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Investigating the Language and Identity Negotiations of Second Generation Canadian-Born Muslim Students at the Post-Secondary Level

Yasmeen Arianna Hakooz, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Taylor, Shelley K., *The University of Western Ontario*
Co-Supervisor: Rezai-Rashti, Goli, *The University of Western Ontario*
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Abstract

This study investigated the schooling experiences and identities of second-generation Canadian-born Muslim students in Ontario. Prior research has shown that Muslim students feel they do not completely fit into their school or home cultures. In addition, their identities are perceived to be singular and homogenous. A qualitative study was conducted in two phases to explore Canadian-born Muslim students' experiences and perceptions of identity. In the first phase, a survey was conducted with 88 post-secondary Canadian-born Muslim students living in Ontario. In the second phase, 15 survey participants were interviewed and nine created a culture-gram that visually showcased their identities. Third space theory was drawn upon as a theoretical framework along with notions of superdiversity. These concepts emphasize identity as evolving, multiple, dynamic, and diverse, as opposed to colonial notions that confine culture, identity, and language into a single category.

The survey data revealed that most Canadian-born Muslim students identified as Canadian. However, there was a weak sense of belonging due to experiences of Islamophobia and microaggressions. The findings revealed an invisible group of Muslim students with identity tensions because they were not visibly Muslim. Nonetheless, participants conceptualized their own inclusive definitions of Canadians. During interviews, participants blended their identities using elements of third space (i.e., hybridity) and translanguaging resulting in seamless identity negotiation. These results illustrate that second-generation Muslim students can have multiple identities simultaneously.

Furthermore, the study also revealed how educators and peers treated Muslim students in Canadian schools. Participants reflected on their elementary and secondary school experiences in public, private, and catholic schools. Participants reported that some educators were Islamophobic and treated their students with prejudice. This made Muslim students feel uncomfortable and impacted their academic performance. However, when educators were inclusive and allowed students to explore and invest in their identities, they increased students' confidence and academic success. The study's

implications suggest that educators can significantly impact students' identity negotiations and make room for their multiple identities. This research is timely given that the largest number of Canadian-born Muslim children are entering Canadian elementary schools this decade. Therefore, the study's implications can inform policy and practice in Canadian classrooms.

Summary for Lay Audience

This study investigated the schooling experiences and identities of second-generation Canadian-born Muslim students in Ontario. According to past research, Canadian-born Muslims often feel out of place at school and at home. Additionally, their identities are perceived to be identical and singular. The objectives of the study were to explore the identities and experiences of Canadian-born Muslim students. The qualitative study was divided into two phases. In the first phase, a survey was conducted with 88 post-secondary Canadian-born Muslim students living in Ontario. In the second phase, 15 survey participants were interviewed, and nine created a culture-gram that visually showcased their identities. Third space theory was the main theory that guided this research. Additionally, a few notions of superdiversity were also used to understand identity and language.

The study's results suggest that some Canadian-born Muslims had challenges with belonging in Canada. The findings revealed an invisible group of Muslim students who experienced identity tensions because they were not visibly Muslim. In contrast, several participants in the second phase of the study commented on how they confidently navigated through life with their multiple identities. The findings illustrated that second-generation Muslim students could have multiple identities simultaneously.

Furthermore, the study also revealed how educators and peers treated Muslim students in public, private, and catholic schools in Canada. Some teachers treated their students with prejudice, making them uncomfortable, which impacted their academic performance. In contrast, when teachers allowed students to explore their identities, they were able to enhance their confidence as well as academic success. The study's implications suggest that teachers can have a significant impact on students' identities and experiences. This research is timely given that the greatest number of Canadian-born Muslim children are entering Canadian elementary schools this decade. Therefore, the study's implications can inform policy and practice in Canadian classrooms.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to anyone who has ever felt like they did not belong.

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Chapter 1

1   Introduction

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) ask: Why do we strive for a singular identity if identities are multiple? It is time we start viewing identities as multiple and, more importantly, expanding the definition of Canadian identity. According to research, some Canadian-born Muslims feel they are not considered 'Canadian' due to their linguistic, religious, or ethnic background (Zine, 2001; Sundar, 2008; Blommaert & Varis, 2011; Ahmed, 2021). They also do not feel as though they belong to their parents' culture (Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008). Since identity is stereotypically assumed to be singular, it leaves Canadian-born Muslims asking themselves polarizing questions such as: Am I *this* or *that* (one ethnolinguistic group or another, one religion or another, one nationality or another)? Can't I be both Muslim and Canadian? What is a Canadian Muslim? Many Canadian-born Muslims express feelings of anomie (i.e., not belonging in either [or arguably any] group) and, therefore, struggle with their identities (Khan, 1998; Cummins, 2001; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008; Hussain, 2016; Ahmed, 2021).

Second-generation Canadian Muslims are often asked where they are 'originally' from (Delic, 2018). These individuals are born and raised in Canada, yet others interrogate their Canadianness. This often occurs to individuals with non-English accents, non-white names, and those who wear religious garments. Microaggressions[1] against Canadian-born Muslims can have repercussions in school and in-home (Zine, 2001). It can affect their confidence, learning abilities, and academic success throughout their studies (Cummins, 1984; Cummins, 1989; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999; Cummins et al., 2005). These identity tensions pose an urgent problem since the most significant number of Canadian-born Muslim children will enter Canadian elementary schools this decade (Hamdani, 2015).

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[1] Microaggressions are "subtle, innocuous, preconscious, or unconscious degradations, and putdowns" (Pierce, 1995, p. 281) often in the form of statements or actions against someone's race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexuality. Often target toward systemically disadvantaged and marginalized groups.

Ramadan (2004), Khan (2009), Bigelow (2010), Shannanhan (2011), and Alizai (2021a) suggest that the identities of second-generation students must be acknowledged and understood in order to capture their unique and diverse experiences. The concept of superdiversity is used in this thesis to describe the infinite diversity between identities. Vertovec (2007) suggests that diversity is no longer what it used to be. Diversity is far more complex, deep, and unique, hence the name 'superdiversity'. Categories such as 'country of origin' and 'ethnic background' no longer capture people's identities. Current populations continually diversify due to rapid migration, globalization, technology, and economics (Blommaert, 2013). People of all ethnic, religious, social, racial, and linguistic backgrounds now live in the same communities. When diverse social spheres and dimensions are exposed to each other, they multiply and become more diverse (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013). Consequently, people define themselves outside of standard social categories (ethnicity, race, country of origin) by using various social spheres such as kinship, ethnicity, religion, language, local/regional identities, education, movements, and political parties (Blommaert & Varis, 2011). In the face of superdiversity, identities are constantly shifting and multiplying, making a singular concept of identity obsolete.

This research also addresses the challenge of framing Canadian-born Muslims in binary perspective as a homogeneous group when, given superdiversity, they have multiple identities. The term multiple identities (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) refers to the intersection of multiple dimensions of identity such as gender, race, class, and other personalized features. As opposed to looking at identity as homogeneous, this study refers to identity as a combination of multiple identities that interact.

Furthermore, Canadian-born Muslims share being essentialized as non-Canadian. This study explores power issues in relation to who has the authority to define who is Canadian and what characteristics are related to that identity (linguistic, cultural, religious, and other identity markers). These questions of power relate to Homi Bhabha's third space theory, which questions colonial influences on identity. Not only does Bhabha question singular and colonial views of identity, he reformulates identity in relation to culture. Bhabha suggests that culture cannot be traced back to an original place. Instead,

he suggests that culture and identity are created in a third space through dialogue, translation, and negotiation where new meanings are formed. Culture and identity are always in "liminality" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 4), an in-between space, which is referred to as third space. As a result, culture and identity are constantly in flux and renegotiated. Similarly, Bhabha applies third space theory to language, arguing that language, linguistic identities, and language practices continuously evolve. This study adopts Bhabha's view, which suggests that identity and language are continually undergoing change and renegotiation.

The issue of Canadian Muslims being essentialized as outsiders can also be seen in a broader context. Across the globe, second-generation youths with parents of immigrant backgrounds face similar identity tensions, anomie, and power imbalances. For example, second-generation Muslim youths in the UK (Shannahan, 2011) and adopted Koreans (Hübinette, 2004) require a dynamic analysis of culture and identity. This study is the Canadian case of this global phenomenon.

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the study. The first section presents the research problems, and the following section presents the research questions. After providing some context, the theoretical frameworks that inform the study are described. The study draws upon two complementary theories: third space theory and superdiversity. These frameworks were chosen because they offer a more complex interpretation of identity. They share the idea that identity is neither stable nor fixed but constantly transforming as it combines with other elements to make each identity unique.

1.1   Research Context: Canada

The history of Canada has had significant implications on Canadian identity. Indigenous peoples originally inhabited the territory now called 'Canada', but in the early 17th century, it was colonized by British and French settlers (Delic, 2018; Stark & Arcand, 2019). Since then, immigrants with differing languages, cultures, identities, religions, ethnicities, and races have made Canada their home; some have been welcomed, and some have faced institutional and social discrimination. In this diverse demographic

landscape, a mutual consensus cannot be made on the definition of what it means to be 'Canadian' (Schafer & World Culture Project, 1990; Sinha, 2015). In 1963, Kroeber and Kluckhohn found over 150 definitions that have been used to describe Canadian nationality, but not one can satisfactorily encompass all of the Canadian population. Due to Canada's history and ties with Britain and France, the dominant identity of Canadians is commonly assumed to be someone who is British or French origin, Christian, and either English- or French-speaking (Gonick, 2000; Mahtani, 2002). In descriptions of someone who does not fit this stereotype, a hyphen is often used to foreground their "othered" ethnicity. This phenomenon is referred to as a "hyphenated Canadian" (Hiller, 2000, p. 15), for example, Muslim-Canadian or Lebanese-Canadian.

1.2   Research Population: Canadian Muslims

According to Canada's 2021 National Household Survey, 1,775,715 Muslims lived in Canada, or 4.9% of the entire population, thus making Islam the second largest religion in the country, following Christianity (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Out of the total population of Muslims in Canada, approximately 337,262 (32%) are second-generation (Neuman, 2016; Delic, 2018). Since 1991, the second-generation Muslim population has increased by 10% (Hamdani, 2015; Neuman, 2016). According to government documents, "the year 1854 marked the birth of the first Canadian-born Muslim" (Delic, 2018, p. 6). This statistic shows that the Canadian-born Muslim community existed long before Canada became a nation in 1867 (Delic, 2018).

The focus of this study is second-generation Canadian-born Muslim students. According to the Canadian government, generation status is determined by birth origin and age of immigration. A second-generation Canadian is defined as an individual born in Canada with at least one parent born outside Canada (Dobson, Maheux & Chui, 2011). This study will use the terms "Canadian-born Muslim" and "second-generation Canadian Muslim" interchangeably. Muslims born in Canada were chosen for this project to establish a cut-off point to refine the target group. Those born outside of Canada are still considered Canadian; however, they are not the demographic of this research.

Canadian Muslims obtain higher levels of education when compared to the total non-Muslim Canadian population (Janhevich & Ibrahim, 2004). Census figures indicate six in 10 Muslims (60%) have a post-secondary education (Beyer, 2005). In contrast, this proportion declines to 44% of the total population of Canada (Beyer, 2005). In addition, the distribution of Canadian-born Muslims in Canadian schools is quite extensive across all educational levels. Nearly 100,000 young Muslim men and women are enrolled in postsecondary education: 47,605 in the 18 to 21 age group and 49,555 in the 21 to 24 age group (Hamdani, 2015). There are a large number of Canadian-born Muslims in primary school as well. The Canadian National Household Survey reports that children entering the school system in this decade will be the most significant number of Canadian-born Muslim boys and girls (Hamdani, 2015). Since the population continues to increase, more Canadian-born Muslim learners, both children and young adults, will be integrating into Canadian society more than in previous years.

This study also examined the type of school each individual attended before their postsecondary studies (e.g., private school, public school, Catholic school, Islamic school). In Canada, the history of Islamic schools is relatively recent (Memon, 2010). Previous research suggests the pros and cons of independent religious schools (e.g., Islamic schools). These schools provide a culturally congruent space and a more seamless transition between home and school values, beliefs, and practices (Zine, 2007). However, independent religious schools are also accused of 'ghettoizing' students and not providing socialization within society at large (Zine, 2007). Therefore, participants' educational backgrounds and environments were investigated.

1.3 Research Problems: Diversity and Identity

This study addresses four literature-based research problems:

1) The Canadian Muslim community is homogenized despite its diversity.
2) Canadian-born Muslims are not recognized as Canadians; instead, they are perceived as outsiders or foreigners by Western standards.

3) Canadian Muslims experience identity tensions due to tensions between their home and school cultures.

4) The current literature negatively portrays individuals with multiple identities as chaotic, problematic, and abnormal.

The first research problem is that intragroup diversity is not recognized among Canadian Muslims. The Muslim community is often assumed to be a single, homogenous, religious immigrant community without conflict and with few linguistic, ethnic, and racial differences (Haddad & Smith, 1993; Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005); however, Canadian Muslims belong to various ethnic, language, and social communities. They represent over 60 different ethnic groups with origins in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania (Hamdani, 2015). Muslims speak different languages and possess different cultures, life experiences, and viewpoints, yet they are assumed to be the same (Khan, 1998).

This has also been an issue in Europe, dating back to the 90s when teachers treated newcomer students all the same, unaware if they were Indian, Pakistani, Turkish, or Iranian, to name a few. (Biggs & Edwards, 1991; Taylor, 1997, 2009, 2014a). In the UK, teachers lacked cultural awareness and understanding of students' cultural homes (Biggs & Edwards, 1991). A teacher in Biggs and Edwards' study (1991) demonstrated that she could not determine whether her students were Muslim or Sikh. This lack of understanding for culturally diverse populations continues today with educational systems as they attempt to 'manage' diversity by attempting to homogenize students (Taylor, 2014b; UNESCO, 2003). In developing countries, Taylor (2014b) notes, many dominant group members view bi/multilingual instruction as problematic and therefore do not support cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom. Some believe it is illogical to provide instruction in a minority language (Taylor, 2014b). The use of only one instructional language and exclusion of minority languages are used to manage diversity in classrooms.

The lack of concern and understanding does not end there. Students of certain ethnic and racial backgrounds are treated differently by educators. In the UK, teachers interacted

less with ethnic-minority children and expressed their prejudiced feelings verbally through overt[2] racism by downgrading students' home cultures (Biggs & Edwards, 1991). Biggs and Edwards (1991) suggest this treatment stems from a lack of cultural awareness. Thus, second-generation Canadian-born Muslims' diverse identities are not always recognized and accounted for at school (Rezai-Rashti, 2005).

The second research problem is that Canadian-born Muslims are often not recognized as Canadians; instead, they are often perceived as outsiders or foreigners who cannot share Canadian values (Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016). Canadian-born Muslims are even assumed to not be from Canada despite being born and raised in Canada and identifying as Canadian (Delic, 2018). Thus, some Canadian Muslims express that they do not feel 'Canadian enough' (Sundar, 2008; Hussain, 2016). For instance, in Hussains' (2016) book of personal stories shared by Canadian Muslim women, one of the authors, Carmen claimed she was stereotyped by groups as "too white for one, not white enough for the other" (p. 80). Consequently, Canadian Muslims still feel out of place. This issue of belonging is one of the research problems the study investigates.

The third research problem focuses on the identity tensions among Canadian Muslims. The literature demonstrates that Canadian Muslims "struggle with their identities" (Rezai-Rashti, 2005, p. 152). These struggles primarily come from tensions within and outside Canadian Muslim communities. These tensions often lie between home and school cultures (Zine, 2001; Rezai-Rashti, 2005). It has been reported that at school, some Muslim students struggle to fit in with their peers and, as previously mentioned, receive different treatment from educators based on stereotyped perceptions of Islam (Zine, 2001; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008). There is not enough focus on how religious identity among Muslim youth informs their school experiences (Zine, 2001).

In addition, at home, they may face similar issues of acceptance with their parents (Khan, 2009). Research has shown that some immigrant parents have difficulty accepting the influence of Western society on their children as they strive to preserve their ethnic

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[2] Overt racism is observable and unconcealed racial discrimination in the form of negative and harmful comments, attitudes, ideas, symbols, or actions towards coloured groups (Elias, 2015).

culture, language, religion, and customs. Some parents believe Canadian multiculturalism can invade their culture and Islamic beliefs (Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011). This can result in a deep division between parents and children. One young female Canadian Muslim in Kinnvall and Nesbitt-Larking's (2011, p. 191) book argued that it is challenging for children of immigrant parents to accept that their children also have a second culture with different expectations. Second-generation Canadian Muslims find this difficult to explain to their parents, which can result in isolation "from their family because they're not able to relate" (Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011, p. 191).

The fourth research problem addresses how the current literature portrays individuals with multiple identities. Their identity negotiations are often perceived as contradictory, chaotic, problematic, and abnormal because they "struggle" (Norton, 2013, p. 171) with multiple identities, languages, and cultures. Multilingual individuals are also viewed with the same stigma (Ryoo, 2007; Norton, 2013). In reality, most individuals face multiple cultures, languages, and identities. According to UNESCO (2003), multilingualism is not a problem but a way of life. Due to the perception that Canadian-born Muslims are 'different' because they can be multilingual and multicultural, their identities are continuously assumed to be chaotic (Mahtani, 2002; Hameed, 2015). These gaps are further discussed at the end of the second chapter.

1.4 Research Questions

There is a substantial body of literature on Muslims' lived experiences related to racism, Islamophobia[3], and gender in Canadian schools (Zine, 2001; Zine, 2008; Car, 2015; Rezai-Rashti, 2015; Bakali, 2016; Hindy, 2016; Hussain, 2016; McCoy, Kirova & Knight, 2016; Watt; 2016; Amjad, 2018; Elkassem et al., 2018; Wilkins-Laflamme, 2018; Alizai, 2021a; Miled, 2020; Ahmen, 2021; Alizai, 2021b; Halabi, 2021). In light of the well documented lived experiences of these individuals, the inclusion of additional lived experiences would not advance the literature. Rather than restating the conditions of Canadian-born Muslims, we need to understand how they negotiate aspects of their lives.

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[3] "Islamophobia refers to a fear or hatred of Islam and Muslims" (Rana, 2007, p. 149).

Therefore, this research aims to understand *how* Canadian-born Muslims navigate their multiple identities.

Based on the research goal, three research questions guide this study:

1. How do Canadian-born Muslims view their identity within Canada's 'national' identity, and how might they redefine that identity?

2. What role do their particular identities (e.g., ethnolinguistic, religious, and trans-national identities) play in how they navigate postsecondary studies and negotiate their identities broadly?

3. Where do they feel tension between how they self-identify as opposed to identities ascribed to them (e.g., ethnolinguistic, religious, and academic identities), both at home and at school?

1.5 Theoretical Frameworks

1.5.1 Third Space Theory

This section begins with an introduction of the underlying concepts of third space theory, followed by its adaptations and its relation to identity. In the early 1990s, critical theorist Homi K. Bhabha developed "Third space" theory. Bhabha describes his work as open, fluid, and continuously moving, making no "claim to any specific way of being" (1994, pp. 2-3). Third space theory is a post-colonial theory[4] that describes identity through hybridity and liminality (i.e., in-between space or *third space*). The concept of liminality will be discussed in more detail later in this section. Bhabha's main argument is that culture is created in the third space. Third space is an area between boundaries where creations of new cultures form. Chulach and Gagnon (2016) describe third space to be a "phenomenon that takes place when different cultural systems come into contact" (p. 54). Bhabha (1994) suggests that the in-between space and third space thinking[5] contributes to "bridging the home and the world" (p. 13). He relays these concepts to discuss identity, politics, power, and institutions, such as education (Bhabha, 1994, p. 1). In that sense, it

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[4] Postcolonial Theory: The academic study of the effects of European colonization on cultures and societies around the world since the eighteenth century. Often critically analyzed in relation to power, literature, politics, linguistics, culture, economics, and sociology (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2013).

[5] Third space thinking is the ability to think beyond limits (e.g., categories) and the ability to understand new and emerging hybrids. As a result, transcending a whole new meaning.

is a valuable notion to draw on when discussing the identity negotiations of Canadian-born Muslims, who curate their identities in public and private spaces. For instance, how Canadian-born Muslim students merge and negotiate their identities at home and school. Bhabha problematizes colonial discourses and proposes a new way of understanding culture through third space thinking (Hatano & Wertsch, 2001; Bellocchi, 2009). Colonial discourses suggest that cultures and nations are homogeneous, monolithic, and contradictory (Bhabha, 1994, p. 5). In opposition, Bhabha (1994) suggests that cultural traits and communities should not be viewed as "monolithic fixed categories" (pp. 2-3). He expands on this by challenging whether communities should be held to a certain standard or look a certain way—he questions who has the power (or 'legitimacy') to decide these standards. Bhabha (1994) quoted Renee Green, an African American artist:

> It's still a struggle for power between various groups within ethnic groups about what's being said and who's saying what, who's representing who? What is a community anyway? What is a Black community? What is a Latino community? I have trouble with thinking of all these things as monolithic fixed categories. (p. 4)

Bhabha then states, "If Renée Green's questions open up an interrogatory, interstitial space between the act of representation – who? what? where? – and the presence of community itself, then consider her own creative intervention within this in-between moment" (1994, p. 5). Here Renee and Bhabha both suggest that placing boundaries on communities creates a need to be a certain way in order to be represented. These restrictions are problematic because they place individuals into fixed and predetermined categories. To address this issue, Bhabha suggests that cultures and communities should be viewed through "liminality" (1994, p. 4).

Liminality is a transitional stage between two boundaries. It represents an interstitial area between two boundaries or borders. To put it into perspective, an example of a liminal stage is the period between sleep and wakefulness (known as hypnagogia). Third space is considered a liminal in-between space, where translation and negotiation of identity occur (Rutherford, 1990; Bhabha, 1996). Third space provides a way for cultural identity to form, allowing new signs of identity, collaboration, negotiation, and debate to take place (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 1-2). This in-between location parallels hybridity since new meanings

and identities can emerge. To clarify, third space is not a physical space but a conceptualized imaginary space. It is an 'in-between' location characterized by multiple possibilities rather than fixed binary identities (Shannahan, 2011). In Bhabha's (1994) words, the third space is an "ambivalent space of enunciation" (p. 37) because this is where identity and meaning are negotiated across cultural differences. Learning is an example of negotiation and translation occurring in liminality. Learning is a transitional process that occurs in a period of liminality, where one goes from not knowing to knowing through translation, dialogue, negotiation, and renegotiation (Didau, 2016).

Furthermore, third space encompasses the "private and public, past and present, the psyche, and social interactions" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 13). For example, experiences or languages in places such as school and home are assumed to not be blended. However, third space creates an opportunity for these spaces to come together, for example, in a classroom context. Individuals can move and navigate cultural binaries and oppositions in this ambivalent space. This makes room for new identities and cultures to emerge. More importantly, "the temporal movement and passage that [third space] allows, prevent identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities" (Bhabha, 1994, p.4). Here, Bhabha suggests that third space theory reconceptualizes culture by deconstructing stereotypical views of culture. As new meanings are formed via third space, old colonial views cannot propagate polarizing views. The next chapter provides examples from previous studies to elaborate and expand on third space practically.

Moreover, Bhabha disagrees with the idea that culture is a singular entity (Bellocchi, 2009). He argues against notions that suggest culture is static and original (Khan, 2000). Instead, he suggests that culture is dynamic and not fixed in time or space. This theory is unique because it takes two or multiple 'contradictory' cultures and merges them to create something new. More importantly, this theory pushes researchers to think beyond standard narratives and focus on processes produced in articulating cultural negotiation (Bhabha, 1994). Exploring the third space, Bhabha argues, may "elude the politics of polarity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 39). This could "improve international social and cultural understanding" (Saudelli, 2012, p. 103). For example, in international classrooms,

educators found that they could see through their own beliefs within third space, allowing them to create optimal learning environments (Saudelli, 2012). Chapter 2 discusses Saudelli's (2012) study in greater detail.

This analysis of culture presents new ways of understanding, identifying, and performing[6] culture and identity. Bhabha emphasizes diversity within groups (intragroup diversity) rather than diversity between groups (intergroup diversity). The lack of intergroup comparison reduces the effect of "othering" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 98). Othering is a concept coined from post-colonial theory and can be described as a process where powerful groups create subordinate groups by defining them using inferior characteristics (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). Thus, these subordinate groups do not fit the norm, are alienated, and are labeled as 'other'. Bhabha suggests that othering occurs when nations and cultures are compared with one another. Instead of capturing the diversity within a population, it makes one look foreign to the other (Bhabha, 1994, p.98). The issue with identifying differences among cultures is that it continues to uphold binaries and further the divide (Bhabha, 1994, p. 34).

Third-space thinking allows new structures of authority and politics to emerge by introducing alternative ways of conceptualizing binary divisions (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211). While implementing third space theory, categories or labels can be used for organizational purposes, but when combined through hybridity, there are no limitations. Ideally, this negotiation helps acknowledge diversity and uniqueness within each individual's culture. There are times when individuals are forced to confront cultural binaries and oppositions, and third space theory offers a way for individuals to gain new identities; that is, by collaborating and negotiating in third space, new signs of cultural identities can form without boundaries (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 2-3). In third space, signs of identity or culture "can be appropriated, translated, re-historicized and read anew" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). In other words, individuals can view or describe their identities

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[6] Perform: similar to Judith Butler's (1990) idea of performing gender, we also perform our culture, identity, and language. This involves publicly engaging in certain behavioural practices or acts repeatedly in accordance with socially constructed cultural norms to signify what groups or identities one belongs to.

any way they want via third space. There is no right or wrong way of negotiating identity in the third space. By taking this observation into account, this study analyzes participants' expressions of how they negotiate their identity of being a second-generation Canadian Muslim in their own way, depending on their third space experiences over time and space. To adhere to third space practices, participants were not restricted or limited to boundaries or cultural binaries. Their identities could therefore be freely negotiated and translated, and new signs of identity could be formed.

There have been various interpretations and remodeling of third space theory since it can be applied to many disciplines. In the field of education, Mojé et al.'s (2004) remodeled third space theory by organizing it into three interconnected spaces. The 'first space' includes people's homes, communities, and peers, and the 'second space' contains formalized institutions such as workplaces, schools, and places of worship (Bhabha, 1994; Gutierrez et al., 1999; Mojé et al., 2004). In the first and second spaces, different information, various languages, and numerous social practices are learned (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005). In the 'third space', identity (including ethnolinguistic identity) is negotiated by merging the 'first space' and 'second space' (Mojé et al., 2004; Pahl & Rowsell, 2005). Figure 1 (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005) is an adapted illustration of Mojé et al. (2012) modified theory. It is important to note that the first and second spaces can be switched around and relabeled (Mojé et al., 2004). They are not fixed. However, in the case of this research, the term 'first space' will be used to discuss home relations, and 'second space' will describe school relations.
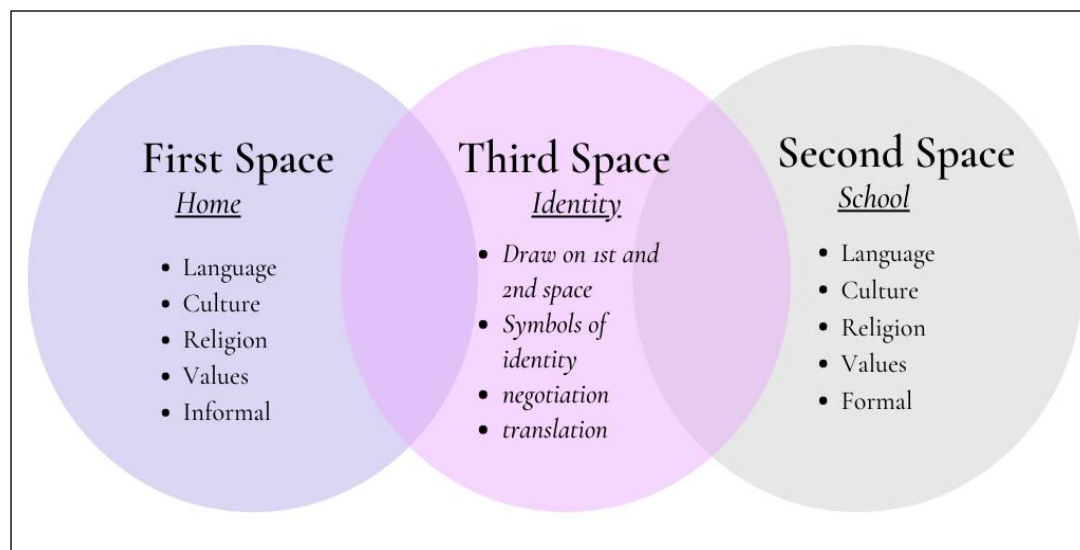
Figure 1: Third Space Identity in Relation to the Home and School

Note. Adapted from Pahl & Rowsell (2005, p. 65)

Although Bhabha's work has not explicitly focused on education, it acknowledges the critical role that schools and curriculum play in identity formation (Johnston & Richardson, 2012). Third space describes the meeting point between home and school (Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Pahl & Rowsell, 2005). Third space theory focuses on and, most importantly, merges the first space (home) and second space (school). The theory also acknowledges that within institutions of the global society (e.g., schools), linguistic, religious, and other social identities are created and negotiated (Bigelow, 2010). Cultural differences also become apparent within these linguistic, religious, and value systems. Furthermore, scholars have utilized third space theory to study identity, language, curriculum, religion, education, literacy, and inequality (Meredith, 1998; Mojé et al., 2004; Bigelow, 2010). However, this research focuses mainly on religious, linguistic, and national identities. This study uses third space theory to understand the hybrid nature and dualistic aspects of participants' multiple ethnolinguistic identities.

Third space theory provides the framework for understanding and analyzing data collected from second-generation Canadian-born Muslim students. Bhabha's theory offers a new way to conceptualize their identities. Bhabha suggests that culture and identity are formed through negotiation in a third space that allows movement between

public and private spheres. This theory captures the fluidity between the home culture (religious identity), school culture (Canadian identity), and linguistic identity. More importantly, the theory emphasizes that identity is fluid, incomparable, and constantly changing, requiring ongoing negotiations and discussions.

Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) "third space" theory cannot be described without acknowledging the process of hybridity since the two concepts are well connected. Hybridity can be defined as combining two elements to create something new and unique — a hybrid (Shull, 1952). The concept has recently been applied to religion, nationality, language, identity, and race. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2013) suggest that "hybridization takes many forms: linguistic, cultural, political, racial, etc." (p. 108).

In this case, hybridity is a concept of third space theory used to describe the construction of new cultures and identities. There is no such thing as a "pure" or "organic" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 5) culture, nation, or identity. Bhabha (1994) suggests that cultural differences are not fixed but rather a "complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (p. 2). Instead of one identity or culture being associated with one category or community, Bhabha posits they are a combination, or hybrid, of various cultures (e.g., languages, ideas, materials) that have come into contact with each other. It is nearly impossible for one culture not to be in contact with another. In addition, Bhabha suggests that social experiences influence identity in public and private spheres (e.g., home and public) (1994, p. 13). Hybridity allows these realms of life to come together and interact.

Furthermore, hybridity is more than combining multiple aspects of a person's life. Hybridization does not produce duplicate cultures or identities but instead creates something entirely new. In an interview, Bhabha describes how hybridization occurs and where it occurs:

> For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge… The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to

>something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of
>
>negotiation of meaning and representation (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211).

In the quote above, Bhabha emphasizes how culture cannot be traced back to two original points. Therefore, hybridity creates new identities and meanings that are unrecognizable due to their nuances. He also portrays that an individual's way of displaying culture is incomparable to other forms of the same culture (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2). As a result, each person is a hybrid of their unique identity factors (Gutierrez, Rhymes & Larson, 1995; Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015). The key idea is not to focus on where the original culture comes from but on how it is negotiated and unique. In the excerpt, Bhabha also states that hybridization occurs in the third space. This space "represents a hybridity" where "these spheres of life are linked through an 'in between' "(p. 13). This in-between or transitional stage "between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 4), which allows cultural differences to be recognized without an imposed hierarchy.

Bhabha's notion of hybridity refutes colonial thinking as it counteracts the authority of dominant and monolithic national cultures. "Hybridity intervenes in the exercise of authority not merely to indicate the impossibility of its identity but to represent the unpredictability of its presence" (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 156-157). Here, Bhabha suggests that hybridity is not used to predict identity but rather conveys how unpredictable identity can be. Through hybridity, we see new expressions of culture and identity that dismantle the traditional hierarchies or stereotypes that once governed them. Hybridity allows new identities to form, referred to as hybrid identities, because they are not constrained to stereotypes or boundaries. Lastly, the term "hybrid identity" implies that identity has no limits nor correct ways to identify.

Bhabha suggests that continuous change occurs not only at the individual level, but culture itself is always in the process of change, insinuated by his term "culture's hybridity" (1994, p. 38). Therefore, culture itself is never stagnant or fixed. This theory aligns with current concepts of identity (Canagarajah, 2004; Peek, 2005) and languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015) as they both suggest that

identity, including ethnolinguistic identity (or languages themselves), should not be considered as fixed or static. Hybrid cultures and languages (i.e., Otheguy et al.'s notion of "ideolects") allow room for negotiation rather than the binaries they usually operate in. With the idea of hybridity, Bhabha suggests that we are always in a transitional phase that cannot be tied down to a specific place, location, ethnicity, or language 'frozen in time,' as it were, since these aspects are constantly changing.

Bhabha's (1994) notions of hybridity inform the study in order to avoid duplicating or categorizing other people's identities based on colonial discourses. This way of thinking prevents the comparison between cultures. To further enhance fluid notions of third space theory, hybridity and superdiversity (mentioned in the next section) are used to help capture the multiple identities of Canadian-born Muslim students. Additionally, Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity is also useful when examining multiple identities and breaking down binaries, as it suggests that identities of an individual's life should merge.

Lastly, hybridity is suitable for researching duality, multilingualism, and multiple identities. Hybridized individuals get caught in an in-between reality marked by shifting psychic, cultural, linguistic, and territorial boundaries (Khan, 1998; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; Otheguy, Garcia & Reid, 2015). Meredith (1998) suggests that hybridity normalizes the idea of being in at least two places at once. This concept benefits individuals facing multiple cultures, languages, nationalities, and value systems. Hybridity can create new questions, constructions, and issues relating to identity (Meredith, 1998; Quang, 2007). Together, hybridity and diversity serve as the building blocks of third space theory (Mojé et al., 2004). Third space theory and hybridity explain how individuals negotiate the contradictory binaries they face when negotiating their identities (Khan, 1998).

1.5.2 Superdiversity

Diversity is not what it used to be (Vertovec, 2007). Due to the newly and rapidly transforming economic order, technology, mobility, instability, and globalization, diverse communities are diversifying even more (Blommaert, 2013). Since diversity is growing and constantly shifting, it is hard to associate an identity with a single identity. Now

"people define their 'identity' (singular) with a multitude of different niches – social 'spheres'"(Blommaert & Varis, 2011, p. 4). Superdiversity describes the diversity found within diversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

Superdiversity came together as a concept when Britain witnessed a large influx of immigrants from numerous countries in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Vertovec, 2007). London alone housed people from 176 nations (Vertovec, 2007). The slogan "the world in a city" represents this diversity (GLA, 2005). However, terms like ' country of origin' or 'ethnicity' fail to grasp the depth of diversity. Vertovec (2007) suggested that many variables, dimensions, and dynamics come together and *multiply*. This is where the term superdiversity originates from.

Superdiversity does not just introduce new concepts or variables but instead uses a multidimensional perspective to re-analyze diversity in social categories. In a nutshell, superdiversity uses ethnicity, religion, culture, language, and other categories to investigate the increasing heterogeneity and complexities within diverse ethnic, religious, and migrant groups in urban societies (Burchardt & Becci, 2016; Van den Bogert, 2018). Superdiversity recognizes these multiple aspects of human identities and strives to bring them together to understand the diversity within groups. More specifically, the theory highlights that within any population, there are distinctions within kinship, ethnicity, religious practices, linguistic traits, local/regional identities, education, movements, political parties, and other collective involvements. This approach is referred to as a "socio-cultural axis of differentiation" (Vertovec, 2007).

Superdiversity offers a realistic and generalizable approach to identity practices' complexities. Superdiversity addresses that a singular notion of identity is no longer relevant when describing people's practices and behaviours. Notions of superdiversity highlight the complex identities emerging in our modern world. Perhaps a diverse identity would not be considered normal in the pre-digital and pre-migration era. Blommaert and Varis (2011) suggest that complexities of people's lives should be referred to as a "repertoire" (p. 3) or repertoires. More importantly, Blommaert and Varis state that

repertoires "are not chaotic and people often are not at all 'confused' or 'ambivalent' about their choices, nor appear to be 'caught between' different cultures or 'contradict themselves' when speaking about different topics" (2011, p. 3). The contradiction between what people say and what they do does not always lead to ambiguity, confusion, or chaos. This distinction is essential given how second-generation students are sometimes referred to as caught between two cultures (Luna, Ringberg & Peracchio, 2008).

"Religious superdiversity" is a term developed by Becci, Burchardt, and Giorda (2017) that was recently added to superdiversity. Religious superdiversity aims to highlight the multiplication and dynamics of religious differences. Those who belong to the same religious group do not belong to the same social categories; therefore, their religious and non-religious practices will also differ. Religious superdiversity considers this. It aims to describe how different layers and forms of religious and secular differences are experienced in urban spaces (Burchardt & Becci, 2016; Becci, Burchardt, & Giorda, 2017). For example, focusing on how young people construct new belongings in relation to religion in secular city spaces through festivals and leisure (Van den Bogert, 2018).

Superdiversity can be used in empirical studies. An example can be seen in Van den Bogert's (2018) recent study that used superdiversity to study religious diversity in urban contexts by investigating women's football. The study focused on the experiences of girls' football, religion, ethnicity, and gender in Schilderswijk, the Netherlands. The study used three fields of study from feminist and anthropological scholarship: intersectionality[7], religion, and gender studies (Van den Bogert, 2018). However, feminist intersectionality and gender and religion research alone failed to capture the diverse experiences of participants. The author argues how religion and gender in intersectionality studies and feminist studies narrowly focus on racialized oppression.

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[7] Intersectionality is the idea that individuals occupy multiple identities and positions (both oppressive and privileged) that simultaneously interact with each other in complex ways. "Identity cannot be fully understood via a single lens such as gender, race, or class alone" (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 175). For example a *woman* is not just a *woman*, but a *black, able-bodied, cisgendered, heterosexual woman*

Van den Bogert (2018) demonstrated that young football players had diverse experiences that included but exceeded Islam, Islamophobia, and racism. At first, the players veered away from the topic of religion and focused more on playing football (e.g., winning strategies). However, as the conversation continued, several participants discussed how their gender and religion affected their football experiences (e.g., negative stereotyping). Participants tried to reduce how their religion was tied to football because of the negative prejudices they received due to their "visible identity" (p. 35). Many participants suggested they did not enter the field as 'Muslim football players' because it "othered" them. Instead, they joined the field as "normal football players who happen to be Muslim" (p. 39). The study captured that religion was not their motive for playing football. They played football simply because they wanted to play the sport. The study illustrated that examining religion in other realms of life can tell us more about diverse experiences outside of religious contexts, as frequently, the focus is on one label (in this case, 'Muslim'). Superdiversity helped the author to come to this conclusion because religious superdiversity not only focuses on Islamophobia but also investigates how religion interacts with practices and strategies that are not explicitly religious, such as playing football (Van den Bogert, 2018).

Acknowledging these diverse experiences within new, small, and less organized groups or communities of Canadian-born Muslims will hopefully improve public policies (Vertovec, 2007). There is a lack of recognition seen in the Canadian-born Muslim population (Rezai-Rashti, 2005). Canadian Muslims belong to many ethnic groups (Hamdani, 2015). Aside from their ethnic backgrounds and religion, diversity does not stop there. There are many layers of factors that make Canadian-born Muslims unique. However, they are stereotyped by others as one large homogeneous group (Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Nagra & Peng, 2013). Superdiversity aims to highlight these diversities within these communities. Variations between Muslims become multiplied when we consider the diverse backgrounds of all Muslims who live in Canada. The socio-cultural/sociolinguistic axis of differentiation can be used to illustrate the diverse experiences of Canadian-born Muslims.

Moreover, increased diversity has become a reality for those with multiple identities, roles, or group affiliations. This research will explore how second-generation Muslims experience negotiations when navigating their identities, languages, and contexts (e.g., home and school). There is no single, fixed identity of Canadian-born Muslim students since they do not all belong to the same groups. Due to intersectionality and their socio-cultural axis, there will be many ways of negotiating their identities.

As the world changes and identity diversifies, "enoughness" gains more importance as a tool for identity negotiation (Blommaert & Varis, 2011). "Enoughness" or "authenticity" is how one sees themselves in relation to their cultural group. Another way to describe it is possessing *enough* elements to be seen as an authentic member of an identity category (Blommaert & Varis, 2011). These elements of belonging are arbitrary and vary throughout groups. For instance, an item of clothing can represent a strong cultural affiliation when their self-identification may not align with their physical appearance.

An example of this is a woman wearing a hijab. By wearing the hijab, she automatically produces a recognizable and authentic identity due to societal expectations. Individuals are subjected to these character judgments routinely. Furthermore, authenticity contributes to anxiety for those who feel they are labelled as 'fake' by their cultural groups (Blommaert & Varis, 2011). Superdiversity can be used to examine authenticity within minority cultural groups. The concept of 'enoughness' is relevant to the research group as some Canadian Muslims do not feel 'Canadian' enough or 'brown' enough (Hussain, 2016).

Superdiversity can also be used to investigate linguistic identities, language shifts, and language loss. Language can be traced to migration patterns or analyzed for new communication styles. Superdiversity is commonly used to understand changing linguistic relationships within a region or neighbourhood. For instance, signs or storefronts may contain languages that are not recognized as national languages but are included because the area predominantly speaks that language (Blommaert, 2013). This study will not examine signs in Ontario neighbourhoods but investigate participants'

linguistic identities and behaviours.

Furthermore, the traditional study of language in a diverse society no longer works. In Canada, in 2021, one in four people had a mother tongue other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2022b). More specifically, in Ontario's population of 14.6 million people, 10 non-official mother tongues are spoken by over 100,000 people per language (Statistics Canada, 2012). These 10 languages are Italian, Chinese, Cantonese, Spanish, Panjabi, Tagalog, Portuguese, Arabic, German, and Urdu; however, many other languages are spoken in Ontario. These statistics demonstrate the linguistic diversity of the region in which the study takes place. Superdiversity is used to examine diversity and how Canadian-born Muslims' language practices inform their identities.

With respect to this study, superdiversity is an insightful way to understand urban diversity in a rapidly globalizing world. As a result, notions of superdiversity will inform the investigation in Southern Ontario. The research questions of this study wish to acknowledge and understand second-generation Canadian Muslim identity. Therefore, notions of superdiversity are drawn upon to account for multiple diversities among second-generation Muslims while normalizing how complex and diverse identity can be. Moreover, participants' socio-cultural axis of differentiation is referred to complement third space theory. Lastly, similar to Van Den Bogert (2018), the study will examine religious diversity in educational contexts by investigating Canadian-born Muslims' lived experiences.

1.6   Chapter Summary and Overview of Chapters

This chapter briefly introduced the topic of the research, research context, research problems, and research questions. The third space theory was introduced as the theoretical framework for the study. Afterwards, notions of superdiversity were described as they related to the research context. The third space theory and superdiversity were described and how they would be used to study the research population.

Here is a brief overview of the upcoming chapters. Chapter 2 provides more context for the research by reviewing the literature in the field. It begins with a description of various interpretations of identity that end in a narrower focus on Canadian Muslim identity. Afterwards, prior identity studies informed by third space theory are reviewed. Then, the limitations and gaps in the literature are addressed, along with how the present research tackles these inconsistencies. Chapter 3 examines the nature of qualitative research and the methodology that pertains to the study. Then I define my positioning as a researcher by describing my personal and academic background. Following this, I present a summary of the research design, consisting of the sample selection, data collection tools, and data analysis, including issues of trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, and consistency. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations of the study. Chapter 4 reveals the findings from the first phase of the study. Participants' survey answers are discussed in relation to the themes that arose from the data. Chapter 5 presents the findings from the study's second phase, consisting of participant interviews and the themes that emerged from that data. Lastly, Chapter 6 revisits the research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis and comments on the study's overall findings, followed by a discussion of the research limitations and contributions.

Chapter 2

2   Literature Review

This chapter focuses on empirical research on Muslim identity. The chapter begins with a working definition of 'identity' and reviews the current findings on Canadian-born Muslim identity. Then, several studies are reviewed that applied third space concepts to understand groups of people (Muslims and non-Muslims) who navigate multiple cultures, value systems, and societies. Each study interpreted and uniquely applied third space. Most studies used qualitative methods, such as interviews, narrative inquiry, and ethnography. Three related topics emerged from the literature review based on participants' similarities across the studies. These topics are (1) experiences of multiple identities, (2) strategies used to deal with identity tensions, and (3) how second-generation individuals negotiate identity. At the end of the chapter, the gaps and limitations of the studies are discussed.

2.1   Defining Terms: Identity

There are many interpretations, explanations, and theories of identity. The term 'identity' emerged in the 1950s from psychologist Erik Erikson (1968), and since then, many definitions have been used to describe the term. A basic definition of identity is how people understand who they are (Kanno, 2000). Since identity varies, researchers must adapt, modify, and design methodologies that fit their specific purposes (Phakiti et al, 2018). Identity is a slippery term and concept that can touch on many categories, such as ethnicity, race, nationality, language, religion, age, and lifestyle (Block, 2012; Phakiti et al, 2018). As can be seen, identity is intersectional and multiple. In addition, identity can be examined through many lenses (e.g., psychological, critical, sociological, and cognitive). Identity research can be challenging to navigate due to all the overlaps and intersections of nationality, culture, race, ethnicity, language, lived experience, and many other categories. The number of identity categories are endless, and these categories shift over time and space for individuals. For example, Chang (2016) considers herself Asian-American but grew up in Korea, where she previously identified as Korean. Each individual's identity is also unique and cannot be compared. Two female Muslim

students, for example, will have different identities based on their experiences, interests, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the data on identity is messy. It can be challenging to translate identity findings into reality or align these findings with theoretical constructs since identity is unique to each individual (Norton, 2010). Qualitative research methods were used to investigate this topic as this is the closest method to studying reality (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Previous schools of thought have perceived identity as fixed, given, and static; however, as noted below, many scholars such as Bhabha (1994), Norton (2013), Canagarajah (2004), and Peek (2005) suggest the opposite. Through continued research, identity has been understood as a multidimensional, complex, and flexible concept. Many social sciences and humanities disciplines, such as psychology, sociology, linguistics, and education, now recognize that identity is nonlinear, changing, multilayered and context-dependent. Applied linguists share this view of identity as well. Applied linguist Suresh Canagarajah (2004) suggests that identities are multiple, conflicting, negotiated and evolving. In addition, applied linguist Bonnie Norton (2013) suggests that identity is continuously flowing, dynamic, multiple, and often times *contradictory*. Norton (2013) also indicates that identity is " a site of struggle" (p. 171). Both Canagarajah and Norton describe identity as fluid but indicate that it comes with the cost of struggle and contradiction. These challenges will be addressed in chapter 5.

Furthermore, to investigate identity, the term "identity" will now be defined in relation to this study. This research views identity as a developing, changing and shifting part of an individual, as suggested by Bhabha (1994), Canagarajah (2004), and Norton (2013). In particular, Canadian-born Muslim identities are examined through how they perceive themselves in their social contexts and educational institutions. Furthermore, the term 'identity' can be misleading since it is singular. The term "multiple identities" will be referred to throughout this paper since it fits the experiences of many Canadian-born Muslims in other studies (Khan, 2000; Shannahan, 2011; Hussain, 2016). Very similar to "multiple identities" is the term "bicultural identities" (Luna, Ringberg & Peracchio, 2008; Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2011; Ryoo, 2017) that can be defined as an individual who has internalized more than one culture. Bicultural individuals are not only

immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities but also individuals from "the dominant group" who are faced with multiple cultures (Berry, 2003; Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2011). Previous research has suggested that bicultural and multilingual individuals have "conflicting desires" (Kanno, 2000, p. 2) and "identity conflicts" (Ryoo, 2017, p. 180). These tensions make it difficult to navigate through life. Bicultural individuals often ask themselves, "Who am I? Who is like me? Who understands me?" (O'Herin, 2007, p. 1). This thesis will not refer to Canadian-born Muslims as 'bicultural' because it is a limiting label. However, these descriptions of bicultural individuals are very similar to the experiences of Canadian-born Muslims found in other studies described later in the chapter.

Many elements combine and add to identities; more specifically, "space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 1). Third space theory tries to merge these major elements to allow dynamic identities to form. Hübinette (2004) suggests that third space theory can be used to understand identity. His study explored how third space theory could be used to make sense of the identities of Korean children who were adopted into Western countries. Their Western host countries contained people from different races, languages, and religions. These individuals continuously negotiated their identity between their birthplace (Korea), Western culture, religion, language, and more. Hübinette (2004) stated that "adopted Koreans are not an easily defined group" (p. 22), and due to intersectionality, one person's adopted Korean identity is never comparable to another's. Adopted Koreans, according to Hübinette, are caught between ethnic Korean culture and Western culture. Hübinette's (2004) study drew on Bhabha's concept of third space to understand how adopted Koreans developed identity in third space. The author suggested that adopted Koreans "provide[d] a perfect example of such an existence in the third space between their birth country," Korea, and "Western culture" (Hübinette, 2004, p. 23). Bhabha's theory helped illustrate uniqueness, intersectionality, and 'in-betweenness' among adopted Koreans.

2.1.1   Language and Identity

Identity will now be discussed in relation to language, as both are connected. Identity is a central construct in applied linguistics that is interwoven with language (Phakiti et al,

2018). First and foremost, one's identity is negotiated through language (Baxter, 2016). Every time we speak, we negotiate and renegotiate our sense of self (Bordieu, 1977). This notion of negotiating is very similar to Bhabha's (1994) idea of culture, which suggests that culture constantly shifts due to renegotiations of meaning. Norton (2010, p. 351) suggests that language is not only a linguistic system but also a social practice that assists with identity negotiation. Using language as a social practice allows individuals "to produce meaning and communicate in diverse contexts of their lives" (Zavala, 2018, p. 1317). Thus, the social practice perspective views language as a communicative resource for individuals to express themselves and connect with others. Languages and communities come together through various social practices where identity expression occurs. Social practice creates an opportunity for new definitions and negotiations of identity to form. Therefore, language is not only a system but a social practice where identity negotiation occurs. Religion can also serve as a social vehicle for language learning (Schwartz, Luyckx & Vignoles, 2011).

Language practices can be used to develop identity. This example can be found in Wilson's (2005) study. The author applied third space theory to examine prisoners' identities in institutional prisons. Third space theory provided a socially diverse lens to view prisoners. Prisons do not integrate the prisoners' outside and past experiences. Instead, prisoners are institutionalized in a controlled world with different rules, literacies, and structures. Prisoners do not get to integrate their identities or literacies after arriving in prison. Their social identities are removed as they are stripped of their possessions and garments and assigned identification numbers (Wilson, 2005). Wilson (2005) argued that prisons should adopt a third space environment where the prisoners can bridge their outside and prison life. To do this, she indicated that literacies in prisons need to be interactive and multimodal. Aside from traditional reading and writing, prisoners used newspapers, graffiti, stamps, bags, envelopes, and cardboard to interact with one another, spread information, and maintain literacy. Prisoners could negotiate their prison literacies and outside literacies via third space and produce cultural hybridity. These interactions in the third space allowed literacy to be used as "identity kits", which helped prisoners negotiate and merge their identities. The interactive activities in prisons

allowed inmates to avoid becoming enslaved by institutionalized ideologies that erase their social identities through standardization (Wilson, 2005).

Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejeda's (1999) study also illustrates that language can be used to develop identity. They used third space and hybridity to observe an English-Spanish immersion classroom in an elementary school. The teachers created an environment for third space to emerge that allowed students to engage with their academic literacies and linguistic repertoires. They incorporated students' unofficial home environments with their official classroom environments for students to learn. This hybrid model allowed students to consciously and strategically use all their linguistic repertoires to develop new environments which furthered their language practices (Gutiérrez et al., 1999). As a result, the students used hybridity to learn. This formulation is similar to Moje et al.'s (2004) use of third space theory, where they suggest students should draw on their literacy practices from their schools, communities, peer groups, and homes which can be brought together via third space. Gutiérrez et al. (1999) suggested that learning spaces should embody third space, where these learning spaces have conflict, hybridity, and tension. Tensions and diversity in the classroom can promote curricular change, learning, and literacy development (Gutiérrez et al., 1999). However, being multilingual typically involves exposure to multiple cultures and identities. Therefore, multilingual individuals may struggle more with their sense of self due to the tensions between their identities (O'Herin, 2007; Norton, 2013; Ryoo, 2017).

2.1.2   Education and Identity

The identity of students plays a significant role in their confidence and ability to perform in educational settings. Students who feel alienated from their cultural values and inferior to the dominant group may find it challenging to perform academically and to form relationships (Cummins, 1989, 2021). Cummins et al. (2005) found that students with identity tensions are more likely to be successful learners if they can maximize their identity investment. In identity investment, students invest in all their identities through engagement, enabling them to value who they are. According to Cummins et al. (2005),

identity investment is an integral part of learning, especially when learning languages, therefore, educators should encourage students to draw on their hybrid identities.

Moreover, if culturally diverse students can negotiate their identities, it will contribute to their academic success (Cummins, 1996). Students can maximize identity by bridging their first and second space using concepts from third space theory. Third space has also been productive in helping understand the complexity of learning environments and their transformative potential (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999). If students can maximize their identities, they will have a positive orientation toward their culture and dominant culture, increasing their likelihood of succeeding in school by building their confidence (Cummins, 1984, 1989, 2021). These implications are relevant since previous literature indicates that those with multiple ethnicities could have identity tensions when trying to fit into educational institutions (Zine, 2001; Khan, 2009).

Students' experiences are also dependent on their educators. Student-teacher interactions help students affirm their cultural, linguistic, and personal identities (Cummins, 2005, 2021). Educators can learn and incorporate students' cultures and lived experiences by scaffolding them into their teaching practices. Saudelli (2012) suggests that teaching with components of third space can foster a bridge between instructional content and students' experiences, creating optimal learning opportunities. In this teaching process, educators are encouraged to integrate students' cultures into their classrooms and develop connections and mutual understanding with the students. In Saudelli's (2012) study, educators commented on how they understood their students' behaviours once they embraced students' cultural conventions. For example, one educator got upset when students would interrupt class when they arrived late and verbally greeted their peers. This educator then learned that greetings are an important part of Emirati culture regardless of the circumstance. When educators seek to understand their students' cultures and identities, it deepens their relationships, encouraging students to share more about their personal lives and identities (Saudelli, 2012). As a result, when educators invest in their students' identities, they learn more about their backgrounds, experiences, and any tensions students face, thus strengthening teacher-student connections (Rezai-

Rashti, 2005). A greater awareness of students' identities on the part of educators may also help improve learning for those experiencing identity tensions. As found in the previous research, students' learning can be enhanced with educator involvement and encouragement of their identity investments. As previously stated, in this decade, children entering the elementary school system will be the largest number of Canadian-born Muslim boys and girls (Hamdani, 2015). Therefore, this topic is timely for the shift Canadian schools will encounter in the next few years.

2.1.3   National and Religious Identity

Due to their similarities, nationality and religion can compete, causing tension and ambivalence. Nationality is defined as a collectively shared identity shaped by a community with shared values, characteristics, aims and a state of mind (Schafer & World Culture Project, 1990; Anderson, 2006). Similarly, religion encompasses a shared set of values, aims, and traditions of a community. These definitions indicate that nationality and religion are "imagined communities" (Anderson, 2006), each with shared values, beliefs, and practices. Imagined communities are socially constructed communities, for example, a nation is an imagined community. Figure 2 visually demonstrates how national identity and religious identity intersect for Canadian Muslims.
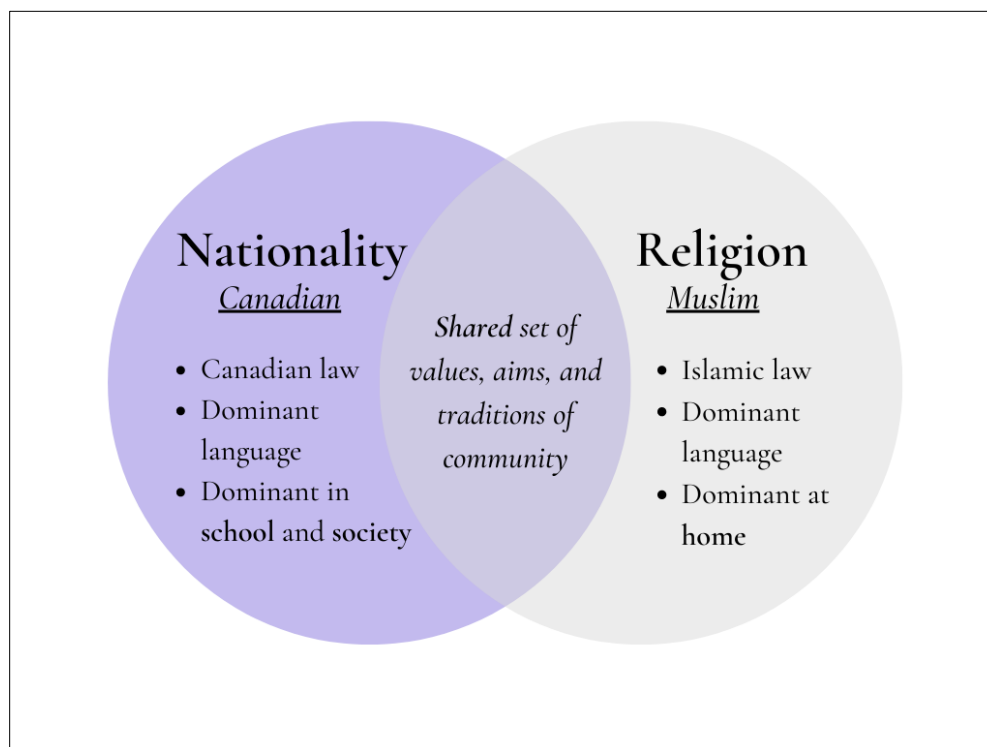
Figure 2: Characteristics of Nationality and Religion[8]

Since nationality and religious identity are similar, they are negatively perceived as living in constant conflict. There is an ongoing debate about Muslims living in Western countries. Often, Muslims are questioned based on whether they can successfully live in secular or non-Muslim environments (Delic, 2018). Memmi (1965) suggests that the debate between Islam and the West originates from colonial discourses. He refutes this debate by flawlessly stating the following:

> Finally, [the colonized] must cease defining himself through the categories of colonizers. The same holds true of what more subtly characterizes him in a negative way. For example, the famous and absurd incompatibility between East and West, that antithesis hardened by the colonizer, who thereby sets up a permanent barrier between himself and the colonized. What does return to the East mean, anyway? Even if oppression has assumed the face of England or

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[8] *Note.* Adapted from Schafer & World Culture Project (1990); Anderson (2006); Yousif (2008); CMEF (2016).

France, cultural and technical requirements belong to all peoples. Science is

neither Western nor Eastern, any more than it is bourgeois or proletarian. There

are only two ways of pouring concrete -- the right way and the wrong way.

(Memmi, 1965, p. 152)

This quote illustrates that colonizers define Muslims as people from Eastern countries. The debate between Islam and the West is a moot point since culture 'belongs' to no one, as Memmi points out. His argument links to power as well. Memmi indirectly questions why colonizers have the power to determine where Muslims should and should not live. Memmi's critique of power shares the same critical perspectives as those of Bhabha and Green, who also question culture by examining colonization and power. As mentioned in the first chapter, Bhabha (1994) quotes Renee Green's statement, in which she states, "It's still a struggle for power between various groups within ethnic groups about what's being said and who's saying what, who's representing who? What is a community anyway? What is a Black community?' (p. 4). Memmi, Green, and Bhabha all refuse to label groups of people and question the origins of these ideas.

In reference to the debate, Canada and Islam share similar core values that make living in the West possible. Islamic principles can help Muslims engage and adapt to Western democratic values (Delic, 2018). Hamdani (1984) and Yousif (2008) acknowledge that both societies encourage basic social needs such as education, productiveness, sexual equality, fairness, and peace. One census study demonstrated that a stronger Muslim identity and regular Islamic practices produced a stronger Canadian identity (Neuman, 2016, p. 3). Religion does not have to reduce national identity but can help strengthen it. The study demonstrated that Canadian-born Muslims could maintain their Islamic and national identity. Some theologians suggest that if Muslims can freely practice their religion, they can live in any environment (Delic, 2018). This viewpoint has been adopted by most Islamic scholars and Muslims living in Canada. In addition, Islam is universal as it teaches Muslims to integrate and interact with anything that is not against Islamic principles (Delic, 2018). Yousif (2008) recommends that no matter where one lives, their identity will constantly be challenged in an Islamic or non-Islamic society. There is

evidence that the Canadian and Islamic faith are complementary. Therefore, categorizations of the East and West are no longer needed.

Moreover, Nagra and Peng's (2013) research on Canadian Muslims illustrated that being Canadian and Muslim are not mutually exclusive. Their successful findings challenge the 'Islam versus the West' debate. Other studies on Muslims and Western society have reached similar conclusions. For example, Kabir (2010) found that, instead of young Muslims in Britain rejecting their 'Britishness', some individuals consider 'British' as one of the most critical aspects of their identities that coexists with their Muslim identities. Sundar (2008) also found that Canadian Muslims value both their Canadian and Muslim identities and use them simultaneously. All of these studies demonstrate that Muslim identities and Western identities can merge.

2.1.4   Canadian Muslim Identity

The Canadian government introduced multicultural policies to represent a multi-ethnic society in an attempt to wean away from dominant French and British identities. These multicultural policies strive to acknowledge cultural differences and encourage respect for diverse communities (Gonick, 2000). The goal is to unify Canadians through national cohesion and create equality for all. However, policies such as multiculturalism have yet to be able to reach total inclusivity (Gonick, 2000). The literature often criticizes multiculturalism by pointing out its negative impacts. The multicultural movement has been criticized for diluting ethnic and national differences by combining them into one category (Khan, 1998; Gonick, 2000; Rezai-Rashti, 2005). Khan (1998) suggests that multicultural policies offer monolithic and static definitions of community, leaving out minority communities. Gonick (2000) argues that multiculturalism separates ethnic groups from British and French identities and romanticizes immigrant identity. Rezai-Rashti (2005) also suggests that multiculturalism perpetuates stereotypes surrounding specific ethnic communities (Rezai-Rashti, 2005). According to several studies that have examined Muslim Canadians (Khan, 1998; Gonick, 2000; Rezai-Rashti, 2005), multiculturalism has yet to unify the country.

One study found that young Canadian Muslim girls could not see themselves as part of the nation's image (Gonick, 2000). Authenticity has become an issue for 'minority' cultural groups as they do not want to be deemed as 'fake' or 'wannabe' Canadian because of the stereotypes associated with Canadian identity (Blommaert & Varis, 2011). These findings suggest that policies such as multiculturalism and Canada's history do not represent all types of Canadians. Additionally, the notion of bilingualism has impacts on Canadians as well. The official languages of Canada are English and French. These languages do not represent all languages used in Canada. According to Statistics Canada (2022c), 24.2% of Canada's population has an alternative mother tongue (i.e., their home language is a non-official language), 20.9% speak French, and 58.4% speak English. Almost a quarter of Canadians have an alternative mother tongue, which is not represented by the official languages of Canada. The lack of linguistic inclusivity is apparent in Ontario. Many Canadians, especially second-generation Canadians, feel they are not entirely Canadian due to their languages, religion, birthplace, or ethnic background and therefore struggle with their national identity (Gonick, 2000).

As stated above, many claims have been made that multiculturalism has segregated communities and failed to foster shared national identities in Canada. Nagra and Peng (2013) argue against these claims as they found 50 young men and women Muslim adults (ages 18 to 31) who used multiculturalism to maintain a dual Canadian-Muslim identity. In addition, 60% said 'white' Canadians discriminated against them. Despite facing discrimination, these young Canadian Muslims did not feel less attached to their Canadian identity but continued to assert a robust Canadian identity by using multiculturalism. The ideology of multiculturalism promotes cultural diversity, tolerance, and respect (Nagra & Peng, 2013). Participants felt more Canadian when they employed these inclusive ideologies to resist discrimination. Overall, participants were proud to be Canadian and Muslim, maintaining a dual identity. Their data showed that if multiculturalism failed then Canadian Muslims would try assimilating into the dominant culture (Nagra & Peng, 2013). These Canadian Muslims used multiculturalism to maintain both their identities. Nagra and Peng's (2013) findings exemplify a positive

outcome of multiculturalism. Based on the contradictory literature, this policy cannot be interpreted as all negative or all positive.

Regarding second-generation Canadian Muslim's linguistic identities, reports on their linguistic characteristics and practices are scarce. One sociolinguistic study by Dweik, Nofal and Qawasmeh (2014) investigated language use and attitudes among second-generation Muslim Arabs in Vancouver, BC. Their main research question was whether the second-generations maintained Arabic or shifted to English use. Their findings revealed that second-generation Canadian Muslim Arabs maintained both Arabic and English, symbolically representing their Arabic and Canadian identities (Dweik et al., 2014). According to the participants, they were proud to use Arabic since it is the original language of the Holy Qur'an (Dweik et al., 2014). In terms of diversity, there are a few issues with their study. Firstly, their study was limited to Arabic Canadian Muslims. Muslims of multiple backgrounds who are second-generation are included in this thesis, which is more representative of Canadian-born Muslims. Secondly, Arabic is not the only language used by Muslims. This thesis breaks through this linguistic categorization by investigating the linguistic diversity of this group.

The following three sections discuss three interconnected themes found in the literature on identity negotiations. These themes are how participants felt, how identity tensions were dealt with, and how second-generations negotiate identity. These themes were chosen because they signify what participants had in common across the studies. Many of these studies were informed by third space theory. After discussing these themes, the limitations and gaps of these studies are addressed.

2.2   The Experiences of Multiple Identities

A number of the studies reviewed involved participants with multiple identities, multiple worlds, multiple values systems, and multiple societies. The results of various studies revealed that participants shared similar thoughts and feelings about their identities, even though they did not share the same identities (e.g., nurse practitioners and Canadian-born

Muslims). Many were struck with "bicultural ambivalence,"[9] confusion (anomie), and doubt. Through a review of several studies incorporating third space theory, this section examines the manifestations of participants' ambivalence. It is essential to understand how they felt while navigating and negotiating between their identities. More importantly, these links between participants illustrate that it is normal to experience ambivalence while negotiating multiple identities.

The goal of Barlow's (2007) article was to document how Canadian students negotiated their in-betweenness during their social work practicum in India. More specifically, it dealt with how they integrated their Canadian and Indian values to deal with issues of class, race, gender, sexuality, and culture. The study consisted of 11 male and female undergraduate students. Barlow used interviews, focus groups, observations, journal writing, reflective assignments, and ongoing discussions in their placements to elicit data. The study's conceptual framework was informed by third space theory to better articulate hybrid students' experiences as they faced new contradictions between Canadian and Indian cultures.

The participants were not aware of their own identities before travelling to India. Upon arriving in India, they encountered identity issues that caused them to question their identities. The findings suggested that students adopted a love-hate relationship when adapting to Indian society. More importantly, these negotiations were increasingly difficult for Canadian students of Indian descent. As South Asian Canadians, they did not feel like they fit in with Indian culture and language despite their best efforts. They did not speak, act, or look like people from India despite being South Asian themselves. They felt misunderstood and looked down upon by the people in India because they were perceived as different. There were no "in-between" identities (i.e., 'You are Indian or you're not'). One participant stated that people made no effort to understand his identity as a Canadian Indian (Barlow, 2007). This led him to feel like he did not belong. The

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[9] "Bicultural ambivalence" (Cummins, 1982, p. 17) is a term used to describe when an individual experiences two or multiple identities, typically in relation to home and school cultures (Cummins, 1979), which results in mixed feelings.

findings suggested that although participants sought balance and closure between the two societies, it never came.

Another example of ambivalence was found in Khan's (1998) study. In her research, she interviewed two Canadian Muslim women about their identity negotiations within Orientalist and Islamic discourses. The author used third space theory to capture the participants' experiences. Her findings revealed that both participants could not fully embrace Islamism or Orientalism (Khan, 1998). In turn, this led to ambivalence and inconsistent behaviour. Each woman's ambivalence manifested itself differently. One participant stated that occasionally she chose not to follow Islamic laws or practices due to opportunities in Canada (e.g., selling alcohol). Although she disagreed with her behaviour, she recognized that making a life for herself in Canada was necessary. She indicated that despite her unharmonious behaviours and thoughts, she was clear about her identity as a Muslim. Interestingly, this participant felt clear about her identity yet had contradictory behaviour. In contrast, the other participant reported that she considered herself a non-practicing Muslim. However, she said this label did not reflect how she truly felt. She stated that she defended Islam in front of non-Muslims and criticized Islam among Muslims. She recognized this ambivalent behaviour and continued to perform it. Both participants found themselves in this in-between space, where they could not completely accept Islamism or Orientalism within the Canadian context (Khan, 1998). These individuals could not correctly negotiate their identities since there was no space to restructure their identities in Canadian society (Khan, 1998). The author suggested that this ambivalence may be caused by multiculturalism in Canada as it can erase ethnic and national differences (Khan, 1998). An example of this erasure can be seen from her follow-up study, which indicated that both women occupied the same "Muslim woman" position despite having different views and experiences (Khan, 2000).

Thus far, a shared experience encountered by participants was not having a 'space' to negotiate their multiple identities. Because of this, others often misunderstand their identities, leading them to feel left out. Another example of this can be seen in Rezai-Rashti's (2005) study. In 1996, Rezai-Rashti (2005) conducted a yearlong focus group

with 12 diverse young Canadian Muslim women between the ages of 16 and 18. Her study referred to third space theory to understand national and cultural hybridity. She investigated their daily encounters in their home and school environments. In their homes, these women felt pressured to adhere to their families and community's religious values. At school, they were pressured to assimilate into Canadian culture, which meant abandoning their 'oppressive culture/religion' at home (Rezai-Rashti, 2005). Her findings revealed that all the participants expressed no desire to leave home or to fully assimilate to a Western way of life. Rezai-Rashti wrote, "these students brought with themselves a counter-narrative of both their collective community culture and the dominant culture of their schooling. Literally, they were struggling with their identities" (2005, p. 152). These girls struggled with their identities, leaving them in an ambivalent state.

In another study, participants expressed the same dissonance (Hussain, 2016). Hussain (2016) collected 21 personal narratives from Canadian women of all ages, backgrounds, and professions. They revealed their interpretation of what it meant to be a Muslim woman while negotiating their Canadian (national) identity. One woman shared that she did not fit into her Eastern and Western cultures or languages. She claimed she was stereotyped by both groups as too Canadian for one and not Canadian enough for the other (Hussain, 2016).

This section reviewed commonalities found among individuals struggling with multiple identities. Participants shared feelings of confusion, ambivalence, misunderstanding, and no sense of belonging. As a result, this led to inconsistent thoughts and behaviours. These articles suggest that third space theory is a starting point, but they portray hybrid identities as negative and chaotic. Considering ambivalence and inconsistencies are a part of third space and hybrid identities, they need to be accepted and normalized by the literature. The following section reviews studies that have a more positive spin on hybrid identities. The individuals in these studies used strategies to successfully negotiate their identities.

2.3   Managing Identity Tensions

This section discusses previous studies that examined how individuals dealt with ambivalence and identity tensions. The following studies explored professional and personal boundaries with various participants, such as nurse practitioners, international educators, British Muslims, and Canadian Muslims. Despite their superficial differences, one aspect all these studies had in common was the quest for a solution for those straddling 'two worlds' or multiple worlds. As mentioned in the previous section, there was pressure to assimilate into one group; however, many participants saw themselves as not belonging to either group. This section draws on the participants' strategies. The findings from the studies revealed that participants would alter their behaviour or thoughts to fit their own needs rather than the needs around them. These strategies are dialogue, agency, deflection, humour, solidification, elasticity, resilience, hip-hop culture, physical space, interfaith programs, and representation. These strategies will be described later on. In all the studies, third space thinking was used in dialogue and interviewing to elicit open and deep responses that channelled new understandings. The strategies found in these studies shed light on how multiple identities can be negotiated in the future.

Chulach and Gagnon (2016) reviewed the literature surrounding the identities of nurse practitioners (NPs) in the Canadian healthcare system. NPs' identities often consist of two cultural systems: nursing and medicine. However, NPs are perceived as neither fully belonging to nursing nor medicine (Chulach & Gagnon, 2016). Colonial forces and social structures in biomedicine (e.g., medical residents, family practitioners) create a static nurse practitioner identity that does not allow them to move between their identities. Not acknowledging their fluid identities in the workplace led to role confusion and decreased job satisfaction.

The authors incorporated Bhabha's (1994) third space and concepts of hybridity, otherness, and agency to challenge heteronormative structures and assumptions in the healthcare system. The authors understood nursing and medicine as evolving cultural systems, with nurse practitioners occupying an 'in-between space'. Third space provided a voice and space for NPs to challenge and reconstruct their identity. A 'new' group

needed to be created. This was done by letting go of their old identities and learning new ways of thinking, acting, and relating to colleagues, families, and patients (Chulach & Gagnon, 2016). NPs did this by asserting agency[10]. For example, they would remove themselves from situations where there were unequal power relations. When they could not remove themselves, they asked for feedback regarding role performance in their work environments. Creating this dialogue made their identities clearer, visible, understood, and respected. This prevented previous power structures from identifying them as nurses or residents. This negotiation and disruption of identities allowed NPs to incorporate their nursing identity into a new professional world, a space between nursing and medicine (Chulach & Gagnon, 2016). Third space thinking helped challenge traditional ways of doing things and traditional ways of thinking, which led to positive identity transformations. Moreover, successful identity negotiation resulted from the nurse practitioners' ability to utilize agency and dialogue in the workplace, which allowed them to create a 'new' group.

Another example of successful identity negotiations can be seen in Saudelli's study (2012), which focused on how educators practiced in an international setting. Saudelli's (2012) case study examined 19 international educators from various countries who taught at Dubai Women's College in the United Arab Emirates. The data was collected from multiple qualitative interviews and textual materials. Saudelli (2012) drew upon third space theory to explore the educators' hybridity and accommodation processes. She discovered that international educators work in the third space because they navigate between (and beyond) contexts, cultures, learning environments, communities, and geographical locations. The classroom created an opportunity for third space where educators and students could integrate their cultural, private, and public experiences (e.g., home and school). This teaching strategy was beneficial but led to some issues. On the one hand, it encouraged educator investment, using students' lived experiences, bridged

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[10] "Agency refers to the ability to act or perform an action… It hinges on the question of whether individuals can freely and autonomously initiate action, or whether the things they do are in some sense determined by the ways in which their identity has been constructed. Agency is particularly important in postcolonial theory because it refers to the ability of postcolonial subjects to initiate action in engaging or resisting imperial power" (Ashcroft et al. 2013, p. 9-10).

instruction, and optimized learning (Saudelli, 2012). On the other hand, it led to internal conflict when an educator's values clashed with Dubai's values. This tension indicates that third space is susceptible to issues. The findings suggest that some degree of hybridity is necessary for the survival of an international educator.

The remainder of this chapter will focus on hybrid identities specific to Muslim participants. Another example of successful identity negotiation was found in Hameed's (2015) investigation of grassroots identity regarding Canadian Muslim women in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The author interviewed and conducted ethnographic observation to obtain lived experiences from 22 second-generation Muslims aged 18 to 39. Participants used strategies to navigate negative perceptions and expectations of Canadian Muslim identity (Hameed, 2015). The author noted that these strategies occurred in the third space. The first strategy was humour. Participants in interviews and observations often used humour to build bonds, neutralize the conversation, reduce awkwardness, and discuss sensitive information. Also, participants ignored or downplayed instances of racism as a means of desensitizing themselves to discrimination and othering. The Muslim community in Manitoba made efforts to advertise Muslims in 'normal situations' (e.g., playing sports) to indicate they are Canadians. Aside from situational resolutions, Winnipeg Muslims tried to alleviate negative perceptions of Canadian Muslims. Some of which were public forums to create a dialogue among Canadians. In 2013, CBC radio and social media hosted a meeting on the question "Do Muslims need to change ?" to allow interactive discussion. Public Teach-in Cafes were introduced, where the general public would ask local Muslims questions about their experiences and views. These are a few examples of what residents did to increase awareness. In sum, humour, deflection, neutralization, normalization, and awareness were used to negotiate Canadian Muslim identity within Canadian society.

Another journal article recently explored the successful identity negotiations of British Muslims living in British society. Mythen (2012) discussed how colonial thinking, cultural policies, and negative media representations prevented "Muslimness" and 'Britishness' from merging harmoniously (p. 398). Young British Muslims felt pressure

to comply with discriminatory 'White British culture' while trying to maintain their Islamic identity. A total of 16 male and 16 female British Pakistanis aged 18 to 26 participated in the qualitative study. A combination of focus groups and individual interviews was used to collect data. Grounded theory was used as a methodological approach to analyze the data. In addition, Bhabha's third space theory was implemented as the main theoretical framework. The study's findings indicated that using third space thinking successfully helped young British Pakistani Muslims grapple with their expressions of identity. Mythen (2012) concluded that British Muslims maintained their identity using three interconnected techniques: solidification, elasticity, and resilience. Solidification or "Solidity" (Mythen, 2012, p. 398) is the process where one strengthens (or solidifies) their identity. Participants solidified their religious identities by resisting negative perceptions of their religion (e.g., victimization, suspicion, and hostility). Participants formed a solid religious identity as a result of combating these stereotypes. "Elasticity" involved intertwining faith at the local, national, and global levels. Participants spread their identity between themselves and society by connecting with family and international Muslim associations. Furthermore, "resilience" referred to using defence tactics like avoidance (e.g., reducing non-English language use) and masking in specific contexts to deflect negative identity assumptions. Similar to the results of Hameed's (2015) study, resiliency is more of a restrictive strategy than a positive strategy. Overall, by using these three strategies together, in no particular order, British Muslims could better negotiate their 'in-betweenness'. Mythen (2012) concluded that it was possible to locate participants' identities in the third space; however, that space was "subject to configurations of power and bound by socially prescribed norms" (p. 409). Despite participants' identities resisting norms, Mythen (2012) observed that the boundary of norms still constrained their viewpoints. This study indicates that, although there are no boundaries in third space, social norms can still constrict this fluid way of thinking.

Through ethnographic fieldwork in Birmingham, UK, Shannahan (2011) examined how three British Muslim youths negotiated their identity in a society that questioned their presence. Two participants were second-generation, and one was first-generation.

Shannahan (2011) used third space thinking to explore this group's contexts, dynamic cultures, and identities. The findings illustrated that participants negotiated their third space differently regardless of their generational status. The first-generation participant, Moh, utilized the dynamic identity offered by urban hip-hop culture to inform his Muslim identity. Shannahan (2011) suggests that hip-hop identity is not confined to ethnicity or geography. Moh applied this concept to his faith-based identity, where he would not confine himself to a particular label or category. When the participant recorded rap music, he found a 'third space' which helped him articulate his hybrid identity. To characterize himself, the second-generation participant did not fuse his identities together under one label. Instead, he dynamically moved between his identities, names, and faith depending on the circumstance or environment (Shannahan, 2011). The other second-generation participant, Aysha, manifested her identity when she participated in intra-faith communities by engaging with people from other faith communities, trade unions, and community projects. These engagements in the third space helped her negotiate her identity. Additionally, the study found that the community's physical spaces such as stores and centres (e.g., Afiz Saree Centre, Small Heath Leisure Center, and Islamic Vision Bookshop) provided a safe environment for Muslims to explore their identities. These spaces did not create segregation but encouraged reflexivity and empowered identity negotiations. Shannahan referred to these areas as a "space of representation" and a "space of enunciation" (2011, p. 247). Moh and Aysha embraced their fluid identity and adopted agency using these techniques and physical spaces. Rather than seeing British youth identities as fixed, Shannahan viewed them as negotiators of third spaces. Using 'third space' thinking to explore identity is recommended by Shannahan (2011) because it allows for an open and ongoing description of culture.

Other examples of identity negotiation strategies can be seen in Sundar's (2008) study, which focused on racial and ethnic identity negotiation of 26 second-generation South Asian Canadian youths (15 female, 11 male) between the ages of 18 and 25. The data was collected using in-depth qualitative interviews. The data illustrated that national identification changed depending on the context. Participants said they felt more Canadian abroad and more South Asian while in Canada. For example, they felt visibly

different from 'mainstream' Canadians, therefore, their South Asian roots were emphasized. The same would occur when they were in India. They did not feel like they completely belonged in either context. Participants used behavioural strategies to enhance their "identity capital" (Sundar, 2008, p. 268). One participant referred to it as "browning it up" and "bringing down the brown", which was acting more or less "brown" to appease their surroundings (Sundar, 2008). They did this to meet particular goals, such as avoiding social exclusion, raising funds for a social event, and getting a discount from a South Asian store. This process emphasizes how fluid and influenceable identity can be. These youths created and re-created identities as they interacted with others around them, showcasing the flexibility and continuity of identity. This indicated that youths could use their flexible identity as tools when wanting to adapt to specific environments (Sundar, 2008).

This section reviewed how individuals dealt with identity tensions. The studies revealed that they successfully negotiated their identities using third space thinking by proactively using dialogue, agency, humour, deflection, awareness, elasticity, solidification, resilience, hip-hop culture, interfaith programs, and physical spaces. These strategies helped participants bridge and re-negotiate their identities. This resulted in identity satisfaction, investment, and increased learning opportunities. It also empowered participants by allowing them to call on their lived experiences, cultures, backgrounds, and languages. In the next section, I comment on identity negotiation by analyzing the current trends in Canadian Muslim identity negotiation.

2.4   How Second-generations Negotiate Identity

This section focuses on the current identity negotiations of second-generation Muslims. I draw on literature from Canada and other Western countries as they can be applied to Canadian Muslims. First, I discuss the general differences found between the first and second-generations. Then I discuss how these differences have an impact on identity negotiations. The current literature points towards two trends of identity negotiations found among second-generation Muslims: The first involves keeping their national and religious identity separate, and the second involves merging both simultaneously. My

thesis argues that identities cannot be separated and are naturally merged through hybridization.

Several studies have indicated several contextual differences between second-generation (Canadian-born) Muslims and first-generation (foreign-born) Muslims (Zine, 2001; Ramji, 2008; Yousif, 2008; Neuman, 2016). First-generation (foreign-born) Muslims have the experience of being raised in a different country before living in Canada (Ramji, 2008). Studies have indicated that first-generations are more likely to lean on their religious identities and attend more religious services to cope with living in a new society (Biles & Ibrahim, 2005; Martin, 2005; Ramji, 2008). In contrast, second-generation (Canadian-born) Muslims do not have this experience of living in a different country since they were raised in Canada only. Ramji (2008) suggests that second-generation Canadian Muslims must incorporate their multiple identities: Islamic faith, parents' ethno-cultural heritage, and values and practices of Canadian culture instilled in schools, politics, and media.

Similarly, Sundar (2008) points out that second-generation Canadians have different experiences than first-generation Canadians because they have lived in Canada their entire lives. They face challenges in constructing identities that "simultaneously admit and resist elements of both their parents and mainstream cultures" (Sundar, 2008, p. 253). To reinforce this point, Shannahan (2011) suggested that British-Muslim youths did not 'belong' in the same way as their parents or grandparents. Gans' (1994) study found another contrast between the first and second-generations. He found that second and third-generation American Jews adopted a symbolic religious identity or, as Gans describes it, "symbolic religiosity", which consisted of maintaining a strong religious identification with limited knowledge of religious norms and practices. For second-generation citizens, "it is not a process of assimilation, but rather negotiation" (Ramji, 2008, p. 203). These studies illustrate that second-generation individuals can interpret and compartmentalize their identities differently from first-generations.

A more in-depth example of this can be seen in Khan's (1998) study. Her study captured the identity negotiations of two Canadian Muslim women. One participant was a first-

generation Canadian Muslim, and the other was a second-generation Canadian Muslim. Both participants reflected on their previous school experiences and relationships within their homes. Third space theory was implemented to understand the participants' experiences. The findings demonstrated that each woman manifested third space differently. The main difference found between participants was their generational status. The second-generation participant had a different birth origin from her parents, resulting in different views from her parents. This caused misunderstandings and tensions within family relationships.

In contrast, the first-generation woman did not have the same struggles with her parents. These generational differences may be explained by the third space theory. Bhabha (1994) suggests that the past and present affect identity negotiations. This was evident as the second-generation participant did not have a past that involved a previous birth origin. Instead, she was influenced by her parent's birth origin. The first-generation participant also used her past and current homeland to inform her self-identity. Bhabha (1994) proposes that individuals often try to locate their culture. In this case, the participant is tying her culture to a previous country. Bhabha proposes that culture is not a place, but a space connected between time, past and present.

Now I will move on to discussing trends found among second-generation Muslims. The literature points towards two trends of identity negotiations. The first trend involves separating "Canadian" and "Muslim" identities. For example, in Sundar's (2008) and Shannahan's (2011) studies, participants changed their identities, names, and faiths depending on their context. Similarly, a Canadian Muslim from Hussain's study (2016) said her identity shifted depending on where she was. These findings imply that Islamic and Canadian identities are situational since their expressions differ across people and contexts (Zine, 2001; Janhevich & Ibrahim, 2004). Another example of identity separation is in Sundar's (2008) study. When she asked 26 second-generation South Asian Canadians to describe their nationalities, 19% of participants used hyphenated terms (e.g., South Asian-Canadian). Using a hyphen to connect the two terms may be a resolution to resolve the contradiction of being Canadian at times and South Asian at

other times (Sundar, 2008). "Hyphenated" (Giampapa, 2001, p. 292) identities have continued to increase in Canada as just under half of Canadians, or 43%, report having multiple ethnicities (Hamdani, 2015). Some authors suggest that hyphenations keep identities apart by pointing out a 'union of contradictions' and marking them as 'others' (Mahtani, 2002). The continued use of hyphenations by mainstream Canadians to describe people with multiple and visible ethnic identities can contribute to the othering of those from different religious or ethnic backgrounds.

Another approach among second-generations is merging "Canadian Muslim" to become one identity (Mythen, 2012; Nagra & Peng, 2013; Hameed, 2018). In this case, the Canadian Muslim identity is viewed as a whole rather than as separate parts. According to Nagra and Peng (2013) and Hameed (2018), being Canadian and Muslim are not mutually exclusive. Hameed's (2018) study focused on the outcomes of Canadian Muslims who settled in Canada longer than first-generation Canadian Muslims. She investigated the identities of second-generation and one-and-a-half-generation Canadian Muslim women in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The research illustrated that Muslim identity did not trump Canadian identity and vice versa. These individuals had a fluid hybrid identity that demanded continuous negotiations and renegotiations. Nagra and Peng (2013) similarly found that Canadian Muslims considered their multiple identities to coexist and be equally important.

Mythen's (2012) study that was described earlier will now be revisited. This study is mentioned again because the youths demonstrate an alternative identity emerging among British Muslim Pakistani youth. Like Hameed's (2018) main finding, participants merged their identities into one. Although Mythen (2012) examined Muslims in the United Kingdom, his conclusions and perspectives provide insight into what Canadian Muslims could be experiencing. As previously mentioned, he discussed how British Muslim Pakistani youths aged 18 to 26 negotiated their identities. The author did not specify if participants were second-generation; however, based on the term "British Muslim Pakistani", it is assumed they had been living in Britain for a long time, if not their entire lives. Third space theory was used to interpret other participant strategies (i.e., solidity,

elasticity, and resiliency). Through this interpretation, it was found that participants were able to refuse essentialist identities and binary categories. In other words, they refused to self-identify as either British or Muslim, illustrating their rejection of static racial and ethnic classifications. What occurred instead was the consolidation of 'and' identities. Instead of their identity being limited to one label, they could merge their identities. For example, participants suggested that "British and Muslim" should be seen as a unit with the same hierarchy level. Mythen's study demonstrated how young Muslims could blend their identities.

This section reviewed the current trends in Muslim identity negotiations. One trend illustrates that Muslims keep their identities separate, and the other shows that they merge their identities. However, based on the studies described above, Muslims appear to do both simultaneously. They can combine or separate their identities at any point. The participants from these studies also seem to be re-negotiating their identities even if they were unaware of doing so. Muslim identities in Western countries appear to be in a state of constant flux rather than static.

2.5   Limitations and Gaps in the Literature

The studies reviewed provide a foundation for understanding the experiences of second-generation Canadian-born Muslims. However, these studies contain some limitations and gaps. I will discuss these issues and address how they informed my investigation. Firstly, the studies did not explicitly address third space theory in their findings. There were implications that participants used third space thinking, but how this was accounted for remains unknown.

Secondly, the data collection was limited to interviews and focus groups. The only study incorporating diverse data collection techniques was Barlow's (2007) study which contained observations, field notes, journaling, and reflective assignments. There were no autobiographies or autoethnographies conducted by the researchers. Several researchers briefly described their background as Canadian and/or Muslim. This would have been beneficial because they missed an opportunity to describe their experiences and collect

data from themselves. They also did not comment on how their biases and experiences affected the data collection and analyses. To diversify this study, I bring in my own accounts when I discuss my positionality.

The third concern with these studies is that they focused exclusively on negative experiences of identity negotiations experienced by second-generation Canadian-born Muslims. Aside from Hameed's (2015) study, their identity negotiations and experiences were negatively portrayed as chaotic, uncomfortable, and abnormal. These negative perceptions are also found outside the Canadian-born Muslim population. Existing literature on individuals with multiple cultures often focuses on the negative aspects of their lives (Moore, 2011). Many scholars have expressed that being multicultural and plurilingual causes tension (O'Herin, 2007; Norton, 2013; Ryoo, 2017). For instance, Norton (2013) states that identity is "a site of struggle" for individuals who have multiple identities (p. 171). O'Herin also describes them to be "cursed [with] confusions" (2007, p. 5). Negative terms such as "struggle" and "cursed" associated with such identities are problematic. It implies that there is something wrong with individuals navigating multiple identities and the navigation itself is a problem. Instead, their experiences are a normal part of identity negotiation. Indeed, some authors offer more positive explanations. Blommaert and Varis (2011) state that repertoires (multiple associations) "are not chaotic and people often are not at all 'confused' or 'ambivalent' about their choices, nor appear to be 'caught between' different cultures or 'contradict themselves' when speaking about different topics" (p. 3).

Similarly, Mojé et al. (2004) suggest that several funds of knowledge, cultures, and discourses can be productive in identity development. For example, religion can be used to help Muslims engage and adapt to Western democratic values (Delic, 2018). Hamdani (1984) and Yousif (2008) acknowledge that Canadian and Islamic values encourage basic social needs such as education, productiveness, democracy, sexual equality, fairness, and peace. One census study demonstrated that a stronger Muslim identity and regular Islamic practices produced a stronger Canadian identity (Beyer, 2014). Lastly, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) suggest that identities (e.g., Canadian, female, Muslim) do not contradict or

get in each other's way since they are incomparable. Viewing identity formation through a lens of struggle or abnormality is damaging because it can negatively impact the self-image of individuals who are considered to be outside mainstream culture. This point is especially salient since most Canadians navigate multiple cultures, religions, languages, value systems, and identities.

Aside from the limitations of the studies, there are also gaps in the literature (Leonard, 2003; Beyer, 2007; Khan, 2009). Firstly, the studies mentioned above did not profoundly explore Canadian Muslims' experiences in school and home environments. Zine (1999) and Rezai-Rashti (2005) suggest that studies have yet to probe Canadian Muslims' lived realities in educational and community contexts. Secondly, second-generation Canadian-born Muslims require additional research attention as they continue increasing in size. As previously noted, the largest group of Canadian-born Muslim children will be entering the school system this decade (Hamdani, 2015). Soon, many young Canadian-born Muslims will be navigating their identities in that context (Beyer, 2007). As previously discussed, second-generation Canadian Muslims have unique experiences compared to first-generations.

Second-generation Canadian-born Muslims do not have a direct ethnic identity to build on compared to their parents, who have a different country of origin (Ramji, 2008). They also deal with issues related to ambivalence. More research on the unique experiences of this population will help new groups of second-generation Canadians negotiate their identities. Ramji (2008) also suggests that the long-term effects of migration to Canada are understudied. Lastly, there is little known about the language practices of second-generation Canadian Muslims (Janhevich & Ibrahim, 2004; Beyer, 2007). The studies mentioned above did not deeply investigate participants' linguistic identities and language practices. Language is deeply connected to identity, culture, and expression. This connection can tell us more about Canadian-born Muslims. During this investigation, I ask participants about their languages and experiences to understand their identities further.

2.6   Chapter Summary

The chapter began with a description of identity and then analyzed identity in terms of language, education, nationality, and religion. The chapter then provided a literature review on identity negotiations of individuals who faced multiple cultures, societies, and identities. Three related themes emerged based on the similarities found across the studies. The first theme was the prevalence of ambivalence experienced by participants who felt between two worlds (or multiple worlds). These participants felt confused, misunderstood, and had no sense of belonging despite their efforts. It was concluded that these experiences and feelings might be part of their identity negotiation. The second theme was their successful negotiations. The literature demonstrated that participants could bridge and re-negotiate their identities through agency, humour, deflection, dialogue, awareness, solidification, elasticity, resiliency, music, representation, and interfaith programs. The last theme focused on identity trends found in second-generation groups, with a greater focus on Muslims. The trends illustrated that Muslims either saw their identities as separate or blended. However, the participants all blended their identities together without conscious awareness. Lastly, five significant limitations of the studies were addressed; (a) The studies should have addressed third space thinking explicitly; (b) The data collection methods were homogenous and did not capture the diverse ways identity negotiation can play out; (c) Identity negotiation was too often portrayed as problematic or abnormal; (d) There was a lack of studies on second-generation Muslim experiences in Canadian institutions and the home; (e) More attention should have been paid to language use, language practices, and linguistic identities. The next chapter describes the methodology and research design of the study.

Chapter 3

3   Context and Methodology

This chapter presents the research context and qualitative research methods. To situate the research, the research context and demographics of the research population are described, followed by an overview of qualitative research and why it is suitable for the study. Then the study design, data collection methods and analysis are outlined. Following this, I describe the steps I have taken to ensure trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, and consistency. Afterwards, I discuss my position as a researcher by describing my background and academic experiences. Lastly, the ethical considerations of the study are discussed.

3.1   Qualitative Research

In its beginning stages, qualitative research methodology emerged from anthropology and sociology. Subsequently, qualitative research was adopted by education, health, social work, and other fields (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). During the 60s and 70s, qualitative research was criticized for its legitimacy by academic audiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Quantitative research was considered a legitimate method for conducting research and of higher quality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). After years of debating the legitimacy of qualitative research, it was finally accepted and recognized in the late 20th century (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Qualitative research is a methodology used to interpret meanings, concepts, descriptions, characteristics, and other social phenomena. Often, a study is qualitative because it seeks to understand the meaning people have constructed about their world and experiences. Qualitative research is not controlled, rigidly structured, or predetermined (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It does not typically use numbers as data and does not analyze them through statistical techniques (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Qualitative research aims not to predict or measure the cause and effect of set variables. Often, a study is qualitative because it seeks to understand the meaning people have constructed about their world and experiences.

To understand individuals' experiences, the data collected by qualitative researchers are often in various forms (e.g., open-ended interviews, observations, and document analysis) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Additionally, data is collected in a naturalistic setting by interacting with the participants rather than in a lab setting (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This allows participants to share information openly. In addition, qualitative research strives for depth. The product of qualitative research is richly descriptive as it can contain text, pictures, images, art, music, and many more forms of expression (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In addition to collecting data, the qualitative researcher examines and interprets the data differently than quantitative researchers. Qualitative researchers inductively analyze their data by starting with broad themes and then building them into categories, typologies, concepts, hypotheses, or theories (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A deductive approach can be applied afterwards to verify if the data matches the themes initially created.

The researcher plays a significant role in qualitative research, especially when they are conducting interviews themselves. Researchers hold biases and subjectivities which can broadly impact interpretation. Qualitative research accepts biases and subjectivities as long as self-reflection is included. During self-reflection, researchers reveal their backgrounds, experiences, and clarify biases (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Identifying subjectivities can help monitor and bring light to data collection or interpretation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This is called *reflexivity*, a characteristic commonly found in qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Furthermore, qualitative research has become an umbrella term that includes many techniques that aim to describe, decode, and translate abstract social phenomena (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Common forms of data collection in qualitative research are surveys, interviews, observation, or document analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). For this study, I conducted a survey and semi-structured interviews. Surveys have existed for centuries (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest that interviews are essentially verbal surveys. In addition, interviews are the most commonly used tool in

qualitative research (Creswell, 2005; Springer, 2010). Surveying and interviewing are methods that have a long history in qualitative research and are used frequently, indicating consistency.

Furthermore, research on identity and language is most commonly qualitative rather than quantitative (Norton, 2010). Research on this topic does not suit a quantitative approach as I cannot analyze refined variables specific to certain situations and contexts. There is less room for gray areas or overlapping concepts when using a quantitative approach. Therefore, I use a qualitative research method to study Canadian-born Muslim identities.

In addition to descriptive text and participant quotations, visual aids in the form of bar graphs and pie charts will be included in the findings. The inclusion of figures in qualitative research has been primarily supported in the field. Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 282) state that qualitative research can present charts, tables, and figures to help readers comprehend findings and overarching concepts. Similarly, Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest that when presenting findings, "many qualitative researchers also use visuals, figures, or tables as adjuncts to the discussions" (p. 270). The seventh edition *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (2019) considers a 'figure' to "be a chart, graph, photograph, drawing, or any other illustration or non-textual depiction" (p. 195). As can be seen, there is a broad spectrum of what constitutes a figure, but graphs and charts fall into this category (Verdinelli & Scagnoli, 2013). Bazeley (2009) argues that qualitative research should include visual data such as figures and graphs in addition to writing to prompt deeper thinking. Cooper and Shore (2010) and Nicol and Pexman (2010) suggest that graphs such as bar graphs and pie charts can be used to represent the distribution of nominal qualitative data. Verdinelli and Scagnoli (2013) reviewed data displays in prestigious qualitative research journals between 2007 and 2009 and concluded that visual displays enhance textual data. They also concluded that "there was no consistency found in the literature with regards to labeling specific visual displays used in qualitative research" (Verdinelli & Scagnoli, 2013, p. 361). Terms such as 'figure', 'graph', 'diagram', and 'illustration' were all linked to qualitative

research. Dey (1993) remarks that visual data creates a multidimensional space to organize data and illustrate connections.

Moreover, figures can help researchers efficiently convey large amounts of information for readers to grasp the main ideas (APA, 2019). Such illustrations can be used to display various types of information, very commonly demographic information (Verdinelli & Scagnoli, 2013), which is how some survey findings will be presented. This is not a mixed methods study since a statistical analysis was not conducted. Instead, the results will be presented in the form of text along with the aid of visual data (i.e., bar graphs and pie charts).

3.1.1   Ethnographic Techniques

I adopted a qualitative research design in this study and drew on ethnographic techniques. Ethnography is a qualitative method that analyzes lived experiences, culture, and society through fieldwork (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 28), where researchers collect interviews, observations, and field notes (Ellis et al., 2011; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Ethnographic research is well known for extensive and immersed observation of the field, where ethnographers spend a lengthy amount of time in a natural setting (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) with a specific group (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This research cannot be classified as ethnographic because long-term observations were not conducted[11]. Instead, this study draws on ethnographic interviewing techniques and autoethnographic tools to enhance the qualitative research design.

Applied linguists who conduct qualitative research have long adopted ethnographic techniques, particularly for conducting interviews. Increasingly, they are also drawing on quasi-autoethnographic techniques to gain insight into language use and how participants' identities influence language use (Filipović, 2019). As societal superdiversity grows and, along with it, inequities, (auto)ethnographic methods help understand complex relationships between individuals, the languages they use, and the

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[11] The Research Ethics Board at Western University was not permitting in-person observation at the time of the study due COVID-19, therefore observations could not be made.

languages used by others (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; McKinley & Rose, 2020). Muncey (2010) notes that as researchers survey the field, they find that conventional research methods can leave some stories untold and some complex feelings unexplored. There is a gap between traditional storytelling and lived experience. I saw an opportunity to use ethnographic techniques in my interviews and an autoethnographic tool called a culture-gram to tap into participants' identities. An explanation of culture-grams will be provided later in this section. During interviews, I used techniques from Spradley's (1979) book on *The Ethnographic Interview*.

Spradley (1979) states three important "ethnographic elements" can be used during interviews. These ethnographic elements are (a) explicit purpose, (b) ethnographic explanations, and (c) ethnographic questions. I implemented these ethnographic elements in my interviews.

(a) **Explicit purpose.** When the researcher reminds participants of the direction of the interview, Spradley explains, "without being authoritarian, the ethnographer gradually takes more control of the talking, directing it in those channels that lead to discovering the cultural knowledge of the informant" (1979, p. 59). During the interviews, I would let participants know the topics we were going to discuss as we progressed from topic to topic. Although the conversations were friendly, I took the lead in the interview, guiding participants through each topic by referring to my interview guide.

(b) **Ethnographic explanations.** The interviewer must repeatedly explain to the participants what is occurring and use layperson's terms to ensure they understand. For example, using technical terms such as superdiversity and third space theory is inappropriate. I implemented three of the five techniques Spradley outlines. These were:

   a) *Project explanations.* The project's purpose must be explained comprehensibly to interview participants to ensure a successful interview. The goal of my research was to investigate Canadian identity. Before

asking several questions about participants' identities, I clearly stated to participants that I was interested in knowing more about how their identity works, as this is the study's primary goal. (See Appendix B for the Interview Guide)

b) *Recording explanations.* Interview participants should be informed why they will be recorded and what they will be used for. As part of the consent process, I explained to participants what the recordings would be used for and how they would be used. During the interview, I repeated the purpose of the recording to each participant.

c) *Question explanation.* This involves explaining to participants why they are being asked specific questions. For example, I explained to interview participants that I would occasionally draw on their survey data; therefore, I would ask them specific questions about their survey answers. I explained that these questions were asked for clarification or to flesh out more detail.

(c) **Ethnographic questions.** There are several types of ethnographic questions. According to Spradley (1979), there are three main types of ethnographic questions. I implemented two of the three main techniques.

a) *Descriptive questions* are relatively standard and "used in all interviews" (Spradley, 1979, p. 60). These types of questions ask participants to describe experiences, situations, feelings, etc. As seen in the interview guide (Appendix B), I asked participants several times to describe their experiences and elaborate on their identities. For example, one of the interview questions was: can you *describe* how being connected to both Canada and your parent's country of origin affects you?

b) *Structural questions* are questions about how participants organize their knowledge and domains. Structural questions were asked to help participants create their culture-grams. For example, I probed participants to list their interests and describe them. For example, one participant stated that art was a hobby of hers. I then asked her what type of art (painting,

pottery, drawing, etc.) she enjoyed.

Lastly, in addition to ethnographic interviewing techniques, I used an autoethnographic tool called a culture-gram in the interviews. The field of ethnography includes a variety of types, among them autoethnography (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 29). A culture-gram (described below) is an autoethnographic tool (a form of ethnography) that allows participants to think of their identities in terms of multiples and reflect on their lived experiences. A culture-gram is considered an autoethnographic tool since the individual creates it. Participants were asked to create a culture-gram of their identities at the end of the interviews to describe their identities further and clarify their thoughts. The culture-gram activity was strategically placed at the end of the interview so participants could reflect on all their identities. The purpose of the culture-grams was to visibly illustrate participants' identities and demonstrate how they are diverse and connected through images and text boxes.

3.2   Research Participants

In total, 88 Canadian-born Muslim students participated in the first phase of the study during the summer of 2021. These students were enrolled in postsecondary school when they completed the study. The study's inclusion criteria required participants to be 18 to 24 years old, a postsecondary student in Ontario, and a second-generation Canadian-born Muslim. Other than these inclusion requirements, students of all genders, ethnicities, and language backgrounds were allowed to participate. Collecting data from diverse participants reduces the focus on specific ethnic or linguistic groups (Nagra & Peng, 2013).

This particular age group was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, adults between 18 to 24 can provide their consent. Secondly, this age group can coherently reflect on their lived experiences, such as their recent experiences, high school experiences, and elementary school experiences. Thirdly, 18- to 24-year-olds have recently become legal adults, facing new freedoms and challenges. Lastly, and most importantly, late adolescents and young adults are becoming self-aware and forming their identities (Mannheim, 1970;

Erikson, 1968). They are often faced with challenges that are similar to the challenges faced by those in other multiple identity studies. Some of these challenges are establishing autonomy from the family of origin, seeking both conformity and individuality within peer groups, and so on (Sundar, 2008). Mannheim (1970) suggests that people explore various choices during young adulthood and commit to interpersonal relationships, work, careers, and ideologies. Moreover, during this time, postsecondary students encounter situations and go through extreme periods of identity formation (in comparison to other times in their life). This critical point is when students are pulled toward or pushed against the forces of Canadian society, Islamic society, and other societal influences.

From the 88 participants who participated in the first phase of the study, 15 respondents participated in the second phase, a one-on-one interview, to gain further insights into their experiences. This occurred during the summer of 2021. Through random selection, eight females and seven males participated in an interview. The interviews lasted between 40-120 minutes, with a majority of interviews being 60 minutes long. As the chart below outlines their demographic data, participants were from various linguistic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. Notably, participants attended a variety of schools. As can be seen, the participant group was diverse and dynamic.

Table 1: Demographic Data of Interview Participants

Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Ethnicity	Race	Languages Spoken	Type of Elementary/ Secondary School
Nessie	Female	Iraqi	Arab	English, Arabic	Catholic
Anika	Female	Lebanese	White	English, French	Catholic
Jade	Female	Punjabi/Kashmiri	South Asian	English, Urdu, Spanish	Public
Munakshe	Female	Lebanese/Palestinian	Middle Eastern	English, Arabic	Public
Kathlyn	Female	Bangladeshi	South Asian	English, Bengali, French	Public
Irene	Female	Indian	Brown	English	Public
Mahala	Female	Iraqi	Asian	Arabic, English, French	Public

Olive	Female	Indian	South Asian	English	Public
Elijah	Male	Canadian	Caucasian	English, French, Arabic prayers	Catholic
Xavier	Male	Bengali	Asian	English, Bangla	Public
Mario	Male	Persian	West Asian	English, Farsi, French	Public
Ravi	Male	Pakistani	Pakistani	English, Urdu, French	Private
Ethan	Male	Arabian	Middle Eastern	English, Arabic	Public
Hann	Male	Libya	Arab	English, Arabic	Public
Malik	Male	Arab	Middle Eastern	English, Arabic	Islamic

3.3   Recruitment

Two strategies were used to recruit participants. The first strategy involved contacting the student Islamic Association at the postsecondary site where I was eligible to collect data. I contacted the head organizers of this association using their public contact information. I gave them the recruitment advertisement (see Appendix G and H), which contained information about the study. These organizers then chose to pass on the information about the study to students in their association. It was at that point that participants decided to participate in the study. The organizers did not know who expressed interest in participating. There were no conflicts of interest since I have no affiliations with any Islamic Associations at any postsecondary school.

Another form of recruitment was placing online advertisements on social media and public forums, where I received ethical approval (see Appendix I). Due to the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, online advertisements were the only option. These advertisements contained information about the study. Participants could anonymously participate in the study by using the survey link on the advertisement. The comment sections for the study advertisements were either disabled or deleted depending on the online website to guarantee confidentiality. This ensured that no one could be identified, and those who viewed the advertisement did not know if someone had chosen to participate.

3.4 Procedures

3.4.1   Phase One: Survey

The first phase consisted of one 10 to 20-minute online open-ended survey hosted by Qualtrics, an online survey platform approved by Western University. A total of 88 individuals participated in the survey. Among the respondents, 61 were female, and 27 were male. This was a large group of participants, considering previous third space studies were often case studies with a small number of participants, typically female. This phase aimed to screen participants, obtain demographic information, and ask them about their identities and experiences as Canadian-born Muslims.

Before entering the survey, participants were provided with a letter of information (Appendix D). After reading this letter, participants were asked to provide implied consent using a checkbox. They were only allowed to start the survey if they consented. At the beginning of the survey, participants were asked four screening questions. Participants were asked if they (a) were between the age of 18 to 24, (b) attended postsecondary school, (c) identified as Muslim, and (d) were born in Canada. If they answered yes to all four questions, they were able to participate in the survey.

Following these initial screening questions, the survey consisted of two parts. The first section contained demographic questions, and the second section contained open-ended questions about identity. The demographic questions asked participants for their gender, race, ethnicity, parent's birthplace, languages spoken, and history of primary and secondary school (e.g., public, private, Catholic, or Islamic school). Participants were asked more personal questions about their Canadian and religious identities after these questions. These questions allowed participants to describe how they felt about their current identities. It also allowed participants to warm up to questions they would be asked in the next study phase. Please see Appendix A for the survey questions.

At any point during the survey, participants were free to leave. At the end of the survey, participants were asked if they would like to be contacted for a follow-up interview. The survey remained anonymous if the participant chose not to participate in the second

phase. Those who chose to participate in the second phase were asked to provide an email address if they wanted to be contacted. Email addresses were used to identify the participants by connecting their responses from the first phase (survey) and the second phase (interview). No other identifiable information was collected from participants in this phase.

3.4.2   Phase Two: Interviews

The second phase consisted of semi-structured online interviews conducted one-on-one via Western Zoom. The interviews ranged from 40 to 120 minutes, with a majority of interviews being 60 minutes long. Although the interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview questions (Appendix B) the duration varied according to the amount of information participants shared. This phase had fewer participants due to the in-depth and lengthy interviews. Seventy-four participants showed interest in participating in an interview. As mentioned previously, participants were selected on a first-come, first-served basis. A total of 15 survey respondents were selected to participate in the interview. Among the respondents, eight were female and seven were male.

Before the interview, participants were given a letter of information and an e-consent form (see Appendix E) that they were required to read, sign, scan, and send back. To ensure participants' comfort, they could choose between an audio or video interview. All the interviews were audio-recorded via Zoom and transcribed.

The purpose of these interviews was to allow participants to elaborate on their survey answers. Participants were asked in-depth, semi-structured, and open-ended questions. A small set of pre-written questions related to the first phase guided the conversation. These questions further investigated the participants' identities and experiences at home and school. I asked participants about their socio-cultural axis (e.g., family relationships, values, language practices, religious practices, group memberships, regional identities, local identities, and beliefs). For example, I asked participants about their experiences and feelings about being a Canadian-born Muslim (Please see Appendix B for the interview guide).

During the interview, participants were given a choice to create a culture-gram. This is a web chart tool (see Figure 3 for culture-gram) created for autoethnographers to make connections between their diverse identities, group memberships, and social roles (Chang, 2016). Participants were asked to create one because it helps individuals to visually illustrate their diverse identities, group memberships, social roles, experiences, life events, passions, beliefs, and groups (Chang, 2016). Although identities are in a constant flux culture-grams provided a snapshot to participants' diverse identities. It allowed them to write about their diverse identities and make connections.

The culture-gram operates in a certain way. Different lines, shapes, sizes, and shadings represent relationships and rankings between one's identifications. All the figures connected by a line indicate they belong together in the same category (Chang, 2016). The rectangles signify multiple realms of life (e.g., nationality, language, religion, etc.). They are connected to one shaded circle, representing the most primary self-identifier or subjective self-labelling. The ovals connected to the circle represent secondary self-identifiers (Chang, 2016). These labels tend to be more specific such as mother, singer, runner, Confucian, etc. Lastly, the large circle in the middle contains the top three identifiers most important to the individual. These labels can be different from the ones in the rectangles and a combination of multiple labels, for example, Christian, Female Professor, and Multicultural. Chang (2016) states it is important to acknowledge that these three identifiers may or may not change throughout time, context, or occasion. For example, one's nationality may change if they move to another country.

Moreover, the culture-gram not only informs others about a person, but also allows that person to understand themselves better. Chang (2016) noted that before students filled out the culture-gram, many thought they were monoculture or cultureless but soon realized they were multicultural and diverse. The concept of the culture-gram is similar to superdiversity because it allows multiple variables to be represented and connected.

FIGURE 6.1 MY CULTURE-GRAM
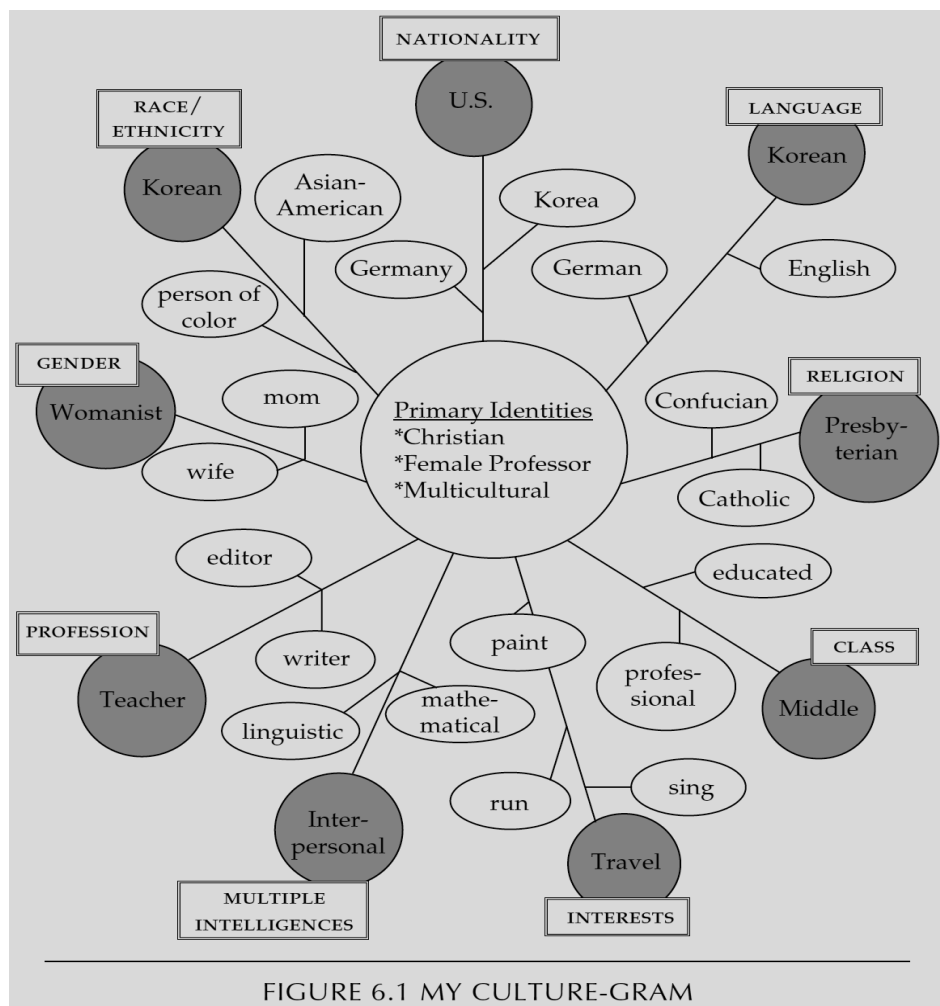
Figure 3: Sample of Culture-Gram

Note. Source: Chang (2016, p. 98).

On Zoom, I shared my screen with participants to show them a few examples of a culture-gram. From there, participants either decided if they wanted to create one with me or create one on their own. Their culture-gram was used to analyze the data and visually display their multiple identities. Please see Appendix F to see the participants' culture-grams.

3.5   Data Analysis

Data analysis can be a non-linear process. Chang (2016) states that data collection, analysis, and interpretation are simultaneous and interconnected. My data collection and

analysis overlap. A deductive approach was used to analyze the data since the research questions and theory informed the data tools and collection.

First, the survey data, interview data, and previous literature were organized and analyzed separately. The data was then organized and coded according to themes, patterns, frequency, and categories based on the research questions. Then the data was interpreted by making connections between all the categorized data. The following coding techniques were used to organize and analyze the data: open coding, selective coding, thematic coding, axial coding, and analytic coding. Open, axial, and selective coding are systematic techniques typically housed under Grounded theory (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 272).

I will describe in detail how I analyzed the survey and interview data. I used the same techniques to analyze both sets of data. The organization of survey data involved placing demographic data into charts and organizing them according to a category, e.g., gender, ethnicity, race, language(s) spoken. This was done using the Western Qualtrics survey platform and Numbers spreadsheet application. This step was necessary as it kept the data organized, which made it easier to analyze. *Open coding* was then used to determine the most valuable data that aligned with the research questions (Mythen, 2012). *Selective coding* was then used to determine core categories (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This analysis determined sub-categories using *axial coding* (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Lastly, commonalities, relationships, and patterns were looked for across categories. This process is often referred to as *thematic coding*. Open coding, selective coding, axial coding, and thematic coding are explained further below.

Once the analysis of surveys was completed, I moved on to analyzing the interview data. First, all the audio recordings from the interviews were transcribed. Then the interview transcripts were sent to the participants to review and make amendments if they wished. Afterwards, *open coding* was used to determine the most valuable data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Open coding was executed by re-reading the interview transcriptions and noting what emerged. I highlighted relevant parts of the transcripts then colour coded

them according to the themes (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This data was then organized using *selective coding* by placing data into categories such as schooling experiences, language practices, Canadian identity, and religious identity. Following this, *thematic coding* was implemented, which consisted of grouping categories, themes, or patterns and making associations between them, respectively (Mythen, 2012). To break down the broad themes found in the interviews, *axial coding* was used to distinguish sub-themes that fit into larger categories. Afterwards, thematic coding was used to find connections between the survey and interview data.

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) suggest that analytical coding goes beyond what the data shows. This type of coding involves interpretation and meaning making. Analytic coding consists of interpreting all findings within a broader context (i.e., society and culture). This analysis was conducted drawing on third space theory, for instance looking for notions of fluidity, liminality, and hybridity among the participants' responses. During this process, I looked for connections between participants' data and previous literature, such as were there similar or dissimilar themes between the participants' data and other literature. Then, thematic coding was used to look for *cultural themes* across the data and existing research. *Cultural themes* are implied, controlling behaviours, or activities promoted in a society (McCurdy, Spradley, & Shandy, 2004). Looking for cultural connections and understanding across data is a feature of ethnographic research.

3.6 Researcher Positionality

As previously mentioned, the researcher plays a prominent role in qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Researchers' positionality, background, experiences, and connection to the topic can influence their study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). When the researcher identifies such subjectivities through self-reflection, it can help monitor and bring light to data collection or interpretation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this section, I describe my background, experiences, and academic interests in relation to the study.

My positionality can be described as an educated, second-generation, Circassian, Canadian-born, middle-class, privileged, able-bodied, unveiled, monolingual, young Muslim woman. I was born and raised in Scarborough, Toronto, Ontario. I resided in Toronto until I was 22 years old, then moved to London, Ontario, to pursue my graduate studies. My parents are both Circassian, an ethnic minority group from Circassia in Eastern Europe (Stem, 1991). Circassians are indigenous inhabitants of the Caucasus mountains in Circassia, located in Eastern Europe, which is part of the Northwestern Caucasus region (Stem, 1989). Circassia is now referred to as Southern Russia as the Russian Empire took it over in the 18th century during the Caucasian War, also known as the Russo-Circassian War of 1864 (Hewitt, 1999). Many refer to this tragic event as the "Circassian genocide" (Besleney, 2010, p. 5) and an instance of "ethnic cleansing" (Shenfield, 1999, p. 6). Due to the war, both of my great-great grandparents emigrated to Jordan. My parents were born in Jordan and then shortly after moved to Canada. We have our own language (Circassian), cultural practices, dances, traditions, style of clothing, kinship, customs, and social etiquette (Colarusso, 1992). English and Arabic were spoken in my home daily as I was growing up. I did not learn Circassian, but my grandparents and father occasionally spoke the language. I identify as a monolingual speaker of English since I am not fluent in either Arabic or Circassian.

Being Muslim has not always been at the forefront of my identity. Like some of the participants from the study or previous research, I felt I did not always belong in the Muslim community since I did not conform to a particular lifestyle (e.g., appearance, language, behaviours, and habits). I believe this had a lot to do with not speaking Arabic and practicing Islam daily. However, this did not completely negatively affect me since I did not always feel left out or alienated. Throughout my life, I always had flexibility between my identities and did not place myself in a particular category. I did not question my identity. Instead, I would ask myself: "how will I make this aspect of my identity work with other aspects of my identity"? I did my best never to sacrifice one identity for another because these were aspects of my life that I could not ignore. Overall, I have recognized that in addition to my lived experiences, I combine certain aspects of my Islamic, Canadian, and Circassian identities.

As for my educational experiences, I received a Bachelor of Science from the University of Toronto, where I completed a major in psychology and linguistics. Many of my courses were influenced by quantitative and mixed-method approaches. Apart from my science background, I completed a Master of Arts degree in Linguistics at Western University. Currently, I am pursuing a doctoral degree in Applied Linguistics through the Faculty of Education. I must acknowledge that my academic knowledge consists of theories and perspectives that implement both qualitative and quantitative approaches. These two approaches subconsciously inform my data interpretation and how I frame my research. Because of my educational influences, I consider myself an interdisciplinary researcher with multiple research techniques, perspectives, and backgrounds since I have immersed myself in several fields, such as psychology, linguistics, and education.

I have always been critical of the social aspects of education and its influence on students. My interest in second-generation Canadians comes from my own experiences. I grew up with many second-generation Canadians with various backgrounds, religions, and languages. While attending public primary and secondary school, I observed that many of my peers had parents who were new to Canada. They often possessed different values, languages, and experiences from their parents because they grew up in Canada and attended Canadian schools. Therefore, their educational experiences differed from their parents. My peers were always trying to find their own way of being "Canadian" while incorporating their parent's backgrounds. During this time, I had many peers I could relate to as I was experiencing being raised by first-generation parents in Canada. This made it easier to comprehend my identity. However, despite growing up with other second-generation Canadians, I could see that this process needed more understanding and awareness. Ultimately, this is what sparked my interest in investigating this topic.

3.7 Trustworthiness, Credibility, Transferability, and Consistency

To account for the accuracy and legitimacy of research findings, concepts like 'validity' and 'reliability' are commonly used in quantitative studies. However, these terms do not

hold the same connotations in qualitative studies as they do in quantitative studies (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Qualitative research differs from quantitative research in that qualitative research investigates reality. Reality and human behaviour are never static and consist of multiple realities (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Similarly, identity parallels this nonlinear and unstable nature as it varies based on individual experiences. To accurately study identity, 'trustworthiness' and 'credibility' were used to account for accuracy and consistency, also known in quantitative studies as 'validity' and 'reliability', respectively. In the following paragraph, I discuss how I implemented specific strategies to ensure my study's trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, and consistency.

First and foremost, to ensure *trustworthiness* and *credibility,* the study must be conducted ethically and take into account ethical considerations (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To ensure ethical data collection, I obtained ethical approval from the institution where I conducted research (See Appendix C). The Research Ethics Board (REB) reviewed my study procedures and materials to ensure I collected data safely. This process ensured trustworthiness since a credible third party reviewed my study. Ethical considerations were also taken into account and are discussed in the next section.

In qualitative research, 'trustworthiness' involves the researcher checking the findings for accuracy and authenticity (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). There are two forms of trustworthiness: *credibility* (internal validity) and *transferability* (external validity) (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Credibility involves the researcher asking themselves questions about the accuracy of their findings, such as: Are the findings credible? Are they correctly describing what needs to be analyzed? Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest eight strategies to ensure the credibility and accuracy of the findings. Of these eight strategies, I used five techniques in my study. I checked the accuracy of the findings by using (a) the *researcher's position*, (b) *discrepant information*, (c) *member checking,* (d) a *peer debriefer,* and (e) *triangulation*. Addressing the *researcher's position* can help clarify any biases the researcher has. In the previous section, I used this reflexive technique to share information about my background,

gender, culture, religion, identity, and education, as these factors affect my interpretation of the findings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). *Presenting opposing information* is another technique used by researchers where they provide evidence or criticism that goes against their study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Providing multiple perspectives further situates the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). I include multiple perspectives in this thesis, where I present opposing views in my findings and literature review. Another way to ensure validity and reliability is through *member checking* (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 246; Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 274). Participants were given the opportunity to review their interview transcripts to ensure they were accurate. A *peer debriefer* was utilized to ask questions about the study before it began (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). I consulted several academic colleagues on my theoretical framework, methodology, study procedures, and analysis. This team of people is familiar with the topic. They reviewed the research questions and data and compared them with the concluded interpretation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Lastly, *triangulation* was used to collect data from multiple sources (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). I collected data from (a) a diverse group of participants, (b) previous literature, (c) survey data, and (d) interview data. Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest that the convergence of data from multiple sources strengthens the accuracy of the findings and allows different perspectives to be accounted for.

In addition to credibility, accuracy outside of the study must also be considered. In quantitative research, this is known as 'external validity'. External validity is how generalizable the results are to people outside the study. However, it is not possible to generalize the findings in qualitative research since they are based on multiple realities (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Instead, the term "*transferability"* is recommended, which is the ability for the results to be applied to other settings or contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Rather than focusing on other studies, the researcher can do this by ensuring their database can allow for the transferability of their study to other studies and contexts. A method commonly used to increase transferability is *rich, thick description* (Geertz, 2008; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Researchers give a detailed description of the setting, participants, and findings. This can be quotes, field notes, and documents (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). When I describe the findings in Chapters 4 and 5, I provide participants'

indirect and direct quotes. I also took field notes detailing my data collection and research process. Providing this level of detail also increases the trustworthiness of the findings. Another method commonly used to increase transferability is *maximum variation* (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Maximum variation involves picking a wide range of participants and sites (Patton, 2015). This ensures that the study can be applied to multiple populations and situations. Data was collected from one research site since more students participated than expected. These students happened to have a variety of backgrounds, languages, and ethnicities. Therefore, the findings apply to more than one group of Canadian Muslims.

Reliability is a quantitative term that traditionally means 'to what extent are the findings replicable'. Similar to validity, this definition does not align with qualitative research methods since qualitative research does not investigate replicable phenomena (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). A more applicable definition for qualitative research has been reconceptualized, known as '*consistency' or 'dependability'*. Consistency is maintained when a researcher's approach is consistent with other projects and researchers (Gibbs, 2007). To achieve consistency, researchers can use several strategies. They can document the procedures they have conducted (Yin, 2009). This type of documentation is similar to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) *audit trail.* Researchers do this by keeping a log of how the data was collected, categorized, and derived (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I kept a log of this process during my data collection and analysis. In addition, I referred back to my audit trail to ensure my research findings and interpretations aligned with my documented experiences. *Peer examination, researcher's position, member checking,* and *triangulation* were also used to maintain consistency (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). These strategies are used to ensure trustworthiness, as described in the paragraph discussing credibility (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

To have a trustworthy project, the researcher must review how their study will affect participants. The first and most important ethical consideration to take into account is the participants' safety. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) state that online research needs to

consider online safety because it can produce ethical issues. Qualtrics (an online survey platform) and Zoom are affiliated with Western University and approved by the Western Ethics Research Board as safe online research platforms. Another safety measure taken into consideration was COVID-19. At the time, there were more cases, safety protocols, and social distancing measures, so in-person data collection posed a risk. Instead, the data was collected online to reduce in-person interaction with participants. Participants could safely access the study online from the comfort of their own homes and electronic devices. Another safety concern taken into consideration was the participants' comfort and confidentiality. There were no known risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. Participants were allowed to leave the survey or interview at any point to ensure they were comfortable. Participants were allowed to ask for clarification at any point as well. Furthermore, all participants were anonymized and given a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality. In addition, all data was stored securely and kept confidential using Western protocols.

Another ethical consideration was obtaining proper consent. Since participants were over the age of 18, they were able to provide consent for themselves. As previously mentioned in the study design, two types of consent were elicited from participants. The survey collected implied consent after participants received the letter of information (see Appendix D for the letter of information). Participants were only allowed to continue the survey if they clicked the consent button. This second type of consent, electronic consent (e-consent), was obtained from participants before the online interviews. Western's Research Ethics Board recommended these types of consent.

One last ethical consideration is acknowledging my biases and background. In qualitative research, biases are not seen as entirely negative since all researchers carry biases. Therefore, researchers should acknowledge their knowledge and experience. I identify as a second-generation Canadian-born Muslim woman. Since I grew up in an Islamic household, I have predispositions toward this topic. My biases, knowledge, and connection to this topic may have affected the data collection, analysis, interpretation, and reporting. Therefore, theoretical frameworks and research questions guided this study

(Creswell, 2013). Brayda and Boyce (2014) suggest that participants are more willing to share with an investigator with a similar background. Since I am a second-generation Canadian-born Muslim, my knowledge greatly facilitated this research and increased its credibility (Brayda & Boyce, 2014).

3.9   Chapter Summary

This chapter described the study's context, methodology, and design. A definition of qualitative research was presented at the beginning of the chapter. Afterwards, the study design was introduced, which consisted of gathering data in two phases. The first phase consisted of an online survey to collect qualitative data and screen participants for eligibility to participate in the next phase. The second phase consisted of in-depth semi-structured open-ended interviews. To analyze the raw data, I described how I employed open, selective, axial, analytic, and thematic coding (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). After describing the analysis, I stated my positionality and connection to the study. Afterwards, I discussed the methods used to ensure the findings' trustworthiness and consistency. To maintain trustworthiness, I used strategies that included: the researcher's position, discrepant information, member checking, peer debriefer, triangulation, thick description, and maximum variation. I then described how I maintained consistency using the following strategies: audit trail, peer examination, researcher position, and triangulation. The chapter concluded with ethical considerations of the study. The next chapter presents the findings from phase one of the study.

Chapter 4

4   Survey Findings

Prior literature has shown that Canadian Muslims are often associated with several distorted stereotypes. They are commonly placed into one large homogenous group (Haddad & Smith, 1993; Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005) despite their intra-group diversity. It has also been suggested that Canadian Muslims are not considered to be 'Canadian' due to their religious, racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds (Gonick, 2000; Zine, 2001; Mahtani, 2002; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008; Blommaert & Varis, 2011; Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016). Such remarks have left a negative imprint on Canadian-born Muslim students (e.g., feeling alienated from the communities to which they belong).

This chapter uses survey analysis and first-hand accounts from 88 Canadian-born Muslim students to defy such stereotypes. The chapter presents findings from phase one of the study, which involved open-ended qualitative surveys. Third space theory and superdiversity were drawn upon to uncover how Canadian-born Muslims students identified themselves. The chapter begins with a review of participants' demographic data from phase one of the study, followed by in-depth accounts of their identity negotiations with a particular focus on national identity. The research explores areas of friction related to identity, revealing the issues of belonging that Canadian-born Muslims face. The chapter concludes with participants' schooling experiences.

4.1   Unveiling Diversity Amongst Canadian-born Muslim Students

This section presents participant demographics from phase one. After presenting the demographic data, identity negotiations of nationality are explored. Lastly, the section ends with the participants' written responses regarding their ideas of Canadian identity and how they negotiate and hybridize their identities.

4.1.1 Demographic Data: Intragroup Diversity

Homi Bhabha (1994) suggests the focus should be placed on diversity within groups rather than between them to reduce othering in marginalized populations such as the Canadian-born Muslim community. Therefore, this section explores variety within the Canadian-born Muslim community. First, the demographic data is presented, revealing a tremendous amount of ethnic, racial, linguistic, and national diversity within the Canadian-born Muslim population. The findings illustrate that preconceived notions are incorrect about this population. This further suggests that Muslims' identities cannot be lumped together. Then, in-depth accounts of identity negotiations are provided regarding national identity and interpretations of what it means to be Canadian.

While prior literature has proposed several definitions of 'Canadian identity', no consensus has been reached (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963; Schafer & World Culture Project, 1990; Sinha, 2015). Predominantly Canadian identity is tied to someone of British or French origin, Christian, and a speaker of English or French (Gonick, 2000; Mahtani, 2002). This singular and static view of identity does not account for most Canadians. As indicated by census reports, the Canadian population is composed of individuals with a variety of mother tongues as well as ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds (Statistics Canada, 2012, 2016; Hamdani, 2015). With the mindset of third space thinking, the goal is not to reach a consensus or ultimately define an identity. The goal is to acknowledge the changing and ongoing negotiations of multiple identities and redefine boundaries among groups (Bhabha, 1994).

First, the survey data will be reviewed. Survey respondents were instructed to write their responses rather than choosing from a pre-set list of categories. Participants could write their answers in text boxes, which gave them the liberty to think freely about their national identities and describe them without the constraints of trying to fit themselves into a checkbox. The opportunity of providing respondents room to reflect, write, and negotiate their identities was influenced by third space thinking. Instead of being placed into a category, respondents were encouraged to use their voices and exert control over describing themselves.

4.1.2   Ethnicity and Race

The survey data revealed 88 Canadian-born Muslim participants from 27 different ethnic backgrounds responded, as illustrated below in Figure 4. Some were Pakistani, Indian, Lebanese, Palestinian, Canadian, Jamaican, Chinese, Persian, and many more. These findings reinforce census data collected by Statistics Canada, which found that Muslims in Canada represent over 60 different ethnic groups (Hamdani, 2015). Such findings support the claims that 'Muslim identity' cannot be categorized as belonging to a particular group. Ultimately, this contradicts the stereotype that Muslims only belong to one ethnic group (Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Nagra & Peng, 2013). Similarly, when examining racial affiliation in Figure 5, survey participants represented 15 races, including South Asian, Middle Eastern, Arab, Black, White/European, African, and French. These findings illustrate that second-generation Canadian Muslims are racially and ethnically diverse.

Figure 4 illustrates the variety of ethnic backgrounds survey participants belonged to (N=88). This graph illustrates that many participants were Pakistani. Indian and Lebanese were the second largest ethnic group, followed by South Asian, Arab/Middle Eastern, Bengali, Palestinian, Canadian, and Iraqi. A few participants had ethnic backgrounds such as Kurdish, Bosnian, Syrian, Persian, Chinese, and Jamaican.
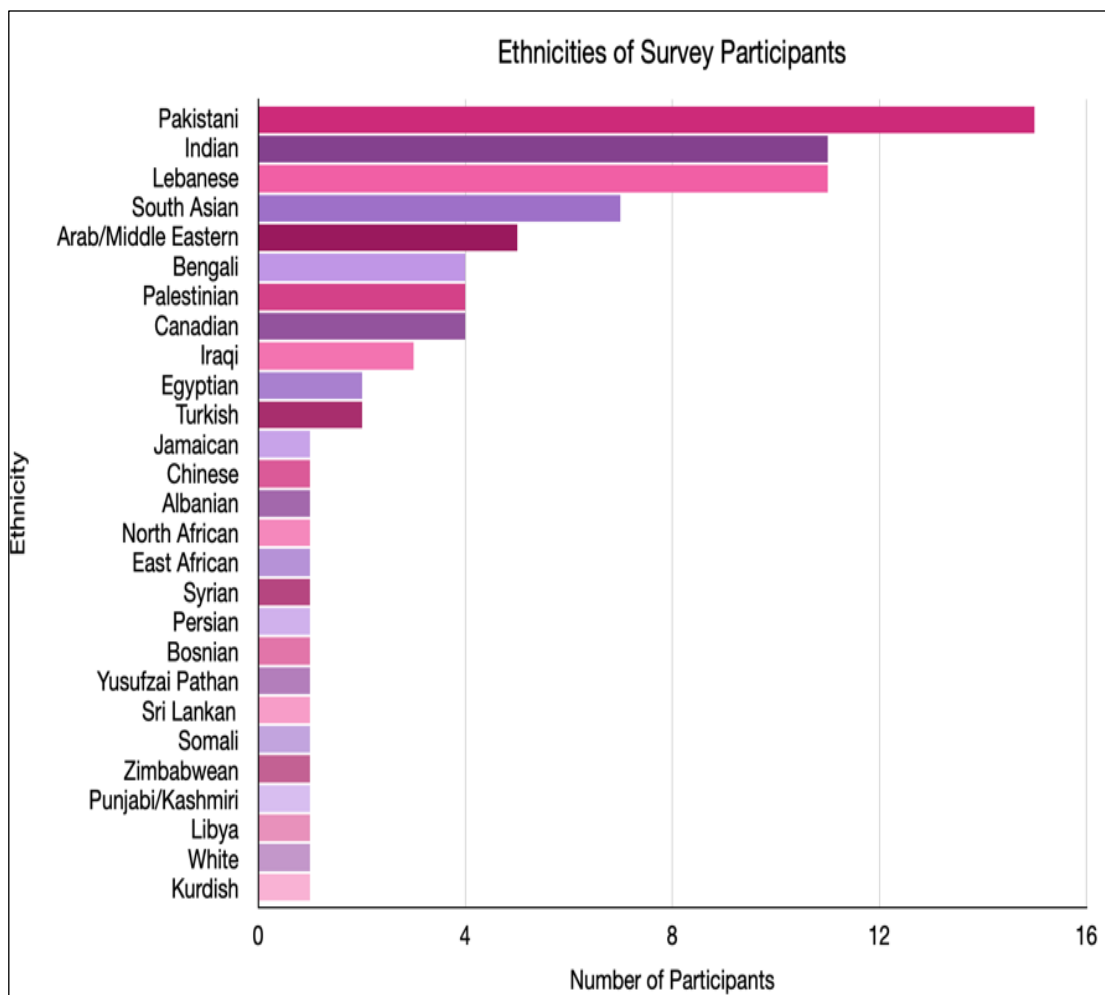
Figure 4: Ethnicity

Figure 5 shows the diversity of races among participants. Several categories overlap since participants identified their race in their own words. According to this graph, most participants were South Asian, 'Brown', Arab, White/European, Middle Eastern, Indian, and Pakistani. A few participants identified as African, Canadian, West Asian, Black, Tanzanian, French, and Lebanese.
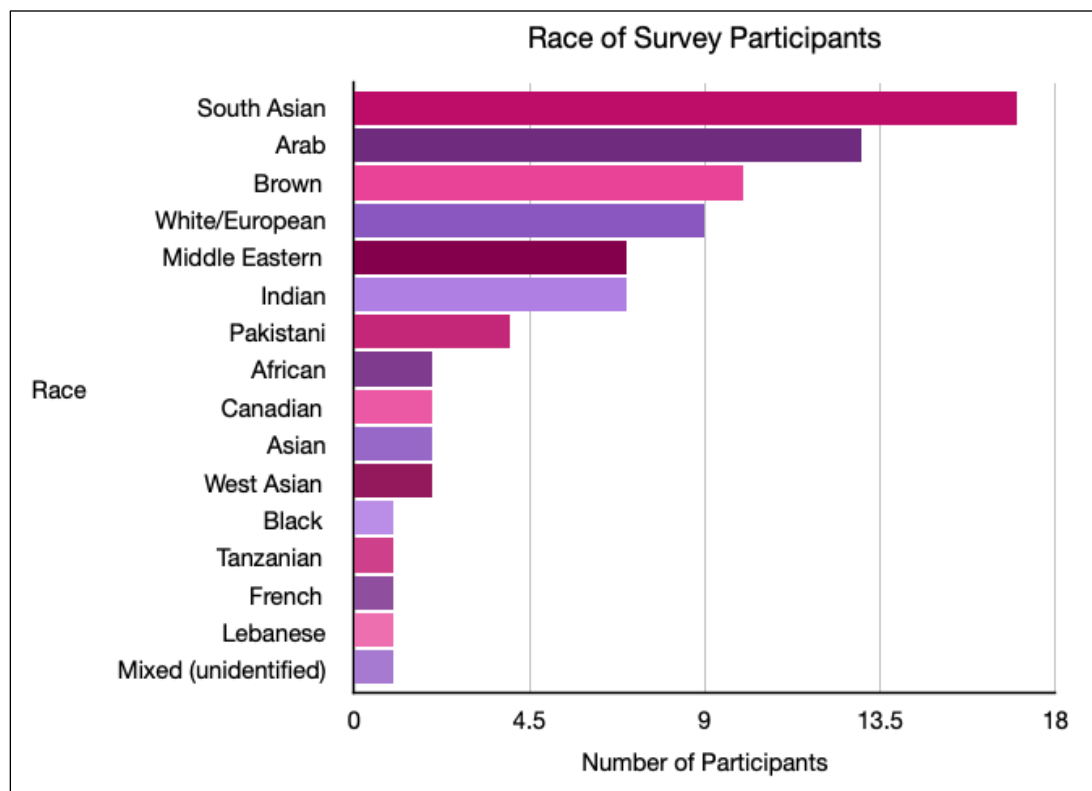
Figure 5: Race

4.1.3 Language

Prior literature suggests that a common belief is that all Muslims speak the same language (Haddad & Smith, 1993; Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005). However, the participants from this study collectively spoke 17 different languages. Some of the languages spoken were Arabic, Urdu, French, Hindi, Bengali, Spanish, Telugu, and Albanian, which confirms that Canadian-born Muslims do not all speak the same language.

A total of 56 participants reported that a minimum of two languages were spoken at home. When asked which language they spoke the most, 56 survey participants said they spoke English more often than the other language(s) they knew. Only 12 reported speaking another language or heritage language more often than English. These results indicate that second-generation Canadian Muslims are more likely to use English, suggesting it replaced their first language.

Participants learned various languages in school; many attended core, immersion and extended French programs. Five participants mentioned they learned another language at a Saturday or Sunday school. Reports on Canadian Muslims' linguistic abilities have been scarce. Therefore, this data will show how many Canadian-born Muslims speak diverse and multiple languages.

Figure 6 illustrates the variety of languages spoken by the survey participants. English was spoken by all participants, making it the most common language spoken. Arabic was the second most common language, followed by Urdu and French. Only a few participants spoke Hindi, Bengali, Spanish, and Gujarati. The least spoken languages were Shona, Kutchi, Bosnian, Kurdish, Tamil, and Farsi.
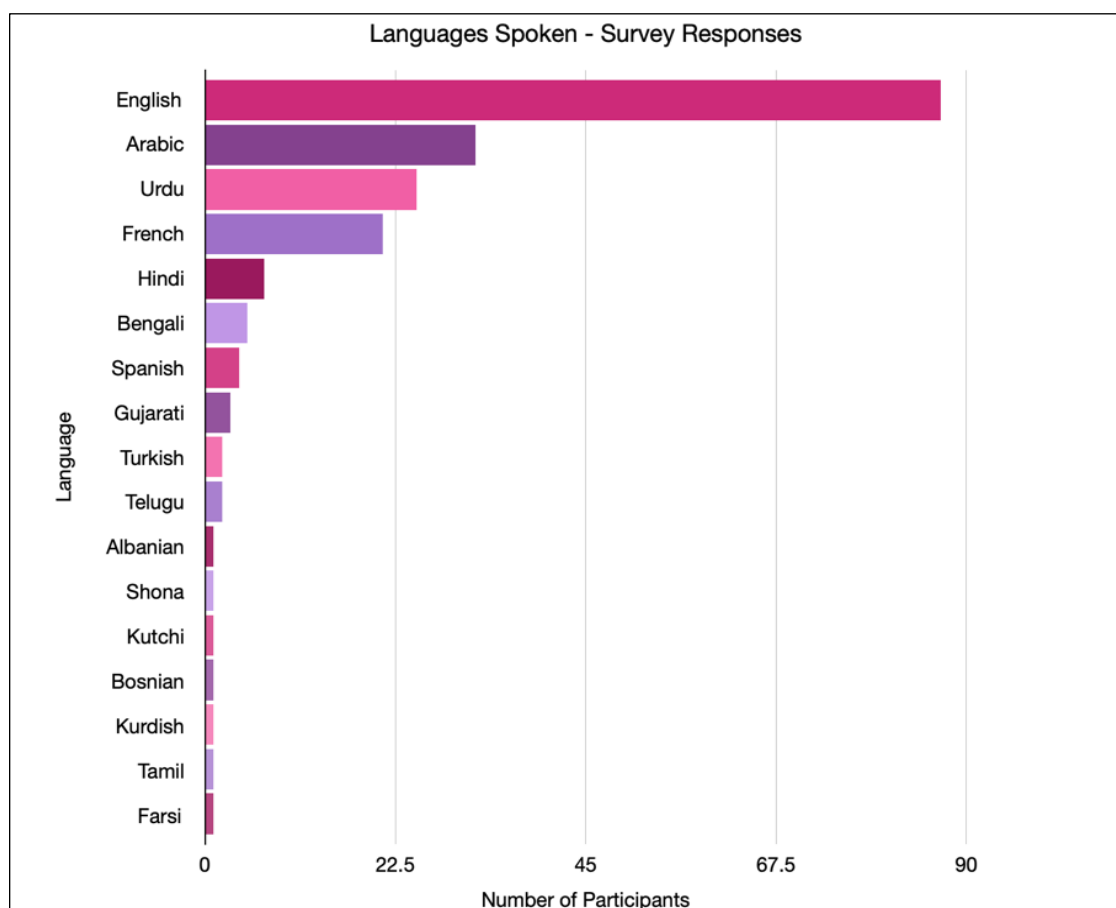
Figure 6: Languages Spoken

Figure 7 shows the number of languages participants spoke (N=88). This graph illustrates that a majority of the participants were bilingual as nearly half spoke two languages. Speakers of three languages were the second most common category. In addition, there were a few monolingual participants and even fewer quadrilingual ones.
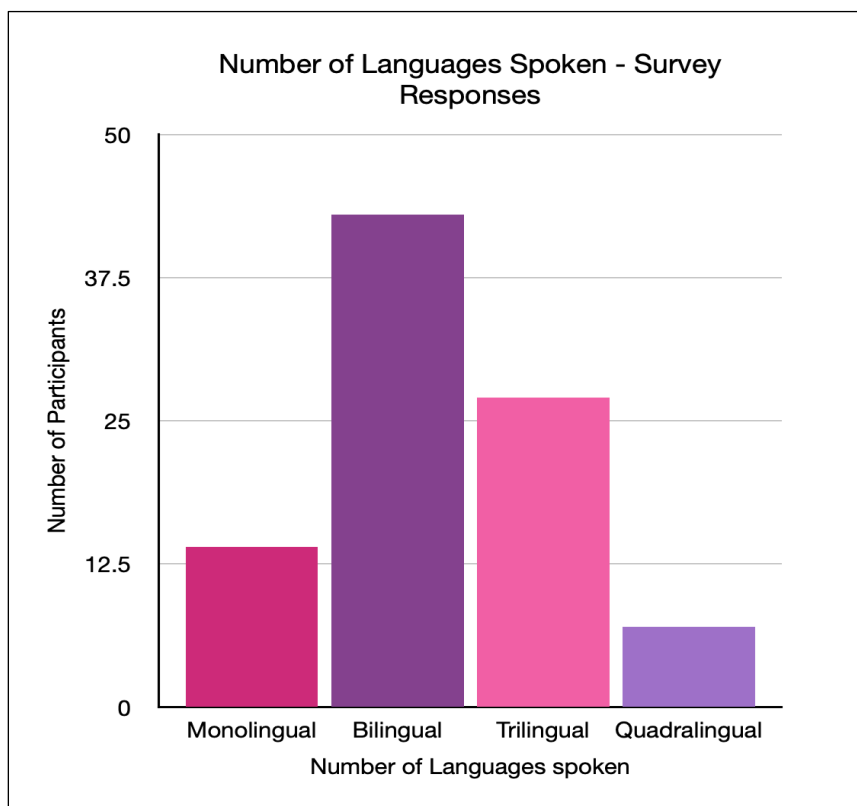
Figure 7: Number of Languages Spoken

4.1.4   Nationality

Like ethnicity, race, and language, survey participants were asked to describe their national identity in their own words. The language used to describe a person's identity can be impactful (Bordieu, 1977; Baxter, 2016). Prior studies have commented on the types of words or compounds second-generation Canadian Muslims use to identify their national identity. For instance, some used hyphens or "and" (e.g., Muslim and Canadian) to describe their identities. Some authors suggest that particular words can empower or "other" certain groups. In studies by Sundar (2008), Shannahan (2011), and Hussain

(2016), participants used a hyphen (e.g., South Asian-Canadian) to describe their identity. While it may appear that one is proudly representing their multiple identities (Sundar, 2008), it has been suggested that hyphenations can, unfortunately, be used to 'other' or alienate those who do not fit the stereotypical Canadian identity (e.g., White, British, or French). A hyphen implies that specific individuals cannot solely identify as Canadian (Mahtani, 2002).

Participants in Mythen's (2012) study used the conjunction 'and' (e.g., British and Muslim) to negotiate their identities. This was called "and identities" (Mythen, 2012, p. 406). With the interpretation of third space theory, it was suggested that "and identities" were utilized to refuse binary categories. By not identifying as either British or Muslim, participants could reject static categories (Mythen, 2012). Lastly, two other terms that emerged from the literature were whole/merged identities (e.g., Canadian Muslim) (Mythen, 2012; Nagra & Peng, 2013; Hameed, 2018). This approach does not use hyphens or conjunctions. Instead, one identity is formed with two identities, such as 'Canadian Muslim'. This identity suggests that being Canadian and Muslim are not mutually exclusive (Peng, 2013; Hameed, 2018) and can occur in the same title.

The results varied when investigating the language used by participants in the current study. A substantial number of participants hyphenated their identities. Twenty-one respondents connected their national identities with a hyphen in the present study. Subsequently, 11 participants used whole/merged identities (e.g., Canadian Muslim). There was a smaller turnout for 'and' identities, as only three participants used 'and' to join their national identities. Lastly, one participant merged their identities with a slash (e.g., Canadian/Palestinian). The results from this survey also illustrate that Canadian-born Muslims identify differently from one another as opposed to the homogenous group to which they are frequently ascribed. Participants used an array of affiliations to attach to their national identity. Some included their religion or nationality in their national identity, such as 'Canadian Muslim' or 'Canadian Palestinian', respectively. Some even included multiple affiliations such as 'Canadian-Somali born Muslim'. This is a display of diversity since participants' descriptions of their national identities were quite different

from one another. This evidence shows that participants could embrace and acknowledge their multiple identities.

Furthermore, some survey respondents indicated that their national identities were flexible. Second-generation youth commonly use flexibility to negotiate identity (Sundar, 2008). In the survey, some participants indicated they could move around within their identities and display them based on their environment. Among others, one participant said that depending on his environment, he will either identify as Canadian or Arab. Not only is this a negotiation of identity, but these individuals also view their identities as fluid. Fluidity is a tenet of third space theory, which suggests that identity is continuously fluid and changing instead of remaining static. These results are similar to Sundar's (2008) study investigating the identity negotiations of 26 second-generation South-Asian Canadian youths. Sundar concluded, depending on the context, participants would selectively perform specific identities to conform to particular environments to maintain social capital. For instance, several participants in Sundar's (2008) study would "brown it up" when speaking with other South Asian people or "brown it down" when speaking with colleagues at a conference. They would be selective with the words they would use, how they would speak, and what they would wear (e.g., cultural clothing).

As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, contradiction is negatively associated with conflict. Prior studies and scholars have commented that individuals with multiple identities who are multicultural or plurilingual have conflicts with their identities (O'Herin, 2007; Norton, 2013; Ryoo, 2017), even within the Canadian Muslim population (Ramji, 2008). Some survey respondents critiqued these negative stereotypes. For example, when a participant in the study, Ezra, described his national identity he wrote: "I am a Muslim Canadian of Arab/Lebanese descent. Or in other words, a Canadian that is also a Muslim. To me these identities do not conflict". This statement illustrates that Ezra may be aware of the tensions that exist when people have multiple identities. Instead, he neutralizes being Canadian and Muslim at the same time. Ezra's comment aligns with Verkuyten and Yildiz's (2007) interpretation of multiple identities, which suggests that being Canadian and Muslim cannot be contradictory if they are

incomparable.

A similar example can be seen in another participant's statement when she describes her national identity. Falisha said, "Lebanese Canadian (for me order doesn't matter)". Her statement demonstrates that one identity does not trump the other; instead, they coexist simultaneously. These respondents found new ways of conceptualizing binaries. They did not succumb to the notion that identity is singular or conflictual. There was no hierarchy or tension between their identities. However, these are only two accounts. Other respondents expressed issues with belonging, which will be discussed in the next section.

It is not suggested that all Canadian-born Muslims have multiple identities. Interestingly, 14 participants identified as 'Canadian' despite having one or both of their parents from another country, demonstrating that they saw themselves as only 'Canadian'. Notably, prior literature has pointed out that often Canadian-born Muslims are not seen as just 'Canadian' (Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016) due to their multiple affiliations. In addition, previous literature has shown that Canadian-born Muslims struggle with 'fitting' into Canada or being Canadian (Gonick, 2000). To see many participants singularly define their nationality as 'Canadian' may suggest they feel comfortable identifying as Canadian. This aligns with one of the goals of this study, which is to illustrate that Canadian-born Muslims are, in fact, Canadian too.

Overall, the data in this section challenges stereotypes that suggest all Canadian Muslims speak the same language and share the same ethnic, racial, and national background (Haddad & Smith, 1993; Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005). These findings reflect notions of religious superdiversity, which suggest that those who belong to the same religious group do not belong to the same social categories and, therefore, will differ in many ways (Burchardt & Becci, 2016; Becci, Burchardt, & Giorda, 2017). These findings also demonstrate that Canadian identity is not always tied to someone who is of British or French origin, Christian, and a speaker of English or French (Gonick, 2000; Mahtani, 2002). It has been demonstrated that Canadian Muslims are diverse people who have continued to diversify over time. Therefore, they cannot be placed into one category.

From the perspective of superdiversity, Blommaert and Rampton state, "the predictability of the category of 'migrant' and of his/her sociocultural features has disappeared" (2011, p. 7). This section concluded with accounts of Canadian-born Muslim negotiations surrounding their national identity. Participants exemplified hybridity throughout their identity negotiations as their identities did not look like one another's due to their lived experiences, identities, and cultural belongings. Some participants identified as only Canadian, whereas others used multiple identities to describe themselves. Those who described themselves as having multiple identities implied that they were fluid and non-conflicted. Nonetheless, participants' statements reflected that it was important for them to be seen by other Canadians as Canadian too.

4.2 Canadian Identity Negotiations

This section focuses on participants' Canadian identity negotiations and their perspectives on Canadian identity in general. First, participants' national identities are explored, revealing that while most respondents strongly identified as Canadian, some felt disconnected from being Canadian due to microaggressions and racism. Following this, participants share their descriptions of Canadian identity. Their characterizations were laced with progressive notions of diversity, equality, and multiculturalism. Following this, participants share their descriptions of Canadian identity.

4.2.1 Identity Negotiations of Canadian-born Muslim Students

This subsection explores Canadian-born Muslims who either did or did not identify as Canadian. Their comments describe the circumstances that led them to these negotiations. The findings revealed a combination of positive and negative associations surrounding Canadian identity.

Figure 8 below illustrates the results obtained when participants were asked whether they identified as Canadians (N=88). To answer, participants were given multiple-choice options: yes, no, and somewhat. As indicated in Figure 8, an overwhelming 80% said *yes*. Their response demonstrates that many Canadian-born Muslims do identify as Canadian. However, not all participants completely identified as Canadian. As can be seen in Figure

8, approximately 17% of respondents said they *somewhat* identified as Canadian. And lastly, only 2% said *no,* they do not identify as Canadian despite being born in Canada. These findings illustrate some variation and apprehension in identifying as Canadian. Prior literature suggests that many Canadian-born Muslims feel they are not considered 'Canadian' due to their linguistic, religious, or ethnic background (Zine, 2001; Sundar, 2008; Blommaert & Varis, 2011).
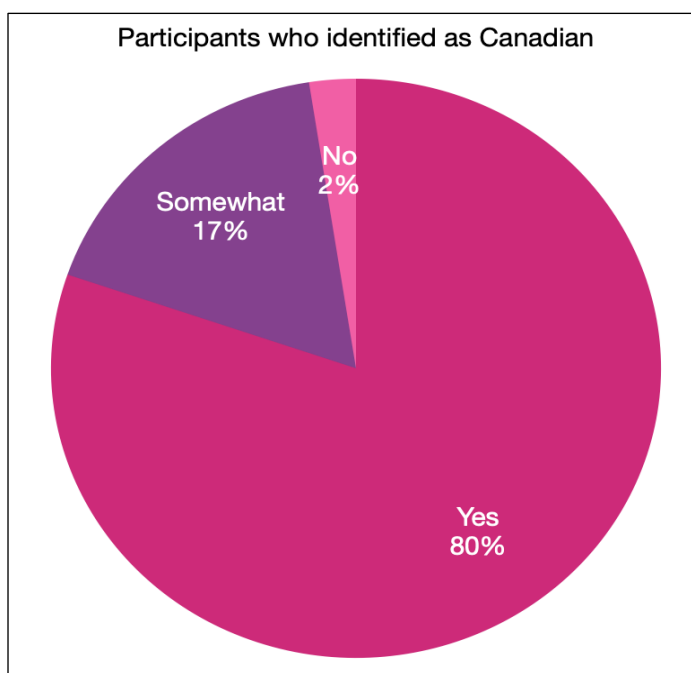
Figure 8: Participants Who Identified as Canadian

These results indicate that perhaps recently, a more significant number of Canadian-born Muslims consider themselves Canadian. This could relate to the participants' generational status and having lived their entire lives in Canada. When examining the comments that coincided with this question, 14 participants declared they identified as Canadian because they were born in Canada. For example, Munakshe wrote, "I was born here and I am a proud Canadian". In addition, some participants commented other than being born in Canada, they had Canadian values.

These findings are in contrast to prior literature (Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016) that suggests Canadian-born Muslims are not recognized as Canadian by other Canadians and are perceived as outsiders or foreigners to Western standards, such as Canadian values and norms. However, this perception is challenged as several Canadian-born Muslims in the study stated that they grew up with Canadian values and norms. Muslims with Canadian values contradict the perception that Canadian Muslims are foreign to Canadian values. An example of Canadian Muslims displaying Canadian values can be seen in Meena's comment, where she wrote:

> I believe I have Canadian values and follow a relatively Canadian lifestyle. For example, I would prefer Canadian laws over religious laws. Tolerance and equality of different religions, sexualities, races, and gender is important to me and to Canadian national identity. If I were to visit other countries, like Brazil, Egypt, or Japan, I would feel like a foreigner and that their culture is different to mine (Canadian)

Here, Meena suggests that tolerance of equality is a significant value Canadians share. Based on her experiences when visiting other countries, she feels these values give her Canadianness.

As previously mentioned, prior literature suggests that many Canadian-born Muslims feel they are not considered 'Canadian' due to their linguistic, religious, or ethnic background (Zine, 2001; Sundar, 2008; Blommaert & Varis, 2011). This was reflected in the findings as some participants experienced microaggressions, othering, and forms of discrimination. As a result, these participants said they partially identified as Canadian. For example, one participant, Keith, said, "I consider myself Canadian because I was born here but because of my skin colour and religion, I do not completely identify as a Canadian". This statement is significant because, despite Keith being born in Canada and considering himself to be Canadian, he does not feel entirely Canadian due to his racial characteristics and religious beliefs. Keith did not expand on whether he felt this due to internalized or externalized views of Canadian identity. Kathlyn made a similar remark, "I was born and raised here, so yes, I've always felt Canadian and the challenge was figuring out how my ethnicity fits in". It appears that Kathlyn's identity negotiations

involved figuring out where she belonged or where she could place herself. Keith and Kathlyn's experiences demonstrate that standard definitions of Canadian identity (e.g., Christian, White, English/French speakers) need reworking since some second-generation Canadians do not fit those definitions.

Furthermore, these issues are echoed in a significant statement made by Irene. She wrote, "it is uncomfortable to think that many Canadians (and white people) have unconscious biases that cause them to view me differently due to my ethnicity and race". Here Irene is critically aware of the biases held by other Canadians, which caused her discomfort. She referred to these as "unconscious biases", indicating that she is aware of the microaggressions faced by many non-white Canadians. This is one reason why some Canadian Muslims feel unwelcome. Irene's statement reflects Memmi's (1965) sentiments which suggest that colonized people (in this case, Muslims) should not define themselves through the colonizers' view. Irene's comment implies that Canadians need to be inclusive of Canadians with other ethnicities and races.

When another participant was asked if she identified as Canadian, she also selected 'somewhat' due to the derogatory questioning she would endure from others. Lyla explained, "people always ask where I'm 'actually' from, and I will reply with India which is why I put somewhat [in the survey]". Lyla's quote demonstrates that others still interrogate Canadian-born Muslims' identities as they are asked where they are from, despite being born in Canada. Similar sentiments of "ascribed identities"[12] (Ibrahim, 1999; Taylor, 2001) have been reflected in prior studies by Zine (2001), Ramji (2008), Sundar (2008), and Delic (2018), as they found that individuals who appear to be non-Western get asked this question often. This questioning negatively affected Lyla's identity negotiation, as she could not call herself 'completely Canadian'.

In addition to the microaggressions experienced by Lyla, some participants also experienced direct attacks of racism and Islamophobia. Brianna, of Pakistani ethnic

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[12] Ascribed identities are characteristics attributed to one's group by others (Simmons & Chen, 2014, p. 21). Among these attributes can be class, athletic ability, personality traits, or counter-culture ideologies.

origins, said, "I'm not particularly proud of being Canadian anymore after all the racism I've faced". Brianna did not go into detail or provide any instances of the racism she faced, but overall, these negative experiences affected her identity. Racism ultimately caused her not to completely identify as Canadian. Furthermore, Elijah wrote in the survey, "Canada does not like Muslims". This comment was made after he described the treatment he received from his peers. He included that many of his peers' and teachers' Islamophobic comments about him in school. Viktoria also experienced discrimination targeted at her religious beliefs. She said,

> Sometimes I do feel as though I do belong, however, the rare instance of experiencing direct Islamophobia has made me feel that individuals do not view Canadian-born Muslims the same way I may view my sense of belonging.

Viktoria's comment suggests that she is perceived differently from others, which does not align with how she perceives herself. Others do not recognize her Canadian-born Muslim identity the way she sees herself. Viktoria was not the only participant who felt this way. Irene expressed the same feeling. More instances of Islamophobia are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Ultimately, Lyla, Brianna, Elijah, and Viktoria experienced direct and indirect discrimination towards their associated ethnic or religious groups, although participants in the survey did not report experiencing linguistic discrimination. Despite these setbacks, these participants could still identify as Canadian on some level. These findings reflect the results of Nagra and Peng's (2013) study, where out of 50 young Muslim adults, 60% experienced discrimination from 'white' Canadians. However, these participants maintained their dual Canadian Muslim identities despite facing patronizing comments from other Canadians that stigmatized their religious identities (Nagra & Peng, 2013). Nagra and Peng (2013) suggested that participants did this by utilizing ideologies of multiculturalism (see Chapter 2).

In contrast, two survey respondents, Shiva and Irene, indicated that they did not identify as Canadian despite being born in Canada. According to Shiva, she is not Canadian because of her Lebanese roots. Shiva also pointed out that her peers suggested she

consider herself Canadian, but she disagreed. Another participant, Irene, said she did not identify as Canadian either. Irene asserted, "I don't believe 'Canadian' is an identity due to the displacement of Indigenous people. Canada is full of settlers". Her response critically challenges 'Canadian' as an identity. Irene's comment establishes that she can think critically and beyond the scope of what is commonly considered to be Canadian. She redefines this identity by referring to the colonization of Indigenous lands. Irene's statement reflects undertones of third space theory as she re-negotiates colonial discourses surrounding Canadian identity. Irene's perspective exemplifies that some second-generation Canadian Muslims are critical of Canadian identities and are willing to deconstruct them.

4.2.2 Reconceptualizing Canadian Identity

This section focuses on descriptions of Canadian identity, notably how participants constructed *meanings* based on their experiences. Several participants described what it was like to be 'Canadian'. In their survey responses, Anika, Mario, and Meena highlighted the normalcy of Canadians having connections to other religions, ethnicities, and races. These three participants suggested that being Canadian is not associated with a singular identity. For instance, Anika stated, "I think most people from Canada are from somewhere else and are proud of their backgrounds". This participant was aware that many Canadians have various backgrounds. Another participant, Mario, said, "like all other countries, Canada is an imperfect nation, but we are a very diverse, multicultural country -- I believe that is our national identity". Here Mario's remarks are similar to Anika's, as he suggests that diversity and multiculturalism are part of Canada's national identity. He also mentioned that Canada is not perfect, which implies his critical awareness. Another participant, Meena, stated that,

> Canada is very diverse and every minority is celebrated equally. Diversity and equality seems [*sic*] to be a pretty core part of Canadian identity, not just Christians and Muslims, but many other religions as well, even if this belief is sometimes a little too optimistic and ignores some problems.

Meena's statement aligns with Mario's as they believe diversity is part of Canada's identity. In addition to diversity, Meena suggested that equality was another core part of

the Canadian identity. Meena exemplified aspects of third space thinking as she could re-conceptualize and think beyond boundaries. Instead of attributing Canadian identity to a particular race, ethnicity, or religion, she related it to diversity and equality, which are more abstract concepts. These findings demonstrate that some second-generation Canadian Muslims, like Meena and Mario, can think beyond stereotypical categories when thinking of Canadian identity.

In the quotes above, Mario and Meena pointed out that Canada's diverse identities are not always celebrated or recognized. According to Norene, not all Canadian provinces are inclusive of Muslims, which impacts how Muslims are viewed. She wrote,

> Canada prides itself of diversity and multiculturalism yet a hijab ban still exists in Quebec. I feel like people have a such a strong fear and hatred of my religion and this is attributed to national response (or lack of) towards incorrect beliefs about Muslims.

Here, Norene suggests that Canadian Muslims are misunderstood and not included. Instead, they are discriminated against. Her statement also reflects that all of Canada does not view Muslims the samewhile spreading the idea that Canada is inclusive of all beliefs.

These statements reflect similar sentiments from prior literature that suggest Canada has not been successful at fostering shared national identities through multiculturalism (Gonick, 2000; Rezai-Rashti, 2004). Canadian identity still needs to be unified as certain groups are still othered, and problems continue to exist. In Meena's view, multiculturalism sometimes hides discrimination suffered by some Canadian groups, such as Quebec's ban on hijab. Overall, Mario, Meena, and Irene were critically aware of the strengths and weaknesses of inclusivity surrounding multiculturalism in Canada, illustrating that second-generation Canadian Muslim students are reflective and critical of the reality for many Canadians regarding their identity.

This subsection aimed to highlight how Canadian-born Muslim students interpret Canadian identity. Firstly, participants suggested that Canada is a diverse and multicultural country, which in turn applies to Canadian identity. Secondly, they used

third space thinking (thinking beyond categories and forming new meanings) to break boundaries by suggesting that diversity and equality encompass the Canadian identity. Lastly, they were critically aware of the issues within Canada regarding the acknowledgement of diversity in Canada's national identity.

This section revealed that many Canadian-born Muslim students from the survey proudly identified as Canadian. They attributed this to being born in Canada and having Canadian values. They challenged the idea that Canadian Muslims are foreign and do not have 'Canadian values' (Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016). When diving deeper into their identity negotiations, some Canadian-born Muslims felt disconnected from being Canadian because of microaggressions and racism. This supports the findings that many Canadian Muslims feel they are not considered 'Canadian' due to their linguistic, religious, or ethnic backgrounds (Zine, 2001; Sundar, 2008; Hameed, 2015; Hussain, 2016).

Nevertheless, these participants considered themselves to be Canadian despite facing these challenges. The participants' responses also highlighted that some did not feel 'Canadian' is an identity. One individual remarked that *Canadian* could not be an identity since Canada is on unceded Indigenous land inhabited by settlers. These responses illustrate multiple descriptions of what it means to be Canadian, influenced by participants' lived experiences. Therefore, Canadian identity should not be attributed to one static definition. The following section explores the friction surrounding Canadian-born Muslims' identities.

4.3 Where Canadian-born Muslims Experience Friction: Belonging

This section focuses on participants' sense of belonging in Canada. The initial focus will be on participants feeling out of place within their national, religious, ethnic, racial, or linguistic groups. Many participants' responses reflected notions of anomie (see Cummins, 2001) and ambivalence. These findings reveal that many second-generation Canadian Muslim students experience cultural limbo and do not feel they are enough to

be considered Canadian. Next are findings that reveal a small group of non-visible Canadian-born Muslim students who go unrecognized and deal with common struggles such as exposure to indirect Islamophobic remarks. The section ends with positive accounts that led some participants to feel accepted.

Figure 9 illustrates the results obtained when participants were asked whether they felt a sense of belonging in Canada. To answer, participants were given multiple-choice options: yes, sometimes, rarely, no, not sure, and not important. In Figure 9, the large purple section indicates that most participants selected *sometimes*. *Yes,* was the second most popular response, followed by *rarely* and *not sure*. In addition, 2% of participants said this was unimportant to them, and 2% did not feel like they belonged in Canada. This graph illustrates that most participants only sometimes felt a sense of belonging.
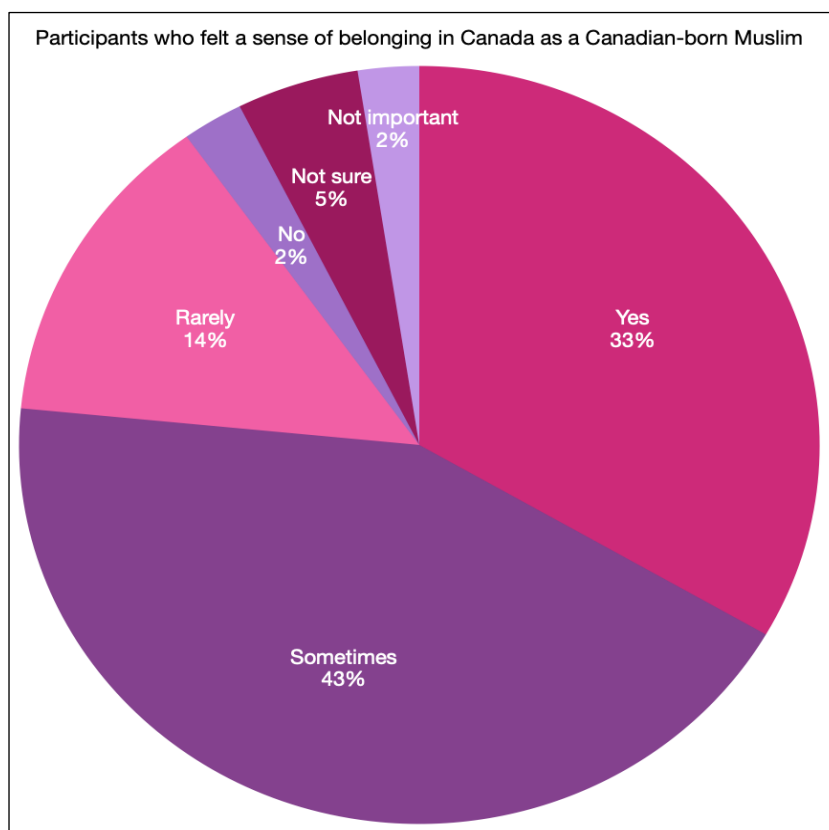
Figure 9: Participants Who Felt a Sense of Belonging in Canada as a Canadian-born Muslim

These findings contrast with the survey data presented previously in Figure 8. In Figure 8, 80% of Canadian-born Muslim students *identified* as Canadian. In Figure 9, however, only 33% of participants felt a sense of belonging in Canada. Figures 8 and 9 convey that second-generation Canadian-born Muslim students experience a gap between *identifying* and *belonging* as Canadians. It is important to note this significant gap. This gap also reflects the literature by Zine (2001) and Sundar (2008) that suggests many Canadian-born Muslims feel they are not considered 'Canadian' despite identifying as one.

Survey participants brought up some reasons as to why they do not feel belonging in Canada. The Afzaal[13] attack was one example. On June 6th, 2021, a Muslim family was attacked on the side of the road during their evening walk in London, Ontario. The Afzaal-Salman family was allegedly murdered because of their religion and as what London police believe to be an act of terrorism (Richmond, 2022). The Islamophobic incident is brought up because many respondents commented on it in the survey and interviews. The study did not contain questions about the attack, but several participants brought it up since the data collection began a few weeks after the incident. Several participants included this attack in their answers when discussing their sense of belonging in Canada. Mia wrote,

> Before June 2021, my answer would have been yes. But after the London attack, the Edmonton hijab attacks[14], the bomb threat to my mosque in Scarborough[15] all the [*sic*] in the span of two weeks has made me unsure if I want to associate as a Canadian. And lets [*sic*] not start with Indigenous peoples [*sic*] injustices.

Mia's response indicates that this event affected her identity negotiations. Specifically, she felt confused about her national identity and whether or not she felt like she belonged in Canada. Mia also expressed the injustices of other groups in Canada. Another participant, Alina, commented on how this affected her sense of belonging. She wrote, "I

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[13] See Richmond's (2022) newspaper article "Man accused of killing Afzaal family won't be tried in London" for more details of the attack.
[14] See CBC News (2021) article "Man with knife attacks sisters wearing hijabs outside Edmonton, RCMP say" for more details of the attack.
[15] See Hasham's (2021) news article "Police arrest two after Toronto mosque staff threatened" for more details.

feel a sense of belonging but other times I get nervous. For example, the terrorist attack in London made me feel very scared." Alina expressed feeling unsafe in her own country. Overall, the London attack and other Islamophobic incidents that occur all over Canada continue to hurt Canadian-Muslim students and their identities. The findings in the following sections uncover more reasons why many Canadian-born Muslims feel like they do not belong.

4.3.1 Cultural Limbo

This section reviews major themes of ambivalence, anomie, and alienation experienced by second-generation students.[16] As illustrated in Figure 9, several survey participants felt they did not belong in the Canadian community. When asked to expand on this further, many participants communicated that they felt like they did not belong anywhere. These were common themes throughout the survey responses. One participant used the term "cultural limbo" to describe this feeling. Norene wrote, "I feel like I'm in this *cultural limbo* because my dad is Lebanese, and my mom is white so I don't feel completely accepted by either cultures". Other participants expressed they felt "out of place" or "didn't belong anywhere". Some of their direct quotes are below:

- "I think that in general I feel like I belong, but there are times were [*sic*] it is not so" - Ezra
- "Aside from few communities I've been around that are known for having a strong Muslim presence, I feel out of place" - Xavier
- "Apart [*sic*] of me believes I don't belong anywhere" - Lennon
- "I feel a bit out of place with other Muslims." – Alina
- "when your [*sic*] with other Muslims you may not feel like you belong." - Falisha

These quotes overlap with expressions of ambivalence and anomie. Cultural limbo appears to be a shared experience amongst Canadian-born Muslim students as it is prevalent in other published works (Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Barlow, 2007; Khan, 2009; Sundar, 2008; Hussain, 2016). Furthermore, many survey participants reportedly felt their identities were in an 'in-between space' since they did not fit into a

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[16] Refer to Chapter 2 for a review of prior literature that discusses these themes (see Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Barlow, 2007; Khan, 2009; Sundar, 2008; Hussain, 2016).

specific category. This in-between space is similar to Homi Bhabha's notion of liminality (1994), which suggests that identity is not meant to fit within a particular category. Bhabha does not view liminality as problematic. However, unfortunately for participants, this was not an ideal experience since they wanted to fit within a category or group.

Participants experienced cultural limbo from multiple angles. Some expressed that they did not belong to their national, religious, ethnic, racial, or linguistic groups. The quotes below indicate that many participants felt they were either too much for one group or not enough for another group:

- "Sometimes I feel too Arab to fit in with Canadians, and too white to fit in with Arabs" -Norene
- "Muslim's [*sic*] would say I'm too white washed to be Muslim and Caucasians believe I'm too brown to join them" - Lennon
- "I'm very Canadian, so sometimes other Muslim people think I'm too "white" to be a true Muslim if that makes sense" - Meena
- "I don't wear a hijab, I eat pork and I drink. I think many other Muslims don't consider me Muslim enough and most people assume I'm just white. It's hard since I am too white for them but not white enough for white people" - Anika
- "I feel I am not "Muslim" enough" - Irene

These participants' direct quotes express feelings of alienation. Many participants felt too white for one group and too brown for the other group. These findings mirror Barlow's (2007), Sundar's (2008), and Hussains' (2016) findings. For instance, a Canadian-born Muslim woman from Hussains' book expressed that others told her she was "too white for one, not white enough for the other" regarding her religious and national identities (2016, p. 80). This participant's quote suggests that some Canadian Muslims do not fit into either Eastern or Western cultures. Likewise, similar remarks were made in Barlow's (2007) study, where South-Asian Canadians expressed not feeling accepted by either Canadian or Indian society. In addition, Sundar's (2008) study examined young second-generation South-Asian Canadians. Whether participants were in Canada or India, they felt they did not belong in either context. Therefore, depending on the context, they

would either act 'less brown' or 'more brown' to fit in.

4.3.2 Enoughness

The following two subsections uncover why some Canadian-born Muslim students experience cultural limbo. Several participants above, such as Irene and Anika, stated they did not feel "Mulism enough". The keyword here is *enough*. Blommaert and Varis (2011) suggest that "enoughness" is an arbitrary tool for identity negotiation. It is when individuals feel they are 'inauthentic' or 'fake' in relation to the norms surrounding their cultural groups. Feeling inauthentic can be problematic because it can result in anxiety, decreased confidence, and anomie (Cummins, 2001). Based on the prior literature, "enoughness" has been an issue for other Muslims living in Western countries. As previously mentioned a participant in Hussain's (2016) book, Carmen said she was "too white for one, not white enough for the other" (p. 80). Carmen's statement is identical to what many respondents expressed in the survey. Thus, participants' accounts have mirrored what others have said and continue to add to the literature.

The shared experience of cultural limbo prompts the question, why do second-generation Canadian-born Muslims feel they are not enough? As Bhabha (1994) states, "who is representing who?" (p. 3). In this case, who establishes what constitutes someone as a Muslim, Canadian, or both? Who has the power to determine this criterion? From the perspective of superdiversity, Bloomaert and Varis (2011) suggest that societal norms are typically cast upon certain cultural groups, and those who do not conform to those physical appearances or behaviours are excluded. As previously stated, Canadian identity is associated with someone who is of British or French origin, Christian, and speaks English or French (Gonick, 2000; Mahtani, 2002). This colonial perspective suggests that one identity is superior to another. Therefore, Canadian-born Muslims do not feel they fit in because of colonial discourse. Other studies have recognized this feeling, showing that Canadian Muslims do not entirely belong to their home or heritage culture (Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008).

Third space theory and superdiversity do not suggest that one identity is superior to another. In this study, Canadian-born Muslim students were given the power to voice their opinions and offer new interpretations of their identities. Participants were viewed through third space or liminality, also known as an in-between space, where they can negotiate and translate their ongoing identities – where new signs of identity, collaboration, and debate occur (Bhabha, 1994). Participants embrace this in-betweenness in Chapter 5, where they reveal how they harmoniously blended their identities during their interviews.

4.3.3   Invisible Muslims

A new insight gained from this study comes from the perspectives of non-visible Canadian-Muslim students. Muslims are often associated with wearing religious garments (e.g., hijab and kufi)having an accent, a particular skin colour, or specific characteristics of an ethnic group or race (Dickinson, 2009). Studies often focus on the perceptions and experiences of visibly Muslim people (e.g., veiled Muslim women) (Khan, 2009; Rahmath, Chambers, & Wakewich, 2016; Tiflati, 2017). However, this study shows a different side of Muslims. It highlights the perspectives of those who do not visibly "appear" as Muslim. They are referred to in this study as *invisible Muslims*. As previously mentioned, Blommaert and Varis' (2011) suggest that "enoughness" is linked with physical appearance. Therefore, invisible Muslims encounter issues with belonging because their cultural affiliation is not physically apparent or does not match the stereotypes given to Muslims. As a result, they face indirect microaggressions and indirect Islamophobic comments. Invisible Muslims are often faced with the dilemma of revealing themselves as Muslim.

Examples of this are seen in participants' experiences in school. One participant, Norene, shared in her survey that she passed as white, so people would assume she was not Arab or Muslim. Her peers would negatively comment about Arabs and Muslims. She commented that these remarks hurt her. Anika also had a similar experience as Norene. Anika shared that she appeared 'white' and did not wear the hijab, so she was assumed to be Catholic. Her religion teachers would make racist comments about Muslims until they

found out she was Muslim. The indirect Islamophobic remarks they faced made them feel invisible. To echo this, one participant, Elijah, who identified as racially Caucasian, wrote in his survey, "I feel normal until people know that I am Muslim.", exemplifying that non-visible Muslims share this experience.

Another invisible Muslim commented on how her linguistic abilities affected her public school treatment. Falisha commented,

> It may also help that I am fluent in English (with no accent) and I'm visibly white. Many teachers and other students wouldn't even know sometimes that I was Arabic or Muslim until partway through the school year. I'm not sure if it's because it never came up naturally or because I tried to never make it come up.

Aside from appearance, Falisha shed light on how certain accents are associated with being Muslim. This stereotype is commonly given to foreign Canadians. Since Muslims are perceived as foreign in Canada, they are also appointed this stereotype. She also expressed her desire to avoid confrontation from peers or teachers by passing herself off as white.

The experiences of Falisha, Norene and Anika indicate that they did not feel accepted by other Canadians. Other participants expressed that they did not feel accepted by other Muslims either. For example, Aaryan, who identified as half white and half Lebanese, said, "I look very much like my white dad, and due to this some Muslims do not "accept" me. Accept is the wrong word, because they of course do accept me, but treat me slightly differently". Another participant, Lyla, said, "I don't wear hijab and I'm not visibly Muslim so I don't get accepted by other Muslims until they know that I am Muslim". Many second-generation Canadian Muslims expressed anomie and alienation because they sought acceptance from other Canadians and other Muslims.

4.3.4 Experiencing Belonging

As a final point, a few participants who felt a sense of belonging described what gave them this feeling. They said they felt a sense of belonging because their friends shared similar values, and they lived in a Muslim community with many mosques and museums

(such as the Aga Khan Museum[17]) representing their religion. These representations, spaces, and support systems helped Canadian Muslims feel a sense of belonging in Canada. Such spaces allowed religious and national cultures to be bridged together. These findings are similar to those of Shannahan (2011), who used third space theory to discover that physical spaces in the community fostered the free exploration of Muslim identity and reflexivity.

Aside from community support, physical appearance affected Canadian membership. Falisha described what it was like to appear non-Muslim and how this affected her Canadian identity negotiations, "I'm also not visibly Arab or Muslim so I think that contributes to me feeling mostly comfortable and accepted on a day to day with random people." Falisha did not experience othering because she did not visibly appear Arab or Muslim. Falisha's response indicates that she is aware that those who appear Arab or Muslim deal with issues of acceptance by other Canadians. Falisha's self-awareness is similar to Elijah's account when he stated he feels normal until people know he is Muslim.

Although participants felt strongly associated with Canada, the data revealed that participants did not feel a sense of belonging. Many participants expressed this idea of feeling that they were not Muslim enough or not belonging to any category. Not feeling enough appeared to be a significant issue throughout the survey responses and previous research findings (Khan, 1998; Barlow, 2007; Rezai-Rashti, 2009: Sundar, 2008; Khan, 2009; Hussain, 2016). This solidifies the idea that Canadian-born Muslim students still struggle with their identities, as the prior literature suggests. Also revealed in this section were the experiences of non-visible Muslims (or invisible Muslims) who deal with indirect Islamophobic comments from their peers and teachers. Participants managed to negotiate belonging within their supportive peers, strong Muslim communities, and representations of religious buildings and museums.

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[17] The Aga Khan Museum is a museum that showcases the art of Muslim civilizations located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada

4.4   Experiences in School

This final section presents Canadian-born Muslim students' experiences in elementary and secondary school. Specifically, this section describes how participants were treated by their educators and peers. The survey findings revealed positive and negative interactions with educators and peers.

4.4.1 Treatment from Educators

Participants described instances in which their teachers respected and acknowledged their identities. For example, Meena appreciated it when educators accommodated students' religious practices and holidays. Meena wrote in her survey, "I did not pray at [public] school or wear hijab. However, my teachers were very accommodating to those who did. They were very helpful when we were fasting, gave us days off for our holidays, respected us, etc.". Meena also mentioned that the facilitation of discussions about students' backgrounds, inside and outside the classroom, was another way for educators to make school more inclusive. She said, "we always talked about [identities] in class discussions, assignments, or even just on our free time together". Lastly, educators encouraged students to share their identities by allowing them to present their cultures and backgrounds on assignments. Another participant, Janelle, mentioned in public school "we had plenty of assignments where we could showcase our culture and our background-[*sic*]particularly in classes like English and Geography".

When educators created inclusive environments, participants said they felt safe speaking about their identities. This was reflected in Kathlyn's survey response, where she stated that she "always felt safe" to speak about her home and faith traditions at school. This encouragement created an inclusive environment conducive to students' learning experiences. Informal and formal discussions created a space for students to negotiate their identities within and outside the classroom, thus encouraging all classmates to be aware and respectful of everyone's identities. These strategies also helped bridge students' school environment with their personal and cultural identities.

However, there were also instances when educators did not respect all students' identities. Some educators did not nurture diversity or inclusion in the classroom or assignments. Norene wrote, "in public school, there wasn't much acknowledgement or education surrounding my culture or religion". Her statement revealed that students did not learn about other identities. In addition, some educators would not recognize diversity in the classroom or promote inclusive spaces. In public school, Lyla reported that many teachers did not recognize her race and did not intervene when students made "racial slurs". The issue of educators' inability to recognize students' races has also been found in previous literature (see Biggs & Edwards, 1991). In another instance, Jade wrote in her survey that while attending public school, one educator condemned students for speaking Urdu in her grade 7 classroom. Jade said this was due to the teacher's resentment of non-European cultures and languages, however Jade did not expand on this comment further.

These approaches prevent students from investing in their linguistic, religious, racial, and ethnic identities. Literature from applied linguistics has highlighted that allowing students to use their linguistic repertoires is essential for meaning making while simultaneously allowing them to feel that all languages and identities are valid (see Cummins, 1996; Cummins et al., 2005; Canagarajah, 2011; García & Lin, 2016; Ryoo, 2017). From these instances, it was clear that some educators did not acknowledge students' identities, which destructively homogenized their unique diversities (Taylor, 2014b) and prevented them from negotiating their identities (Cummins, 1996; Khan, 1998).

Some participants reported Islamophobic comments made by educators in the classroom. One survey respondent, Anika, shared that while attending Catholic school, her teachers assumed she was Catholic because she appeared 'white' and did not wear the hijab. Her religion teachers would make "racist remarks" about Muslims until they found out she was Muslim. Then Anika wrote, "I would let them know I am Muslim. From then on, they would just be more cautious around me". Anika's statement implies there was no intervention regarding her teachers' racism. Her teachers would be cautious around her while continuing to hold racist thoughts. As can be seen, this is not a positive or encouraging environment for Muslim students.

Elijah's experience at a Canadian Catholic school demonstrated another extreme case of Islamophobia. Elijah converted to Islam and is of Caucasian descent. He revealed that his teachers and peers would make Islamophobic comments directly to him. He wrote, "[my teachers] all laughed when I said I was Muslim. Made terrorist jokes because I am white. I was told if I am Muslim then I am in ISIS". Elijah's statement demonstrates that educators did not respect his faith as they made prejudiced comments toward him. This is an example of overt racism. It also demonstrated that his classrooms were not inclusive, as they were not accepting of others. Moreover, these findings demonstrate that non-visible Muslim students, such as Anika and Elijah, encountered overt racism and Islamophobic remarks from their educators.

Other Muslim students reported having experiences like Anika and Elijah, who also received adverse treatment from educators based on stereotyped perceptions of Islam (Zine, 2001; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008). Anika and Elijah remained deeply connected to their religion despite these comments. Elijah also mentioned that the Muslim community made him feel accepted regardless of his skin colour.

4.4.2 Treatment from Peers

In contrast, many participants stated that their school peers respected their cultures, languages, religions, and identities. Anika shared that her Catholic school peers were accepting of her. They even learned some Arabic for her. She wrote, "most students knew I was Arab and Muslim and embraced it and respected it. My friends even sang me Happy Birthday in Arabic every year". Another participant, Norene, said that her peers supported Canadian Muslims to the point where some non-Islamic peers would defend Islam. She wrote, "in certain courses, discussions of terrorism were often linked to Islam being a violent religion and some peers would immediately defend and object to racist views and opinions which made me feel more comfortable".

Second-generation non-visibly white Canadians are often asked where they are from despite being born in Canada (Delic, 2018). Lennon, of North African descent, mentioned

that his peers accepted his identities regardless of his skin colour. He wrote, "especially in Catholic school, no one ever questioned where I was from or my culture". These findings suggest that identity interrogations do not always occur, and perhaps some students are becoming tolerant of others' identities.

With diversity growing in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022a), some participants commented that their peers sometimes respected their identities because they shared similar backgrounds. For example, one participant, Freya, wrote in public school, "many of my peers were Indian and Tamil so we shared the same culture. Peers from other ethnic backgrounds (i.e., black, white, south Asian) grew up with us and accepted our cultures the same way". Growing up with multicultural peers was not only Freya's experience. Other survey participants made similar remarks about this experience in school.

However, this was not always the case, as some participants expressed that some peers were not as accepting of their identities. For example, in Catholic school, Elijah said his peers "thought [he] was in ISIS. And was[*sic*] convinced [he] was joking about being Muslim". Elijah also wrote in his survey that these comments hurt him. Norene also shared the experience of being hurt by her peers in public school. She wrote, "I'm quite white in passing, so people often voice their unfavourable views about Arabs and Muslims which is incredibly disheartening to experience from your peers". Note that Elijah and Norene are both invisible Muslims who share the same experiences.

Brianna, whose parents are from Pakistan, also experienced contempt from her peers while attending public school. Brianna wrote in her survey that her peers did not understand her identities. She also mentioned that some "avoided it", "hated it", and "made fun" of it. These interactions with her peers caused Brianna to not strongly identify as Canadian, which suggests adverse peer treatment can have long-standing effects on individuals. Moreover, these findings demonstrate that derogatory comments from students are present in both Canadian public and Catholic schools.

Some survey participants mentioned that poor treatment from peers could be attributed to a lack of knowledge of other cultures, religions, and languages. It is imperative that students are taught to be inclusive of one another, especially when it comes to other people's identities. The responsibility of inclusion falls on the shoulders of both students and educators.

Aside from participants' accounts, there was an overall difference between how teachers and peers treated Canadian-born Muslim students. In the survey, participants were asked via multiple choice if their identities were acknowledged and respected by their teachers and peers.

Figure 10 illustrates Canadian-born Muslims' perceptions of teachers' acknowledgement and respect of their identities. Participants were asked if their teachers acknowledged their identities (e.g., did teachers allow students to refer to their languages, cultures, ethnicities, and nationalities in the classroom or on assignments). To answer, participants were given multiple-choice options: yes, sometimes, rarely, no, not sure, and not important. In Figure 9, the large dark pink section indicates that 35% of participants selected yes. However, 31% of participants selected sometimes and 19% selected rarely. Most of the participant group was divided into almost equal thirds, indicating that participants had various experiences with their teachers. An interesting finding was that almost 20% of participants reported that their educators rarely acknowledged their identities.
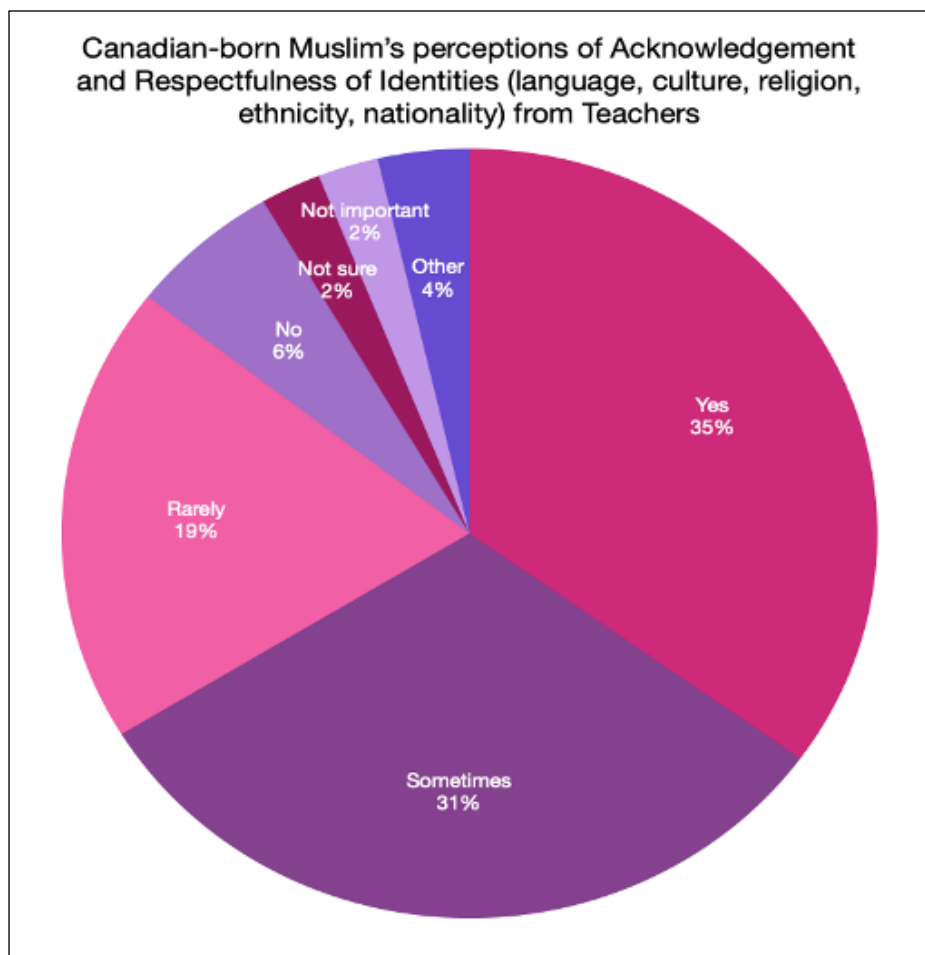
Figure 10: Teacher Acknowledgement

Figure 11 illustrates Canadian-born Muslims' perceptions of their peers'
acknowledgement and respect of their identities. Participants were asked if their identities
were acknowledged by their peers. (e.g., did peers respect their languages, cultures,
ethnicities, and nationalities). According to participants' perceptions, almost half agreed
that their peers acknowledged their identities, with 48% saying yes. *Sometimes* was the
second most popular response, followed by *rarely* and no.
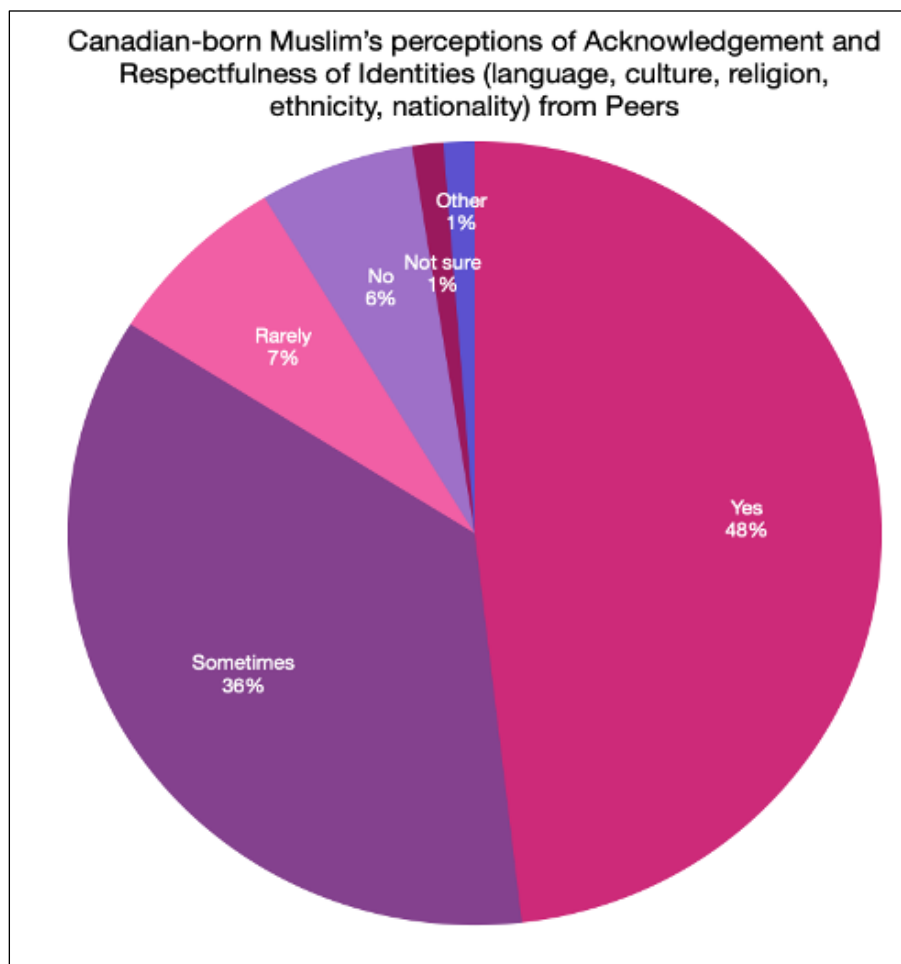
Figure 11: Peer Acknowledgement

According to Canadian-born Muslims, there was a difference between how educators and peers treated their identities. The comparison of Figures 10 and 11 illustrated these results. In Figure 10, only 35% of participants felt that their teachers acknowledged and respected their identities. However, in Figure 11, almost 50% of participants felt that their peers acknowledged and respected their identities. In addition, in Figure 10, 19% of participants felt their identities were *rarely* acknowledged and respected by their teachers. In contrast, in Figure 11, only 7% felt that their peers *rarely* acknowledged and respected their identities. The data suggests that Canadian-born Muslim students felt more accepted and respected by their peers than by their teachers, which has considerable implications.

This section highlights various accounts of how participants were treated in elementary and secondary school by their teachers and peers. The findings demonstrate that Canadian-born Muslims felt included when educators created room for them to refer to their identities. As a result, students felt safe sharing their personal and cultural affiliations in the classroom. This environment helped bridge participants' identities between their homes and school. However, there were instances where space needed to be created for students to restructure their identities. Some even endured Islamophobic comments from their teachers and school peers. Based on participants' accounts, they experienced more discrimination by their teachers. Thus, Canadian-born Muslims felt their identities were more supported by their peers than by their educators.

4.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter revealed the findings from the first phase of the study. The chapter provided insights from 88 survey respondents surrounding their identity negotiations as Canadians. Through the perspective of superdiversity, the survey findings unveiled remarkable intragroup diversity within the Canadian-born Muslim community, which is not often recognized. Canadian-born Muslim students belong to countless linguistic, racial, ethnic, and national categories. The data collected rejects static notions and stereotypes that are associated with Canadian Muslim identity. This demonstrated that standard definitions of Canadian identity need reworking since they only encompass some Canadian identities.

Participants' national identity negotiations were analyzed through third space theory and superdiversity. It appeared that national identity varied from participant to participant. Many participants proudly identified as Canadian. Some acknowledged their multiple identities by stating they do not conflict. Some participants even disregarded Canadian as an identity. While participants demonstrated progression with rejecting singular notions of identity, there was still a gap between identifying and belonging as Canadians. Canadian-born Muslim students had issues with their sense of belonging and experienced anomie. It seems that visibility and invisibility impacted their experiences. The findings also revealed a group of invisible Canadian-born Muslims due to their physical appearances and linguistic characteristics. Overall, these accounts highlight the many

superdiversities and experiences that Canadian Muslims share and do not share, making them unique and incomparable to one another.

The chapter concluded with an examination of the participants' schooling experiences. Some teachers created an environment for third space to emerge, where participants had the opportunity to bridge their identities in assignments, group discussions, and personal conversations. However, some students revealed that their teachers made Islamophobic comments in the classroom. This treatment made participants feel their identities were more supported and respected by their peers. The next chapter will draw from interviews, where participants expand further.

Chapter 5

5   Interview Findings

The previous chapter focused on survey findings from phase one of the study. This chapter presents research findings from phase two, which involved 15 semi-structured open-ended interactive interviews. The interviews revealed detailed in-depth accounts and lived experiences of Canadian-born Muslim students. Five main themes emerged from the interview data: (a) successful negotiations of multiple identities, (b) belonging, (c) use of third space theory, (d) superdiverse identities via culture-grams, and (e) experiences at schools. This chapter consists of five sections, corresponding to these themes. First, the chapter begins with participants' identity negotiations, which involve hybridizing, blending, and shifting multiple identities. The section concludes with a description of participants' linguistic identities and practices. The following section visits concepts of third space theory as it was laced throughout participants' responses. The section also presents how social media rendered power to marginalized cultural groups. Then interview participants' sense of belonging is discussed again as this is a recurring theme. The following section presents participants' culture-grams that showcase their dynamic and superdiverse identities. Lastly, the chapter concludes with the schooling experiences of Canadian-born Muslim students, revealing how inclusive educators' influences were and their impact on participants' academic performance.

5.1   Negotiating Multiple Identities

Prior literature has negatively portrayed children of immigrants as having identities that are "cursed [with] confusions" (O'Herin, 2007, p. 5) and their identities to be "a site of struggle" (Norton, 2010, p. 350). As previously discussed in chapters 2 and 4, second-generation youths are negatively associated with ongoing identity tensions. However, several participants (e.g., Nessie, Mario, Malik, and Kathlyn) from the study's second phase expressed that they did not have such long-standing struggles. Instead, participants were able to navigate their multiple identities harmoniously. This section presents how participants responded to having multiple identities.

In contrast to previous research, several interview participants, such as Mario, expressed that they did not have issues or tensions with their identities. Addressing it directly, he said, "there's no conflict really because I don't think there's anything to be conflicted about." He also commented that there was never an issue or something "gnawing away in the back of [his] mind." He said he always felt comfortable with his identities. He attributed this to two factors. The first factor was growing up in an urban city and attending multicultural and multilingual schools. As a result, he was exposed to other cultures, religions, and identities. Secondly, Mario said that he did not wear religious garments. He suggested this may be why he did not experience prejudice or discrimination.

Although Mario lived in harmony with his identities, he recognized that these are not everyone's experiences. He said, "but again, I think that all goes back to like your upbringing as a child." Mario went on to say that discrimination and traumatic experiences from the past may have a negative effect on identity, which may cause discomfort. Very interestingly, he said that visible Muslims - individuals who wear Muslim garments (e.g., women who wear the hijab) might experience more tension because their visible identity can lead to targeted Islamophobia and discrimination.

Another participant, Nessie, also contrasted with the previous literature. When asked whether she experienced identity tensions as a second-generation Canadian-born Muslim student. Nessie said,

> I think I don't usually have like… an identity crisis… I don't know maybe stigma is the right word, how like children of immigrants are like confused or they don't know what they're doing and they're always like struggling to figure out who they are. Hearing that is very interesting because I... I don't know if I ever felt extremely confused.

Nessie contends that stigma could contribute to the identity tensions associated with second-generation Canadians. She also mentions that she did not experience this, especially to the perceived magnitude. Mario and Nessie's comments indicate that having multiple identities is normal for them. Notably, these participants were not faced with

identity tensions or negative experiences. Their identity negotiations were positive and did not result in internal conflict.

5.1.1 Hybridizing Identities

Some participants endured identity issues but progressed through them by rethinking how they viewed identity. This section explores participants' hybrid identities. As Bhabha (1994) suggests, identity is created in the third space through hybridity, where multiple elements combine to make something new and unique (see Chapter 2). Meredith (1998) suggests that hybridity makes it possible to occupy two places simultaneously. Therefore, hybridity is helpful for individuals who face multiple cultures, languages, nationalities, and value systems.

Nessie did not have many issues with her identities. However, she did experience some confusion. Toward the end of elementary school, she realized everyone was different. She stepped away from the idea of a singular identity and learned to embrace her multidimensionality. She said:

> I just knew that like; this is kind of a hybrid… like I have these different sections. I do believe that growing up I understandably experienced some confusion because I had to figure out, "Where do I belong?" And it was later that I realized that I'm not confined to one identity, but that I'm multidimensional.

Nessie stated that she carried all her identities everywhere. This hybrid strategy allowed her to negotiate her identities which helped her feel that she belonged.

On the topic of hybrid identities, another participant, Malik, said that he learned that it was possible to hold two identities at once. He was able to bring his religious and national identities together. Malik did this by speaking with other second-generation Muslims, ingraining himself in the community, and establishing deeper ties to Canada to feel a greater sense of belonging. Mythen (2012) refers to this as an *elasticity* tactic, where faith (or other identity categories) intertwines locally, nationally, and globally. In this case, Malik integrated his identities on a local and national level.

Kathlyn also occupied multiple identities. She stated, "I'm not just like a brown Muslim girl, like, I'm all these things… they can all coexist." Kathlyn listed some of her identities: daughter, sister, friend, leader, and mentor. Afterwards, she explained that her identities existed in a "toolbox" where all her languages, cultures, nationalities, community roles, and family memberships resided. Kathlyn articulated that her identities fluctuated and were not always consistent. During specific periods in her life, she felt more connected to one identity than the other. She would also select aspects of her Canadian and Bengali cultures that complemented each other to avoid contradiction. Through hybridity, Kathlyn successfully navigated through all her identities as she explained, "I don't necessarily feel like… off an equilibrium of any sorts." Thus, implying that having multiple identities is normal and manageable. Kathlyn displayed elements of superdiversity as she used multidimensionality to go beyond categories typically ascribed to identity. For instance, she mentioned her kinship, community roles, and social identities. These social identities parallel those mentioned in the differentiation socio-cultural axis theory (Vertovec, 2007). See chapter 2 for socio-cultural axis theory. This is another example of how participants would navigate their multiple identities.

Furthermore, Ravi had similar experiences to the previous participants concerning identity renegotiation. Ravi was always comfortable with his Muslim identity and completely embraced it. However, he did not feel the same about his Pakistani roots. Ravi said that when he was younger, he forced himself not to feel a connection with Pakistan. *Resilience* is a defence tactic that consists of avoidance and deflection that young British Pakistani Muslims used in Mythen's study (2012). Hameed (2015) suggested that exercising resiliency is a restrictive rather than a positive strategy. Ravi realized this defence mechanism was an issue as he got older. He understood that his parent's culture, food, and language were part of him. He said, "[I] started realizing… It is who I am. It's not something I can avoid." Subsequently, Ravi embraced his identities and formed them into a hybrid. Ravi described the current state of his identity negotiations. He said, "I don't think [accommodating] is something I do anymore. It's like it's integrated so it's not… It doesn't feel like I'm negotiating… or I'm like trying to accommodate for that is, it is like a part of me." It appears that Ravi learned how to integrate his identities

seamlessly, contrasting with the previous literature (Canagarajah, 2004; O'Herin, 2007; Norton, 2013; Ryoo, 2017).

5.1.2   Blended Identities

Another term that emerged for hybrid identities was *blended identities*. When Jade was asked about her multiple identities, she said she had a "blended culture". Blending is synonymous with hybrid, where numerous elements combine to make something new. According to Jade, blending her culture was something she did naturally and did not think about. It was a natural and seamless process of integration. She said she integrated her faith, nationalities, and cultures into her daily life, for instance, eating certain foods, casually discussing her identities, and sending jokes or social media posts to her friends. Jade added that many of her elementary and secondary school friends with different cultural backgrounds also had "blended cultures". It encouraged Jade to see her multicultural peers navigate and hybridize their multiple identities.

Another participant, Anika, vocalized that she struggled with her Arab and Canadian identities at one point in her life. She grappled with finding a balance between the two. Subsequently, she realized, "I'm different… I'm a mix of everything." Here Anika suggests that she mixed her identities, implying there is blending occurring. Rather than subscribing to the limited labels of "Canadian" and "Arab", Anika decided that being herself was more fulfilling and that her identity was not supposed to look like anyone else's identity.

Like Jade and Anika, Xavier also alluded to blending and hybrid cultures when he spoke about his experiences. He said, "being a Canadian, you kind of…it depends where you are, but like for some places like Toronto, which is multicultural, you kind of... you sometimes take other cultures, and you mix into yours." Xavier highlights that Canadian-born Muslims also integrate their peers' cultures into their own. He illustrated that Canadian-born Muslims students are more than the identities ascribed to them, such as their place of origin, parents' birth origin, and linguistic background.

5.1.3   Shifting Identities

Shifting identities also appeared in participants' identity negotiations. Shifting identities differ from hybrid and blended identities because identities are not merged. Instead, participants moved from one identity to the other depending on the context. Identities also shifted depending on life experiences, situations, and preferences.

Olive was one of the participants who did not blend her identities. Instead, she considered her identities to be separate that operated together, especially depending on the context. She considered her Canadianness part of her identity while remaining separate from others. Olive poignantly addressed her perspective of cultural duality, saying:

> I never really put those two words together. I've never really heard them, put that way together: "Canadian-born Muslim." I just feel like they're just these two parts of my identity and they just kind of operate together with all the other parts of my identity and I never really...I don't know… I never really thought about it as like Canadian-born Muslim. I didn't really put them together I just thought they're just kind of like separate things and they're all just part of my identity.

Olive further stated that her identity consisted of many aspects. She referred to multiple categories involving employment, education, recreation, familial roles, faith, and nationality. From these categories, she said her identity is made up of many elements such as student, employee, daughter, sister, athlete, South Asian, Muslim, and Canadian. Olive's perspective of identity reflects elements of superdiversity as she considers identity to encompass a variety of multidimensional social and cultural categories. Similar to Blommaert and Varis (2011), Olive defined her identities "in relation to a multitude of different niches – social 'spheres' " (p. 4).

Another participant, Mahala experienced ambivalence (Cummins, 1979, 1982) with her identities in elementary school. Like Nessie, Mahala was able to overcome this in high school by shifting between her identities, as she mentioned in her statement:

> So, in the beginning, definitely, I would say, I was, I felt conflicted, I felt confused… I felt like I didn't know who I was, especially at a young age, you're kind of just juggling all of these ideas and all of these identities are given to deal

> with at such a young age, which can be very confusing and challenging to do at
> such a young age. You kind of live with it as you grow older… I think now
> though it's gotten better. I feel like I can just accommodate to whatever situation
> is given to me… What issue or any kind of challenge presents itself, I guess,
> different parts of identity shine through.

Afterwards, Mahala explained that to get through this challenging time, she worked hard on understanding her identities, representing them, and learning how they shift. She used these strategies where she moved fluidly and shifted between her identities. Rather than trying to select a singular identity, Mahala learned to accept, understand, and live with all her identities.

Lastly, in a different situation, Elijah talked about his experiences converting to Islam and navigating how being Muslim 'fit' into his identity. He said:

> I guess like the more that I got into [Islam], the more I realized it's just like, it's
> not… you have to be Muslim, and then you live your life outside of it… And so,
> for me it was just finding a way to make it about me and like what I need. And
> what I want to get from religion… And just realizing that it's like... I don't need to
> sacrifice like the way I dress and like the people that I hang out with.

Elijah resorted to fluidity rather than sticking to rigid boundaries in all areas of his life. He also expressed that the stereotypes surrounding Islam made it hard at first to negotiate his identity, but after being part of the religion, he realized that those stereotypes were incorrect. Overall, Elijah could shift through his identities while fitting into his religious identity the way he preferred.

In conclusion, participants from the study successfully negotiated their multiple identities. Participants avoided constricting themselves to one identity and using ineffective defensive strategies such as resiliency (Mythen, 2012). Instead, they blended their identities by integrating them all. Some participants kept their identities separate but exercised fluidity by naturally shifting between their identities. These approaches came naturally to participants. Additionally, several participants said dealing with multiple identities was normal and was not as stressful as perceived. One participant said they

never perceived their identities as conflictual because there was no reason to be conflicted. Growing up in urban cities and multicultural schools played a role in helping Canadian-born Muslims negotiate between their identities. As mentioned, previous research (Canagarajah, 2004; O'Herin, 2007; Norton, 2013; Ryoo, 2017) has characterized the identities of children from immigrant parents to be confusing, chaotic, and unstable. However, these findings suggest otherwise. Based on these participants' experiences, having multiple identities is not always a challenge.

5.1.4   Linguistic Identities and Practices

Research regarding the language practices of second-generation Canadian Muslims is currently insufficient (Janhevich & Ibrahim, 2004; Beyer, 2007). Therefore, this section aims to provide a more in-depth review of Canadian-born Muslims' linguistic identities and language practices. Overall, participants' linguistic experiences and identities varied.

Only two interview participants identified themselves as monolingual (refer to Table 1). The remaining 13 participants spoke at least one additional language other than English. When describing their identities, many did not include their linguistic identities. Linguistic abilities were not at the forefront of participants' identities and this is a finding in itself.

During interviews, it was clear that participants kept specific languages separate. Some participants felt comfortable using their mother tongues only in private spaces. For instance, Mario and Munakshe spoke Farsi and Arabic, respectively, with their families at home because they felt these were more appropriate environments. Furthermore, Nessie spoke both English and Arabic, but she mainly used Arabic at home with her parents since she felt more comfortable communicating in that language. Nessie described her linguistic identity as "multidimensional". She expressed that she could relate more to her parents on a cultural level when speaking Arabic. For example, she would share humorous Arabic social media posts with her parents. Nessie also spoke Arabic with her family from other countries, which fostered a deeper connection with her family and

brought her happiness. Overall, Nessie said that speaking Arabic brought her a great deal of happiness.

However, some participants avoided using their mother tongue in private spaces such as the home. For example, Jade and Xavier said they did not feel comfortable speaking their mother tongue at home because it was not typical for them. Jade said her parents had an identity crisis, so they tried assimilating to other cultures. Therefore, they focused less on speaking Urdu at home, so she felt she could not use the language. In contrast, Jade enjoyed speaking her mother tongue in public with strangers. For example, Jade would speak Urdu or Punjabi with nurses at work, making her feel closer to her parents' language. Anika also enjoyed speaking Arabic in public with strangers. Both Anika and Jade enjoyed translating and helping others, which made them feel connected to their mother tongue.

As mentioned, Xavier did not speak Bangla[18] at home. He said he was not proficient and did not use it with his family. However, being home due to COVID-19 and witnessing a push on social media to embrace all cultures encouraged Xavier to learn Bangla and become better acquainted with Bengali culture. He felt that learning to speak and read the language was the first step to understanding the culture. Xavier did not take a course to learn Bangla. Instead, he learned from the internet and previous language knowledge from growing up. Xavier's initiative is an example of *solidity* (Mythen, 2012), where strengthening particular identities can help reaffirm identities (see Chapter 2). In this case, Xavier strengthened one of his linguistic identities to further affirm and solidify his identities. Dweik, Nofal and Qawasmeh (2014) investigated the linguistic identities of second-generation Canadian Muslim Arabs. The authors found their participants maintained both Arabic and English to represent their Arabic and Canadian identities symbolically. Xavier too uses the Bangla language to further represent his Bengali identity.

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[18] Bangla and Bengali are the same language. Bangla is an endonym used by native speakers in Bangladesh and the Indian Province of West Bengal. Bengali is an exonym, or the colonial name for Bangla, which is typically used by English speakers or non-native speakers (Thompson, 2012).

Schwartz, Luyckx and Vignoles (2011) have suggested that religion can be used as a vehicle to learn a language. One of the participants, Elijah, used religion to learn Arabic. As previously mentioned, Elijah converted to Islam without prior literacy in Arabic. Islam's original texts are in Arabic but can be translated into many languages. However, instead of learning Islam from the English translations, Elijah chose to learn Islam through Arabic. As a result, Elijah used Islam as a vehicle to learn Arabic, which further bridged his religious and linguistic identities. Thus, illustrating that religion can be used to learn a language (Schwartz, Luyckx & Vignoles, 2011). Elijah also mentioned that he identified as a speaker of Arabic despite having a low proficiency. This is an example of plurilingualism because he symbolically identified as a speaker of Arabic despite not being fluent. Symbolic identities are formed by individuals who desire a specific identification but have limited knowledge or experience associated with that identity. For instance, Gans' (1994) research found that second- and third-generation Americans symbolically identified as Jewish while they did not practice the religion and had limited knowledge.

On the other hand, one participant made his linguistic identities visible as he proudly used English and Arabic in all contexts. Ethan regularly did this with peers and close friends who were non-Arabic speakers. Ethan became comfortable inserting Arabic words into daily conversation regardless of whether his peers knew the language. Then he would follow up with a translation if it was required. An example he provided was using the Arabic word *khalas*, which can be translated as 'enough' or 'stop' in English. Ethan stated, "[my friend] didn't really want to go out on a date with a girl and I'm like, "bro *khalas,* like enough, like…. if you don't want to go on a date to just tell her you're not really feeling it." This is an example of *translanguaging*, which involves bilinguals freely utilizing all their linguistic resources (García & Kano, 2014). Multilingual speakers use this flexible approach to make sense of their worlds and "normalize" (Creese & Blackledge, 2015, p. 26) their multilingual identities by reducing the separation between their identities and languages (García & Kano, 2014).

Ethan commented that many non-Arabic speakers recognized some Arabic words and even adopted them into their vocabulary. Recent literature has found that Arabic words, such as *wallah* or *wallahi*, are used by non-Arabic multiethnic young adolescents in the Greater Toronto Area and surrounding areas in Ontario (Denis, 2016; Bigelow et al., 2020). In Arabic, *wallah or wallahi* can be translated as 'I swear to God' in English, which is usually used to add emphasis. These findings are consistent with the current literature, as Ethan and his non-Arab and non-Arabic-speaking friends also use *wallah* in everyday speech. As a result of superdiversity, non-national languages have become more commonplace in daily conversation.

Participants' linguistic identities were less hybrid in comparison to their other identities. Several participants preferred not to speak their mother tongues in public but rather to use them at home with family members. This seemed to be an area of tension in Canadian-born Muslims' experiences. However, this was not always the case, as some participants used their mother tongues in public. Notably, one participant, Ethan, used all his linguistic repertoires in every context (e.g., school, home, social gatherings, etc.). He normally integrated English and Arabic in his speech when communicating with his peers. This participant thought it was important to include his non-dominant language as it represented his identity. This is one example of how one could hybridize their linguistic identities.

5.2   Canadian-born Muslim Students' Use of Third Space Theory

This section focuses on how third space was incorporated into participants' statements during phase two interviews. Surprisingly, many elements of third space theory were weaved into participants' responses such as singular identities, fluidity, hybridity, negotiation, and re-negotiation. These individuals were able to think beyond the limits of static notions of identity.

During interviews, some participants brought up issues of singular identities. This argument relates to third space theory as Bhabha comments that cultures and identities

should not be placed into "monolithic fixed categories" (1994, pp. 2-3). Aligning with Bhabha (1994), Jade said, "you can't have one identity for so many people with these kinds of things like seeing Canadian-born X, Y, Z. It doesn't sum it up in the slightest". For instance, the label 'Canadian-born Muslim Pakistani' is not an entirely encompassing label on its own.

Nessie also expressed her opinions on singular identities. She said:

> I don't know why sometimes identities are reduced to just American, just, you know, Canadian just like it can be like, we're all unique and I think that this experience especially is just so interesting, and you're not just reserved to one area.

Nessie indicated that everyone is unique, an idea that ties back to hybridity. As previously mentioned, hybridity is a component of third space theory that suggests identities are all unique because they are a unique combination of multiple aspects. Nessie said, "you aren't reserved to just one area. You are just so much more than just a label." Again, Bhabha (1994) suggests that singular identities are problematic because they cause individuals to place themselves into static categories. Instead, Bhabha (1996) indicates that individualism should be viewed through liminality, as they are multiple, ongoing, and dynamic. Moreover, both Nessie and Jade find singular identities and labels unrepresentative of Canadian-born Muslim identities.

Furthermore, third space theory also proposes that identities and cultures are never stagnant or "fixed" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2). Olive in particular recognized that identities change over time. She said her identity will change "as [she] continue[s] [her] education and learn more about [her]self." Olive's statement reflects the continuity that Bhabha conveys and recognized that this growth is a natural part of identity negotiation.

"Third space" is a theoretical concept that can be applied to identity, language, and culture. It is described as a hypothetical metaphysical area where boundaries come

together to create something new through the process of translation and negotiation (Rutherford, 1990; Bhabha, 1996). This was reflected in one participant's remarks when she was asked about her identity. When Nessie was asked where she felt like she belonged, she said, "It's almost like an abstract concept. It's like where, where do we belong, you know…?". Nessie established that belonging somewhere is a vague idea that perhaps exists within a grey area. Similarly, Bhabha wrote that third space is an "ambivalent space of enunciation" (1994, p. 37), illustrating that identity is an abstract concept.

Another participant's interview also addressed the concept of identity existing in a grey area. Irene said that many Canadians come from other places and always felt Canadian identity was a "grey area". She also mentioned that there was "no Canadian culture" so there could not be a Canadian identity. Irene was able to think outside boundaries and reconceptualize Canadian identity critically. Furthermore, Irene argued that she did not identify as Canadian because "no one is truly Canadian… except for the Native people" since Indigenous people originally inhabited the land. Again, Irene displayed that she could think beyond predetermined categories of Canadian identity and redefine them for herself. As Bhabha (1994) suggests, concepts of identity should be open to new signs and interpretations (Rutherford, 1990), especially without colonial influence.

Furthermore, another participant, Kathlyn, described third space without her knowledge of the theory. Specifically, she talked about how her Canadian nationality and Bengali culture intersect via third space. Kathlyn stated:

> I can say I'm Canadian because I was born and raised here, and I can say that I have this cultural heritage of being Bengali — that I'm also very connected to and proud of and excited about. And like it's important to me… but there's this overlap when those two things *overlap* [emphasis added] there's kind of this *space* [emphasis added] in the *middle* [emphasis added] that isn't like clearly defined.

Kathlyn refers explicitly to an undefined "space" between (or in the "middle" of) her identities in which they overlap. Bhabha (1994) also suggests that the third space is where multiple identities, cultures, and languages *overlap*.

Kathlyn then goes on to explain that she learned about intersectionality in university, which informed her interpretation of identity. With this information, Kathlyn was able to manage her identities, as seen below when she said:

> I learned about the concept of intersectionality. I know it's often used in discussions about race and gender, but I know that it can be applied in so many contexts. And so, I think when I kind of discovered that concept of intersectionality and the idea that there's this like unique *in-between* [emphasis added], like a unique overlap, which is a category in itself... I was constantly unsatisfied with just being Canadian and Bengali, or Bengali and Canadian, or whatever labels I was putting. And I understood that it's because there's actually this *grey area*. That this intersection is this result of the *combination* [emphasis added] of the two, that doesn't necessarily have a label... and I became okay with it when I understood that concept. Like, 'oh, it exists in this way'. So that's kind of how I, like, managed, *negotiated* [emphasis added] that with myself after I had those words to understand it, but the struggle was always just never feeling like perfectly fitting in one or the other, and it kept trying to be confused as to why.

Kathlyn's statements are riddled with sentiments of third space theory. Firstly, she referred to an "in-between" area where her identities would overlap and that this was a category itself. Her statement reflects Bhabha's depiction of the third space, as he describes it as a place of "liminality" or an *in-between* space (1994, p. 4). Secondly, Irene and Kathlyn mention that the third space resembles a grey area. Thirdly, Kathlyn says "negotiation" to describe how she managed her identities. And lastly, Kathlyn described how her Canadian and Bengali identities combined, thus forming a hybrid. She also revealed that once she had the academic tools and terms to articulate what she was going through, she could overcome her struggle and accept her constant shifting and merging identities.

Another concept tied to third space theory is negotiation. Bhabha (1994) suggests that within a third space, identities, cultures, and languages are negotiated, re-negotiated, and

translated (Rutherford, 1990; Bhabha, 1996). Mahala became aware of her identity
negotiations mid-interview. When reflecting on her answer, she said:

> It's weird because at the beginning of the question I said that yes, it's because I
> would say my identity is more closer to Canadian, but the same time I have this
> feeling as if I'm almost being isolated at the same time because growing up, when
> I look back in school photos I am the only hijabi, the darker skinned kid, I guess.
> So, it's like this *push and pull* [emphasis] between feeling like I belong and
> feeling like I don't.

Mahala's realization in the middle of her answer exemplifies that negotiation exists in the
third space. During the interview, Mahala could tap into her third space, a period of
liminality, where she could negotiate and re-negotiate her identities. Mahala also
describes this ongoing re-negotiation process as a "push and pull" between her identities,
which suggests that identity is never static.

Overall, many participants reflected elements of third space theory during their
interviews. Some participants even described the third space as Homi Bhabha did.
Participants could also think critically beyond boundaries about their identities and re-
negotiate them. These findings demonstrate that third space can be a valuable tool for
Canadian-born Muslims to negotiate their identities.

5.2.1   The Role of Social Media

The findings revealed that individuals gained power and control by exercising their
voices on social media platforms since they promoted diversity and inclusion for all
identities. Participants said that TikTok, Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter were social
media platforms that promoted diversity. For instance, Xavier said, "stories on Instagram
[and] Facebook posts" allowed people to express their identities. Thus, social media
created an opportunity for third space to emerge that allowed private and public life to
merge. He also said,

> I think that's what social media is done to promote, I guess expression… So,
> adding to what social media does it also makes you feel like it's important to say

which…who you are... Before that idea, since it wasn't important, I didn't feel like I was pressured… to kind of express that part of my identity.

It appears that social media has made it possible for individuals to exhibit their identities online. Social media platforms publicly celebrated cultural foods, languages, ethnicities, and traditions. Xavier also said, "I think what social media did was — it created awareness, and it also, in a way, encouraged us to… show our differences." Social media contributed to increased awareness and recognition of differences, which ultimately helped participants embrace their cultural diversity. A large part of Xavier's decision to embrace his Bengali identity and learn Bangla was inspired by the influence of social media.

Similarly, Munakshe said that social media and her generation made it normal for students to bring their cultural identities to school together. For example, in Munakshe's past experiences at school, students were made fun of when they brought cultural foods to school for lunch. However, she felt encouraged to bring Middle Eastern food to school because social media helped pave the way for tolerance and "cultural acceptance". Munakshe said, "I never did but if people brought like *zaatar*[19] to school you were like made fun of. But now it's like you're buying it at Trader Joe's… and like all of those like those places." She also mentioned in adjunct that her peers were more willing to learn about other cultures via social media.

Social media also generated groups where community members could engage with one another and learn about other groups. For example, Ravi said online Facebook groups served as "a major network." This allowed him to network with other Muslims. These online groups existed as a third space where discussion and negotiation could occur. Xavier also said that social media allowed "you [to] hear other perspectives from other people. And you're not just circled into the people you knew growing up." From what Ravi and Xavier said, social media also helped take participants out of their groups and

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[19] Zaatar or Za'atar is an Arabic word used to describe a blend of herbs and spices, such as oregano, marjoram or thyme that is used to season a variety of foods. It is native to the Middle East.

learn about others. It created an environment for third space to emerge where individuals could come together to learn about each other and themselves.

Social media created an opportunity for third space (or in-between space) to emerge that incited power and agency because it allowed individuals to challenge traditional beliefs and negotiate their identities. Social media gave a voice to anyone willing to be heard. In return, social media created awareness and encouraged such. Xavier commented that it felt almost "mandatory" to share your identities and voice opinions on social media. Irene stated this was a great initiative as she felt comforted seeing people of colour on social media, television, advertisements, and posters. She also said that "people are starting to celebrate" people of colour on social media and that it was "nice to have some power back." Here Irene mentions how social media gives power to people of all different backgrounds, especially marginalized ones, to accurately represent their identities via their own narrative and voice. Those who post on social media are the ones who have the agency and power to show or say what they desire. Chulach and Gagnon's (2016) research on nurse practitioners, found that when an in-between space (or third space) was created for nurse practitioners to speak about their two cultural identities (nursing and medicine), they were able to challenge and reconstruct their identity through dialogue and performance, which resulted in agency and new identities. Chulach and Gagnon (2016) suggested this resulted from nurse practitioners hybridizing their identities via third space when they stated,

> The concept of 'third space', as a site where cultural systems interact, provides an explanation of how the hybrid nature of nurse practitioner identity began, progressed and continues to be shaped by the interaction between the two cultural systems of nursing and medicine. (p. 59)

The authors also stated "the 'third space' is place, both symbolic and concrete, where a 'new' nursing identity is re-formulated and re-signed, as it evolves to bring new contributions and fill gaps within the current healthcare system" (p. 59). Similarly, this appeared to be the same for participants, where social media created an in-between space

for participants to share their cultures and reconstruct their identities through dialogue and performance, which led to agency.

However, social media did not always lead to inclusivity. During interviews, participants expressed that their identities were misrepresented by the media, which brought on false and negative portrayals associated with the groups to which they belonged. Many participants said that the news negatively represented their parents' country of origin. Mahala, in particular, said that when she started wearing the hijab, she noticed news outlets focused on negative interpretations of Muslim women who wore the hijab. This, of course, had a negative effect on her identity, which she had to re-negotiate. Similarly, Bullock and Jafri (2000) also discuss the misrepresentations of veiled Muslim women and their adverse effects on Canadian Muslim women. Participants suggested that most of this was propagated by traditional media such as news channels, newspapers, and articles rather than contemporary media such as YouTube, TikTok, Twitter, and Facebook.

Overall, social media was a medium for individuals of all backgrounds to negotiate, translate, and share their identities. Participants could discuss their identities within and outside their communities while learning about other groups. Social media gave power to individuals to voice their narratives, which encouraged differences between identities. This influenced educational contexts, which invited students and teachers to learn about each other's identities, which in turn allowed individuals to display their identities in any space.

5.3   Belonging

We now turn our attention to belonging, which appears to be a theme reoccurring in the study. When participants discussed their identity negotiations, several interviewees expressed that they had issues with belonging. As previously mentioned, survey participants in Chapter 4 discussed the Afzaal attack of June 2021. In the interviews, participants brought up this topic again and related it to their identity as Canadians.

Ravi expressed that the Afzaal attack affected his perspective of Canada. There was an element of ambivalence in his response,

> But I think when the incident that happened with the family in London. It really took like a hit on me, just for the fact that it was like it's my country which has always been regarded as the one that's open to everyone. The one that will be friendly, the one that would accommodate for anyone regardless of who they are. All of a sudden now is [*sic*] targeting a Muslim family for the fact that they're Muslim. And for a couple of weeks after that happened… I felt sort of rejected like I was outside of a sudden, this is happening to my people.

Ravi's response indicates that he was unsure of Canada's values and if he could trust them. He thought Canada was "open to everyone" but he no longer felt this way based on the attack. He then explained that he felt rejected and felt like an outsider in his own country. He then expressed that he was worried about his safety because he thought his religion was a target. This was a concern he did not appear to have previously. Ravi then said,

> Is it going to be the case that when I come back I'll have to watch out if I go for… a run or play some sports and I'm gonna have to watch my back, just in case if someone… there's someone around.

Unfortunately, Ravi's sense of belonging decreased, and his trepidation increased.

Another participant, Munakshe, made a similar statement. She said,

> I think for the most part, just like the attacks that have been happening, it's just scary seeing that there's still that fear of being Muslim, of being Arab in Canada just makes it feel… there isn't this full sense of belonging here yet. And even everything that happened in London with that family… it's scary to see that. I worry for my grandmother who wears the hijab and …. she's going to be targeted because of how she's dressed, you know, and it's, it's like that fear that makes me lose that complete sense of belonging here.

She, unfortunately, lost her sense of belonging and felt fearful for her visibly Muslim family member. Ravi and Munakshe's responses mirrored Jiwani's (2022) comments on the Afzaal attack. Yasmin Jiwani is a professor who wrote a paper on the murders of the

Afzaal-Salman family. Jiwani asserted, "Muslim communities across the country were appalled and shaken out of their sense of security and their belief in the official Canadian rhetoric of Canada as an affirming multicultural nation" (2022, p. 1). The interview participants from this study, Ravi and Munakshe, similarly expressed shock and became fearful. They also felt less affiliated with Canada due to the Islamophobic incident. This incident caused some Canadian-born Muslims to question Canada's claim to be a united nation.

In contrast, Ethan displayed a different reaction to the London attack. He said,

> That accident made me feel like more welcome because when I saw like everyone came together… and so many people learned about my, like, religion… not just Muslims… every culture every religion was all there [at the Afzaal walk]… So that kind of, like, I guess, warmed my heart in a sense. It definitely welcomed me more into the country and I felt less isolated.

He also highlighted the overwhelming amount of support and empathy the Canadian Muslim community received regarding the incident. The attack did bring the community together. Ethan then commented, "It really allowed people to realize that Islamophobia is still a thing and my religion exists, which a lot of people don't even like realize." Ethan asserted that Islamophobia is still prevalent but also noted that the incident brought tremendous awareness to non-Muslim Canadians.

5.4   Culture-grams

The concept behind superdiversity suggests that diversity continues to diversify (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). Individuals can no longer be placed in a single category (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert & Varis, 2011); therefore, their multidimensional social categories should be incorporated into their identities. Participants were asked to create a culture-gram to illustrate their diversities visually (Chang, 2016). This tool is very useful for exemplifying superdiversity as the culture-gram visually displays the range of diversities that exist within everyone. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a culture-gram is a tool used in autoethnographic research to allow participants to tap into their multiple

identities, affiliations, and group memberships. They can also select the categories they wish to include in their culture-grams, or alternatively remove. Before Chang (2016) had her students construct their culture-grams, many thought they were monocultural or cultureless. However, after completing a culture-gram they discovered multicultural and diverse components of their identities. Participants had a similar experience with this study as they realized their identities' richness and diversity.

Following the interviews, participants were given the option to create a culture-gram. A total of nine interview participants completed a culture-gram comprising six females and three males. Since the culture-gram was an optional component of the study not all interview participants opted to create one. Participants' culture-grams can be found in Appendix F. Participants were given a sample culture-gram that acted as a template. Participants were informed that they could stray from the template and select their own identity categories. Despite this, many participants adhered to the template. However, just under half of the participants decided to add their own categories to the culture-gram, which, perhaps they may have found to be more representative of their identity. They included political stance, sexual orientation, abilities (e.g., visual learner, multitasker, linguistic), and ideology (e.g., feminism), and personal experiences. A great deal of initiative was taken by participants in choosing categories on their own. Ultimately, Canadian-born Muslims' culture-grams displayed diversity in a variety of ways.

Many of the participants' culture-grams varied, especially regarding their ethnicities, languages, academic focuses, and interests. For example, participants had an extensive range of interests, such as film, soccer, football, fitness, cooking, basketball, technology, knitting, badminton, reading, politics, painting, humanitarianism, writing, and travel. Some participants added other bubbles to include more of their interests. Therefore, as other literature suggests, their identities cannot be predicted or homogenized into one (Haddad & Smith, 1993; Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005).

5.5   Canadian-born Muslim Students' Experiences in School

5.5.1   Inclusion

Belonging is one of the major themes that runs throughout this thesis. As previously discussed in chapters 2 and 4, inclusion is key part of belonging for Canadian-born Muslims, which impacts their identity negotiations. Participants in the interviews shared positive experiences when they were included by teachers in particular.

One of the participants, Olive, shared her inclusive experiences in elementary and high school. She said that she always felt included in the schools she attended in Canada. Since she lived in a multicultural area, the teachers made efforts to acknowledge students' identities. She said in elementary school, teachers would celebrate multiculturalism (i.e., bring in their cultural food and wear cultural clothing). Her teachers also included assignments that allowed students to share their heritage and culture. Olive stated that students were encouraged to write deeply reflective pieces about their identities and even explore them. She also mentioned that geography class and other courses "had assignments that were very targeted at learning about each other's identities and different experiences in life." Olive said, "I think that my teachers and classmates, all of us, did an excellent job of making everyone feel okay with [sharing our cultures and backgrounds]."

When Olive was asked to go further in-depth about her schooling experiences, she said teachers also focused on students' academic performance. Olive said teachers did a great job accommodating students who were learners of English as a second language. They would allow their students to use translators and linguistic resources. This created an equal and inclusive learning environment for all students. Similar to Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejeda's study where educators used "multiple, diverse, and mediational tools [to] promote the emergence of [Bhabha's] *Third Spaces*, or zones of development, thus expanding learning" (1999, p. 286). Specifically, diversity (not limited

to but including race, socioeconomic, and linguistic diversity) and hybrid language practices were used as cultural resources in the classroom. This allowed students to draw upon their linguistic repertoires in an English-Spanish immersion classroom.

Mahala had similar experiences to Olive. Her teachers in high school were more accepting of multiple languages in and outside the classroom. She mentioned that the class had banners and posters celebrating different cultures, languages, and events. In addition, there was a high demand for Arabic to become a course, so it got added to the curriculum. Mahala mentioned that it was nice for non-Arabic speakers to take the class, which allowed Arabic-speaking and non-Arabic-speaking students to work together, creating an instance of third space, where cultural systems interact. Third space creates an opportunity for dialogue and interaction to occur, thus forming connections and negotiations. Third space allowed students to bring their linguistic repertoires to school to negotiate and re-negotiate with one another. However, in Mahala's elementary school, educators were not tolerant of other languages in the classroom. She recalled that students would get detention for speaking another language, such as their first language. She said:

> When I was younger, I felt like there's a sense of prejudice in the air, or racism, because it... I mean if it was free time for example, I don't really understand why I couldn't use my own language. I totally understand in like the normal classroom time for example like [when we are] learning.

Mahala suggested students should be allowed to use their own languages outside of class or during free time in class. Olive mentioned that this approach was helpful for ESL students because it allowed them to use both languages, which was conducive to their learning.

Linguistically, teachers can also demonstrate inclusivity in the classroom. Hann expressed that his elementary and secondary teachers sometimes use non-English words in and outside the classroom. He said that his high school "was pretty diverse and even though 90% of the teachers were white, they all understood our cultures and even said words and our languages… like *Mashallah*" an Arabic word which was the language spoken predominantly by the students. This linguistic inclusion made Hann feel accepted

as a Canadian Muslim student since his non-speaking Arabic teachers sometimes inserted Arabic words into conversations.

Recognizing identities and student accommodation does not only apply within the classroom. When Ravi lived in residence during his first year at university, he noticed how inaccessible and scarce the halal food options were, especially during Ramadan. Ravi decided to take action and wrote an article with the school newspaper asking the university to provide more halal options and keep on-campus dining open longer during Ramadan to accommodate Muslim students living on-campus. With hopes of inciting change for Muslim students, Ravi exercised power by using his voice and media to bring attention to these issues occurring on campus. This is also an example of media creating dialogue and helping individual voices be heard.

5.5.2   Academic Performance

Jim Cummins (1984, 1989, 2021; Cummins et al., 2005) suggests that when students can invest in their identities, it leads to confidence and academic success. For this to occur, educators need to create an inclusive environment by providing opportunities for students to draw on their identities during assignments and class discussions. An example of this was seen in Ethan's testimony when he recollected his grade 6 teacher's impact on him. Ethan said that he was allowed to integrate his creative input into some assignments, where he would refer to his religion, culture, and identities. When Ethan did this, his teacher would praise him and recognize his efforts, such as having him read his work to the class. These positive interactions eventually led him to enjoy his schoolwork. He specifically mentioned that he disliked writing, but the inclusive and enjoyable experiences encouraged him to invest in himself and improve his academic performance, as can be seen in his response:

> I used to be like a bad kid… I wouldn't really study, I used to get like C's and D's maybe B- if I was lucky. Then, from grade six I started trying like when I got that teacher, I started trying a little bit more…. B's, B+'s, then grade 7 came and [my] teacher really realized like oh… potential and she like really like helped me. And I became like an A+ student ever since then… she really flipped my narrative.

Ethan's teacher encouraged him to bridge his identities in school contexts through assignments. This praise caused Ethan to invest in himself. As a result, he grew to enjoy academic work and performed better in school, which ultimately changed his educational trajectory.

Aside from Ethan's academic success, educators also had a negative impact on students' performance. Although it was not verbally stated, Ethan and Anika felt their teachers threatened their grades due to their faith. Ethan said that one of his high school teachers mistreated him compared to the other students despite being a good student. For example, he would have the same answers on his tests as his peers, but he would receive a much lower grade. With the assistance of the guidance office, Ethan was exempt from the final exam because he did not trust his teacher to mark it since she said to him, "I control if you get into university or not." Ethan reported that academic guidance confirmed that this was not the first occurrence. Despite the school helping Ethan, they did not act against the teacher, who appeared to be the source of the problem.

Anika had similar issues while attending Catholic[20] high school. Since Anika passed as white, her teachers assumed she was Catholic. This is unsurprising as prior literature reports educators to have a history of homogenizing students (see Taylor, 2014b). As a result, Anika's teachers would make Islamophobic comments in the classroom. Anika said one of her high school teachers was "blatantly racist, to anyone who wasn't Catholic." He would make comments saying that "Muslims condone violence." Anika confronted the teacher when he made Islamophobic comments and revealed that she was Muslim. Consequently, Anika felt discriminated against by this educator. In particular, she felt her grades were targeted because of her faith. Anika said this teacher in particular "was trying to kind of dock me academically and like, bring my grade down a little more academically. So, I studied really hard." This is consistent with previous research, as studies in the past have shown that some educators treat Muslim students differently (Zine, 2001; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Sundar, 2008). Ethan and Anika's accounts illustrate

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[20] It is common for Muslim students to attend Catholic schools in Canada since Catholic schools are inclusive to non-Catholic students (Donlevy, 2007).

that some educators did not acknowledge student identities. Some would even make Islamophobic comments in the classroom. More importantly, the findings indicate that students are mistreated by their educators. However, both Ethan and Anika were able to advocate for themselves to gain power back.

Discriminatory behaviour in schools of white-majority nations is not uncommon. Edwards and Biggs (1991) also found overt racism among British primary school teachers in 1989. Researchers observed that some educators exhibited racism toward their students using language (Biggs & Edwards, 1991). For instance, one teacher would verbally insult a student's parents for not being able to speak English at home. This is one example of educators' discriminatory language pattern behaviours. The current study's findings demonstrate that educators continue to use verbal expressions of racism in Canadian classrooms.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The findings of this chapter illustrate that the participants' notions of identity were dynamic and not limited to a single identity. Their responses reflected elements of third space theory. Participants discussed their identities using words such as *in-between, undefined space,* and *negotiation*. These words resemble the terms Bhabha (1994) used to describe third space theory. In addition, some participants reflected sentiments of hybridity in their descriptions, a concept of third space theory. Participants portrayed their identities as a combination of multiple identities that overlapped in an abstract space. The interviews further allowed participants to engage in third space and articulate their experiences.

In addition, participants expressed that social media played a role in normalizing multiple identities at school. Social media promoted cultural awareness and acceptance by allowing creators to post about their identities. It became a social trend for people to post about their cultural traditions and language. Through this process, people were able to combat stereotypes. Social media inspired participants to embrace all their identities and learn more about their parents' culture. Participants also reported that their peers became

more accepting and open to cultural differences at school, encouraging participants to bring their mother languages and cultural foods to school. Thus, social media bridged private and public life, which allowed participants to engage in third space.

This chapter's findings also demonstrated that educators helped bridge students' identities and linguistic repertoires in the classroom. Educators did this by encouraging and praising students for sharing their cultural identities on assignments or during class discussions. Also, educators that invested in the students' identities, such as learning words from their mother tongues or allowing students to use other languages in the class, promoted inclusion. This encouraged students to invest in themselves, which resulted in academic success.

Chapter 6

6   Conclusion

This qualitative study investigated Canadian-born Muslim students' identity negotiations and experiences in Canadian schools. A total of 88 postsecondary students were surveyed from Ontario, Canada. Of this group, 15 participants were interviewed, and nine of those created a culture-gram. Third space theory and superdiversity were drawn upon to provide a lens to uncover participants' unique and diverse identities. The study revealed that Canadian-born Muslim students stemmed from diverse cultural, linguistic, and national backgrounds. Given the range of groups they belong to, they cannot be lumped into a singular category. The demographic data, range of interests, and culture-grams of this group supported the notion of superdiversity, illustrating how diversity is expanding among this population (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). While several participants experienced cultural limbo or anomie, some individuals were able to redefine their identities with notions of hybridity and renegotiations via third space. This concluding chapter revisits the research questions posed at the beginning of this dissertation. The answers are presented in conjunction with the themes that emerged from the survey and interviews. Lastly, the study's limitations and contributions to the field are discussed.

6.1   Revisiting the Research Questions

The three research questions that framed this study were:

1. How do Canadian-born Muslims view their identity within Canada's 'national' identity, and how might they redefine that identity?
2. What role do their particular identities (e.g., ethnolinguistic, religious, and trans-national identities) play in how they navigate postsecondary studies and negotiate their identities broadly?
3. Where do they feel tension between how they self-identify as opposed to identities ascribed to them (e.g., ethnolinguistic, religious, and academic identities), both at home and at school?

6.1.1 Definitions and Re-definitions of Canadian Identity

The first research question aimed to uncover how Canadian-born Muslim students viewed their identity within Canada's 'national' identity and how they might redefine it. In the present study, 80% of survey participants identified as Canadian. These participants attributed this to being born in Canada, growing up in Canada, and sharing the same values that Canada stands for (i.e., respect for diversity and equality). Several participants also expressed being proud to be Canadian; however, 59% of survey participants did not feel a complete sense of belonging in Canada due to microaggressions and discrimination they faced based on their faith, race, or ethnicity. These findings suggest that while many second-generation Canadian Muslims identified as Canadian, many still felt the broader community did not completely accept them. Therefore, some participants were ambivalent about associating themselves with being 'Canadian'.

Furthermore, participants defined their national identities in unique ways. Many participants included their ethnic background, their parents' country of origin, or both. Participants used hyphens, forward slashes, spaces, or conjunctions to merge their national identities. This is an example of individuals 'renegotiating' and 'redefining' their identity (Bhabha, 1994). A few participants suggested that the components of their identities were equal, and the order in which they sorted them did not matter. This indicated that participants could think critically about the hierarchical relationships between their identities and think beyond unnecessary power dynamics. Participants were reflective of critical power dynamics, a concept linked to third space theory. Meanwhile, other participants described their national identities as 'singular' (i.e., as only Arab, Canadian, or Middle Eastern). That categorization suggests that participants saw their nationality as relating to predominantly one nationality. The results of these studies indicate that Muslim Canadian-born students can construct their national identities according to how they view themselves.

Lastly, a significant point raised in this thesis is that Canadian identity is commonly associated with Christianity and with people of British or French descent due to colonization in Canada (Gonick, 2000). This study aimed to reconstruct new definitions

of Canadian identity that were more inclusive. Many participants could renegotiate and propose new versions of Canadian identities that contained superdiverse manifestations. Several participants suggested that Canadian identity should not be singular as Canadians belong to various ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, which align with tenets of multiculturalism. Their definitions highlighted that Canadian identity should be tied to diversity and equality rather than attributing it to a certain race, ethnicity, or linguistic identity. One participant critically stated that "Canadian" is not an identity since colonizers displaced Indigenous people, and now Canada consists of settlers. Muslim Canadian students were able to reconceptualize Canadian identity in a way that is more suitable for the current Canadian population.

These findings illustrate that although many second-generation Canadian Muslims viewed themselves within Canada's national identity, many also felt disconnected from it. Some participants attributed these feelings to not being accepted by others based on their lived experiences. In addition, Canadian-born Muslim students were able to offer new definitions of Canadian identity and refrain from placing it in one static category. Their renegotiations of Canadian identity included multiculturalism, diversity, equality, and acceptance of all backgrounds and cultures. Participants demonstrated critical thinking in their responses. Participants criticized colonial influences on Canadian identities, such as the lack of acknowledgement of Indigenous people and the focus on English and British identity. In addition, several participants criticized multiculturalism's role in fostering Canadian identity. According to these participants, Canadians' identities remain unequal, and their racial and ethnic identities are still interrogated.

6.1.2   Negotiating Multiple Identities

The second research question aimed to understand how Canadian-born Muslims negotiated their identities. Literature has portrayed individuals with multiple identities as struggling (Canagarajah, 2004; Norton, 2010; Ryoo, 2017). Several survey participants from this study expressed feeling as though they did not belong anywhere, a feeling (as previously noted) referred to as anomie by Cummins (2001). These participants experienced "cultural limbo" when negotiating their multiple identities, cultures, and

nationalities since they could not place themselves in any particular category. This was especially prevalent for non-visible (or invisible) Muslims as they did not conform to any of the common stereotypes associated with being Muslim. Survey participants revealed they felt inauthentic, often expressing the feeling of not being "Muslim enough" or not being "White enough". As a result, these participants felt alienated within their communities.

There was a contrast between findings from the survey data (phase one) and interview data (phase two). The interview participants did not express the same notions of cultural ambivalence despite being in the same participant group as phase one. The interview participants expressed positive reflections and described unique ways of negotiating their multiple identities. Instead of trying to locate their culture, they described being able to seamlessly merge, blend, and shift between their identities on a day-to-day basis. Instead of trying to fit into a singular identity, they created their own. Participants also recognized that their identities would change throughout their life. As previously mentioned, Bhabha (1994) also suggests that culture, language, and identity are not static because they change over time and place. In addition, participants indicated that having multiple identities was not a conflicting experience for them. Several participants regarded these identity negotiations as normal since they occurred naturally. In contrast to prior literature, participants deconstructed negative depictions (Canagarajah, 2004; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; O'Herin, 2007; Ryoo, 2017) that suggest children of immigrants have identities that are problematic or "a site of struggle" (Norton, 2010, p. 350). Findings such as these contradict the stigma cast on immigrant children as being perpetually conflicted and lost.

Unknowingly, interview participants used concepts from third space theory to describe their identity negotiations. Some described their identity as a hybrid due to the blending of their cultures. Others said their identities overlapped in an abstract or in-between space, which aligns with Bhabha's (1994) concept of liminality, which he calls third space. Other participants noted that they kept their identities separate but fluidly shifted between them, depending on the context. In sum, several interview participants did not

limit themselves to one label. They acknowledged that all their identities could coexist and mix (i.e., translanguaging) without sacrificing any part of their identity.

Third space theory proved to be an insightful and productive lens by which to view identity. This was illustrated by multiple accounts from participants who successfully navigated their identity via third space. The participants were allowed to explore their identities in a boundary-free environment. The interviews created an in-between space where translation, negotiation, and renegotiation could occur, allowing new signs of identity to form (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 1-2). Framing interview questions from the perspective of third space theory allowed participants to voice their opinions and express themselves freely. Hybridity naturally emerged in this research, which suggests that third space theory is a versatile theory that can render profound findings and implications.

Social media platforms such as TikTok, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube played a significant role in helping students embrace their identities as well. These platforms allowed participants to engage in third space. Participants could express what they saw as their authentic selves without having to conform to any particular narrative. Social media celebrated cultural differences, encouraging participants to acknowledge their cultures and first or heritage languages. This adds to the body of research that suggests social media is a safe space for youth that fosters identity construction and expression (Guta & Karolak, 2015; Gündüz, 2017; Lucero, 2017; Miller, 2017; Patterson, 2017; Bates, Hobman & Bell, 2020). While it is true that social media can negatively affect mental health (Haidt & Allen, 2020; Twenge, Haidt, Lozano & Cummins, 2022) and increase cyberbullying (Mesch, 2009; O'reilly et al., 2018), isolation, and marginalization (Miller, 2017), despite its drawbacks, it can also empower young individuals and help them express their identities, as seen in the present study.

Regarding the roles played by participants' particular identities, their religious, transnational, and ethnic backgrounds played the most prominent roles in their identity negotiations. These identities appeared to be the most important to participants while navigating secondary and postsecondary school. For instance, their religious identity

influenced their friendship network, the events they attended, and their eating habits.

Both survey and interview participants reported less information about their linguistic backgrounds. Although 77 participants spoke a language other than English, many preferred to separate their languages in home and school contexts. Only one participant adopted translanguaging practices by merging his languages in daily contexts. Furthermore, 83% of multilingual survey participants said that English was the most commonly used language. These findings suggest that second-generation Canadians use their heritage languages or mother tongues less frequently when compared to English. Perhaps, Canadian elementary and secondary schools need to do more to help students maintain their heritage languages (Cummins, 1992). It is feared that second-generation Canadians will lose their heritage language skills as they integrate into Canadian culture (Masson & Ng, 2017). The findings of the study support second-generation Canadians' tendency to use their heritage languages and mother tongues less. More importantly, since participants commented less on their linguistic identities, it, in turn, was not a significant category of analysis.

6.1.3   Challenges at School

The final research question aimed to reveal where Canadian-born Muslim students experienced the most friction or challenges concerning their identities. Prior literature has suggested that second-generation Canadian Muslims experience considerable tension at home (Khan, 1998; Rezai-Rashti, 2005; Ramji, 2008; Khan, 2009; Kinnvall & Nesbitt-Larking, 2011). However, participants rarely reported on identity tensions that occurred at home. Instead, many survey and interview participants disclosed several racist, discriminatory, and Islamophobic remarks from their teachers and peers in elementary and secondary school. Many of these direct and indirect comments were aimed at students' faith and linguistic backgrounds. This more commonly occurred to non-visible Muslim students, which greatly disturbed them. Some individuals refrained from expressing or revealing their identities since they did not feel they were in a safe space. This also influenced students' academic performance as they thought their grades were threatened due to their teachers' discrimination against their faith. Participants reported

that they encountered fewer Islamophobic comments from their peers in postsecondary school and did not feel as threatened. Many participants avoided confrontation by not saying anything. One participant mentioned that her peers would stand up against prejudiced remarks made by other students.

Although some Canadian-born Muslim students reported teachers and peers making racist comments, others reported that a few educators helped students explore their identities and embrace their linguistic repertoires. A third space emerged that allowed students to invest in their identities by encouraging them to include their cultural identities in assignments and class discussions. Some educators also permitted students to use their first language in the classroom and to use translation devices. Participants also shared that some educators used vocabulary from languages spoken by the students. These educators accepted cultural differences and allowed students to bridge their identities in school. These inclusive strategies helped Canadian-born Muslims invest in their unique identities and perform better academically. An area for further study is to learn why these teachers came to practice sensitive and inclusive teaching.

6.2   Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations of this qualitative study. Firstly, the findings are formed from a group of research participants with subjective and unique experiences. Therefore, the results are not representative of the population. Several techniques were used to increase the depth of the findings. As discussed in Chapter 3, these consisted of triangulation, peer debriefing, member checks, discrepant information, and making explicit the researcher's position. For instance, triangulation was used to enhance the accuracy of the findings by collecting data from multiple sources and a diverse group of participants.

One final limitation of the study is that interviews were conducted online rather than in person because of COVID-19. Audio-only online interviews lack body language, gestures (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and physical behaviour (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Participants may feel more comfortable in person discussing personal topics such as identity. However, online interviews can elicit the same contextual cues as in-person

interviews since speech is rich with emotion, inflection, and intonation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The culture-grams were also a helpful tool that encouraged participants to think and speak about identity freely since culture-grams elicit dynamic and infinite ideas of identity.

6.3   Contribution to the Field

Canadians represent many ethnicities, races, historical backgrounds, religions, and languages. However, these diversities are not represented in Canada's national identity. Third space theory and superdiversity helped acknowledge and understand Canadian-born Muslim students' identities. This study yielded deep insights into the educational experiences of a large, diverse population of second-generation Canadian Muslim students. The participants had a range of linguistic, ethnic, racial, schooling, and religious backgrounds, illustrating that Canadian-born Muslim students are more than the identities ascribed to them. This study provides a comprehensive, fluid, and dynamic look at Canadian identity through the lens of these notions.

Since Canada became a nation over 150 years ago, identity studies have not been conducted for a long time. There is little research on the effects of multiple generations living in Canada (Ramji, 2008), even less so on several generations of Canadian-born Muslims. Therefore, this research is timely and necessary as it adds to this small pocket of literature. This research is also essential because the number of Muslims born in Canada is rising. The largest group of Canadian-born Muslims is set to enter elementary schools this decade (Hamdani, 2015). Therefore, the study's implications can inform policy and practice in Canadian classrooms.

This research provided current insights into the perspectives of Canadian-born Muslim students regarding the June 2021 attack on the Afzaal family. In both the survey and interviews participants reported that this Islamophobic incident decreased Canadian-born Muslim students' sense of belonging in Canada. Even though this was a sad and shocking incident, participants were grateful to see how much support was shown not only locally, but nationwide as well.

This study highlighted issues visible and non-visible Canadian Muslims experience in elementary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. The findings revealed that Islamophobia persists in schools among teachers and students. This problem requires attention from students, teachers, school boards, and the community. Effective intervention is needed to deal with these attitudes and discriminatory behaviours. The use of action research can help bring about immediate changes in teaching practices because it involves participants taking action (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). For example, critical or participatory action research draws attention to social injustice by focusing on marginalized and disempowered groups (Schneider, 2012, p. 153).

This research could lead to further investigations in other areas as well. This study explored the identities and experiences of second-generation Canadian Muslims while also drawing on prior literature on first-generation Canadian Muslims (Khan, 1998; Zine, 2001; Biles & Ibrahim, 2005; Ramji, 2008; Sundar, 2008; Yousif, 2008; Khan, 2009; Shannahan, 2011; Neuman, 2016). Future research could focus on the identities and experiences of third-generation Canadian Muslim students. It would be interesting to see the findings since their parents would be second-generation Canadians. Since my research only focused on university students, other categories of Canadian-born Muslim youth could be investigated, including those who did not attend college or did not attend postsecondary school. Lastly, another area that could be researched is other Canadian-born Muslims in other parts of Canada.

The participants in this study demonstrated that negotiating multiple identities can be a positive experience. Ultimately, this research illustrates that identity negotiations are not a site of struggle; that is merely a perception. Over the course of our lives, we constantly negotiate and re-negotiate our identities. Identity negotiation is a normal process that everyone experiences. With this perception, the concept of a singular identity does not exist. Homi Bhabha suggests that identity, language, and culture constantly change. I argue that we must adopt this perspective because change is the only constant.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey

<u>**Screening Questions:**</u>

*participants must say yes to all 4 questions to participate in the survey

1. Do you identify as Muslim? (how often you practice/level of belief does not matter)
   o Yes
   o No
2. Were you born in Canada?
   o Yes
   o No
3. Are you between 18 to 24 years old?
   o Yes
   o No
4. Are you a currently a college or university student?
   o Yes
   o No

<u>**Survey Questions:**</u>

If there is a question you do not want to answer you may skip the question by leaving it blank. Please note at the end of the survey you will have the option to indicate your interest in signing up for follow-up interviews. At any point if you wish to bypass the survey questions and sign up for an interview you can skip to the end of the survey by using the arrow below.

1. What is your gender?

2. What is your ethnic background?

3. What is your mother's country of origin?

4. What is your father's country of origin?

5. Do you identify as Canadian?
   ● Yes
   ● No
   ● Somewhat
   ● Not sure
   ● Prefer not to respond
   ● Other:

   Please explain your answer

6. How do you identify your nationality? (e.g., Canadian, Canadian-born Muslim, Arab-Canadian, Arab, etc. *note Arab is just an example*

7. What languages do you speak? Please list them from the one(s) you speak the most to the least.

8. What languages were you taught in **school**? If possible, please indicate if it was core, immersion, or extended (e.g., French immersion).

9. What languages were you taught at home?

10. What languages did you use at **home**?

11. What languages did you use in **another context** (e.g., in a Sunday school or a Heritage
   Language context)?

12. Before entering postsecondary school what type of school did you attend in Canada? (You may select multiple answers)
   ● Public
   ● Private
   ● Islamic
   ● Catholic
   ● Home
   ● Prefer not to respond
   ● Other: _____

13. While attending school in Canada was your identity acknowledged by your teachers? (e.g., Did they allow you to refer to your languages, cultures, ethnicities, and/or nationalities in the classroom or on assignments?)
   ● Yes
   ● No
   ● Sometimes
   ● Rarely
   ● Not sure
   ● Prefer not to respond
   ● Other:
   Please explain your answer

14. While attending school in Canada was your identity acknowledged by your peers? (e.g., did they respect your languages, cultures, ethnicities, and/or nationalities?)
   ● Yes
   ● No
   ● Sometimes
   ● Rarely
   ● Not sure
   ● Prefer not to respond
   ● Other:
   Please explain your answer

15. Do you feel a sense of belonging in Canada as a Canadian-born Muslim?
- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Not sure
- This is not important to me
- Prefer not to respond
- Other:

Please explain your answer

16. Do you feel accepted by other **Muslims *in* Canada**?
- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Not sure
- This is not important to me
- Other:
- Prefer not to respond

Please explain your answer

17. Do you feel accepted by **Muslims *outside* of Canada**?
- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Not sure
- This is not important to me
- Prefer not to reply
- Other:

Please explain your answer

18. Do you feel your identity is represented within Canada's national identity?
- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Not sure
- This is not important to me
- Prefer not to respond
- Other:

Please explain you answer

19. If you speak a language (or languages) other than English or French, do you feel it is (or they are) represented or acknowledged within Canada?

- Yes
- No
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Not sure
- This is not important to me
- Prefer not to respond
- Other:

Please explain you answer

20. Please copy your unique 3-digit ID number below:

Appendix B: Interview Guide

<u>**Guiding questions:**</u>
Home
1. I would like to know more about your background. If one or both of your parents was born outside of Canada, did they live in additional countries before settling in Canada? If so, where, and why? For how many years have they lived in Canada?
2. Tell me about your connections to your parent's(s') country (or countries) of origin? Probes: Do you consider your mother/father's country of origin home? Can you describe how being connected to both Canada and your parent's country of origin affects you? In what ways do your parent's culture, ethnic background, or nationality shape your identity?
3. How do you negotiate the differences of nationality, culture, and/or ethnicity with your family? Explain. For example, do you feel that being a Canadian-born Muslim creates difference? How do you manage differences? How do they support you?
   My example: My parents and I have differing views on politeness and etiquette based on our cultural upbringings. To manage these differences, I explain what I think is polite and why and my parents do the same. We bring together our views and hybridize our understanding of politeness and merge them together.

Identity
1. I am interested to know more about how your identity works. If you consider yourself to be Canadian-born Muslim, can you describe what it is like to be both a Canadian and a Muslim? Most importantly, how do you define this identity?
2. How do you accommodate/negotiate/integrate multiple cultures into your identity?
   My example: I try to accommodate my identities by being consistent. No matter what context or group of people I am surrounded by I try to remain consistent with my behaviours and expressions. I don't try to act different to fit in with a certain group.
3. Do you feel a sense of belonging in Canada as a Canadian-born Muslim? Please explain your answer. If you do not feel a sense of belonging why? Tell me which communities or groups you feel like you belong to? Please elaborate.
4. Do you think you identify yourself differently when you are with your own community? In school? With your friends? Explain fully.
5. Has your sense of identity evolved over the years? If yes, what has most influenced you? If no, why not?

School

1. I am interested in understanding what your experiences were like growing up in the Canadian education system. Was there a time in school where a teacher made space for you to negotiate your current knowledges (home languages, culture, digital literacies, personal strength [sports, art, cooking,], beliefs, religious beliefs, & how did that influence your learning?

2. Was there a time you felt constrained at school? That you were not being heard and your cultural or religious knowledges and beliefs weren't being acknowledged or respected?
3. Do you feel you were treated differently in school? If yes, please explain how and why.
4. Did/do you attend school with others that you share experiences with or can relate to? Who are/were they? (e.g., second-generation Canadians of different or similar ethnic, cultural, religious, or linguistic backgrounds? Please describe your interactions, what experiences you shared.
   My example: I attended school with many second-generation Canadian peers. They came from different linguistic, cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Hong Kong, Bangladesh, Hindu). The similarities we shared were having cultural differences from our parents. Specifically, some of our parents did not grow up in Canada nor attended a Canadian school. At home there was a disconnect since they did not understand our experiences since they did not share them.
5. Has anything changed since you've been in postsecondary school as far as re-negotiating your identity as a Canadian Muslim?

Language
1. Do you openly identify as a speaker of a language other than English? If so, of which language(s)? _____ Is there a context where you would or would not) identify or speak another language? Why? Where and when, and who were you with? Please describe.
2. How connected do you feel to the languages you speak? If you are not sure what I mean, I can use myself as an example. *I feel being an English speaker is a large part of my identity. It's the language I communicate in almost all the time. I do not feel as connected to Arabic since I am not a great speaker or proficient. This fluctuates. However, I am even less proficient in Circassian, but I do feel connected to the language. I consider it to be connected to my identity even though I don't identify as a Circassian speaker.*
3. Have you been treated differently (praised or discouraged) for any of the languages you speak? If yes, please explain which language, why, and where this occurred.
4. Do you feel you can be yourself when speaking English in Canada or another country? Any issues? What kind? How do you solve them?
5. Is there anything you wish to add at this point? Anything that you wish to point out or address? Perhaps something that has not been raised during the interview?

<u>Culture-Gram:</u>
You have the option of creating a Culture-Gram, which is a simple map that charts your cultural memberships and identities. To assist you, I provide you with samples of culture-grams. Either during the first interview or after the first interview you can create your culture-gram. If you create a culture-gram I will ask for your permission to send me a PNG, JPEG, Word, or PD version via email. The culture-gram you create will not be shared publicly. The culture-gram activity is designed to assist data collection on your present perspective of who you are. In the next interview (if there is one) I will ask you about the process of creating this culture-gram

What is a Culture-Gram and how does it work?
The culture-gram represents many of the person's experiences, life events, passions, beliefs, and groups (Chang, 2016). The culture gram operates in a certain way. There are different lines, shapes, sizes, and shadings used to represent relationships and rankings between one's identifications. All the figures connected by a line indicate they belong together in the same category (Chang, 2016). The rectangles signify multiple realms of life (e.g., nationality, language, religion, etc.), and are connected to one shaded circle which represents the most primary self-identifier or subjective labeling of the self. The ovals connected to the circle represent secondary self-identifiers (Chang, 2016). These labels tend to be more specific such as "mother," "singer," "runner," "Confucian," etc. Lastly, the large circle in the middle contains the top three identifiers ranked most important to the individual. These labels can be different from the ones in the rectangles and a combination of multiple labels, for example, Christian, Female Professor, Multicultural.

Appendix C: Ethics Approval

Western Research

Date: 19 June 2021

To: Dr. Shelley Taylor

Project ID: 118727

Study Title: Investigating the Language and Identity Negotiations of Second Generation Canadian-Born Muslim Students at the Post-Secondary Level

Short Title: Canadian-born Muslim Study

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated

Full Board Reporting Date: July 9 2021

Date Approval Issued: 19/Jun/2021 13:28

REB Approval Expiry Date: 19/Jun/2022

_____

Dear Dr. Shelley Taylor

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. **All other required institutional approvals and mandated training must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.**

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Survey Questions (11MAY2021)	Online Survey	11/May/2021	1
Recruitment Poster (11MAY2021)	Recruitment Materials	11/May/2021	1
Recruitment Email - MSA (11MAY2021)	Recruitment Materials	11/May/2021	1
Mass Email Recruitment (8JUNE2021)	Recruitment Materials	08/Jun/2021	2
Interview Guide (08JUNE2021)	Interview Guide	08/Jun/2021	2
LOI_C Interview (08JUNE2021)	Written Consent/Assent	08/Jun/2021	2
LOI_C Survey (08JUNE2021)	Implied Consent/Assent	08/Jun/2021	2

Documents Acknowledged:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Culture-Gram Blank (11MAY2021)	Supplementary Tables/Figures	11/May/2021	1
Culture-Gram Sample 1 (11MAY2021)	Supplementary Tables/Figures	11/May/2021	1
Culture-gram Sample 2 (11MAY2021)	Supplementary Tables/Figures	11/May/2021	1
Screening Questionnaire (11MAY2021)	Screening Form/Questionnaire	11/May/2021	1

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Appendix D: Letter of Information and Implied Consent – Survey

**Investigating the Language and Identity Negotiations of Second Generation
Canadian-Born Muslim Students at the Post-Secondary Level**

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor
Faculty of Education, Western University

Co-Investigators: Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti
Faculty of Education, Western University

Yasmeen Hakooz
Faculty of Education, Western University

Dear Participant,

My name is Yasmeen Hakooz and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education at
Western university. I am conducting research about the language and identity
negotiations of Canadian-born Muslim students. You are being invited to participate in
this research because you are a second generation Canadian-born Muslim attending
postsecondary school in Ontario.

Background and Purpose
The purpose of this study is to understand how Canadian-born Muslim students
understand and negotiate their identities as there is a lack of extensive research on this
topic. My goals are (a) to highlight the diversities that exist within this population, (b) to
acknowledge and normalize individuals with multiple identities, and (3) understand how
Canadian-born Muslims view their place within Canada's national identity.

Study Procedures
If you agree to take part in this research study, I will invite you to participate in an online
survey to gather information about your experiences and identity. The online survey will
take approximately 5 to 10 minutes. After reading this letter of information if you wish to
participate in the survey you can indicate in your consent below by clicking, "yes, I
consent". If you do not wish to participate, please select "no, I do not consent". You can
skip or choose not to respond to any question in the survey. At any point during the
survey if you wish to leave you may do so by exiting out of the browser. The online
survey will take approximately 10 minutes. Your survey responses are automatically
saved as you progress to the next page of the survey. At the end of the survey you will be
given a *3-digit unique ID number*. **Please copy your ID number in a memorable place**
as you will be asked to enter it again possibly in the future. Once you submit your survey,
a separate survey window will pop up giving you the option to indicate your interest to be
contacted for an online one-on-one follow-up interview. To indicate your interest, you
will be asked to enter your email address. The email address you provide will be sent to a

separate database. If you participate in a follow-up interview you will be compensated for your time with your choice of one $15 Starbucks or Tim Hortons e-gift card. Participation in the online survey does NOT oblige you to participate in a follow-up interview. Participants who decide to participate in the interview component will be asked to read the letter of information and provide consent for the interview.

If you only wish to participate in an interview please email the Co-Investigator to indicate your interest: Yasmeen Hakooz.

Withdrawal from Study

At any point during the survey if you wish to leave you may do so by exiting out of the browser. Once you submit the survey if you decide to withdraw from the study, you have the right to request (e.g., by phone, in writing, etc.) withdrawal of information collected about you IF you submit your unique ID and are able to recall it. If you wish to have your information removed please let the researcher know and your information will be destroyed from our records.

However, if you did not list your unique ID at the end of the survey or you are unable to recall your survey ID we will be unable to withdraw your survey data as the will be unable to identify your responses. Your survey responses are automatically saved as you progress to the next page of the survey. The information that was collected prior to you leaving the study will still be used as the researchers will be unable to identify your responses. Once the study has been published we will not be able to withdraw your information.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. There may be no direct benefits, though your participation may help society and educational institutions to better understand the experiences and identities of Canadian-born Muslims.

Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor any information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. Your survey responses will be collected through a secure online survey platform called Qualtrics. Qualtrics uses encryption technology and restricted access authorizations to protect all data collected. In addition, Western's Qualtrics server is in Ireland, where privacy standards are maintained under the European Union safe harbour framework. The data will then be exported from Qualtrics and securely stored on Western University's server.

If you agree to participate in the survey, at the end of the survey you will be given a unique ID to identify yourself. To further protect confidentiality, all information collected for the study will be kept in a locked, secure location. Any identifiable information such as your email address will be kept in a secure place, separate from your study file. I will keep a master list linking your unique ID with your name in a secure place, separate from your study file. All collected data will be destroyed after 7 years, as per Western University policy.

Only the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigators will have access to the research data. Representatives of Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research. While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so.

Rights as a Participant
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide not to be in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to not answer individual questions or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate or to leave the study at any time it will not affect you personally or academically. You do not waive any legal right by consenting to this study.
Contact Information
If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Co-Investigator: Yasmeen Hakooz, or the Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor, or Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Human Research Ethics (519) 661-3036, 1-844-720-9816, email: ethics@uwo.ca. This office oversees the ethical conduct of research studies and is not part of the study team. Everything that you discuss will be kept confidential.

Please use the link below to retain a copy of this letter for your records.

Survey Letter of Information (Redacted).pdf

Do you offer your consent to participate?

○ Yes, I consent

○ No, I do not consent

Appendix E: Letter of Information and Consent – Interview

Western Education

**Investigating the Language and Identity Negotiations of Second Generation
Canadian-Born Muslim Students at the Post-Secondary Level**

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor
Faculty of Education, Western University

 Co-Investigators: Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti
Faculty of Education, Western University

Yasmeen Hakooz
Faculty of Education, Western University

Dear Participant,

My name is Yasmeen Hakooz and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education at
Western university. I am conducting research about the language identity negotiations of
Canadian-born Muslim students. You are being invited to participate in this research
because you are a second generation Canadian-born Muslim attending postsecondary
school in Ontario.

Background and Purpose
The purpose of this study is to understand how Canadian-born Muslim students
understand and negotiate their identities as there is a lack of extensive research on this
topic. My goals are (a) to highlight the diversities that exist within this population, (b) to
acknowledge and normalize individuals with multiple identities, and (3) understand how
Canadian-born Muslims view their place within Canada's national identity.

Study Procedures
You provided your email address at the end of the online survey, indicating consent to
being invited to participate in a follow-up interview. If you are selected, you will be
interviewed one-on-one with Yasmeen Hakooz (Co-investigator). The interview will be
conducted at a time convenient to you via online web-conferencing (Zoom). The
interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes. You must agree to be audio-recorded
and to have your interview transcribed. By providing your consent below you are
allowing your interview to be audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcripts will be shared
with you using a secure link using Western's OneDrive to review their accuracy. You can
send any amendments or corrections to the transcript back to me in the same secure
online manner. If you agree, the use of unidentifiable quotes will be used in the
dissemination of the results. In the interview you will be given the option to create a
Culture-Gram, which is a simple map that charts your cultural memberships and

identities. To assist you, you will be provided with samples of culture-grams. The culture-gram activity is designed to assist data collection on your present perspective of who you are. You can create your culture-gram during or after the interview. If you create a culture-gram I will ask for your permission to send me a PNG, JPEG, Word, or PDF version via email. I will also ask for your consent to anonymously display your culture-gram in public presentations and/or publications.

If you decide to participate in an interview, I will obtain your electronic written consent (eConsent) prior to your participation in the interview. To provide electronic written consent I will send you a Qualtrics link where you will see the letter of information and consent form. You must read and sign the consent form at the end of this Letter of Information. Afterwards I will sign the form, export it to a PDF and send the completed form back to you via email.

The researcher will need to share your email address with Starbucks or Tim Hortons to provide you with your compensation ($15 e-gift card), but no information about your participation in this research will be disclosed.

Withdrawal from Study
If you decide to withdraw from the study, you have the right to request (e.g., by phone, in writing, etc.) withdrawal of information collected about you. If you wish to have your information removed please let the researcher know along with providing your unique ID in order for your information will be destroyed from our records. Once the study has been published we will not be able to withdraw your information.

Risks and Benefits
There are no known or anticipated risks or discomforts associated with participating in this study. There may be no direct benefits, though your participation may help society and educational institutions to better understand the experiences and identities of Canadian-born Muslims.

Confidentiality
The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor any information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. If you grant permission, unidentifiable direct/indirect quotes will be used in publications or presentations. You will be able to indicate your preference on the consent form.

Your written consent will be collected through a secure online survey platform called Qualtrics. Qualtrics uses encryption technology and restricted access authorizations to protect all data collected. In addition, Western's Qualtrics server is in Ireland, where privacy standards are maintained under the European Union safe harbour framework. The data will then be exported from Qualtrics and securely stored on Western University's server.

If you agree to be interviewed, you will use the unique ID given to you in the survey to identify yourself. To further protect confidentiality, all information collected for the study will be kept in a locked, secure location. Any identifiable information such as your email address and full name will be kept in a secure place, separate from your study file. I will

keep a master list linking your unique ID with your name in a secure place, separate from your study file. All collected data will be destroyed after 7 years, as per Western University policy.

Only the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigators will have access to the research data (audio files, notes, and transcripts). Representatives of Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board may require access to your study-related records to monitor the conduct of the research. While we do our best to protect your information there is no guarantee that we will be able to do so.

Compensation

If you choose to participate in an interview, you will be compensated for your time with your choice of one $15 Starbucks or Tim Hortons e-gift card.

Rights as a Participant

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide not to be in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to not answer individual questions or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate or to leave the study at any time it will not affect you personally or academically. You do not waive any legal right by consenting to this study.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Co-Investigator: Yasmeen Hakooz, or the Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor, or Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Human Research Ethics (519) 661-3036, 1-844-720-9816, email: ethics@uwo.ca. This office oversees the ethical conduct of research studies and is not part of the study team. Everything that you discuss will be kept confidential.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

e-Consent Form

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information above, understand that your participation in this research is voluntary, and that you have freely and willingly consented to participate in this research project. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to you personally or professionally. You will be emailed a copy of this document.

Have you read the Letter of Information, had the nature of the study explained to you, and agree to participate in an interview? Have all questions been answered to your satisfaction?
- o Yes
- o No

Do you consent to the use of unidentified quotes obtained during the study in the dissemination of this research?
- o Yes
- o No

Do you consent to have your culture-gram anonymously displayed at conference presentations and/or publications?

- o Yes
- o No

Unique ID Number (given to you at the end of the online survey)
_____

First Name of Participant_____

Last Name of Participant_____
Signature of Participant _____
Today's Date (mm/dd/yyyy) _____

THE FOLLOWING IS FOR RESEARCHER USE ONLY (if you are a participant please *skip* the questions below and use the arrow below to submit)
My signature means that I have explained the study to the participant named above. I have answered all questions

Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent (to be completed by the researcher on submission) _____
Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent (to be completed by the researcher on submission) _____

Date Person Obtaining Informed Consent Signs (mm/dd/yyyy)
_____

Appendix F: Participants' Culture-grams

Culture-gram 1 (top left):

- *Nationality: Canadian, Kenya, Uganda
- *Race/Ethnicity: South Asian
- *Language: English, Gujarati
- *Gender: Woman, daughter, sister
- *Religion: Muslim, Ismaili, educated
- *Employee: Services, leader, instructor
- *Class: Middle Class
- Primary Identities: South Asian Female Canadian-born Muslim Student
- policy/health&equity, science, fashion
- *Education: Psychology Mental Health
- *Interests: outdoor fitness (swimming/hiking), writing, Travel

Culture-gram 2 (top right):

- *NATIONALITY: Canadian, Pakistani
- *RACE/ETHNICITY: Punjabi, person of colour, Kashmiri, Punjabi
- *LANGUAGE: English, Urdu
- *GENDER: Female/Woman, daughter, sister
- *RELIGION: practicing, Muslim (born and raised), Sunni
- feminism
- Primary Identities: Muslim Academic Feminist
- *PROFESSION: Doctor, holistics/naturopathy, women's health, women studies
- witches/dinosaurs, English Literature, diverse experiences
- *IDEOLOGY: Urban/City
- *MULTIPLE INTENLLIGENCES: Medical Sciences, humanitarianism
- writing, reading, Women Studies
- INTERESTS

Culture-gram 3 (bottom left):

- *Nationality: Canadian, Canada, Iraqi dialect
- *Race/Ethnicity: Iraqi, Arab, Ontario, person of color
- *Language: English, Arabic
- *Sexual Orientation: Straight, Feminine, She/Her
- *Gender: Sister, Female, Feminist, Shia sect
- Primary Identities: Canadian-Iraqi Muslim Female
- Uni Student
- *Profession: Majoring in Psychology, Multitasker, law interest
- Nature, Linguistic, Hijabi
- *Religion: Islam
- Visual learner
- *Ability
- *Interests: my shows/podcasts, Music, Family time

Culture-gram 4 (bottom right):

- *NATIONALITY: Canadian
- *RACE/ETHNICITY: Bengali, Asian-Canadian, person of colour
- *LANGUAGE: English, Bangla
- *GENDER: Male, son, brother
- *RELIGION: Islam, practicing
- Primary Identities: Muslim Male Undergrad Student
- undergraduate
- *PROFESSION: Accountant (CPA), marketing, philosophy, film
- soccer, political science, educated
- *CLASS: Lower
- *STUDIES: Accounting, film
- *INTERESTS: football, Fitness/Exercise

Top-left map:

*NATIONALITY — Canadian, Persian, Farsi

*RACE/ETHNICITY — Persian-Canadian, Middle Eastern/West Asian, second-generation Canadian

*LANGUAGE — English, French

*GENDER — Male, brother, son/nephew

Primary Identities — Persian-Canadian, Trilingual, Sports, Education

non-practicing

*RELIGION — Muslim, Shia

professional

PROFESSION — Policy, communications, bilingual, media

politics, French, educated

CLASS — Middle

news, soccer

*STUDIES — Communications

INTERESTS — Sports

Top-right map:

NATIONALITY — Canadian, Iraqi

*RACE/ETHNICITY — Iraqi, Middle Eastern, French

*LANGUAGE — English, Arabic

*GENDER — Female, aunt, sister

hijab

Primary Identities — Female Muslim Student

*RELIGION — Muslim, Shia

sales

PROFESSION — Student, volunteer, studio art

badminton, art history

feminist

POLITICS — Liberal Text

Psychology, reading, knitting

*STUDIES

Art

INTERESTS

Bottom-left map:

* Nationality — Lebanese-Canadian, Eygptian, Mohammed

*Race/Ethnicity — Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, Iraq, Phoenician

LANGUAGE — Arabic English, Talia

praying

*RELIGION — Muslim

fasting

educated

*GENDER — Male, son, brother

Primary Identities — Muslim, Lebanese-Canadian, Stem Student

math teacher

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS — Cancer Research/Oncology, Doctor, medicine

cooking, math

hardworking

*CLASS — Middle

technology, basketball

Science, Sports

*STUDIES

INTERESTS

Bottom-right map:

NATIONALITY — Canadian, Palestinian

*RACE/ETHNICITY — Lebanese, Palestinian, Lebanese, Canadian

*LANGUAGE — English, Arabic

GENDER — Female, daughter, sister

faith

Primary Identities — Muslim Arab Humanitarian Female Student

*RELIGION — Muslim

practicing

Small business owner

masters

PROFESIONS — Business Analyst, humanitarian work, kinesiology

humanitarian work, global health systems

educated

CLASS — Middle

Science, baking

painting, outdoor fitness

*STUDIES

Art

* INTERESTS

Appendix G: Recruitment Poster

Appendix H: Recruitment Email – MSA

Recruitment Email for Muslim Student Associations

Subject Line: Participants needed for research on Canadian-born Muslim Students

Dear Muslim Student Association,

My name is Yasmeen Hakooz, and I am a PhD student conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti and Dr. Shelley Taylor. I am looking for participants to take part in my study about the experiences of Canadian-born Muslim students. I have received your email address that was listed publicly on your Muslim Student Association website. The purpose of the study is to better to understand how Canadian-born Muslim students negotiate their languages and identities. I am hoping you can forward this email to the members of your association. In this email I have also attached the recruitment poster that you can post to your social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc).

To partake this study participants need to meet the following criteria:

- Be a college or university student
- Be between the ages 18-24
- Were born in Canada
- Identify as Muslim

If you are interested and agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in an online survey expected to take approximately 5 to 10 minutes. At the end of the survey you will have the option of providing your email address to be contacted for follow-up interview(s). If you participate in follow-up interview(s) you will be compensated for your time with your choice of one $15 Starbucks or Tim Hortons e-gift card.

If you would like to participate in this study, please use the following link to access the letter of information and online survey:

Thank you!

For more information about this study please contact:

Co-Investigator: Yasmeen Hakooz
Faculty of Education, Western University

Co-Investigator: Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti
Faculty of Education, Western University

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor
Faculty of Education, Western University

Appendix I: Mass Email Recruitment

Mass Email Recruitment

Subject Line: Mass Email Recruitment

Hello,

I am looking for participants to take part in a study about the experiences of Canadian-born Muslim students. The purpose of the study is to better to understand how Canadian-born Muslim students understand and negotiate their languages and identities.

To participate you need to meet the following criteria:
- Be a college or university student
- Be between the ages 18-24
- Were born in Canada
- Identify as Muslim

If you are interested and agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in an online survey expected to take approximately 5-10 minutes. At the end of the survey you will have the option of providing your email address to be contacted for follow-up interview(s). If you participate in follow-up interview(s) you will be compensated for your time with your choice of one $15 Starbucks or Tim Hortons e-gift card.

If you would like to participate in this study, please use the following link to access the letter of information and online survey:
Thank you

For more information about this study please contact:

Principal Investigator: Dr. Shelley Taylor
Faculty of Education, Western University

Co-Investigator: Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti
Faculty of Education, Western University

Co-Investigator:
Yasmeen Hakooz
Faculty of Education, Western University

Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy   **2018 – Present**
Western University - *Applied Linguistics – Faculty of Education*
Supervisors – Dr. Shelley Taylor and Dr. Goli Rezai-Rashti

Master of Arts in Linguistics   **2016 – 2018**
Western University – *Faculty of Arts and Humanities*
Supervisor – Dr. Tania Granadillo

Honours Bachelor of Science   **2012 – 2016**
The University of Toronto (Scarborough)
Psychology Program
Major in Linguistics and Major in Psychology

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Research Assistant   **Jan 2023-**
Western University, *Faculty of Education – Dr. Rachel Heydon*   **Present**
- The Reading Pedagogies of Equity Program (R-PEP)

Research Assistant
Western University, *Faculty of Education - Dr. Shelley Taylor* **2018-2021**
- Language and Literacy Among Youth Refugees in Canadian Secondary School Classrooms
- Preservice students working with bilingual learners in practicum settings and community-based tutoring

Graduate Research Assistantship   **2020-2021**
Western University, *Faculty of Education*

Graduate Student Assistantship   **2018-2020**
Western University, *Faculty of Education*

TEACHING EMPLOYMENT

Lecturer   **2022-Present**
Western University, *Faculty of Arts and Humanities*
LINGUIST 2242B: Phonetics

Graduate Teaching Assistantship   **2021-2022**
Western University, *Faculty of Education*
GRADEDU 5457: A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies
GRADEDU 9301: Social Approaches to Language Learning & Teaching

Graduate Teaching Assistant   **2016-2018**
Western University, *Faculty of Arts and Humanities*
LINGUIST 2247B: Phonological Analysis   **2018**
LINGUIST 2288B: Applications & Extensions in Linguistics   **2017**
ANTHRO 2125A: Language, Gender and Sexuality   **2017**
ANTHRO 1027A: Introduction to Linguistics   **2016**

PUBLICATIONS

Taylor, S. K., Paterson, K., & **Hakooz, Y**. (2022). Meeting invisibilized needs: Youth
refugees' language and literacy development at the tertiary level in Canada. *OLBI Journal*, *12*(1), 75–97. https://doi.org/10.18192/olbij.v12i1.6061

Hakooz, Y. (2021). Current trends of identity negotiations found among second
generation Muslims. *Conference Proceedings of the Malaysia International Conference on Languages, Literatures and Cultures (MICOLLAC 2020)*, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 75-78

Alkhudidi, A., **Hakooz, Y**., Walker, M., Stevenson, R. A., & Rafat, Y. (2020). The
production of marked Arabic consonants by Arabic-English bilingual children living in Canada. *An Anthology of Bilingual Child Phonology*, 187-208

CONFERENCES AND PRESENTATIONS

Paterson, K., Taylor, S., **Hakooz, Y**. (2021). Navigating unchartered waters: The
promise of digital affinity spaces for refugee youths in tertiary level education in Canada. *Invited Colloquium at AILA 2021 Congress* – Focused Multimodal Presentation. Groningen, Netherlands.

Taylor, S., Paterson, K., **Hakooz, Y**. (2021). Situating youth refugees' linguistic and
literacy development in 'glocal' perspective. *Paper Presentation at Canadian Centre for Studies and Research on Bilingualism and Language Planning* (*CCERBAL).* University of Ottawa, Canada.

Hakooz, Y. (2021). The Investigation of National and Religious Identities of Canadian
born Muslim Students in Postsecondary Education *Paper Presentation at Malaysia International Conference on Languages, Literatures & Cultures (MICOLLAC).* Selangor, Malaysia.

Hakooz, Y. (2020). Investigating Identity, Language Practices and Schooling
Experiences of Canadian-born Muslim Students in Ontario Post-Secondary Schools. *Symposium Presentation at the Centre for Educational Research on Languages and Literacies (CERLL).* OISE, University of Toronto

Hakooz, Y. (2020). Understanding Identity of Second-Generation Canadians. Public
presentation at Retiring with Strong Minds. *Schulich School of Medicine and Dentistry* – Western University

Hakooz, Y. (2019). Mapping diaspora: A sociolinguistic profile of Circassian speakers
acrossToronto and surrounding areas. *Conference Presentation at The Second International Circassian Conference.* Nuremberg, Germany

Alkhudidi, A., **Hakooz, Y.,** Walker. M., Stevenson, R., Rafat, Y. (2018). The production of marked Arabic Consonants by Arabic -English Children Living in Canada. *Paper Presentation at International Child Phonology Conference.* Crete, Greece

GUEST LECTURES

Western University, Faculty of Education, GRADEDU 9687: Culturally and Linguistically Sustaining Pedagogy - Dr. Shelley Taylor	**2022**
Western University, Faculty of Education, GRADEDU 9625B: Critical Issues in Language and Literacy Education - Dr. Shelley Taylor	**2020**
Western University, Faculty of Education, GRADEDU 9301: Social Approaches to Language Learning and Teaching – Dr. Shelley Taylor	**2019**
Western University, Faculty of Arts of Humanities, LINGUIST 2288B: Introductory General Linguistics - Dr. David Heap	**2017**
Western University, WISSLR: How to Linguist: Praat & Elan: *Workshop Presenter*	**2017**

VOLUNTEERING AND MENTORING

CERLL 2021 Joint Symposium – OISE University of Toronto *Organizing Committee Member*	**2021**
Congress 2020 of the Humanities and Social Sciences – Canadian Association of Applied Linguistics (ACLA/CAAL) *Volunteer Coordinator*	**2019-2020**
Western Mustangs Varsity Football Team – Western University *Academic Assistant Intern*	**2018-2019**
Western Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Language Research (WISSLR) *Co-Chair and Head of Marketing Team*	**2016-2018**
Social Ecology Laboratory, University of Toronto Scarborough Dr. Marc Fournier – Clinically trained personality psychologist *Psychology Research Assistant*	**2016**

AWARDS

Faculty of Education Graduate Student Conference Travel Grant	**2021**
Faculty of Education Graduate Student Conference Travel Grant	**2020**
Graduate Student Teaching Assistant Award – *Nomination*	**2017**
Faculty of Arts and Humanities Alumni Graduate Award	**2016**
Faculty of Arts and Humanities Chair's Entrance Scholarship	**2016**