used by Canadian government.

Ethnicity

An ethnic group or ethnicity is a socially-defined category of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social, cultural, or national experience. Unlike most other social classifications, ethnicity is primarily an inherited status. Membership of an ethnic group tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin myth, history, homeland, language and/or dialect, cuisine, dressing style, art, physical appearance, and symbolic systems such as religion, mythology, and ritual, (Wayland, 2010). Ethnic identity, on the other hand, refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group (Phinney et al. 2001). Ethnic identity is generally seen as self-identification, a feelings of belonging and commitment to a group.

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to mutual changes in both migrants and the host society as the result of the integration and acceptance of different cultural groups. Acculturation also involves cultural learning from one or both groups in order to find common ground for relating to each other; however in practice, acculturation mostly happens to immigrant groups, rather than the host society. The process of acculturation is characterized by four strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. (France et al. 2013).

Assimilation

Assimilation is the process whereby immigrants adapt mainstream cultural norms and become more like the native population of the host society. The term "assimilation" is used to refer to both individual and groups of native residents that have come to be culturally-dominated by another society. Assimilation may be a quick or gradual change, depending on the circumstances of the group or person. Full assimilation occurs when new members of a society become indistinguishable from members of the other group (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008).

Integration

Integration is an ongoing process of mutual accommodation between individuals, groups, and the host society. The important thing about integration is that the individual cultures, as well as members of cultural communities, are welcomed and accepted for who they are regardless of their ethnicity and background. According to Canadian's Multiculturalism and integration perspective, newcomers are expected to understand and respect basic Canadian values, and Canadians are expected to understand and respect the cultural differences newcomers bring to Canada. Rather than expecting newcomers to abandon their own cultural heritage, the emphasis is on finding ways to integrate differences in a pluralistic society (Integration Branch Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001).

Marginalization

Marginalization occurs when people are systematically excluded from meaningful participation in economic, social, political, cultural, and other forms of human activity in their

communities and thus are denied the opportunity to fulfil themselves as human beings. It is

the process whereby something or someone is pushed to the edge of a group and given lesser

importance than others. This is predominantly a social phenomenon by which a minority or sub-

group members are excluded, and their needs or desires ignored (Jenson, 2000).

Introduction

Immigration is a life-changing cultural transition that involves dealing with a variety of

challenges and mental health implications for immigrants and their families (Berry & Sabatier,

2010). Pre-immigration circumstances and post-immigration conditions affect how people

experience migration (Beiser, 2005; Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Before discussing the technical

aspects of approaching second generations and their integration process, a basic characterization

of the demographic composition of immigrants and their families is needed.

That there are approximately 7.2 million immigrants living in Canada today (Statistic

Canada, 2015). According to the first data from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), one

out of five people in Canada's population is foreign-born; these immigrants represented 20.6% of

the total population in 2011. Second generation includes individuals who were born in Canada

and had at least one parent born outside Canada. In 2011, this group consisted of just over 5.7

million people, representing 17.4% of the total population. For just over half (54.8%) of them,

both parents were born outside Canada (Statistic Canada, 2015). Like all families, immigrant

families are diverse, complex, and have strengths and challenges. The process of migration itself

is often traumatic, and despite their personal strengths, some of these immigrant families may

struggle with mental health problems as a result of the stressors associated with immigration.

Adapting to a new culture is a complex process and should not be conceptualized as a

unidirectional process in which immigrants assimilate into their adapted society and accept the host culture (Berry, 2002; 2006). In addition to migration stressors such as language and cultural barriers, immigrants are very likely to experience unemployment, underemployment, and poverty during their initial period of resettlement into Canadian societies (Statistics Canada, 2011). The socio-economic and ethnocultural statuses of immigrants' parents affect their children's quality of life and ability to access services (Beiser, 2002; Potochinck & Perreira, 2011). It is important to understand that the migration and acculturation experiences of first generations can also contribute to second generations' psychological well-being. If these factors are not taken into consideration, school and post-secondary academic counsellors who work with immigrants and their children may fail to understand the psychological needs of the people with whom they are working. (Potochinck & Perreira, 2011; Stevens & Vollebergh).

Acculturation

Immigration is a phenomenon that is experienced by many millions of people throughout the world (Berry et al., 2006). Immigration has been represented as both a source of problems and opportunities, both for migrants and host societies. The immigration phenomenon has been researched and studied in order to better understand the contributing factors that make this a positive or negative experience (Berry et al. 2006). In an ideal world, the experience of acculturation by groups, individuals, and society would be positive. In such a world, societies, individuals, and groups would work out how to live together, and adapt various strategies that would allow them to achieve a reasonably successful adaptation to living inter-culturally.

Among the many difficulties associated with immigration and the lives of second generations, the acculturation process has been recognized as one of the main stressors (Beiser, 2005; Goldston et al. 2008; Phinney et al. 2001; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). As migration

continues, people all around the world are unavoidably interconnected through culture, tradition, norms, and values. The interactions and negotiations between cultures create complex identities for immigrants in particular, and for people in general (Goldston et al. 2009). Berry (2006) proposed that acculturation strategies adapted by immigrants are important factors in determining the adaptation outcome. However, there are additional factors that influence and impact immigrants and second generations experiencing acculturation. These additional factors include historical background prior to immigration, isolation and cultural distance from the host society, experience of prejudice and discrimination, social support, immigration policies, ethnic attitude, and in-group conflicts (Phinney et al. 2001; Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009).

In addition, acculturation is a process that requires cultural and psychological changes (Berry et al. 2006). These cultural changes include alterations in groups and societies' customs, attitude, social behaviours in relation to each other, as well as their economic and political lives (Berry, 2003; Phinney, 2003). Berry et al. (2006) suggested that at the psychological level, everyone in an intercultural context might hold similar attitudes and responsibilities, creating the necessary alterations for positive acculturation. Although this assumption is based on the understanding that immigrant groups and individuals have the freedom to choose how they want to engage in intercultural relations, this is often not the reality of immigrants' experiences with acculturation (Berry, 2003; Berry et al. 2006). When the host society enforces certain expectations onto immigrants in terms of how they should integrate into society, it diminishes the probability of successful integration (Berry 2003; Berry 2000). Mutual accommodation is required by both the host society and immigrant groups for successful integration to happen; however, the host society must be prepared to adopt integration strategies, such as having equal

access to education, health, and employment. There must also be cultural education for dominant

groups in order to better meet the needs of all groups and create a sustainable larger society

(Berry et al. 2006).

Different Acculturation Experiences

Acculturative stress occurs when people experience problems arising from the

acculturation process, such as conflicting cultural values and practices, language barriers, and

discrimination. Immigrants are most likely to experience these forms of stress, but second

generation youth can also experience similar stressors. Because the children of immigrants

acculturate more quickly than their parents, second generation youth may feel caught between

the opposing values of their parents and peers, or even experience conflict between their own

values and those of their less acculturated parents (Crockett et al, 2007; Kareff & Ogden, 2013;

Miranda et al. 2006). There is a misconception that because second generations are born,

educated, and socialized in the mainstream society, they experience fewer difficulties and are

less vulnerable to psychological distress (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Lalonde & Cameron,

2001; Pumariegaet al. 2005).

Research has shown that for some second generation people growing up in North

America, acculturation is easier due to their eager desire to embrace a North American identity

(Berry & Sabatier, 2009; Saechao et al. 2012; Safdar et al. 2006). Nevertheless, for most second

generation youth, successful acculturation largely depends on the adaptation and financial status

of their immigrant parents. Immigrant parents who are well-adjusted within their in-ethnic group

will usually have stronger ethnic identities. These strong family ties and ethnic identities could

provide better opportunities for their second generation children. In contrast, when immigrant

parents are at the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy and struggle with social inequalities, their children are likely to be deprived of privileges and opportunities (Berry & Sabatier, 2009; Saechao et al. 2012).

Unique Stressors

Ethnicity can play an important role in the types of stress experienced by youth. For instance, studies have shown that black, Latino and Asians youth reported discrimination and racism as major causes of stress compared to Caucasian youth (Finkelstein, 2007; Landis et al. 2007; Stein, Gonzalez & Huq, 2012). The experience of acculturation-related stressors for these youth can be grouped into three different categories. The first category is the outgroup hassles, including stress associated with interacting with mainstream society about issues such as prejudice, racial discrimination, and communication difficulties (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Koneru et al., 2007). The second category is the in-group hassles that come through interacting with members of one's own ethnic group (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). These stressors include the inability to communicate with ethnic group members through a heritage language and not feeling accepted. Finally, second generation youth may also experience conflict between the two cultural practises: their parent's cultural traditions and values, and the contrasting values of the dominant culture (Koneru et al., 2007; Landis et al. 2007; Stein, Gonzalez & Huq, 2012). In terms of cultural norms, some ethnic second generation youth may experience additional stressors. For example, Chinese youth experience higher levels of stress due to the academic demands placed on them by their parents and their cultural practices (Ang et al. 2009; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005). Studies have shown that North American parents do not rate academic success as a determinant of one's self-worth, as opposed to Asian families, who highly value

academic success for their children (Ang et al 2009; Espnes & Byrne, 2010; Jose & Huntsinger, 2005).

Other common stressors that youth experience that could have psychosocial impacts, in addition to acculturation stressors, include socioeconomic status, such as low-income or poverty, which can contribute to youth experiencing feelings of hopelessness and inadequacy (Landis et al. 2007). Peer pressure can cause depression or anxiety for some adolescents. Bullying, relationship break-ups, and physical fights could be additional sources of stress, especially in youth who are already at risk for depression (Davila et al. 2009; Landis et al., 2007). Family conflicts and parenting styles have proven to be other sources of stress for youth, and according to Davila et al. (2009), adolescents who experience conflict within the family environment tend to have increased depressive symptoms and internalization of emotions like anxiety.

Life for many young people can be painful and filled with conflicting demands from family, teachers, friends, and themselves. Growing up, negotiating between the two cultures and their expectations, developing independence, and searching for self-identity can be stressful and, in some cases, lead to mental health issues for youth. This is true for all youth, but especially for youth who are most vulnerable to stress. Issues facing youth from different ethnic background, including second generation youth, are more complex and more difficult to understand. Through my work with second generation youth, especially visible minority youth, I have seen systematic barriers that are specific to minorities. In addition to common stressors that most youth will experience, many of these young people have had to deal with culture-related family conflicts. For example, most of the youth in my program had to be involved in multiple activities and cultural practises in addition to their daily actives in school. These pressures from their parents and heritage culture, in combination with pressures from school and peers, were overwhelming

for most of the youth. I watched how stress manifested into frustration, anger, worry, sadness, and sometimes isolation for these second generation Canadian youth.

Canadian School Systems and Policies

Schools are the primary stabilizing place for social development and adjustment (Matthews, 2008; Stewart, 2014)in the lives of immigrants and second generation students. However, research shows that there is lack of information on how best to provide support to these students and what programs and services are most beneficial to foster these student's integration or adjustment to our Canadian societies (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Historically, public schools in Canada have been institutions of assimilation for indigenous and immigrant children (Kirmayer et al. 2003). Even with a multicultural movement that is theoretically strong, in practice most schools and colleges continue to reflect dominant Canadian societies' values (Kirmayer et al. 2003; Rodríguez-García, 2010). Lack of understanding and not adequately representing diversity in the education system is creating disadvantages and adding to the challenges faced by second generations, particularly visible minority Canadian youth (Claes, 2009; Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000; Sadig, 2005).

Immigrant parents also face challenges such as language barriers when trying to become involved in their children's studies. Lack of resources such as interpreters make it difficult for parents to attend parent's conferences (Koch, 2007; Morrison & Bryan, 2014; Tamer, 2014; William & Butler, 2003). Some Middle Eastern immigrant parents frequently hold cultural values such as respecting the authorities and professionals of the school and feel they should allow the teachers to performs their duties and do not get involved and often may not know what is happening with their children. These challenges put more responsibilities on school administration and counsellors to be involved in the lives of second generation youth and

understand their obstacles. It is important for administrators to emphasize the need for programs and services to be culturally sensitive. Creative programming for immigrant parents are necessary. Parents must believe that their involvement is valued and they are able to contribute to their children's education and overall experiences (Al-Amin & Nasrin, 2006; Estells, 2011; William & Butler, 2003).

<center>Situating the Author</center>

In this section, I would like to share part of my journey as a first generation immigrant in Canada. In addition to my own story, with a written consent from my son, I will be sharing some of his experiences as a second generation bicultural Iranian who was born and raised in Canada.

I was born and raised in Tehran, a big city in central Iran. At the age of 20, after marrying my husband, we decided to migrate to Canada. As a young Iranian immigrant who moved to Canada in 1988, I was always curious about how other immigrants were adjusting to their new Canadian culture, and how they had learned the language. Although I was excited about my decision to move to and stay in Canada, the emotional pain associated with leaving home and being separated from my loved ones was overwhelming. In the span of a single day I experienced a roller coaster of emotions. I would start the day with excitement, followed by fear, which later turned to depression. I believe what I was experiencing was a combination of culture shock, the fear of the unknown, and isolation. Unfortunately, my early encounters with Canadian society were not altogether positive. My husband and I settled in North Vancouver, British Columbia, when we first moved to Canada. At that time North Vancouver was a homogenous white community with little tolerance for people of colour. Some of my personal experiences with racism and discrimination during my early years of living in Canada are very painful and

difficult to discuss. As a visible minority, I have experienced much racism and discrimination throughout my 27 years of living in British Columbia. My experiences with racism are not unique to me, and I believe discrimination happens to many minorities across Canada. One of my first encounters with racism was being yelled at by an elderly Caucasian woman at the bus stop in North Vancouver saying "Go back home! You are not wanted here." I was shocked, embarrassed, and confused by her attitude towards me. That traumatic experience impacted my self-esteem as a young new immigrant woman settling into a new society. Throughout the years, I have experienced different types of racism and discrimination that have taken a toll on me on emotional, mental, and psychological levels. Adjusting to Canadian culture and learning a new language was challenging and often discouraging. As a new immigrant, dealing with racism, unfamiliar social customs and behaviours, unspoken rules, and boundaries was debilitating. I believe that even with much psychological preparation, we cannot escape the experiences and the impact of acculturation, especially in the early stages of moving to a new society.

English as a Second Language Classes (ESL) had a large impact on my ability to cope with the new environment and culture. ESL classes allowed me to interact with people of different nationalities who understood my stresses and difficulties as a new immigrant. Once I was among people with similar shared struggles, I could appreciate my new surroundings. Gradually, I became more accustomed to the new culture and began to orient myself, and was able to interpret subtle cultural cues and practices. Eventually I developed new coping mechanisms that enabled me to become more comfortable, and I began to feel integrated into society. Two years later, my life drastically changed with the birth of my daughter. Apart from the excitement and joy of having her in my life, I also felt like an immigrant who had entered

into unknown territory. Coming from a collective culture, I started to draw on my own cultural traditions and family experiences while developing my parenting style.

It was obvious that my traditional values about parenting were different from those of mainstream Canadian culture. Shortly after the birth of my son in 1991, while I was adapting to new roles and responsibilities, I was also worrying about the future of my children. I was worried that my children would forget their heritage, and instead fully assimilate to the traditions and practices found in western culture. I was also terrified of the likelihood of my children facing racism and discrimination, much like I had faced. To protect my children from what I experienced, I started monitoring their activities in and outside of school. Even though at home my children were raised and acculturated as Iranians, I allowed some integration within Canadian culture. As for most Iranians, education is an important value in my family of origin. To develop a strong educational foundation for both of my children, I decided to register them into a French Immersion program, where they learned English and French in addition to their ethnic language of Farsi. This decision allowed a faster integration into Francophone and Anglophone cultures for both my children and me. When both children were in middle school, I proudly completed my psychology degree and got a job as a youth worker; I worked with at-risk youth for over seven years.

Working with youth from different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds gave me a different perspective as a parent and as an immigrant. The majority of the youth in my program faced a disproportionately high level of unemployment, intolerance, segregation, and insufficient access to education. Some of the youth had little to no connection to their ethnic backgrounds, and some could not even speak their mother language. There was no doubt that their exclusion in

society as a second generation Canadian, as well as their lack of connection to their own cultural heritage, had impacted their psychological well-being. Most of them struggled with addiction, behavioural issues, anxiety, and depression. The majority of these immigrant youth, as well as second generations, were from working poor families with low socio-economic status. In my experience, even though Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy, the individual communities within Canada, in most part, promote assimilation rather than integration. It is my belief that investing in local cultural centres, including traditional knowledge and skills such as music, dance, and theater, will develop sustainable communities. These connections could strengthen youth identity and promote social cohesion rather than exclusion. My experience working with immigrants and second generation youth inspired me to explore their acculturation process and examine the impact of their overall experience on their success and well-being.

My son has been directly impacted with the issues previously discussed and has experienced the struggles that many second generation Canadians face. As an individual caught between cultures, he frequently has to adjust his behaviour and values. This has been a taxing process that often leaves him confused about his identity and about finding his place in mainstream society. Despite his frequent struggle with finding his place in various circumstances and situations, he has developed strong coping skills to help him navigate through life. For example, I believe that he has developed the ability to pick and choose what he finds most useful or attractive from both cultures, and then use it to his advantage. From his perspective, this gives him the tools to become a well-rounded person by using the best that each culture has to offer. However, in my experience, many first generation immigrants do not allow their children to pick and choose what parts of their cultural heritage they want to adopt. This may interfere with their

children's ability to establish a self-identity, and instead may push them away from creating a balanced life, which in turn could have an impact their children's mental health and well-being.

During my son's teenage years, he often came to me and expressed his struggle of feeling stuck between two cultures. In a few vital ways, he stated that his confusion around making decisions and his fear of making mistakes negatively impacted him in terms of his mental health and happiness. He has battled anxiety for a large portion of his life, which he believes is partly due to his bi-cultured perspective of society. As an individual with two distinct and opposing cultures, he is able to see the flaws and issues within our multicultural society that many may not be able to understand. Multiculturalism was intended to support intercultural relations, however, my son's experience led him to believe that his ethnicity was to be assimilated, not integrated, into Canadian society. Second generation youth are forced to get rid of their old world and become fully Canadian, but for lots of youth this lead to alienation. This perspective often leads to depression and anxiety as he is very aware of the disparities he and many others face. Being caught between cultures, and the feeling of not belonging, can have a large impact of an individual's self-actualization and their overall mental health.

As an immigrant living in Canada for over 27 years, I have witnessed the great adversity that many second generation youth face in regards to their relationships with their family. Many have great difficulty communicating with their parents, which often results in disagreements and stress in the relationship. Some of the unique stressors facing second generation youth are arguments with their parents over cultural practices, choice of dating mate outside of their ethnicity, adapting Canadian cultural practises, and refusing to speak their parent's native language. As a result of these stressors, some youth may have lost the support of their families and have to face many difficulties in their lives alone. Youth who are living within two cultural

norms could face barriers throughout their lives that may challenge their mental health, decision-making, and their overall well-being. Understanding and unfolding the experiences of second generation youth is a complex matter, and I strongly believe that it is vital for all of us, especially youth counsellors working within high schools and universities, to educate ourselves so that we are better able to support them and recognize their challenges.

Method

For the purpose of this research topic, I have selected narrative literature review as my methodology. A narrative literature review is defined as "an objective, thorough summary and critical analysis of the relevant available research and non-research literature on the topic being studied" (Hart 1998; Cronin, et al. 2008 p.38). A narrative literature review allows the writer to search for, collect, and interpret a broad topic, and provides a bridge between the vast knowledge and the reader, who may not have time or resources to learn them (Campbell Collaboration, 2001; Kirkevold, 1997). The main purposes of a literature review are to give a comprehensive overview of the literature in a chosen area, to identify gaps in existing research, to develop a conceptual framework, and to refine a research topic and question (Cronin et al., 2008). One of the strengths of a narrative review is its proposal to comprehend the diversities and pluralities of understanding around scholarly research topics; it also gives the writer the opportunity to speak with self-knowledge, reflective practice, and the acknowledgement of shared experience and educational background (Jones, 2004).

I explicitly chose to do a narrative literature review because it allows me to convey to readers what I have learned from my research, and then relate it to second generation Canadians and their experiences of biculturalism and acculturation (Cronin et al. 2008). A narrative

literature review also enables me to provide a broad collection of scientific information to counsellors and educators who oftentimes do not have the time, access, or resources to do this research. It is my hope that by using this method, I will create an organized document that will be accessible to various professionals who are working with second generation youth. I will be using this literature review as a way to describe, synthesize, and evaluate selected research. For the structure of the review, I will group and discuss what I have found in terms of themes, theoretical concepts, and topics that I believe are important when trying to identify the key points to be aware of when working with second generation youth. As mentioned earlier, I come to this topic with particular knowledge and lived experience, and as such I am aware that I may have preconceived ideas of what experiences, such as the impact of acculturation, biculturalism, and cultural conflicts, might be considered stressors associated with the negative psychological impact on youth.

The comprehensive narrative review presented below is based on material identified by conducting a comprehensive literature search databases (CatalogPlus, Ebrary, PsycBooks, ProQuest) available on the City University website. City University librarians were asked to retrieve inclusive peer reviewed journals and books on my topic. A University of the Fraser Valley data search (EBSCOhost: PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, SocINDEX) was also conducted in order to extend my academic search while looking for sociology and psychology journals, as well as books related to ethnicity, culture, and religion. Throughout my search, I identified journals that studied topics related to second generation Iranian Canadian youth between 14 to 18 years of age. I was particularly interested in articles published in English in peer reviewed journals between January 1995 and December of 2015. I searched for the following combination of keywords: acculturation and second generation Canadians, acculturation stressors,

immigration in Canada, first and second generation Iranian-Canadians, biculturalism, Multiculturalism, mental health in second generations, psychological related stressors with acculturation, youth in Canada, youth stressors, and psychological adjustment in second generations.

Abstracts and articles were read for relevance to the research question. Journal articles were selected for review if they focussed on acculturation, specific acculturation stressors particular to second generation Canadian youth between the ages of 14 and 18 years old, mental health among second generation youth, demographics of Canadian immigration, first generation Canadian immigrants, strategies on adaptation and integration of second generations. Articles such as empirical studies and editorials that did not meet the quality related criteria for this review, were excluded. Fifty four articles that matched one or a combination of the search terms were evaluated on the basis of title, key words, abstract, and also full text. I discovered that much of the research on second generations has been conducted in the United States, reflecting the awareness and significance of acculturation and enculturation issues in the United States. However, it should be noted that by selecting studies written only in English, I have excluded many studies conducted in other parts of the world. Impressively, the number of studies on acculturation and mental health has grown over the recent years. Of the 230 studies identified, 54 met my inclusion criteria, and of these, the majority were carried out in the US, Australia, Sweden, and in UK. Some of the Canadian studies that met my inclusion criteria reported more on poverty, family, and the mental health of refugees, and on first generation immigrants rather than second generation Canadians. A majority of these studies focused only on Chinese and South Asian populations, which are the largest immigrant population in Canada. My search for peer reviewed Canadian journals resulted in identifying only limited articles focussing on Middle

Eastern populations living in Canada, and only a few articles looked specifically at Iranian Canadian population. The limited representation of the Iranian Canadian population, particularly second generation Iranians, shifted the focus of this literature review to include other ethnic second generation Canadian youth. Ethnicities that are represented in the selected journal articles include Latino, Chinese, Arabs, and South Asian second generation Canadian youth.

Literature Review

With approximately 250,000 immigrants arriving yearly into Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012), it is important to closely understand the acculturation of immigrants and their children into our society. Immigrants bring with them a diverse and rich set of cultural norms, values, and practices, and unique cultural traditions. However, their interactions with Canadian society may also create a complex environment, where they could face daily struggles of dealing with multiple cultural influences in their lives (Abouguenia & Noels, 2001; Phinney et al. 2001). Despite attempts by the Canadian Government to protect and keep the heritage and cultural practise of immigrant families (Government of Canada, Ministry of Heritage, 2004), many immigrant families encounter discrimination and racism for identifying with their own heritage culture and values (Stroink & Richard, 2009). The immigration process causes stress not only because migration involves the loss of family, friends, customs, and familiar surroundings, but also because immigrants have to adapt to a new cultural environment that includes different values, languages, and living standards (Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). Research on immigrant health from Statistics Canada's Population Surveys (2001) suggested that immigrants' experiences of acculturation stress, language barriers, lack of familiarity with Canadian society, economical status, and unemployment may result in worse health conditions compared to other Canadians (Ali et al. 2004; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Potochnick and Perreira, 2010; Safdar et al.

2003). Lack of opportunities for immigrants to sustain their cultural values, identities, and traditions that may differ from the dominant Canadian values, may lead to psychosocial challenges and isolation (Berry, 2006; Safdar et al. 2003).

For new immigrants, preserving their identities and embracing their culture of origin are important factors for survival (Beiser et al. 2002; Noh & Kasper, 2003; Pumariega et al. 2005; Stroink, et al. 2009). For the second generations, however, there is a misconception that because second generations are born, educated, and socialized in the mainstream society, they experience fewer difficulties and are less vulnerable to psychological distress (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Lalonde & Cameron, 2001; Pumariegaet al. 2005). From my experience working with second generation youth, I do not believe this to be true. I believe that understanding the integration experiences of second generations is critical because their experiences are distinct from those of their immigrant parents (Reitz & Somerville, 2004). Despite the general belief that second generations are not as vulnerable as their immigrant parents, some studies have shown that the second generation population may in fact experience higher levels of discrimination, experience more stress, have lower self-esteem, and have a worse self-concept than their immigrant parents (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). Abouguendia and Noels (2001) suggested that second generation Canadians may experience different acculturative stressors than those experienced by their parents. (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Pumariega et al. 2005; Saechao et al. 2012; Waters & Jimenez, 2005). The purpose of this literature review is to develop a broader understanding of second generation Canadian youth's experiences of acculturation, and the possible negative psychological impacts that these experiences have on their mental health. In this chapter, I will share what my literature review has uncovered, mainly those stressors unique to second generation Canadian youth.

Second Generation Acculturation

The first theme that emerged from my reading and exploration of this topic is acculturation. In theory, acculturation refers to shared changes in both the host society and migrants as the result of interaction (France et al., 2013). In practice, however, most changes occur in the non-dominant group, or the group with weak vitality (Berry & Sam, 1997). As mentioned earlier in this paper, the process of acculturation is may include four strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration (France et al. 2013; Nielsen, 2009). However, various studies (Fine & Sirin 2007; García Coll & Marks 2009; LaFromboise et al. 1993; Rogers-Sirin et al. 2013) have raised the concern that many Canadian systems, for instance; education, health, and legal, have failed to integrate immigrants into mainstream society. As a result, families suffer increased challenges and stress during their integration process. Many immigrant families feel they are often not aware of western practices and at the same time, many mainstream family services are not aware of the distinct needs of new immigrant families (Berry, 1997; France et al. 2013; Nielsen, 2009). Cervantes et al. (2013) believe that the acculturation stressors of immigrant families will have great impact on second generation stress and their risk of developing behavioural issues. However, they argue that family integrity and strong family values and traditions may buffer against the negative psychological impact on second generations (Cervantes et al. 2013). This view also coincides with Rogers-Sirin et al.'s (2013) argument that increases in acculturative stress over time predict increases internalizing symptoms. However, social supports and ethnic identity may serve as protective factors against the development of internalizing mental health symptoms.

In addition to acculturation experiences and stress, socioeconomic status of immigrant families, their employment opportunities and educational level will have impact on the well-being of second generations (Kuo & Kwantes, 2014; Portes, 2013; Sabatier, 2010; Yeh, 2000). Some census data (Aydemir et al., 2005; Frenette et al., 2003; Picot et al., 2007) suggest that immigrant parents earned 8% less than other parents, despite having nearly twice the rate of university graduation. Statistic Canada (Aydemir, et al., 2005) also shows that second generation Canadians, particularly visible minorities with two immigrant parents earned roughly 38% less than their counterparts with Canadian-born parents. Many studies have been revealed the widening gap in earnings and low-income rates between recent immigrants to Canada and their native-born counterparts (Aydemir & Skuterud 2004; Frenette & Morissette 2003; Picot et al. 2003; Picot, et al. 2007). However, challenges associated with the integration of immigrants often extend beyond the first generation. If the children of immigrants experience similar barriers to social and economic integration, then low socioeconomic status may foster the creation of second class citizens (Aydemir, et al. 2005; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Picot et al. 2007).

Intergenerational Acculturation Conflict

Another source of acculturation stress that has received much attention is intergenerational conflict caused by different levels of acculturation between parents and second generations (Kuo & Kwantes, 2014). Roger-Sirin et al. (2014) argue that there are different types of acculturation that are unique to immigrant parents and their second generation children. The most common acculturation occurs when second generation youth master the language and the cultural norms faster than their parents, which could increase their disconnection to their heritage culture (Roger-Sirin et al. 2014). Difficulties in the acculturation process may reduce immigrant parents' ability to act as protectors and authorities in the lives of their children, which

could lead to stress and increased risk of mental health for the second generations. For example, the process of acculturation begins when immigrants enter a new country involving change in language, behaviour, attitudes, and values. Children often become involved in the new culture relatively quickly, particularly if they attend school, while their parents may never acquire sufficient comfort with the new language and culture to become socially integrated into their new country. As a result, immigrant parents and their second generation children may live in different cultural worlds of understanding and adjustment (Birman, 2006; Roger-Sirin et al. 2014). Acculturation gaps can be problematic because they make family communication and mutual understanding difficult. For most adult immigrants, their native language will remain primary, yet most children learn the new language very quickly, becoming conversationally proficient within the first few years of their lives. Acculturation gap is also problematic when members of the second generation have no formal instruction in their heritage language, which makes it difficult for them to discuss complex issues with their parents as they mature (Birman, 2006; Kuo & Kwantes, 2014; Roger-Sirin et al. 2014).

Another typical form of acculturation occurs when immigrant parents and children acculturate to mainstream culture and disconnect from their heritage culture as a family (Roger-Sirin et al. 2014). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) believe while immigrants struggle with learning the new composition and pronunciations, there is a deeper and more serious problem that occurs once the English language becomes internalized. Portes and Rumbaut further explain that immigrants may lose their language particularly if their native tongue no longer has the prestige that it once had. It is important to understand that our language is part of who we are and also is a part of our past history and culture. If immigrats and their families lose their language and their heritage cultural practices through assimilation or marginalization policies, they may lose their

cultural identity (Portes, & Rumbaut, 2001; Stroink, & Lalonde, 2009). Because language has a strong impact on the development of self during childhood, second generation children may struggle with confusion and negative acculturation. Second generations who adapt to the challenges of becoming multilingual may have more positive acculturation experience (Stroink et al. 2009). The most positive acculturation is when both immigrant parents and second generations maintain healthy connections to both heritage and mainstream cultures. Studies show that when immigrant families and their children maintain their ethnic identity and stay connected to the host society, they are better able to cope with discrimination and the negative impacts of acculturation experiences (Berry & Sabatier; Roger-Sirin et al. 2014; Yeh, 2003). Phinney, et al. (2001) suggested that ethnic and national identities and their role in adaptation depend on the attitude and characteristics of immigrants and the response of the host society. Immigrant families arriving in a new country valuing their cultural origin will have healthier ethnic identities and a greater willingness to become part of the new society. In other words, ethnic identity is likely to be strong when immigrants have strong desire to retain their identities and when diversity is encouraged and accepted. Strong ethnic identity and positive acculturation are important influences on mental health among immigrants and second generations (Phinney, et al. 2001; Roger-Sirin et al. 2014).

Acculturation Adaption Strategies

The integration strategy is one of the ideal acculturation models that allow second generation Canadian youth to preserve their heritage culture and ethnic identity while integrating into Canadian society. However, not all second generation youth experience acculturation in the same way, and assimilation, marginalization, and separation may create some degree of cultural conflict and stress for second generation youth. For example, through assimilation second

generation may feel pressured to abandon their own cultural practices and values in order to accept the societal norms. Similarly, marginalization and separation may pressure youth to isolate themselves from their cultural groups, which may lead to alienation and unwillingness to integrate (Berry, 2006).

Research (e.g., Walker et al. 2008; Yeh, 2003) suggests that cultural adjustment and adaptation are challenging for second generation youth who are trying to develop their sense of ethnic identity while relating to peers. The inability to relate to family, peers, or adapt to new cultural norms could create mental health concerns such as experiences of alienation, aggressive behavior, and low self-esteem (Walker et al. 2008). Berry and Sabtier (2008) believe that family is the first place of socialization for children and youth to develop their sense of self and learn about values and cultural norms. The family's process of acculturation may have either a positive or negative influence on the adaptation of second generation youth into the society. However, as much as family plays an important role in the process of second generation acculturation, the interactive role of the host society and its policies toward diversity will also determine the psychological impact on second generation youth (Berry & Sabrier, 2008; Berry et al. 2006). For instance, in Canada, the policy of multiculturalism encourages individuals and groups to interact while protecting their heritage cultural practices. In contrast, other countries, such as France, use assimilation as a form of integration policy, and French second generation youth report experiencing more group discrimination than Canadian second generations (Berry & Sabrier, 2008, 2010; Berry et al. 2006).

To cope with the stress of acculturation, second generation youth generally choose from three different adapting strategies: youth either over-identify with their ethnic culture, over-identify with the mainstream culture, or become alienated from their families and peers

(Pumariega et al. 2005; Tastosglou & Petrinioti, 2011). There is no doubt that adolescence is a time in which belonging is especially valued, and a sense of belonging is considered one of the important factors for youth in situating themselves into society. Negative acculturation and tension generated by families, school, or peers in the adolescence stage could lead to depression, anxiety, suicide, substance abuse, or behavioural issues (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Goldston et al. 2008; Pumariegaet al. 2005).

Biculturalism – Caught between two cultures

The most talked about topic in the literature pertaining to the unique stress of second generation Canadian youth is biculturalism. The concept of biculturalism has been well documented (Berry 2006; Thompson, 2005; Sodhi, 2008), and refers to the ability of an individual to function effectively in more than one culture (Jambunathan et al. 2000; Thompson, 2005). Sodhi (2008) believes that for some second generation Canadians, ethnicity is situational. Situational ethnicity may give second generations the option to select and discard cultural values and traditions that are not appropriate in certain situations. Consequently, the individual's identity will be modified due to the continuous interaction between self and the mainstream society. Sodhi explains that eventually, second generation individuals begin to develop different identities in order to accommodate different situations. Second generation individuals who are raised in a multiethnic environment often develop multicultural or mixed identities. Sodhi also believes that bicultural identity is a union of Canadian individualistic culture and Eastern collectivistic culture that could lead to a new lifestyle for the second generation Canadians.

Contrary to Sodhi's (2008) view that biculturalism is the union of two distinct cultures, LaFromboise et al. (1993) argued that individuals who live and practice within two cultures should be considered marginal people. LaFromboise suggests that marginality could lead to

psychological conflict and personal identity issues. Living in two cultures may be psychologically undesirable, because managing the complexity of dual identities could generate confusion for individuals (Berry et al., 2006; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Yeh, 2003). LaFromboise also suggested that in order for second generations to be culturally competent, they have to possess a strong personal identity, be knowledgeable of the beliefs and values of the culture, and maintain active social interaction and be able to negotiate within cultural groups (LaFromboise et al. 1993). This perspective suggests that when heritage and mainstream cultural norms offer incompatible values and practices, cultural conflict arises (Giguere et al., 2007). For example, life decisions about dating, education, and career choices often involve arguments and negotiation with parents. These stressors can put pressure on second generations to choose between the two cultures, which may lead to feelings of alienation from one culture (Berry & Sabatier, 2009; Saechao et al. 2012).

Cultural conflicts can be experienced at different levels in the lives of second generation youth (France et al. 2013; Lalonde & Giguère. 2007). At the group level, they may experience discrimination, because they have been perceived as not fitting in on the basis of their skin colour, accent, or appearance (Giguère et al. 2007). At the peer level, interpersonal conflicts is more likely to occur when heritage cultural practices and western cultural norms are incompatible or when a circumstance calls for the bicultural youth to follow only one of the two sets of norms. These types of cultural conflicts create confusion and stress, which could impact their psychological well-being (Giguère et al. 2007). Some second generation Canadians have been described as "in between two worlds" (Hakim-Larson & Paterson, 2012, p. 207), one private, which is their family life, and one public, which include their peers and the community. Hakim-Larson and Paterson suggest that individuals who are encultured and oriented to both

heritage culture and Canadian culture have to learn how to adjust their behaviour in private and public life. In fact, acculturation within in-group and out-group was found to be an ongoing process and a stressful process for second generations who are exposed to more than one culture (Hakim-Larson & Paterson, 2012; Nydell, 2006; Sabatier & Berry, 2008).

Relationship Conflict within Cultural Expectations

The Canadian dominant culture promotes personal autonomy and independent decision-making, whereas most Asian and Middle Eastern, including Iranian Canadians' collective culture, suggest conformity, family interests before the individual interests, group decisions, and unconditional respect; in some circumstances, it requires obedience (Lalonde et al. 2004; Moghaddam et al. 1987; Sodhi, 2008). For instance, second generation Indo-Canadians are expected to dismiss their personal academic interests in order to pursue programs of their parents' choice, such as medicine or law. This sacrifice is considered important to the extended family identity and pride (Lalonde et al. 2004; Sodhi, 2008). Sodhi (2008) argues that some second generation youth are not able to fulfill their parents unrealistic expectations, which may result in them feeling embarrassed or ashamed of their academic or professional choices and achievements. This is the fundamental difference between eastern and western cultural practices, where collective culture focuses on the well-being of the group to which the individuals belongs, versus personal autonomy and independent decision making. Lalonde et al. (2004) emphasize that core cultural values, norms, and expressions are continuously communicated in the individual's daily interactions at home, at school, and at workplace. These cultural interactions will shape the individual's self-identity, especially with respect to their relationship with others in the society.

Dating and Marriage

The most striking differences and cultural influences between eastern and western perspectives are in the concept of relationships, particularly in the concept of marriage (Lalonde et al. 2004; Sodhi, 2008). South Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants with collective cultural backgrounds often have well-defined norms and boundaries around dating and marriage (France et al, 2013). For second generation eastern immigrants living in a western culture, integration is typically associated with two distinct and often contradictory sets of norms. Research has indicated that continuous interactions between these two cultural norms can be associated with some pressure (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Noh & Kasper, 2003; Yeh, 2003). For instance, the territory of close relationships, such as dating and marriage, is one area where there is potential for cultural conflict for bicultural individuals of eastern descent (Hynie et al. 2006; Lalonde et al. 2004). Cultural norms most likely will influence not only what we look for in a life partner, but also *how* we look for a potential mate. In western cultures, marriage is seen as the union of two individuals, and although family approval is desirable, it is not a must. Marriage in western cultures is assumed to be a consequence of a couple's feelings or romantic love. In contrast, in many eastern cultures, marriage is seen as the union between two families (Aujla, 2000; Lalonde et al. 2004). In eastern collective culture, children's selection of a marriage partner is desirable, but obligations and duties are more important than personal preferences (Aujla, 2000; Goodwin & Cramer, 2000; Lalonde et al. 2004). For example, in some South Asian and Middle Eastern communities, second generations are expected to follow the traditional family values, and are typically not permitted to date unless the courtship is approved by parents and marriage is the goal of the relationship. In these communities, parents generally take responsibility for finding a

life partner for their children, and preference is given to a mate within the same cultural

background (Lalonde et al. 2004; Sodhi, 2008).

It is well-documented that the norms, rules, customs, and expectations of interaction

within relationships are primarily defined and communicated through culture (Lalonde et al.

2004; levitt, 2009; Phinney et al. 2001). Lalonde et al. (2004) argued that second generations

normally experience their cultural practices through families, peers, and the host society. It is not

surprising that these individuals experience internal conflicts. Close relationships are one area

where there is the potential for cultural conflict, and dating is often associated with considerable

tension. Marriage between cultures can be an incredible opportunity to share two different

worlds, but it does come with its own unique set of challenges. Many cultures have different

views on dating and marriage that could bring stress and difficulties into the relationship. The

differences between eastern and western traditions around relationships may put pressure on

children to marry either within their race or within their culture.

Fulfilling their family's expectations against individual choices could create interpersonal

and intrapersonal conflict for bicultural youth. For example, when youth become immersed in

the culture of the host society to a greater extent than their parents, the immigrant parents may

believe that they are losing control over their children. Parents may also perceive these

acculturation influences as an interference in their attempts to communicate their cultural value

system to their children (Sharif, 2009). Particularly in South Asian and Middle Eastern cultures,

parents evaluate the efficacy of childrearing in terms of the degree to which they believe they

have been able to guide their children effectively to make wise life decisions, including marriage

(Sharif, 2009). In terms of relationship, immigrant parents perceive children's autonomy

negatively. Parents may react to their children's different cultural preferences by increasing their

levels of control and through instilling feelings of guilt and shame to redirect their children's

behaviour (Mouton-Sanders, 2000; Sharif, 2009).

The Impact of Racism and Discrimination

So far through this literature review I have discussed how acculturation and biculturalism

have negatively impacted second generation Canadian youth and their mental health, in addition

to racism, discrimination, and being a member of a visible minority. Brown et al. (2013)

suggested that racism and discrimination are important determinants of risk factors among

multiethnic Canadian high school students. Furthermore, they added that racism and

discrimination experienced by visible minorities may indirectly increase health risk factors

through interaction with other determinants of health, such as disproportionate levels of poverty,

inadequate housing, and difficulty finding employment. Experiences with discrimination are

commonplace for many youth, who may manifest negative feelings from their experiences of

discrimination through different internal or external mechanisms. Aggression and violence may

represent the externalization of acculturative stress, by serving as a physical manifestation of

stress (Brown et al. 2013).

Leung (2012) also argued that even though Canada has been pushing toward a more

inclusive society over the last 40 years, we should not underestimate the consequences of

marginalizing visible minorities, particularly youth who will make up a substantial part of the

population, and who will provide skills and education that are national economic resources for

the future. Leung empathized the importance of recognizing diversity and addressing the need to

manage the relationship between visible minorities and the mainstream society. Leung

acknowledged that one of the challenges in maintaining multiculturalism and inclusiveness in

Canadian societies is the white Europeans power group that still dominates Canadian society and

its policies (Leung, 2012). While official multiculturalism encourages preservation of ethnic minority cultures, visible minority individuals are being ignored or discriminated against (Leung, 2012; Claes et al. 2009). For instance, as a parent of visible minority children, I have had the difficult task of teaching my children not only about strangers and predators, but also against racist attitudes that they faced from as early as kindergarten. They have been called names and left wanting for playmates in the schoolyard because some of the other children's parents had told them that they should not play with "brown children."

According to Statistics Canada, in 2011, over 1.7 million second generation Canadians were members of a visible minority group. They accounted for three in 10 (29.8%) of all second generations, compared with one in five (19.1%) visible minorities in Canada's total population (Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada: National Household Survey, 2011). In Canada, a visible minority is defined as people who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in skin colour, and who are non-Aboriginal (Employment Equity Act, 1995). Young visible minority second generations are mostly Canadian-born children of immigrant parents who were themselves members of visible minorities (Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada: National Household Survey, 2011).

Racism and discrimination continue to exist in everyday life (Samuel & Basavarajappa, 2006). Many visible minority ethnocultural groups face systemic discrimination, stereotyping, and racism in the areas of immigration, education, employment, and health care. Research (Beiser, 2005; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008) suggests that discrimination plays a major role in the experiences of visible minorities and could have negative impact on their physical and mental health.

By the year 2017 in Toronto, Canada's largest urban centre, more than half of residents will be from ethnic minorities, primarily of South Asian and Chinese descent (Statistics Canada, 2005). As ethnic minority populations grow in North America, understanding the health effects associated with the integration of ethnic groups into a multicultural society is critical. Chedebois et al. (2009) used acculturation and discrimination as two important factors that shape the health and well-being of ethnic minority population. Chedebois et al. argued that the process of acculturation is not linear, and an individual's experience of rejecting or accepting their traditional culture, and adapting host cultural practices, shape the acculturation experience (Berry, 2001, 2006; Brug & Verkuyten, 2007). Discrimination, on the other hand, speaks more directly to the lived experiences of ethnic individuals in a host society. Interpersonal discrimination refers to discriminatory interactions, both conscious and unconscious, between individuals (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002), but also manifests through day-to-day interactions with varying social structures.

Summary and Discussion

Stress associated with acculturation of second generation youth in Canada is understudied. Using a narrative literature review, I explored important stressors of second generation Canadian youth, including acculturation, biculturalism, cultural conflict in choosing relationships, discrimination, and being a visible minority of second generation Canadian youth. Studies have explored the significance of acculturative stress for refugees, immigrants, and first generations, and have suggested generational differences in experiencing acculturation. For first generation immigrants, adaptation into a new culture is a complex process, and it should not be assumed that immigrants will assimilate into their adapted society, accept the host culture, and become model citizens (Berry, 2002 & 2006). In addition to migration stressors such as language

and cultural barriers, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination, immigrants are very likely to experience unemployment and poverty during their initial period of resettlement into Canadian societies. The socio-economic and ethnocultural statuses of immigrants' parents affect their children's quality of life and ability to access services (Beiser, 2002; Potochinck & Perreira, 2011). It is important to understand that the migration and acculturation experiences of first generations contribute to second generations' psychological well-being. In general, adolescence is a transitional stage of physical, psychological, and cultural expression and experiences. Research has demonstrated that in addition to general adolescence transitional stressors, cultural adjustment and adaptation are challenging times for second generation youth who are trying to develop their sense of ethnic identities and relate to peers at the same time. The inability to relate to both families and peers, or to adapt to new cultural norms, could create mental health concerns such as alienation, aggression, and low self-esteem (Walker et al. 2008). Berry and Sabtier (2008) believed that family is the first place of socialization for children and youth to develop their sense of self and learn about values and cultural norms. The family's process of acculturation may have a positive or negative influence on the adaptation of second generation youth into society. However, as much as family plays an important role in the process of second generation acculturation, the interactive role of the host society and its policies toward diversity will also determine the psychological impact on second generation youth (Berry & Sabrier, 2008; Berry et al. 2006).

A close look at the experience of second generations revealed that acculturated generations were often exposed to two sets of values: that of western cultures and that of their parents' heritage culture. Depending on the impacts of acculturation, these individuals will have different feelings and experiences around accepting or rejecting cultural practices (Abouguendia

& Noels, 2001; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). Studies also support the notion that positive acculturation experiences and cultural interactions permit learning and understanding that could result in a positive change in the lives of second generation youth. Through positive acculturation, second generation youth are able to effectively function in a society, adopt mainstream behaviors and accept societal attitudes to crate harmony between their heritage and societal cultural belief and practices (Berry, 2006; Phinney et al., 2006). In terms of accepting change and adaptations, several studies have reported that there is a generational difference in attitudes towards change and adaptation into the host society. First generations experience more difficulty in accepting and adjusting to changes in their lives, whereas second generations are more flexible and tolerant towards changes (Phinney et al., 2001). With regards to socialization values, immigrants and first generations find core beliefs and practices more difficult to change (Phinney et al. 2001).

One of the significant findings in this literature review is that second generations are facing unique stressors such as biculturalism, discrimination and prejudice, and cultural and relational obstacles. These are common problems that second generations encounter as they transition from their heritage cultural practices to mainstream norms. These individuals may also experience personal conflict as they attempt to identify with both cultural groups when compromising their cultural values and practices to meet the standard and expectations of mainstream society (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Koneru et al. 2007). Negotiating and reconciling the differences between the two cultures could create additional stressors for these individuals, and in some circumstances, to conform fully to one culture could mean to distance themselves from the other culture. However, it is important to note that being bicultural does not always result in conflict. Being bicultural could also be associated with certain benefits, such as

enhanced feelings of being valued, competence, and flexibility to negotiate within the two cultural norms.

Berry (1980, 1997, 2003) proposed a comprehensive acculturation model that reflects a bidimensional process of acculturation. Berry (1980, 1997, 2006) defined acculturation as a process of cultural and psychological exchange that results from continuous contact between two distinct cultural groups' families and individual members. He proposed a bidimensional acculturation model that includes four different strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Assimilated individuals have frequent contact with the host society, but at the expense of giving up their own cultural heritage. Integrated individuals maintain their cultural identity while actively seeking contacts with the larger society. Separated individuals preserve their cultural traditions while rarely interacting with the larger society. Lastly, marginalized neither make close contact with their ethnic culture nor interact with the host society. Research shows that the socially integrated model of acculturation is the best in terms of providing positive psychological well-being and successful acculturation experiences for immigrants and second generation Canadians. In addition to acculturation, the concept of biculturalism has also been well-documented as a major stressor for second generation youth living in Canada. Cultural conflicts can be experienced at different levels in the lives of second generation youth. This marginalized group may experience cultural conflict when dealing with families and peers through their continuous transitioning between Canadian and eastern cultural norms, practices, and expectations. Youth often are caught between the cultures and pressured to make certain decisions about relationships, employment, and education choices. Inability to fulfill expectations of parents and the mainstream culture will without a doubt have psychological impact on the well-being of second generation youth.

Overall, this literature review revealed that family, peer, social participation, and integration to the society are important factors in determining the well-being of second generation Canadian youth. This is particularly important to understand because second generation youth are facing challenges over and above those of other young people. It is clear that negative acculturation, in combination with interpersonal and intrapersonal cultural conflict, can lead to psychological issues for second generation youth. There is significant literature on the lives and challenges of refugees, immigrants, and first generations migrating into Canadian societies, but there is limited research focussing on second generation Canadians. I would like to conclude that there are major gaps in our knowledge about the role of acculturation on second generation Canadian youth, and would like to emphasize the importance of this knowledge on their well-being. In the next section, I will provide some key recommendations to school counselors who are working with second generation Canadian youth.

Conclusion

Acculturation is a critical factor when examining the process of cultural adjustment and adaptation for second generation Canadian youth. Specifically in this literature review, acculturation referred to the manner in which individuals negotiate two or more cultures. The acculturation process and its impact is determined by how second generations manage the adnerence to or letting go of their heritage culture when dealing with cultural conflict. Depending on second generation's acculturation experiences, adaptations can take many different forms. When integration strategies are pursued and attitudes in the host society are accepting, second generation youth are able to develop a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, maintain good mental health, and achieve personal satisfaction in the new cultural context. Through a positive acculturation experience, youth develop the ability to deal with daily

problems, particularly in the areas of family, peers, relationships, school and work. In contrast, marginalisation or poor assimilation strategies, lack of social support and rejection by the host society, will create negative acculturation experiences and will have negative psychological impact on second generation youth. In addition, this literature review also indicated that the experience of discrimination and being a visible minority has significant negative effects on a youth's well-being. Other experiences such as intergenerational and intercultural conflict have also been identified as contributing factors to negative acculturation and its psychological impacts. While multiculturalism allowed Canada to be well positioned to support positive acculturation patterns among second generation, acculturation patterns vary across ethic groups, which means more research is require to re-evaluate the story of second generation integration and closely examine the day to day lived experiences of the these generations in Canada.

Recommendation

By 2001, those born in Canada were visible minorities that constituted 30% of the country's population of 30 million (Statistic Canada 2003). Understanding the experience of these second generation could provide a more clear indication of the long-term prospects for their integration into our Canadian society, further education and employment. Compare to other Canadian youth, second generations are more connected globally thought their immigrant parents, but are also different locally across ethnicity, religion, and cultural values (Kunz & Sykes, 2007; Phinney et al. 2006; Vedder et al. 2006). This adds to the importance of examining and evaluating the challenges that the second generation faces while growing up and dealing with both heritage cultural background and the larger Canadian society. It was my aim to provide a better understanding of the unique challenges that second generation Canadian youth are experiencing for counsellors who are working with these youth in schools and in university

settings. As I have mentioned earlier in the literature review, schools are the primary stabilizing place in the lives of immigrant and second generation students for social development and adjustment. However, research shows that there is lack of information on how best to provide support to these students and what programs and services are most beneficial to foster these student's integration or adjustment to our Canadian societies (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Throughout my education and training, I have thought that as a counsellor I have to treat everyone the same no matter who they are. However, after doing this research, I do not believe this view is fair or practical. When we deliver a service that engages diversity, it means that sometimes we have to employ different approaches to culturally diverse individuals. It is important for counsellors to understand that equality and diversity are not the same. The assumption that young people experience the same, or similar, stressors is fundamentally wrong. This literature review showed that second generation Canadian youth are experiencing additional stressors compare to other youth because of their acculturation experiences and bicultural identities. As counselors working with second generation youth and particularly visible minorities, we have to move away from "expert" attitudes and understand that these individual have unique experiences, beliefs and perception of the world around them. Particularly, their self-identity and elf-concept may have become displaced and impacted as they struggled to fit in and be accepted by other individuals or groups around them. The biggest dilemma for counsellors is being unaware of diversity issues and their own prejudice or bias while working with second generation youth (Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000). Laszloffy and Hardy argued that before a counsellor begins working with cultural diversity and take steps against discrimination and racism they first need to develop their own racial awareness and sensitivity. Part of this awareness is an understanding that whites have privileges that people from other cultures

especially visible minority groups do not. It is critical that school counsellors are be able to provide cross cultural counselling to variety of second generation Canadian youth struggling with cross cultural relationships, belonging, intergenerational family struggles, racism and bicultural conflicts.

With a multicultural movement that is theoretically strong, in practice most Canadian schools and colleges continue to reflect the dominant western cultural norms and attitudes in their services (Kirmayer et al. 2003; Rodríguez-García, 2010). I also believe that lack of understanding and not representing diversity in the education system is creating disadvantages and for second generations, particularly visible minority Canadian youth. As shown in this literature review, second generation youth face stressors due to being part of a racial or ethnic minority, as well as the stress of acculturating to school with a different culture and policies. These stressors can place a toll on student's academic progress and mental well-being.

It is important for school counsellors to understand the cultural norms, practises, and values of immigrant communities. This understanding could assist counsellors to build on their relationship with second generation students and recognize their needs. Even though this recommendation is intended for school counsellors, cultural sensitivity training should be extended to everyone involved in the school system including staff, administrators, cafeteria workers, and bus drivers for providing a safe environment and a positive acculturation experience. Cultural sensitivity trainings are important for eliminating stereotypes and improving race relations between second generation youth and other youth population (Al-Amin & Nasrin, 2006; Estells, 2011).

I believe counsellors are in a position to design and implement programs to address some of the challenges that second generation youth are facing. For example, counsellors could

facilitate groups within the school community and create a safe place for open dialogue among all generation youth where experiences are shared and sensitivity is developed. For example, storytelling, theater and expressive arts activities could encourage sharing and understanding between youth from diverse cultural background. Unfortunately, Canadian school curricula are focused on the white European culture and other cultures are underrepresented—especially in expressive arts and theater performances (Al-Amin & Nasrin, 2006; Stewart, 2014; Tamer, 2014). Cultural sensitivity training exist in most counsellor preparation programs, however, the extent to which open discussion around controversial topics such as white privilege and systemic racism remain limited (Stewart, 2014). I also believe that counsellors can play a vital role in bridging from youth's heritage culture to mainstream culture and facilitate a more supportive environment for positive acculturation experiences, and better mental health.

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