For the Love of 'Home':
The Transnational Lives of 1.5 and Second-Generation Ghanaian-Canadians

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Abstract: Second generation transnationalism is a growing subfield in migration studies, which aims to explain the ways in which migrants' children participate in the homeland environment. This dissertation examines the transnational practices of 1.5 and second generation Ghanaian-Canadian adults using a transnational social field theoretical framework. The project is guided by three core questions: i) What are the sites through which a transnational social field is developed for the 1.5 and second generation? ii) How does the existence of this transnational social field inform the 1.5 and second generation's desire to return to Ghana? iii) What is the reality of the 'return experience' and how are 1.5 and second generation identities, senses of 'belonging' and of 'home' articulated and/or contextualized in the homeland? Through qualitative interviews with 32 young adults, the project determined that Ghanaian diaspora youth are engaged in a cross-border transnational network, which is first cultivated in childhood through community building practices. Many of the participants in this study continued to negotiate their cultural identities as adults with mixed results. Certainly, while some youth continued to build community among their co-ethnic peers, often times, youth were less active in the traditional cultural spaces that their parents had created. Secondly, those participants who return to the homeland are motivated by a composite range of factors, including emotional longing, resistance to Canadian racism, patriotism, the desire for career advancement and a perception of improved quality of life. In actuality, second-generation returnees confront an intricate social context in the homeland, including the realization of their complex belonging both "here" and "there". The project argues that 1.5 and second generation Ghanaian-Canadian young adults are engaged in a dynamic and multi-sited negotiation of their cultural identities as a natural consequence of growing up in a transnational social field. For my participants, this negotiation manifested in frequent trips to the homeland, aspirations for homeland return and strategies to preserve their cultural identities in Canada.

Dedication:

To Ghanaian-Canadian youth - past, present and future: I *dey* for you. Always and in all ways.

To each one of my participants: thank you for sharing your stories with me. I hope I have made you proud.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In 2009, after completing my Master's degree, I returned to Ghana, West Africa for the first time since childhood. Returning "home" was a disorienting experience, partly because I had very little body memory of my homeland. My family migrated to Toronto, Canada in 1988 during the Presidency of Lieutenant John Jerry Rawlings –a military dictator who ruled the country for over two decades. I was 18 months old. Naturally, my decision to return home was met with confusion, judgment and deep concern from my parents, as they questioned my independent capacity to navigate a completely new culture and environment. I lived between Accra, Kumasi and Ajumako (Central Region) for a total of 13 months. In that time, I discovered many things about my homeland. However, three realizations were most palpable for me: firstly, I was thrown deeply out of my comfort zone, forced to confront the social codes of a culture that I naively assumed that I already knew. Secondly, Ghana had no idea who *I* was; they could not make sense of the contradictions in my *Ghanaian foreignness*, which kept me constantly out of place. Lastly, this was hardly anyone's "fault". Let me explain.

Ghanaian migration to Canada occurred in three major waves over a forty-year span (Mensah, 2010). While the first wave in the 1960s brought a small group of university students who eventually returned home upon completion of their studies, the second and third waves (during the mid-1980s and then again in the 1990s) saw the largest number of Ghanaians leaving the country for better economic opportunities in Canada. The years that followed these waves were an adjustment period as many migrants were learning how to settle in their new home. The realities of systemic racism and poverty meant that many migrants only visited the homeland once or twice every few years –if, at all. The high cost of airline tickets, the increasing financial responsibilities to those left behind and in some cases, the precarious nature of citizenship status in Canada meant that many migrant families like

mine could not have sustained yearly visits to the homeland. They certainly could not afford to send an entire family of six back to Ghana on a regular basis. (In fact, I had only visited the homeland once at age 8, prior to my sojourn in 2009.) Instead, our family stayed connected through expensive, yet poor quality long distance phone calls, new release Ghanaian films sold at local ethnic grocery stores and the latest highlife music played at "outdoorings"[1] in Toronto's west-end neighbourhoods. Essentially, we created a micro version of the homeland in our tightly knit and bourgeoning diaspora community to assuage the distance between Ghana and us.

For their part, I imagine that homeland relatives relied on frequent remittances in the form of hand-me-down clothes, shoes, electronics and furniture -not only to sustain their lives, but also to piece together some semblance of familiarity and connection with those who left. I also imagine that very few of them anticipated reuniting with the children of their diaspora relatives for more than a couple weeks at a time, every few years. Moreover, while they likely felt the absence of their migrant relatives, I am sure that our homeland compatriots probably took pride and comfort that some of us had managed to escape the dire circumstances of life in Ghana. It was no wonder, then, that when one of these lost diaspora children showed up with bags in hand, and the fresh naiveté of someone who had been away too long, they gawked with bewilderment, perhaps asking themselves: *Why on earth is she here and what exactly does she intend to accomplish?*

Fast forward, thirteen months into my first homeland visit, and with much determined curiosity, I began to find my "tribe": recently returned, Western-educated, young professionals who were also making their way through the murky waters of Ghanaian

[1] In Ghana, traditional ceremonies are held to reveal a newborn baby to the community. This word is also sometimes used to refer to a formal installation ceremony, to mark the first time a person is seen in public office.

identity, society and changing economic landscape. In some ways, the presence of these young returnees reflected what I had discovered the year prior in my Masters Research investigation of Ghanaian-Canadian second-generation identity formation. Towards the end of that project, each of my participants expressed a deep longing to return to the homeland. Indeed, my own return stimulated new questions for me about why others were seeking to return to Ghana, with all of its *wahala*[2]. What had brought us home? To what extent did the homeland continue to shape our collective consciousness as diaspora children? Why were so many early to mid-career professionals leaving the West to start fresh in an arguably more difficult economic climate? What motivates young Africans abroad, some of whom had very few interactions with the homeland during childhood, to "return" home instead of flying off through Europe or simply staying put in their relative Western comfort? Like any keen academic, I turned to the scholarship for answers; these personal inquiries form the basis of this dissertation project.

My work begins from the premise that one's cultural identity has a significant impact on their sense of self in relation to the exterior world. This dialectical relationship between self and community is an ongoing encounter that helps to shape our life course. For those whose communities traverse national borders, the encounter is a complex interplay between multiple cultures and the self. Certainly, as young people grow and mature, they develop "multiple, overlapping and simultaneous identities" that can be accounted for through empirical analysis of their lives (Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2002: 62). I am curious about the ways in which navigating their complex cross-border community has come to shape the adult children of Ghanaian immigrants in material and non-material ways. Through an examination of the interior lives of 1.5 and second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians, I seek to understand the extent to which growing up in a transnational home context continues to shape their adult

[2] West African pidgin term signaling "problems", "issues" or "business".

lives, including their life goals and aspirations, values and sense of place within that cross-border sociocultural network. My dissertation argues that 1.5 and second generation Ghanaian-Canadian young adults are engaged in a dynamic and multi-sited negotiation of their cultural identities as a natural consequence of growing up in a transnational social field. For my participants, this negotiation manifested in frequent trips to the homeland, aspirations for homeland return and an effort to preserve their cultural identities in Canada. Specifically, for those who return to Ghana, the homeland experience is marked by a complex negotiation of homeland identity, whereby youth must confront the complexity of their othered foreignness vis a vis their homeland compatriots.

Background

The history of Canada's immigration policy is riddled with moments of intense discrimination and xenophobia against various groups, including, but not limited to, migrants from Italy (Hickman, et al, 2012), Ireland (Smith, 2004), Japan (Sunahara, 1981), China (Satzewich, 1989) and India (Ward, 2002). Notably, the first one hundred years of Canada's immigration policy limited African (and Asian) migration based on both implicit and explicit racial bias; immigrants from Western Europe were often seen as the most desirable and "assimilable" populations (Tettey and Puplampu, 2005; Abdi, 2005). Race-based policies such as the 1885 Chinese Head Tax, the 1908 Continuous Journey Regulation or the outright refusal of entry of "undesirables" demonstrate some of the structural biases embedded in Canada's governance and management of racialized immigrants throughout its history (Matas, 1985). In particular, Blacks were generally considered "unfit" and "lazy" for the greater part of Canada's history, and therefore restricted access to Canada, with the exception of those that were forcibly relocated to Canada (then called British North America) as part of the Slave Trade. It was not until the "point system" in the 1960s that Blacks, especially from sub-Saharan Africa, were able to immigrate voluntarily to Canada (Mensah, 2002; Tettey and

Puplampu, 2005; Mensah, 2015). Indeed, prior to the creation of the 1967 Immigration Act and the subsequent 1971 Multiculturalism Act, Canada was imagined and governed as a white nation (Whitaker, 1991; Razack, 1998; Banerjee, 2000; Tettey and Puplampu, 2005). Migrants from Western European countries were generally viewed as best able to acclimatize to a growing Canadian society; certainly, immigrants from the United Kingdom and other majority white countries (who historically made up a large share of migrant-sending countries) were perceived to have more in common, (culturally speaking) in comparison to racialized groups from the Global South.

The 1967 Immigration Act introduced a "point system," whereby incoming migrants were assessed based on a range of qualifications, primarily including educational and professional skills (Green and Green, 1995). At the time, Canada was desperate to fill in the labour force gaps that had been left in the wake of post-war Europe's growing political and economic stability (Abdi, 2005). As many African and Asian states were now gaining their independence, this also created a new potential workforce that the Canadian state could exploit. In order to successfully bolster migration from these Commonwealth countries, Canada also needed to improve its international image as a tolerant and liberal democratic nation that was open to highly skilled professional individuals and their families (Wayland, 1997). The point system changed the face of Canada as more immigrants from across the global south saw the country as a promising new home. Particularly, these changes saw the influx of many professional and educational migrants from across Africa's newly independent states. By the 1980s, especially, there was an uptick in African migration to Canada because of social, economic and political upheaval across many African states (Zeleza, 2010).

Unsurprisingly, migration scholarship mirrored the historical Eurocentric bias of North America's immigration policies. Specifically, straight-line assimilation theory posited

that with each generation, migrated communities would become less “ethnic”, and instead, melt into the larger host society. Gans (1973) argued that, through generational steps, immigrant communities would inevitably move away from “ethnic ground zero” (Alba and Nee, 1997), to embrace complete absorption of mainstream society’s values, priorities and sensibilities. In the social sciences, Milton Gordon is largely credited with advancing concepts of assimilation and acculturation, whereby minority immigrant groups were assumed to eventually be absorbed into the larger host society (Gordon, 1964). Within this theoretical frame, the goal of immigrants was their complete “structural assimilation”, defined as the “entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary group level” (Gordon, 1964: 80). Often, this assimilation process was assumed to be racially and culturally neutral despite the colonial roots of mainstream North American societies (Gordon, 1964; Gans, 1979; Boyd, 2002). To put this another way, when theorizing the adaptation of immigrant groups, scholars mainly only considered how white Euro-descended communities could integrate. In Gordon’s estimation, the structural assimilation of all immigrant groups would result in ethnic intermarrying and ultimately, the disappearance of racism and social discrimination. The success of immigrant groups to North America, then, was often predicated on the notion of a seamless adoption of "middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins" (Gordon, 1964 as cited in Alba and Nee, 1997: 830). Portes et .al. (2005) argue that assimilation theory is the “intellectual legacy” of migration studies and captures the societal landscape at the turn of the century. They also observe that this theory was largely flawed due to the over-determination of the superficial aspects of the process of adaptation. In other words, cultural markers such as language, cultural habits, and spatial patterns do not consider some of the very real structural challenges faced by racialized immigrants from the global south who must navigate the historical white-washing of Canadian society. Earlier migration scholarship

did not interrogate the racial undertones implicit in the concept of assimilation, whereby non-white persons are forced to strip themselves of their cultural identity in order to have social, economic and political mobility in North America (Alba and Nee, 1997; Boyd, 2002).

As the sources of migrant-sending countries shifted with policy reform, so too, did the perception of the challenges regarding immigrant settlement and integration. Immigrant agencies and policymakers were forced to confront how race, ethnicity and culture affected the ability of non-white immigrant communities to integrate within a historically white society. On its face, official multiculturalism policy aimed to bring unity to the country's French and English populations, while also incorporating other ethnic groups, including Canada's indigenous communities (Wayland, 1997; Agnew, 1997). Yet, many national and scholarly debates questioned how well migrants from across Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America could participate in the Great White North, given its legacy of institutional discrimination. Particularly, critical race scholarship began to interrogate the myth of Canada's multiculturalism vis a vis ongoing institutional and social discrimination (Walcott, 1997; Bannerji, 2000; Thobani, 2007; Razack et. al, 2010). Migration scholars and social scientists began to shed the language of "assimilation" because of its nativist roots, and instead, examined how racialized ethnic communities were maintaining their cultural identities, while integrating into Canadian society. During the early nineties, migration scholars began nuancing assimilation discourse to describe the variegated results of migrant groups in the host society. Theories such as "new assimilation theory" and "segmented assimilation" attempted to articulate the various possible outcomes of immigrant integration, incorporating pre-migration identities, migrants' social and educational capital, and their positionality within Canada's labour market. New assimilation theory posited that immigrant integration could have stronger outcomes when accompanied with civil rights laws that protected and enforced marginalized communities' access to economic and social justice

(Alba and Nee, 2003; Brown and Bean, 2006). Segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Boyd, 2002; Xie and Greenman, 2011) argued three (3) possible outcomes for second and subsequent generation youth's success: first, migrants' offspring may follow the traditional line of assimilation and upward mobility, dictated by acculturation and economic integration in normative structures of (white) middle-class life in the host society. Traditional European immigrant groups generally continue to fall into this category. Given Canada's racial hierarchy, white-skinned immigrants often meld into the mainstream white society – albeit, there have been exceptions throughout history, including the Irish and the Italians, who were castigated to outsider status based on their ethnic and national differences (Ignatiev, 1995). A second possible outcome for the second generation is downward mobility in the opposite direction, which is characterized by acculturation and parallel integration into the underclass. Portes and Zhou (1993) note that various Black (Caribbean) and Asian communities often succumb to this outcome. This typically happens to communities that are pushed to the economic margins because of racial discrimination and the lack of social and human capital from their parents. Lastly, the second generation may experience economic integration into middle-class host society, with a lagged acculturation and the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values, solidarity and ethnic identity (Zhou, 1997; Boyd and Grieco, 1998; Portes et al, 2005; Chen, 2013). South and East Asian youth, for example, tend to fare well in Canada's labour market, while sustaining their cultural traditions. In the Canadian context, this has been made possible with the creation of wealthy ethnic enclaves in suburban cities such as Markham and Brampton, Ontario. Ultimately, the outcome of the second generation is varied based on their parents' economic realities, the host society's attitude towards their ethnic group, and their own decision-making practices which are often informed by both home and host society cultures. In recent years, however,

segmented assimilation theory has also received heavy criticism for potentially relying on old and harmful stereotypes of biological determinism (Xie and Greenman, 2011).

At the same time that we saw the shift in migration research, the world was also experiencing massive shifts in global relations. Terms such as "globalization" and "transnationalism" were becoming more commonplace, as a way to describe a complex set of global arrangements, in which people, goods, labour and capital were experiencing greater mobility and movement across national borders (Grewal and Kaplan, 2002). The effects of this movement could be observed in an increasing cultural hybridity, the creation of new and sub identities, and new questions about the relationship between people and place(s).

Understandably, the transnational turn in migration scholarship initially prioritized the continued relationship of first generation immigrants with their homeland. Much has been written about the ways in which migrants engage in cross-border linkages, robust remittance cultures, and recreation of homeland culture through diaspora communities (Kivisto, 2001; Cohen, 2008; Lindley, 2009; Flores and Malik, 2015; Kovacs, 2020). Contemporary immigrant groups are able to maintain ties with their homelands, because of an increased access to advanced technology, transportation and global financial systems. It is now widely acknowledged that framing migrants as "permanent settlers" obfuscates the ways in which their real-time transnational practices continue to shape contemporary relations within their cross-border communities (Bowles, 2013). Indeed, it is no longer sufficient to discuss settlement and integration as the final destination of migrants, but rather a complex phase in the overall journey.

Habitus and the Transnational Social Field

Transnational social field theory provides an important intervention regarding how we think about migrant communities' relationship to space and place. The theory derives from Bourdieu's (1984) social field theory, which sought to explain how individuals are shaped by,

participate within and limited through a field "setting" or environment. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain:

> A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 16)

Naturally, the concept of the field and the habitus are closely related. Individuals' social positions within the field (i.e. social environments, such as classroom, work environment or cultural community) are a result of the interaction between the field's rules, institutions and regulations; the individual's habitus (i.e. skills, dispositions, habits, tastes and worldview); and their capital (i.e. social, economic and cultural) [Hilgers and Mangez, 2015]. Habitus may also be understood as a frame of reference that is shaped for us by our engagement with a social environment. Employing their habitus, people within the social field regularly struggle for social position in pursuit of more desirable outcomes and greater meaning of their lives. The actors within a social field are unequally positioned, existing within a "power-geometry" (Vertovec, 2001) in which each person negotiates their identities, priorities and values. Within the social field, habitus is acquired through social interactions, developed throughout the life course, and practiced on a daily basis. As people engage with the field, gaining new experiences and confronting old experiences, their habitus is further developed and embodied. For example, Lehman (2012) applies habitus to describe how working class students negotiate their outsider status within university institutions (social field) though they may not fully understand its rules. The study finds that students' from working class backgrounds respond differently to the university setting, which is presumed to be a middle-class environment. While some students become "committed" to excelling, others experience deep "alienation", which results in disengagement and indifference to university life. The study demonstrates that as working class students' habitus interacts with

the university environment, they make agential decisions that positions each student quite differently within the university system by the end of their four-year degree (Lehman, 2012).

Ngarachu (2014) also utilizes habitus to describe the ways that ethnicity (as a cultural marker of capital or habitus) in Kenya impacts youth's attitudes towards politics. Her study finds that Kenyan children develop habitus through their ethnic identities, which determine how they engage the political structure (social field) in order to make calculated choices that reinforce their ethnic group's political priorities. The study also determined that Kenyan youth's habitus is neither strictly a primordialist nor "natural" occurrence, nor a strictly constructivist reality; rather, their habitus is the result of a dialectical, negotiated process of innate/ancestral knowledge and the contemporary, ongoing interaction with their broader social world (Ngarachu, 2014). Within the study, for example, some youth who identified strongly (and primarily) with their Luhya ethnic group, but had grown up as "third culture kids", were less likely to identify with their national Kenyan identity -rather these youth expressed a "global citizen" identity that was rooted in their childhood experiences.

While Bourdieu does not provide one seamless definition of transnational habitus, several migration scholars have evolved the term to describe the range of behaviours, skills and sensibilities that transnational actors acquire and utilize to participate in cross-border networks (Kelly and Lusis, 2006; Nedelcu, 2012; Zechner, 2017; Joy et. al, 2018). The habitus (and the accompanying forms of capital) must be mutually recognized and valued by the other actors in the field in order to be effectively practiced. A transnational habitus exists in a form "whereby practices and social positions that spread across borders produce conscious and non-conscious dispositions to act in specific ways in specific situations" (Golob, 2014; 131). Ultimately, some scholars note, individuals' "structured position" interacts in a reflexivity "loop" to be adjusted, modified, heightened or reduced within their social environment (Adam, 2006). Put another way, migrant groups who have developed

particular skills, experiences, ideas, attitudes, tastes and worldviews may interact, in a social network with the homeland compatriots, in ways that can influence, disrupt or shift their power position, ultimately re-arranging their relationship with other members of the social network.

Transnational habitus is enacted every day. *Transnationalizing* the social field, then, demonstrates how migrant groups exist within an interconnected web of social relations, practices and behaviours that include those left behind in the homeland and those in the diaspora. The transnational social field is a complex interplay of ideological linkages, territory, and identities that exist along multiple axes and at different scales. Migrants and those left behind engage in the transnational social field, as actors seeking to increase their social position, make meaning of their lives and sense of self, and sustain the cross-border community (Golob, 2014; Kauppi, 2018). Indeed, transnational identities are complexly negotiated within an individual's social environment (or field), and the expression or practice of an individual's habitus depends on the "particular predispositions shaped through ongoing interactions between traditions, worldviews and values of the individual's context of origin" (Golob, 2014).

Children of Immigrants

By the turn of the century, researchers shifted their gaze to the children of newcomers as a barometer of how successful immigrant integration had been across various racialized communities. After all, the second, third and subsequent generations of immigrants were fully socialized within a Canadian landscape and have no direct ties (or cultural baggage) from their parents' homeland. Certainly, if these generations were able to have positive economic, social and educational outcomes, the project of immigration had succeeded. Migrant parents, themselves, invest much hope in these future generations, often believing that their children's success offsets their difficult sacrifices along the journey. The children of

immigrants navigate a complex reality. They represent a phase in the immigrant experience in which the homeland culture and the host land cultures are in tension with each other as their families learn to adapt to a new reality. Often, this demographic is expected to adhere to the cultural values and beliefs of the old country, while also excelling at host society integration. In cases where homeland culture mirrors the host land (such as the case of many European-descended immigrant groups in North America), the "catch up time" is usually quite minimal. However, for immigrant children whose parents' homeland culture is vastly different than their adoptive country (as is the case with many racialized immigrant youth), the best outcomes are typically a blending of two or more cultures that is hard-won through personal and societal struggle. Scholars have spent much time examining the life outcomes of these generations, including their educational, employment, residential and health trajectories. Much of this literature has demonstrated that the new second and 1.5 generations are negotiating feelings of ambivalence, misbelonging and discrimination, despite Canada's promises of liberal multicultural democracy (Dei, 2005; Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer, 2005; Ali, 2008; Sodhi, 2008; Kobayashi and Preston, 2014; Creese, 2015, 2020). Immigrant children have learned to build resilience in the face of this marginalization, forming their own subcultures and group identities to buffer against ongoing racism, xenophobia and marginalization.

Black Canadian Youth

The scholarship on Black youth in Canada suggests that this cohort is particularly impacted by systemic barriers including their unequal access to education, employment and healthcare (Gordon and Zinga, 2012; James et. al, 2013; Walcott and Abdillahi, 2019). Black Canadian youth generally experience over-policing, criminalization and greater school "push-out" rates, which affects youth's labour market integration outcomes (Dei, 2008; Tecle et al, 2017). Recent analysis from the 2016 Canadian census discovered that across all economic

categories, Black youth earned less than other youth, and were less likely to obtain postsecondary education, even as these youths expressed higher educational aspirations than the general youth population (Turcotte, 2020). Black immigrant youth face particular integration challenges tied to their families' socioeconomic status in Canada. On average, Black families tend to be more under-resourced than white Canadian families, which has generational consequences for Black youth navigating life in the host country. These societal barriers ultimately affect youth's sense of place in Canadian society. Second generation Black Africans in particular, struggle for self-definition, as they often feel their otherness within their social environments, despite possessing all of the markers of a Canadian upbringing (i.e. accent, education, disposition and behaviours). For example, Creese (2018) notes that second generation Black Africans in Vancouver, British Columbia continue to confront othering discourse about their belonging in Canadian society. Racially loaded questions such as "Where are you from?" demonstrate that Black youth are still positioned as "guests" in their "host society", despite their citizenship status (Creese, 2018). Consequently, youth are often negotiating the complex relationship between their ethno-racial, immigrant and national identities in mainstream Canada.

Notably, on either side of the 49th parallel, there is increasing scholarship to suggest that Black second-generation immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean face similar structural oppression as their non-immigrant Black counterparts (see: Waters, 1994; Clark, 2008; Awokoya, 2012; Yeboah, 2008; Imoagene, 2012; Faria, 2014; Habecker, 2016). However, in Canada, the experiences of 1.5 and second generation Black immigrants is coloured by the specific socio-demographic realities of the country. Whereas Blacks in the United States comprise roughly fourteen percent of the population, most of whom are the descendants of enslaved Africans, Black Canadians make up a mere two to three per cent of Canada's total population; many of these individuals belonging to contemporary immigrant

communities (see: Ethno racial data, Statistics Canada 2016). The experiences of the majority Black Canadians (roughly two-thirds of whom are from immigrant backgrounds), is inherently shaped by their histories of migration vis à vis the Canadian nation. Until recently, Canada's strong multicultural rhetoric might have made diaspora youths' claims to dis-identification or un-belonging appear dramatic, as race and racism were far out of the minds of white Canadians. For many years, to speak openly about race in a multicultural-touting nation such as Canada was often labeled as "racist" or "divisive" (Dei, 1997; Bannerji, 2000; Razack, 2005). Over the past two decades, Black community demands for Afrocentric schooling to address anti-Black educational practices, investigations into the over-policing of Black communities and the rising high unemployment rates of Black youth have largely been peripheralized as community issues, rather than any indication of Canada's "race problem".

However, contemporary events have shifted the conversation. For example, the recent civil uprisings in the United States, Canada and across the world have been largely precipitated by the ongoing police killings of unarmed Black people, most recently Jermaine Carby in Brampton, Andrew Loku in Toronto, Pierre Coriolan in Montreal and George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Taylor across (3) American states. These killings and the global outpouring of grief, anger and support for the Black Lives Matter, a largely youth-led global movement demonstrate that anti-Black racism continues to be a permanent fixture in the current generation of Canada's Black community. Indeed, there have now been calls for divestments of police institutions and a redistribution to community services for Black and Indigenous populations in both Canada and the United States. Even still, when recent protests first began in the United States, Ontario Premier Doug Ford adamantly claimed that Canada does not have the "same, systemic roots" of racism (Global News, 2020). This context of "Canadian colour-blindness" creates a difficult social environment for Black immigrant youth, who are confronting the violence of structural racism on a daily basis. That

Canada has historically been framed as, somehow, more welcoming, tolerant and amicable to people of colour, has made racist slights in Canada even more dubious. Undeniably, Black immigrant youth enter a Canadian national imaginary where their identities are already constructed and positioned through hegemonic and oppositional discourses of Blackness in relation Canadian identity. Largely, emerging scholarship continues to confirm that Black youth are positioned as outliers in a racially coded nation-state context in Canada (Creese, 2015; Davis, 2017; Bernard et al, 2018; Walcott and Abdillahi, 2019). At the same time, it may be argued that Canada's multiculturalism stance ironically opens up the space for racialized immigrant youth to identify with their parents' home culture, many of them proudly adopting their hyphenated identities. Given the current socio-political climate in which Black youth from across different ethnic groups are at the fore of resistance to anti-Black racism in Canada, it is worth investigating their relationship to (trans)national identities.

The Transnational Second-Generation

There still remains some debate about the future of the second generation in relation to the homeland. Significantly, early scholars of the new 1.5 and second generation assumed that these demographics would be less inclined to access the homeland, as the wide gaps in time and space would cause them to lose interest and connection in the old country (Levitt, 2004; Yeboah, 2008). While they may have grown up with their parents' homeland nostalgia and longing, scholars suggested, immigrant children would have no desire to engage what had been left behind. Further, any such romanticism, proponents argued, would certainly not result in diaspora youth's active, intentional and sustained relationship building with the home country. Contemporary shifts in transnational discourse have encouraged scholars to reconsider the reality and potential effects of second-generation transnational practices (Potter and Conway, 2009; Kelly, 2015; Brocket, 2018; Jain, 2019). It makes sense that the

children of migrants grow up in a context in which they are routinely participating in and shaped by their transnational community practices. Migration scholars working in other cultural contexts have sought to describe the role of migrants' children within the transnational social field (Levitt, 2002; Levitt, 2004; Rumbaut, 2005; Portes, 2003; Jain, 2019; Brocket, 2018). Second generation transnationalism has been found across various diasporas including Barbadians in the United Kingdom (Potter and Conway, 2009), Filipinos in Canada (Kelly, 2015) and the United States (Garrido, 2011) and Ethiopians (Abebe, 2018) in Canada, and Palestinians (Brocket, 2018), and Indians (Jain, 2019) in the United States. We now understand that diaspora children's worldviews, interests and identities are inherently influenced by their exposure to their parents' transnational network, which sometimes translates into regular and intentional cross-border activities. This scholarship has illustrated that some diaspora youth actively engage in homeland affairs, including hometown associations, roots migration, long distance nationalism, and "complex in-betweenness" (Glick-Schiller and Fouron, 2001; Levitt, 2004; Wessendorf, 2013). However, the scholarship on Ghanaian-Canadians has yet to fully engage the transnational potential of migrants' children, many of whom are currently navigating young adulthood, making active choices to reconnect with their ancestral home.

Profile of Ghanaian-Canadians

According to the recent 2016 Canadian census, there are currently over 35,000 Ghanaians living in Canada. The community is predominantly spread across the nation's metropolitan centres, with large numbers in Ontario, Quebec and Alberta (Statistics Canada, 2018). Across Canada, Ghanaians have developed a vibrant community, engaged in social development, professional advancement and transnational activities. Eighty-two percent of Ghanaians in Canada occupy Canadian citizenship (Statistics Canada, 2018) and contribute to Canadian society through the arts, business, and sports. Historically, Ghanaian migrants were

required to abdicate their Ghanaian citizenship in order to become Canadian citizens, which means that very few currently hold dual citizenship. However, it is clear that most community members perceive themselves as equally belonging to both identities despite legal recognition. In an effort to describe the heterogeneity of Ghanaian identity in Canada, Mensah et al (2018) developed a typology outlining (4) categories of belonging: *proto-Ghanaians, Ghanaians-cum-Canadians, Ghanadians* and *Others*. While the first and second categories consist of Ghanaian citizens living in Canada (as refugees, permanent residents, or visa students) and Ghanaian-born Canadians (who hold dual citizenship) respectively, the third category consists of Canadian citizens who "hold Ghanaian cultural heritage at their core, while living in Canada" (Mensah, et al, 2018, pg. 4). The final category characterizes individuals who may have ties that are more complex to the homeland, such as those with mixed ethnicity, citizenship, parentage or heritage. This category may include second or third generations, but also individuals within the broader African diaspora with special affinity to Ghana (Mensah et al, 2018).

Ghana's migrants to Canada equally reflect the ethnic diversity in the homeland. While most migrants to Canada belong to the Akan ethnic groups, there is also a sizeable group of Ewes, Moshi, Dagombas, Bono and Ga people. Ghanaians have formed several ethno-cultural organizations across the country to preserve cultural traditions, mentor youth and provide emotional and financial support for migrants and their families. Organizations such as Mfantseman Cultural Association of Toronto, the Ewe-Canadian Cultural Association of Ontario, and the Brong Ahafo Association of Toronto have an active membership that aim to support community development, entrepreneurship and integration. Many Ghanaians in Canada are highly religious and socially conservative, continuing traditional practices from the homeland. The vast majority of them actively participate in an ethno-religious community, and regularly attend a religious institution. A 2008 study found that there were

nearly 40 Ghanaian churches across the Greater Toronto Area (Mensah, 2008). Many of these churches are part of the new Pentecostal/charismatic traditions that have become popularized among Christians in Ghana. Muslim communities also form a smaller, but well-established minority of the Ghanaian-Canadian religious community.

Changes to Canada's immigration policy in the sixties, introduced a point system, which made it possible for many professionalized Ghanaian migrants to enter Canada. Ghanaians are among some of the most educated Canadians, and yet their median incomes tend to be lower than the national average, across various educational levels (Statistics Canada, 2016). At the national level, the number of Ghanaians with graduate degrees is slightly higher than the overall Canadian population. However, their rates of unemployment are disproportionately higher than the national average. Labour market discrimination, including "accent-bias" (Creese, 2011), de-skilling of labour and dismissing foreign credentials, have all been cited as ongoing barriers to African migrants' socioeconomic mobility. Despite wide-ranging studies demonstrating that African immigrants continue to face discrimination in education (Kanu, 2008; Tannock, 2011; Madut, 2019; Nichols at al, 2020), labour (Creese and Wiebe, 2009; Yssaad and Fields, 2018; Otoo, 2020) and housing (Garang, 2012; Mensah and Williams, 2013), Ghanaians in Canada are largely a resilient demographic. They can be found across a broad spectrum of professions in the country, including nursing/medicine, teaching, social work and banking. Ghanaian professionals have established several profession-based membership associations, such as the Ghana Canadian Social Services Network, the Ghanaian-Canadian Economic and Business Development Organization and the Ghana-Canadian Chamber of Commerce with the goals of providing culturally sensitive services and networks to the community.

Home ownership is a significant measure of successful immigrant integration (Firang, 2018). Ghanaian immigrants generally participate in home ownership at a much lower rate

than the national average, which sits at 67.8 percent (Statistics Canada, 2016 Census). Certainly, the housing careers of Ghanaians also reflects their economic realities in Canada and their strategies for transnationalism in the homeland. The 2011 National Household Survey determined that 63% of Ghanaians in Canada live in the Toronto area, most of whom reside within low-income geographical areas relative to other ethnic minorities (Mensah and Williams, 2013; Kuuire et al, 2016). Ghanaians tend to live in government-regulated, densely populated neighborhoods with affordable rent. Common residential areas include the northwestern parts of old suburbs of Toronto, such as Jane-Finch, Jamestown/Rexdale, and central Brampton (Firang, 2011). Not only do Ghanaians choose these renting neighbourhoods because of their affordability, but also because of the social proximity to other community members, ethnic churches and community spaces (Owusu, 1999; Mensah and Williams, 2013; Kuuire at al, 2016). Another possible explanation for the historically low home ownership of Ghanaians in Canada is that many migrants would rather engage in transnational homeownership in Ghana for practical and symbolic reasons. While transnational home ownership is often associated with constraints on immigrant integration (due to the enormous resources exerted over a long period), in reality, many Ghanaian-Canadians perceive that transnational home ownership actually demonstrates their success in the host country (Kuuire et al, 2016). This is largely due to the cultural weight placed on land and home ownership in Ghana. Indeed, even though there is evidence that many migrants may never actually be able to return to the homeland (see: Sinatti's [2011] work on the "myth of return"), many Ghanaian immigrants still build houses in Ghana to demonstrate their commitment, desire and intentions to be reunited with local family members. Building family homes is also significant for intergenerational wealth transition, whereby parents pass on their property to their children. The family home is also a culturally significant dwelling, often used for funeral ceremonies (Kuuire et al, 2016). While it is now commonly recognized

that Ghanaians are more likely to rent across Canada, Firang's (2008) research does provide some evidence of growing home ownership among Ghanaian-Canadians, particularly towards Toronto's western-facing suburbs, including Mississauga, Brampton and North York (Firang, 2018). As second and subsequent generations mature into adulthood, Canada may continue to see more home ownership amongst Ghanaian communities, particularly for young and growing families.

Over several decades, the Ghanaian community has managed to make significant contributions to Canadian society. Some have excelled in their respective industries, and have developed mainstream success including renowned television journalist Jojo Chintoh, award-winning author Esi Edugyan, and multimedia LEGO artist Ekow Nimako, whose 2019 Aga Khan Museum Exhibition *Building Black: Civilizations* was met with critical acclaim by Toronto's art world. In March 2020, the City of Brampton celebrated Ghana's Independence Day, inviting the Ghanaian-Canadian Association of Ontario (GCAO), the Consul General of Ghana Honourable Thomas Seshie, and some community members to a Pre-Council Proclamation Reception hosted by Mayor Patrick Brown and members of City Council (Eyiah, 2020). Notably, the City vowed to raise the Ghanaian flag at Brampton City Hall on March 6 every year henceforth to honour Ghana's Independence Day. This flag-raising ceremony in Brampton follows the tradition that occurs in other major cities, such as Toronto. While this gesture is largely symbolic, it does represent a shift in the sociocultural impact and visibility of Ghanaians across some Canadian cities. The GCAO has actively campaigned to establish the Ghanaian Heritage Centre in Toronto, which would serve as a "centre of education to improve quality of life, cultural and traditional heritage; mentorship to various vocations and [community] access to professionals" (Eyiah, 2018, para. 6). The organization has also actively participated in city-wide community development initiatives, including a recent partnership with City of Toronto to clean the Chalkfarm Park area –home

to many Ghanaian immigrants -in a bid to "promote the formidable Ghanaian community in Canada as part of the cultural mosaic of Canada" (Eyiah, 2019, para. 3).

Certainly, the historical relationship between Ghana and Canada is also worth noting. In 1906, Quebecois missionaries established a church in Navrongo in northern Ghana, which marked the arrival of Canada's presence in the country (Kimble, 1963). At the state-level, the relationship between Ghana and Canada also has a deep history, beginning with the former's Independence era national development strategy. As the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to achieve its independence from British colonial rule, Ghana became Canada's first international development partner in the region. Over the years, Canada has channeled millions of dollars into trade, development and business ventures in Ghana. Recently, through Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Feminist International Assistance Program, Global Affairs Canada (in partnership with Plan International Canada) pledged a total of 4.8 million dollars to help build the organizational capacity of women's rights groups across Ghana, as part of the *Women's Voice and Leadership Initiative* (Daily Guide, par. 3, 2019). Additionally, under its *Innovation for Women's Economic Empowerment in Ghana* program, the Canadian government has pledged over 30 million dollars over the next five years to support the "enhanced economic empowerment, well-being and inclusive economic growth for women in Ghana" (Government of Canada, par 4, 2020). Notably, during a recent farewell ceremony for the outgoing Canadian High Commissioner to Ghana, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Honourable Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey stated that there had been "a record 15% increase in bilateral trade between [the] two countries over the last three years, and over USD$2 billion of current Canadian investment in Ghana" (GhanaWeb, 2019, para. 10).

It is now widely recognized that African immigrants contribute significant amounts of their income to homeland development. Estimates from the World Bank suggest that in 2019, alone, global remittances to sub-Saharan Africa totaled nearly USD 50 billion (Ratha et al,

2019). Monies are routinely sent home for various needs, including local economic development, home-building projects and daily subsistence for family members left behind. Beyond financial contributions, diaspora communities regularly engage in socio-political activism, at times, campaigning through their diaspora associations to challenge oppressive local governments, or intervene in homeland political strife. The Ghanaian community in Canada is no exception to this rule. Like most African immigrant communities, Ghanaian-Canadians engage in a robust remittance culture, including regular money transfers to family members, hometown development projects and political activities in the homeland. In 2018, the World Bank estimated that Ghanaians worldwide transferred personal remittances of over 3.5 million to the homeland (World Bank Open Data, 2020a). However, country-based statistical analysis of international money transfers suggests that this figure may be much higher –in Canada alone, it was estimated that money transfers to Ghana equaled approximately 40 million dollars in 2017, ranking Ghana as the 20th highest remittance-sending destination for Canadian citizens (Dimubuene and Turcotte, 2019). Ghanaian migrants have established various industry-based initiatives to stay active in Ghana's national development, and recently, in collaboration with the Government of Ghanaian, diaspora members have established a Ghanaian Diaspora Youth Forum in Toronto to encourage second and third generation participation in national development.

Most recently, as the world is managing the COVID-19 global pandemic, the Ghanaian-Canadian community has been instrumental in supporting homeland efforts to suppress the spread of the virus and manage the socioeconomic fallout of a government-mandated three-week partial lockdown in Accra, Kasoa, Kumasi and Tema. For example, the Ghanaian Canadian Association of Waterloo Region donated Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), hand sanitizers and hand soap to the 37 Military Hospital and the Ghana Armed Forces COVID-19 Treatment Centre in Accra (Ameh, 2020). Many Ghanaians visiting their

homeland have also found themselves stranded, as major airlines have ceased global operations and national borders have shut down. A repatriation flight was organized by the Canadian government via Ethiopia Airlines to return over 300 Ghanaian-Canadians to the country. A GhanaWeb article dated May 23, 2020 revealed that the GCAO played a key advocacy role in ensuring that these dual citizens were returned to Canada[3]. The Youth Wing of GCAO has also launched a fundraiser to support the Ghana COVID-19 National Trust Fund, which aims to aid the Ghanaian government in their efforts to supplement "front line staff and local organizations that are on the grounds supporting and educating communities about the pandemic crisis" (GCAO Youth, 2020, para. 3). As many countries have mandated their citizens to stay at home in an effort to help flatten the pandemic's curve, there is much concern about the psychological effects of social isolation. In May 2020, The GCAO Youth Wing held an online seminar via Zoom to provide resources on how Ghanaian youth could manage their mental health during the crisis. Featuring key youth community leaders working in social work, psychosocial services and mental health advocacy, the seminar highlighted the psychological impact of pending and actual job losses, educational disruption and social isolation for Ghanaian youth in Canada. This discussion was particularly important, considering that many Ghanaian-Canadian youth also engage in work that is considered as "essential" or frontline work, increasing their chances of potential infection on the job. Young Ghanaians actively continue to participate in transnational community building practices in ways that are sustainable and far-reaching. Overall, it is clear that the Ghanaian

[3] At the time of writing this dissertation, a second flight, scheduled for July 16th, 2020, was being organized by the GCAO via Ethiopia Airlines to return the remaining Ghanaian-Canadians stranded in the homeland due to the COVID travel restrictions. A WhatsApp group called "Canadians 2nd Batch Reparation" had been set up by the Ghanaian Union of the GCAO to register stranded Ghanaian-Canadians and provide regular updates on the status of the repatriation flight. It is worth noting that the Ghanaian community in collaboration with Ethiopia Airlines organized this second initiative; the Canadian government was not directly responsible for its implementation. Currently, the group has 257 members, some of whom are attempting to register their family members and provide the necessary documents to assist their return.

diaspora community in Canada continues to grow their presence in the host society, while also sustaining ties to the homeland.

Rationale:

The study of 1.5 and second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian youth is of particular significance in this moment. Roughly, 31% of Ghanaians in Canada are between the ages of 15-34, suggesting that young people are a significant portion of the community (Mensah, et al, 2018). Significantly, the second generation account for 41% of all Ghanaians in Canada, signifying that they are the second largest age demographic within the community. As a floating demographic, the 1.5 generation is also likely a sizeable portion of the reported 56% of people that comprise the first generation Ghanaian-Canadians in the 2016 Canadian census. Certainly, the sheer volume of Ghanaian migrants' offspring (across generational categories) warrants an investigation of their realities in Canada. Perhaps, through no fault of their own, past Ghanaian migration scholars have often relied too heavily on the first generation's experiences to understand the community's challenges of settlement and integration. Scholarship on the children of Ghanaian immigrants has only recently emerged (in sparse quantity) over the past ten to fifteen years. One obvious explanation is that the second and subsequent generations of Ghanaian-Canadians would have initially been too young to assess whether they had yet successfully integrated into Canadian society. However, as many of these youth are now entering adulthood, the success (or failure) of their acculturation will be most evidenced at this stage as young adults are building their careers and establishing independence (Smith, 2002; Yeboah, 2008).

It should be noted that the handful of studies on second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians that do currently exist were mostly conducted by Ghanaian-Canadians at the graduate student-level, with only a few of those students moving forward to publish their findings (see: Zaami, 2015; Agyekum, 2016). Still, the small body of scholarship emerging

determines that second and subsequent generations often face unique challenges of integration across the education sector and labour market in Canada (Akoto, 2000; Manuh, 2006; Nketiah, 2009; Arku, 2011; Zaami, 2015; Agyekum 2016). Ironically, Ghanaian youth may feel more entitled to Canadian identity (than their parents) feel, yet struggle more with acceptance because of their experiences of overt and covert racism and the contradictions implicit in Canada's promise of a liberal multicultural democracy (Akoto, 2000, Zaami, 2015; Agyekum, 2016). It is worthwhile to investigate to what extent their experiences of marginalization in Canada have shaped their desire for homeland engagement.

Further, as one of the largest Black African immigrant groups in Canada who have predominantly settled in metropolitan areas, Ghanaians exist within a very specific context that is worth examination. Compared to smaller African immigrant groups, the Ghanaian community's size and level of development would fundamentally shape young people's sense of place, culture and identity formation in Canada. Of course, the immigrant classification process determining *how* one enters Canada is equally as important to one's sense of place and identity within it. For example, African youth arriving in Canada with refugee status, such as many 1.5 generation Somali-Canadians and Eritrean-Canadians, are oriented quite differently in their interaction with the state and Canadian society than those, such as many 1.5 generation Ghanaian-Canadians, who typically enter through the family reunification process (Alboim and Cohl, 2012). In many empirical analyses, however, Ghanaian immigrant children are often subsumed under the general "Black youth" category making it virtually impossible to discern the specificity of their place, culture and contemporary challenges. To be sure, much of how we *do* migration studies has been influenced by national government classifications of immigrants. For example, Canadian census data categories have traditionally overgeneralized Black immigrant populations, which often results in limited academic analysis in large-scale data (see for example: Abada, et al., 2009). While Ghanaian

youth are most certainly racialized as Black (and face similar challenges as other Black youth in mainstream Canada), it is also important to consider how their specific social location, including their ethno-national heritage and "African immigrant" status in Canadian society, shapes their life experiences. Notably, Canada's most recent 2016 Census data does make some attempt to expand statistical analysis of various ethnic communities including Ghanaian immigrants; specifically, the categories "Akan", "Ashanti", "Ewe", and "Ghanaian" are all numerically accounted for in the census (Statistics Canada, 2016). The obvious problem, here, is that these categories have some overlap, as one can be simultaneously Akan, Ashanti *and* Ghanaian. Further, these categories hardly cover the deep heterogeneity of Ghanaian immigrants in Canada. Indeed, there is still a long way to go in understanding the specific conditions of Ghanaian-Canadian youth through empirical study. Scholars cannot afford to make the mistake of painting broad strokes over what are, actually, quite diverse social groupings. In fact, it might even be argued that in order to both dismantle anti-Black racism *and* to foster racial solidarity, it is imperative that we attend to the specific conditions of these diverse social experiences.

Current research on other immigrant groups suggest that second-generation youth engage transnational living as a way to reconcile their dual identities and sense of displacement in the host society (Kelly, 2015; Brocket, 2018; Jain, 2019). Framing immigrant youth within a transnational context is an important contribution in advancing the questions of Ghanaian-Canadian settlement and integration. Given their historical patterns of migration, it made sense that earlier research prioritized Ghanaians' transition in the host society. However, as many of the offspring of second and third wave migrants have now crossed over into adulthood, it is valuable to assess if the same transnational practices evidenced among their parents have been sustained in subsequent generations. The proliferation of transnational activities among Ghanaian migrants will certainly nuance the course of

acculturation for their youth, and may result in complex life outcomes. Further, it is worthwhile to consider how transnational habitus is developed and negotiated through second-generation homeland engagement, whereby their worldviews and cultural capital interact with their home country environment. Investigating the 1.5 and second generation provides an opportunity to determine the impact and efficacy of their parents' transnational network vis a vis its influence over them. It also allows us to take seriously the potential of the homeland community as a contemporary source of power for Ghanaian youth and young adults growing up in an oppositional host society context.

While the literature has documented the economic role that Diasporas play, a lesser-known contribution is their sociocultural impact. Often, when migrants leave home, they develop new values, ideas and beliefs, which they transmit to family members through their transnational practices. Levitt (1999) defines social remittances as "the ideas, practices, identities and social capital that are transmitted through the migration circuit" (Levitt 1999: 3). Social remittances are often brought by migrants and travelers or exchanged through telecommunications, including social media, video or phone. These remittances typically travel through well-marked pathways –either formal or informal organizational structures or during interpersonal exchanges between individuals (Levitt, 1999). Given their early career status, Ghanaian youth may not be in a position to provide economic impact in the homeland. However, 1.5 and second-generation may likely remit socially based on their experiences of absorbing Canadian values, as well as their regular use of modern telecommunications and social media. Their dominant socialization in Canada presents a context in which second-generation youth are imbibed with ideas around democracy, governance, and social values that they may negotiate within the context of their cultural communities. Beyond this, when youth visit their ancestral home, they may struggle with what they perceive as "archaic", unsettling or oppressive cultural values (Jain, 2019). Within the diaspora context, for

example, Manuh (2005) finds that Ghanaian children are internalizing a child's rights discourse in which they are able to challenge parents' disciplinary actions (i.e. corporal punishment) based on Canadian legal instruments that protect children. For many Ghanaians, respect for elders (familial and communal) is a common cultural value; however, diaspora youth may struggle with this expectation growing up in a different cultural context. Such discord may have some impact on diaspora youth's cultural expression and interactions in the homeland. For example, over the past decade, social media personalities across the global Ghanaian diaspora have produced online content, parodying the sternness of their parents to demonstrate the ideological shifts in their generation. Clifford Owusu, for example, is a Ghanaian-American comedian who often posts skits parodying his relationship with his father on his YouTube channel (Owusu, 2020). The skits often mock the cultural differences and expectations of his father's generation, such as the expectation to excel at the most mundane activities, including washing dishes (Owusu, 2013). In Toronto, social media personality Evelyn Konadu Koomson of the YouTube Channel *Eve's Eye*, regularly parodies everyday life at home with her parents, including the challenges of driving her demanding mother to the grocery store (Eve's Eye, 2019). Sharing personal experiences through comedic online platforms can likely reach youth back home who are also increasingly plugged in to diaspora youth culture(s). Indeed, there is kinship in the production and consumption of these digital stories as homeland youth likely also experience the disciplinary attitudes of their parents. Similar diaspora youth contributions have been observed in the transformation of homeland fashion (Danso et al, 2015; Okoh, 2018), music (Shipley, 2013) and youth sexual politics. Certainly, it is worth exploring how the transnational social field facilitates diaspora youth subculture interaction with the homeland environment.

There is also a renewed interest in diaspora/home country relations, with particular focus on the potential contributions of second and subsequent diaspora generations. In 2019,

the Government of Ghana commemorated the 400th year since the first slave ships left the shores of the Gold Coast (modern day Ghana) en route to Jamestown, Virginia. This commemoration, officially called *The Year of Return,* was a clarion call for the global African family to return to Ghana in the interest of tourism, investment and repatriation (*Year of Return* website, 2019). The establishment of the Diaspora Relations Desk and the first Ghana Diaspora Homecoming Summit in 2017 to engage Ghanaian returnee businesses, organizations and initiatives supporting national development preceded the festivities in 2019. While these initiatives targeted the entire diaspora, the government specifically encouraged the entrepreneurial participation of the younger diaspora as a key aspect of national development. For example, during the first Homecoming Summit in 2017, a panel was organized by *Me Firi Ghana,* a London-based youth charity aimed at creating positive change in Ghana through innovation and collaboration. The panel, entitled "Opportunities for the Second Generation of Diasporans", focused on how to best integrate the younger diaspora into Ghanaian society, business and politics (Ghana Diaspora Homecoming Summit, Day 3 Schedule, 2017). Beyond this Summit, the Diaspora Relations Office has actively engaged the Ghanaian diaspora in Canada, establishing a Ghana-Canada Chamber of Commerce, collaborating with regional Ghana-Canada Associations (in Ontario and Winnipeg) and instituting an active youth wing to engage the next generation in nation building. With much attention on the potential of the second-generation development contributions, it is important to evaluate their values, priorities and sense of place in contemporary Ghanaian society. An examination of their transnational consciousness and activities can help us better understand how youth themselves understand and practice their roles in national development. As the "bridge" generation between their parents and Canadian society, 1.5 and second generation young adults demonstrate the future trends and possibilities of Ghanaian migrant settlement in Canada.

Research Questions

The project begins with three core questions: 1. What are the sites through which a transnational social field is developed for the 1.5 and second generation? 2. How does the existence of this transnational social field inform the1.5 and second generation's desire to return to Ghana? 3. What is the reality of the 'return experience' and how are 1.5 and second generation identities, senses of 'belonging' and of 'home' articulated and/or contextualized in the homeland? My work enters as an attempt to investigate the ways in which their transnational identity consciousness (or habitus) shapes second-generation desires to be connected to their parents' country of origin, despite what their parents might have dreamed for them, or how the larger Canadian society narrates immigrant settlement and integration. In the face of the bleak scholarly narrative of second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian youth, investigating their objective and subjective ties to the homeland might offer us an alternative evaluation of the potential for their life outcomes. Through in-depth interviews with 32 Ghanaian-Canadian young adults, my aim is to provide some transnational context to their lives, situating their experiences within a contemporary moment of broader diaspora transnationalism.

Organization of Study

The remainder of this dissertation is organized in five parts: Chapter Two will provide a broad review of the literature demonstrating the key issues in transnationalism, migration and second-generation studies. This chapter makes a case for situating second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians within a growing body of literature at the intersection of the aforementioned extant scholarship. While those studying Ghanaian youth in Canada have provided some context to settlement and integration challenges, there remains a gap in our understanding of their transnational consciousness and practices. Chapter Three will describe the methodological strategies employed to investigate the second generation, demonstrating

my preference for a predominantly qualitative research methodology. The chapter will also provide pertinent discussion on my positionality as an "insider-outsider" researcher, studying a demographic that I belong to within my home country context. The next two chapters provide a two-part analysis of my findings. Chapter Four describes how early cultural socialization has shaped contemporary Ghanaian-Canadian young adulthood, with a focus on cultural values, traditions and sites cultivated in the diaspora. The data reveals six major cultural values that Ghanaian-Canadian youth have internalized, including the (i) importance of family life, (ii) community as an extension of the family unit, (iii) work ethic/education, (iv) respect(ability), (v) religion/faith and (vi) cultural pride. Young adults continue to negotiate these cultural values in the contemporary moment; in some instances, participants actively reject beliefs that they find oppressive, outdated or irrelevant to their current life contexts. This chapter further demonstrates that most of the young adults in my study were raised within a diaspora cultural context, and while many have since moved away from their childhood community spaces, they have begun to cultivate a relationship with the homeland on their own terms. The findings from this chapter illustrate the role of Bourdieu's habitus and capital in the negotiations that Ghanaian young adults are making as they navigate the transnational social field. Chapter Five examines the return experiences of the 1.5 and second generation, unpacking the motivations, preparation towards and experiences of engaging the homeland. The data determined (5) major factors that motivated participants to return to the homeland including, emotional longing for Ghana, social misbelonging in Canada, social responsibility to the homeland, career advancement/economic investment, and the pursuit of a better quality of life. Each participant described some combination of these factors as a major "pull" towards the homeland. The chapter also describes the complex reality of returning home, which includes the realization of how their Canadian upbringing ironically poses some integration challenges for young returnees in Ghana. Specifically, participants

describe tensions in the local work environment, navigating inadequate public infrastructure, seemingly rigid gender norms and frustration with local family expectations. Aspiring and actual returnees both expressed a deep sense of disillusionment with the challenges in contemporary Ghana, but were equally grateful for the opportunity to gain deeper understanding about their cultural identities. Finally, this chapter explains that most participants were still quite early in their careers, which suggested the need for long-term strategies for homeland return, rather than an immediate relocation. Many participants were engaging in a circular migration and regular visitation process, which would allow them to build their local networks, and develop greater appreciation for local challenges in preparation for a long-term contribution. In Chapter (6), I return to the project's three main research questions, providing some discussion about the implications of my findings for the scholarship on Ghanaian-Canadians, second-generation studies and transnational social field theory. Ultimately, the participants in my study demonstrate the varied possible paths of the second and subsequent generations, which should not be underestimated by Ghanaian migration scholars. Their interactions with the homeland have the potential to both influence homeland cultural dynamics, as well as further deepen and transform their sense of selves. To fully appreciate near-future trends among the 1.5 and second generation, it is important to understand how their transnational social field upbringing continues to influence their current decision-making processes.

Limitations of this Study

This project employs a qualitative analysis, with a carefully selected group of participants. As such, it is difficult to make large-scale generalizations of Ghanaian-Canadian young adults through this study's findings. The participants in this study are mostly well-educated and ambitious individuals, which is, in part, a reflection of the snowball sampling technique I used. It makes sense that asking participants to draw on their own networks for

recruitment might produce more like-minded individuals of a similar socio-economic standing. Further, as the study required individuals to thoughtfully reflect on their upbringing and current aspirations and connections in Ghana, it is reasonable to believe that most of these participants would be articulate and have a strong desire for personal advancement. It is important to note that the Ghanaian community is socially and economically diverse. While it was not within the purview of this study to assess the socioeconomic outcomes of 1.5 and second generation young adults, the recent census suggests that these demographics make significantly less income than their white counterparts do. Though Ghanaian young adults generally participate in higher education at similar rates as their racialized and white counterparts, recent census data suggests that they are often underemployed and generally earn less (Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 98-400-X2016189). The participants in my study were engaged in a wide range of industries including the financial and business sector, creative arts, sales associates, agriculture and the food service industry. The project did not directly interrogate the economic status of participants, and so it is difficult to make definitive claims about participants' class standing. All the same, many of my participants were representative of the vast majority of 1.5 and second generation young adults, who are participating in postsecondary education, including university and college.

Additionally, the participant pool consists of both 1.5 and second generation participants, with minimal distinction offered between the two demographics. This is a strategic choice as there is often much overlap in how these groups experience the transnational social field and the homeland realities. More importantly, according to the Canadian census data, the 1.5 is a statistical minority, often subsumed under the first generation category. This makes it difficult to accurately measure and identify their experiences as a distinct group in the Ghanaian-Canadian community. In Chapter (6), I

discuss the implication of this limitation and how we might consider this demographic more seriously in future studies.

Conclusion

Second-generation transnationalism is a growing subfield in migration studies that offers us some important interventions. Within the context of the Ghanaian-Canadian community, this work is virtually non-existent, despite current trends and observations in the broader world. Certainly, we can observe that across various African diasporas, the second generation is deepening their relationship with the homeland as perhaps a natural consequence of their transnational social field upbringing. Certainly, many children of Ghanaian immigrants tend to have a transnational consciousness -the result of growing up in (at least) two distinct cultural contexts. Ghanaian youth would have been heavily influenced by their family and community connections to people back home. It is common for diaspora youth to grow up hearing their parents discuss the daily realities of local family members: this uncle that needs help paying rent, that aunt who needs help paying her medical bills. This deep sense of transnational obligation expressed by the first generation, would significantly affect their children's identity consciousness.

The project demonstrates that Ghanaian immigrant youths have developed a transnational habitus (or frame of reference) which is developed through key sites within the transnational social field, specifically their socialization into core "Ghanaian" values, such as family, respect and reverence for elders, work ethic/educational attainment, a social responsibility to help their country of origin, and spiritual/religious practice. This habitus manifests throughout their early adult lives in various ways, including a deep longing for and sense of responsibility to the homeland, continued sociocultural practices in the diaspora and the (attempted) reconciliation of their dual identities. Using a transnational framework, this project will demonstrate that some young adults are engaged in career-building, family-

oriented and life-affirming cross-border activities within the transnational social field for the purposes of improving their social positions in the broader society. For those who directly engage the homeland, this transnational habitus is further developed as youth confront their social differences in Ghana. The experiences of both aspiring and actual returnees fall along intersectional lines, whereby youth are re-positioned (or re-oriented in the transnational social field) homeland based on their gender, class, intra-ethnic and dual identity markers. This project builds on the transnational tradition to describe the ways in which the Ghanaian-Canadian community has laid a foundation for the proliferation of cross-border activities amongst their children. Specifically, I aim to describe how transnational habitus is developed for the 1.5 and second generation, with varying effects throughout their young adult lives. Ultimately, my hope is that the project can contribute to a greater understanding of future generations of Ghanaians in Canada, through a transnational lens.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Theorizing Transnationalism

Transnationalism has become a popular concept within migration scholarship. While there are multiple ways to characterize transnationalism, most scholarship points to an increasing interconnectedness due to advancements in technology and transportation, an easier flow of people across national borders, and an increasing consciousness of "global citizenship" (Ghosh, 2007; Wessendorf, 2013). Transnational communities consist of "dense networks across political borders typically created by immigrants in their quest of financial advancement and social recognition" Portes (1997: 812). Transnational actors usually speak multiple languages, commonly maintain homes in at least two countries and pursue "economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both" (Portes 1997, 812). Other scholars talk about immigrant communities as existing in a "transnational social field" –that is, "an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks" in which individuals and families navigate at least two social spaces (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999:344). This transnational social field is made up of social networks that immigrants draw on to live out their aspirations, commitments and social responsibilities. These social networks are often mediated by rapidly advancing technologies and instant communication. There are very real reasons for immigrants to maintain transnational lives: evidence shows that many migrants build long-term plans to return to the country of their birth upon retirement and as their children become adults (Smith, 2002; Portes et al, 2005; Gamlen, 2014; Breant, 2015; Page and Tanyi, 2015). Migrants also often feel a sense of obligation or duty to family members that were left behind –some of whom may have been instrumental in gathering financial resources for the migrant to relocate in the first place; staying connected through transnational social networks becomes a way for them to give back. Transnational

activities are also important for migrants who otherwise experience harsh economic marginalization and inferior, discriminated status in their host society (Bannerji, 2000; Portes, 2006; Ali, 2010). For migrants who have been successful, transnationalism functions as an opportunity to contribute to home country industrialization, as well as providing a model of success for non-migrant locals to observe. Indeed, policymakers, researchers and Diasporas are eager about the prospect of transnational networks for migrant success and future home country development (Lainer-Vos, 2010; Agunias and Newland, 2012; Plaza and Ratha, 2011).

First Generation Transnationalism

Migrant life is characterized by adaptation into their host society, while also maintaining links with family members and general community life back home. Depending on their sending country and their immigrant classification (e.g. family class, economic immigrants, and refugees), migrants may experience significant structural challenges while integrating in Canada. Immigrant communities often struggle to obtain basic essential resources for successful integration such as sufficient access to language training, employment and housing, health and education services (Galabuzi, 2006; Boyd and Yiu, 2009; Block and Galabuzi, 2011). Racialized first generation often face the greatest challenges in the labour market and housing, as discriminatory practices such as accent bias may hinder their ability to be taken "seriously" by Canadian society (Galabuzi, 2006; Creese, 2011).

Undoubtedly, the first generation is enormously resilient in these cultural adjustments, and they often draw on the strength of home country cultural values to stay grounded during this adjustment period. First generation remain in a transnational social field that allows them to utilize their cross-border social networks to live out their migrant lives. Immigrant transnational activities are diverse, ranging from monetary investments in property to

providing school fees and daily living expenses for extended family members (Dimbuene and Turcotte, 2019; Hanusch and Vaaler, 2015; Kuuire, 2016). When resources can afford, parents occasionally bring children to visit the homeland as a way for them to be acculturated, if only briefly into homeland sensibilities (Bledsoe and Sow, 2013; Faria, 2014). In their homeland return, migrant parents often have to contend with the ways in which the homeland space has changed. For example, Levitt (2009) research with first generation Indian-Americans visiting the homeland reveals that migrant parents expected to see the same cultural conservatism or religiosity that they left behind. The second-generation, per Levitt's (2009) study, were caught between what their parents left behind and the actual realities in contemporary Indian society.

Scholars note that many immigrant parents are often ambivalent about their children's assimilation into the host society, and communicate some mixed feelings habitually (Habecker, 2016). Immigrant parents often do anticipate that their children will integrate into the host society culture with ease, but certainly not at the cost of homeland cultural values. Parents often encourage their children to join cultural associations when they leave for university or college, as well as dating among their ethnic group (Mbakogu, 2014; Darko, 2015; Levitt, 2009; Okeke-Ihejirika and Denise L. Spitzer, 2005). Some of the other transnational activities that children are exposed to include regular long-distance calls to family members back home, attempts to sponsor extended family members, and discussions of home culture politics (Wessendorf, 2013). However, in other immigrant contexts, parents were often reluctant to talk about their home country. For example, in Filipino-Canadian communities, Kelly (2015) finds that parents often associate the Philippines with "painful memories", the structural circumstances that may have motivated them to leave and a sense that their Canadian children need to become "fully Canadian rather than feeling diasporically displaced" (Kelly, 2015: 13). Yet, scholars argue that immigrant families engage in an

intergenerational transmission of transnational practices, whereby the first generations shape subsequent generations' return or circular migration aspirations (Levitt and Waters, 2006).

Second-Generation Transnationalism

Generally, the second generation is defined as the children of immigrants, born in the host country, or migrating to the host country in their youth; mind you, the latter is sometimes referred to as the 1.5 generation. Boyd (1998) also defines the second generation as a child born in Canada with at least one foreign-born parent; this definition is also consistent with current Statistics Canada's classification in the 2016 Canadian census (Turcotte, 2020). While there is some debate about the age at which one transitions from first generation to 1.5 generation, it is generally agreed that children of immigrants learn to negotiate the Canadian landscape with the added resource of their home culture identity (Kobayashi, 2008; Creese, 2018; Berry, et al. 2019). Noticeably missing from much of the earlier migration scholarship was the potential transnationalism of migrants' children. Kelly (2015) notes that many scholars have traditionally doubted the potential of the second generation to be transnational subjects because they are disconnected from home country culture. Migration scholarship often recognizes 'origin', but takes for granted that the second-generation are quite permanent in their socio-spatial experience in Canada. Historically, this was done for good reason: many youth are only now coming into their adulthood and making decisions about work, life and family. In addition, as the literature shows, many racialized youth are struggling in the labour market and educational system, which might make their desire to live transnational lives materially difficult or impossible (Chen and Hou, 2019). That being said, there has been a growing trend in Diasporas across the world of youth becoming engaged in home culture practices (Goitom, 2017; Kelly, 2015; Abebe, 2019). The data now show a significant influence of homeland culture on the social identities and consciousness of diaspora youth, despite their lack of experience in their ancestral home.

While the second-generation will more than likely not participate in home country activities with the same regularity or intensity as the first generation, it is important not to discount the potential effect of being raised in a transnational social field (Levitt, 2009).

In the earlier part of this millennium, migration scholars examining second-generation transnationalism across the world produced several anthologies. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation* (eds. Levitt and Waters, 2002) pioneered theoretical questions and debate about the transnational future and potential of second-generation American-born children. Through a series of empirical and philosophical essays, scholars demonstrated that second generation transnationalism was a new phenomenon made possible through an increasingly globalized and interconnected world. Across three parts, the anthology sought to describe the extent to which the fastest growing demographic in the United States under the age of 18 was actively engaged with their parents' home country "even as they work, voted, and pray in the countries that receive them" (Levitt and Waters, 2002: p. 2). Featuring some of the field's foremost researchers including Nancy Foner, Nina Glick-Schiller, Phillip Kasinitz and Ruben Rumbaut, this anthology demonstrated that the "container view" of the nation-state was no longer a sufficient unit of analysis to examine the lives of migrants and their children. Rather, by providing a transnational lens, we are able to better assess the ways of belonging and being (Glick-Schiller, 2002) that youth are negotiating in their daily lives in the host country. The transnational turn in second-generation scholarship allows us to understand how migrants' commitments to their home country will shift throughout their life cycle.

In 2009, *Return Migration of the Next Generations: 21st Century Transnational Mobility* (eds. Conway and Potter, 2009) also aimed to highlight the transnational relationship that migrants' children were engaging, with specific focus on their experiences within the homeland work environment. The book captured the transnational experiences of

young and youthful migrants who left the global south in their teenage years to acquire higher education, and are now returning home in their 30s and 40s. This anthology was pivotal in advancing the discussion on return migration, with an examination of how youthful contract workers and "prolonged sojourners" were reintegrating into home country labour markets. The anthology's editors, Conway and Potter (2009), argued that return migration was part of a "strategically flexible decision-making" of the second generation with or without direct parental guidance. Youth were using their transnational experience and worldly backgrounds to make significant contributions in their home country.

The third major anthology that shaped current research on second-generation transnationalism came out of the European and Australian context over a decade later. *Second-Generation Transnationalism and Roots Migration: Cross-Border Lives* (eds. Wessendorf, 2013) examined the back and forth movement of migrant children between their host and home countries, with case studies from Italy, Switzerland and other parts of Europe. Exploring the "complex interplay of political, cultural and socio-economic factors that shape intergenerational reproduction of transnational ties", the book argued that while some adult children of immigrants sought to maintain ties with their home country, others distance themselves from co-ethnics and rarely visit their country of origin (Wessendorf, 2013, p. 3). The anthology introduced the concept of "roots migration" (Wessendorf, 2013) as an analysis of the relocation of the second generation to their parents' homeland in search of ancestral (re)-connection.

A primary reason why members of the second-generation "choose" transnationalism is that, often, their parents are transnational subjects. This fact also puts their "choosing" into question. Scholars have noted that parents' culture, tastes, identities and sense of "home" will ultimately leave an impression on their children (Abdul-Samad, 2017; Brocket, 2018; Horst, 2018). It makes sense that many immigrant youth or children of immigrants might be

influenced by their parents' cultural identity, even if they never decide to live out transnational activities. Evidence also shows that the second-generation understand this cultural and ethnic upbringing as a problem to be sorted out (Charsley and Bolognani, 2017). To put this another way, youth growing up outside of their home culture context recognize that at times, their identities are at odds with the larger society. For many youth, it means that they are caught between two cultures, potentially becoming "lost" in efforts to understand their identity. In Garrido's (2011) study of home tourism among second-generation Filipino youth from the United States, he finds that the youth's participation in these homeland tours is meant to fill in gaps, correct or make sense of the cultural identity they have by way of the host society. His article also cites other kinds of homeland tours, such as the Israeli birthright program in which diaspora Jewish youth return to Israel to understand the culture and history. Many of these youth exclaim feeling deep pride and sense of fulfillment in returning for a visit. Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001a) define long-distance nationalism as a set of ideas about belonging that link people who are living in various geographic locations together, and motivate or justify their action in relation to an ancestral territory and its governance. Long distance nationalism often consists of a series of practices that allow migrants and their children to participate in home country politics, activism and nation building, including voting and lobbying local governments. Another example is Somerville's (2008) study of Indian second-generation youth in Canada who feel a deep connection to India, despite their Canadian citizenship. This is facilitated by the fact that there is a large Indian diaspora in Canada, which not only passes down traditions, but also continues to create a cultural community in Canada. The research finds that, for Indian youth, the sense of connection to India goes beyond mere symbolism and manifests as sustained transnational network through frequent phone calls, email correspondence and regular visits to India (Somerville, 2008). The significance of the transnational social field in the construction of their identities is

demonstrated at three levels: *i)* at the level of emotions: they feel Indian, yet also Canadian; *ii)* at the level of appearance: they express their transnational belonging through fashion styles and clothing; and *iii)* at the level of allegiance: they feel a sense of loyalty to India at the same as they feel connected to Canada (Somerville, 2008).

For youth who experience "downward mobility", as determined by segmented assimilation theory (Boyd, 1997, 2002), the possibility of returning home may not exist due to a lack of economic resources. However, these youths may decide to revert inward to socialize with youth from their specific ethnic community (often referred to as "co-ethnics"). While this is not traditionally understood as a transnational practice, it does demonstrate that youth are seeking a cultural connection beyond that of their immediate host society's mainstream culture. Bledsoe and Sow (2013) also found that West African parents sometimes send ill-behaved children back home to live with grandparents and other extended family members, in order to course-correct their behavior through "long-standing African disciplinary efforts". Indeed, this phenomenon has an impact on both the children who are sent home and their peers, who observe this narrative of "home" as a place of discipline and restriction. The above examples demonstrate that the children of immigrants participate in social networks that facilitate a transnational reality. Social networks are important because they determine how individual immigrant families relate to each other within their ethnic community and how the second generation participates in these networks. According to Zhou (1997), social networks involve "shared obligations, social supports and social controls" (p 208). The more integrated youth are in their social network, the greater influence their ethnic communities have in their identity formation. Children who are highly integrated into their ethnic communities are more likely to follow the prearranged cultural cues (Zhou, 1997). In the case of immigrant youth, this includes cultivating a transnational consciousness that they carry with them throughout their lives in varying degrees.

While it is clear that diaspora youth grow up in a cultural environment that plants the seeds for their identification, the literature demonstrates that the second-generation is particularly preoccupied with their transnationalism during the young adult phase of their lives, whereas the first generation sustains ties throughout their lives. This difference in life stage is due to the different reasons for staying connected: the first generation is inherently transnational because they made the migration –their desires to stay connected are generally geared towards *sustaining* family bonds, supporting people left behind and property and business investments in preparation for their eventual homeland retirement. However, the second generation seeks to cultivate a relationship with the homeland, often in attempts to make sense of their identities –an issue that is most prevalent in the young adult life stage. For the first generation, their connection never stops. It is also understood that parents are generally at a different life stage than youth post-migration, and so questions of identity formation are less prevalent. Scholars argue that the "symbolic and emotional labour" of finding their place in host society culture is most intense for the second-generation in their adolescent stage (Garrido, 2011). Although, Mensah's (2014) research on (first generation) African immigrant identity formation does suggest that migrants must re-work their identities post-migration, their challenges are arguably quite different than youth coming *in to their identities*, against two cultural registers –in other words, youth have a heightened level of "identity vulnerability". Certainly, while the first generation may struggle with their new identities in the host society, their upbringing in the previous country context has already cemented foundational beliefs about who they are as adults.

Evidence also suggests that youth typically find early career opportunities to visit their homeland (Vickerman, 2002; Conway and Potter, 2009; Garrido, 2011). Many in the second-generation who decide to return home do so through volunteer programs or homeland tours. The youth also tend to be in the early family formation stages or living single, which

affords them the opportunity to put their lives in the host country on pause to explore their cultural home (King and Christou, 2011; Jain, 2013; Wang, 2016). Second-generation youth that seek a transnational life, via returning home, sometimes opt for a circular migratory life, with visits back and forth between host and home in order to ensure the best quality of life (Liu, 2012; Waldinger, 2015). Some other important characteristics of the second-generation that decide to return to their homeland is that they tend to be more educated than their parents' generation and participate in middle-class mobility (Levitt, 2009). Youth also tend to have various transnational experiences and worldly backgrounds. They also tend to have a better understanding of career opportunities that are open to them and adjustments they have to make in a new environment (Levitt, 2009). Scholarship over the past decade has enlightened us to some of the key issues in second-generation transnationalism. Where before migration scholars doubted the continued transnational engagement of immigrants through their second and subsequent generations, there is now a deeper appreciation for the evidence that youth are turning towards the homeland.

1.5 and Second-Generation Ghanaian-Canadians

The small body of literature on second generation Ghanaian-Canadians has largely focused on issues of settlement and integration, with special attention in five key areas: identity, belonging and acculturation; educational attainment; labour market and housing outcomes and intergenerational conflicts between youth and their parents.

Issues of identity formation, belonging, and acculturation are major challenges for the second-generation. Africans engage in community building in their new host society because it is often vital to their economic and social success during settlement (Yesufu, 2009; Wong, 2005; Creese 2011). Immigrants rely on their communities for a range of needs including employment networking, access to affordable daycare needs, and a sense of security. Black African immigrants develop a broader African subjectivity in their host societies that is

distinct from other African Diasporas and non-Black Africans (Tettey and Puplampu, 2005; Mensah, 2014; Creese, 2011). For immigrants in smaller cities or less diverse communities, adopting a pan-African identity becomes a political strategy with its own benefits (Creese, 2011). Foremost amongst these benefits is the ability to provide their children with the opportunity to learn and absorb their parents' culture. For example, Creese (2011) finds that in the relatively small African immigrant community of Vancouver, community members engage in a range of practices and activities to build community, including the establishment of an African soccer league, music societies, community organizations and cultural centres, and a federation of national (African) organizations. There is often an expressed desire to counteract the perceived "negative influence of African-American popular culture" (Creese, 2011). Community members in Vancouver promote cultural centres to teach their children what they believe are the four big African values: respect for elders, respect for authority of fathers and husbands, communal solidarity, and the sacredness of life (Creese, 2011).

While the second-generation as a whole tend to out-earn their parents (Chen and Hou, 2019), Black African youth experiences often mirror the disenfranchisement of their parents. In many instances, the youth face even more discrimination than their parents do, because they have been socialized into 'entitlement' and a child's rights discourse (Akoto, 2000; Tettey and Puplampu, 2005; Manuh, 2006; Mensah, 2014). Because of their age, Black youth are also interacting with anti-Black institutions at a much younger life stage, and this early childhood socialization has major impacts on their young adulthood consciousness. In other words, youth socialized in the host land come to grapple with Canada's democratic rhetoric and the efficacy of the meritocratic system. Mensah (2014) notes that while the first generation may grapple with language, accent or professional status reduction, the second-generation is challenged more by their "truncated citizenship" as they come to recognize their *unbelonging* in Canada.

Other studies reveal that Ghanaian youth are hyper aware of their racialization within the school system and labour market (Akoto, 2000; Arku, 2011). The youth feel that their "ethnic" names and resumes, which reveal their addresses, are all means through which the larger society stigmatizes their *Black Africanness* (Agyekum, 2012; Zaami, 2012). Akoto (2000) also discovers that classroom and playground social interactions between Ghanaian youth and their peers reveal both overt and covert forms of racism, as Ghanaian children are teased and taunted with racist jokes. These experiences of othering might push youth either to feel more connected with their ancestral culture or consciously create their own "pan-African" communities (Creese, 2011). In a Greater Toronto Area study on second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian women, Nketiah (2009) reveals that the "disidentification" does not only manifest from host society interactions, but that many young women feel that "cultural gatekeepers" in the Ghanaian community consistently challenge the authenticity of their cultural identities. Young women often feel pressured to perform what they believe are archaic forms of "Ghanaian femininity", which include domestic work, unconditional respect for elders and authority and attending church. The lack of ethnic language proficiency was often seen as a sign of cultural failure in the community, which women perceived they were more internally ashamed of than their male counterparts (Nketiah, Masters' Thesis, 2009).

Similarly, in a U.S. study, Arthur (2000) found that second-generation Ghanaian-American girls took pride in their ethnic identities and constructed personal selves that "disidentif(ied) with negative stereotypes of blackness in America" (pg. 147). However, this same study also noted that the youth had varying degrees of affinity to their home culture; while some of them try hard to distance themselves from Ghana, others embrace and incorporate it into their daily lives. Often, parents act as the link or bridge between children and the homeland, as children are not able to communicate with their cousins and family members back home in their dialect. Yeboah (2008) also cites language as a major challenge

in building community between older and younger generations in the Diaspora; the lack of basic language skills in the native tongue will continue to widen the generation gap in the host country. And yet, his study of Ghanaian youth in the Ohio area also suggests that while some children have completely abandoned their parents' native language, others retain the language, but are sometimes embarrassed by their parents speaking Twi in public. Yeboah (2008) concludes, however, that it is "still too early to tell if these second-generation youth will join the mainstream middle-class America or will become part of a marginalized rainbow underclass by learning English and neglecting Twi" (p 241).

The second generation's struggle with navigating Canada's social system is often manifested through their challenges in the labour market and education systems. More generalized studies of racialized youth in Canada find that Black and Filipino tend to do significantly worse in education than their peers (Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009). Recently, Chen and Hou (2019) also conducted an analysis of the second-generation educational and employment outcomes based on the 2016 Canadian census, revealing that Black and Latin American youth tend to earn less than their racialized and white counterparts do. Dei (1996) has long argued that there is a systematic "push-out" of Black youth, particularly Black men, in the Toronto education system. Other studies have suggested that while non-white second-generation youth obtain more education than their white counterparts do, they often earn less (Grady, 2011). These studies, however, have not done well to disaggregate Black youth by ethnic origins. However, Akoto's (2000) study reveals that Ghanaian youth continue to have major structural challenges in the education system. While parents often have high expectations of their children's performance in school, the combination of administrators' biases and parents' ignorance about the school system make it very difficult for youth to feel supported in their academic pursuits. The study also finds that Ghanaian parents in Ontario are often assessing the efficacy of the school system by their own experiences of (colonial)

education in Ghana. Parents have a tremendous amount of respect for teachers as a site of authority. However, unlike in Ghana, parents do not feel that they have a "direct line" to school administrators. Parents often feel that the home and school separation in Canada is too rigid –while in the homeland, parents had more contact with teachers, in Canada parents are only called when the situation has escalated beyond administrations' control; and by that time, students are often risking suspension (Akoto, 2000). In addition, Manuh (2006) finds that administrators become hostile to parents whose children are underperforming, because they feel that parents do not spend enough time coaching students outside of the classroom. Arku (2011) also notes that teachers might be unaccustomed to having Black African students in their classrooms, which can breed a range of problematic racial microaggressions. From language to children's food choices and style of dress, both teachers and peers may see Ghanaian students as foreign or "backwards" (Arku, 2011). The literature also demonstrates that parents feel their children are routinely given poorer grades than their children deserve or "streamed into skill[s] training programs, and sports, especially basketball" (Akoto, 2000, pg. 220). Mensah (2015: 12) notes that long-standing stereotypes of Africa(ns) propagated through mainstream media that "Black Africans are lazy, crime-prone, and inherently less smart often haunt these children", despite their socialization in Canadian institutions.

The literature also points to the dire reality of Ghanaian youth in the labour market. Many migration scholars note that labour market integration is a major factor of immigrant adaptation in their host society (Banerjee, 2012). For the second-generation who receive Canadian educational training, the amount of barriers to accessing the labour market often come as a shock. Youth often feel hopeless at the levels of unemployment among their cohort, and cite anti-Black racism and myths of Black male criminality as barriers to obtaining gainful employment. Interestingly, Agyekum (2012) notes that female Ghanaian youth are much more optimistic about their labour market outcomes, and tend to rely on their

social networks in order to find work. Largely, however, Ghanaian youth are overrepresented in low-skilled or service sector jobs that often have no sign of upward mobility (Agyekum, 2012). Youth also identify a lack of networks that might inform them about high-status jobs. This lack of information and connections (i.e. social capital) shapes where and how the second-generation goes about their job search (Gariba, 2009; Agyekum, 2012). In the face of racial discrimination and a lack of social capital, the literature demonstrates that youth prefer to use job placement agencies in their job search, because they are far less likely to be turned down at the interview stage (Agyekum, 2012). However, the consequence is that the youth end up predominantly in factory work, temporary administrative jobs, and the food services industry (Gariba, 2009).

Zaami's (2012) discussion of the neighbourhood effects on labour market outcomes for Ghanaian youth in the Jane-Finch area suggests that youth face stigma attached to their place of residence, which limits their employment chances. For youth who do manage to find employment, they are often challenged by the spatial distance and inadequate transit systems experienced in trying to get to work. There has been some debate (Gariba, 2009; Agyekum, 2012) about whether the lack of work opportunities for second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian youth is the result of spatial mismatch or *racial mismatch.* The former attributes low employment rates in Black communities to their spatial segregation from where the jobs are, whereas the latter cites racial discrimination as the primary factor in underemployment for Blacks. Scholars argue that there is often a lack of jobs in the areas populated by Blacks, but that there is *also* a lack of jobs that employ Blacks even in areas where they do reside, because of "labour market discrimination, race-specific labour networks, or neighbourhood effects" (Hellerstein et. al, 2008:1).

Gariba (2009) also found that Ghanaian youth's strong belief in meritocracy is often crushed by the workplace and labour market discrimination that they experience. His study

found that the youth experience discrimination based on multiple intersecting identities, including gender and place of residence. In his comparative study of Ghanaian youth in Jane and Finch and Brampton, Agyekum (2012) finds that across all educational backgrounds, participants struggled to find and sustain gainful employment. Notably, Brampton youth were more likely to find work, but often in fields separate from their professional training. Despite human capital theory's assertion that skills, education and professional qualification results in greater labour market outcomes, second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians, particularly in the Greater Toronto Area, struggle to find work (Agyekum, 2012). Other studies echo this gap; while racialized second-generation youth are more educated, they earn less money than their white and native-born peers do (Grady, 2011, Statistics Canada 2016). The small sample that does exist suggests that young Ghanaian people continue to be disproportionately marginalized in Canada's labour market. The realities of poor social networks, anti-Black racism and place of residence all create barriers for the second-generation's employment opportunities, regardless of their educational backgrounds. Some scholars have called for policy reform, including youth employment programs specifically targeting marginalized Black African communities in order to correct this imbalance (Gariba, 2009; Agyekum, 2012; Zaami, 2012).

Intergenerational conflict is another key focus in the literature on the second-generation. Studies suggest that much of the conflict within Ghanaian migrant households stems from the fact that parents believe they have made great sacrifices for their families' well-being, which the children seem to take for granted (Manuh, 2006). The youth on their part often feel pressured to succeed, despite their own identity and acculturation challenges in Canadian society. Mensah (2015) notes how radically different many African cultures are from Canadian society, which creates a dialectical or opposing relationship between African immigrants and the host society. Particularly, differences in childrearing and cultural

perception of children's responsibilities can create tension as children begin to assert their knowledge of child rights discourse. Manuh (2006) notes that parents in her study often felt at a disadvantage and in danger of losing their children to state authorities such as the Children's Aid Society. The fear is exacerbated by the fact the children are integrating at a much faster pace than parents are, especially when it comes to the children's Canadian accent acquisition and relative comfort speaking with the native population (Akoto. 2000). This tension often results in parents and children staging acts of resistance against each other. While some parents acknowledge that some disciplinary tactics are inappropriate, they also resent the state for meddling in "family affairs". The literature notes that for their part, children learn to manipulate state institutions, sometimes threatening parents with legal action (Akoto, 2000; Manuh 2006; Arku, 2011).

Parents also perceive Canadian-raised children as lazy and having low responsibility, citing their routine lives and access to 24-hour television as a breeding ground for lax habits (Manuh 2006). As previously mentioned, immigrant parents often bring their homeland lens and experience to how they raised their children and the expectations they construct for them. In Ghana, most children (particularly from poor backgrounds) develop a strong sense of responsibility and self-reliance at a young age. In contrast, parents often perceive that Canadian-raised children experience very little hardship, which creates a sense of entitlement and lack of gratitude (Akoto, 2000; Arku, 2011; Manuh 2006).

While the research does suggest an adversarial relationship between parents and their Canadian-raised children, the first generation often takes great pride in their children raised in the host society. Specifically, within the Ghanaian community, there is a common practice of leaving older children back home with extended family members in Ghana while parents settle in the host society. Within that time, parents may also have more children whom they subsequently consider as "abrokyireni ba" or "foreign children" (Manuh, 2006). This status

as ‘foreign-born’ shapes their treatment, responsibilities and expectations within their household. Essentialist narratives about Canadian children suggests that they are inherently *different* because of their social environment (Tettey and Puplampu, 2005). Colonial constructions of the Western world as inherently better also frame Canada-raised youth as a special category in relation to Ghana-born youth. Particularly, the former is expected to match immigrant parents’ ambitions of social mobility in the host country (Manuh, 2006). Indeed, like many other families, Ghanaian parents see their children as investments for their future. Arku (2011) and Gariba (2009) also note that, as parents begin approaching retirement age, their desire to return to the homeland may be a source of conflict in family households, as the children may not yet have achieved full financial stability.

Lastly, parent-child tensions may arise as children begin to identify with other Black youth in the broader society. Litchmore et. al. (2015) demonstrate that Black youth learn to negotiate their ethnic and racial identities, at times seeing both as fluid and complex. The youth understand Black identity as both ascribed and a conscious choice, based on their shared experiences of othering in Canadian society. In their study on ethnic and racial self-identification of second-generation African and Caribbean students in Toronto, Litchmore et. al (2015) observed that it was common for Black youth to socialize with each other at school and in social settings. Participants in this study shared a deep awareness of their collective experiences of culture, racialization and marginalization –though, some youth in this study equally prioritized their nationality or ethnicity as a shared identity. However, Manuh (2005) notes that Ghanaian parents sometimes express anti-Jamaican or Caribbean sentiments and fear that their children may be pressured into drugs or crime by communities they perceive as unlawful. This can cause great conflict, because many youth share social space with Caribbean and other Black communities, which might encourage intermarriages and other socioeconomic and cultural relationships.

While much has been written about new and first-generation African immigrants, there currently remains a gap in the literature on the children of Ghanaian immigrants, who navigate very different socio-cultural realities than their parents. Certainly, there is an increasing need to articulate and study second-generation immigrant experiences, challenges and preoccupations.

Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework employs transnational social field theory to analyze how second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian youth are embedded within a transnational context and, subsequently, create, sustain, and negotiate their habitus in everyday life. I draw largely on Levitt and Glick-Schiller's (2004) concept of a "transnational social field" in which migrant communities (in this case, the 1.5 and second generation) exist in an interlocking social, cultural, and transnational network that they draw on at any point in their lives to live out their aspirations. Using this theoretical framework, I make the assumption that most second-generation youth growing up in the Greater Toronto Area *do* have a network that is available to them if they desire to call upon, and that some youth actually do seek to access these networks during their young adulthood. I also argue that youth are shaped by their parents' cultural background, regardless of how strongly they might desire actual homeland return and engagement. Accordingly, my work investigates what transnational spaces look like for second-generation youth living in Canada, and for those who have chosen to stay connected to the homeland in some capacity.

While disciplinary perspectives and theoretical frameworks may vary, scholars have generally privileged the (Canadian) nation-state in discussing immigrant youth. Migration scholars have mostly unproblematized the nation-state as a bounded space and unit of analysis in what some scholars call 'methodological nationalism' [Beck, 2003]. Ghanaian migration scholars are yet to consciously place or situate second-generation youth within the

context of the home country or across transnational borders in a forward thinking way. Transnationalism is implicit in the literature on Ghanaian immigrant youth, but only as a way of thinking about heritage and "the past" –that is, their parents' place of birth and socialization in relation to their contemporary experiences. Scholars are yet to seriously consider the potential *and* reality of transnationalism among Ghanaian migrants' children, as a product of and strategy for negotiating dual identities. However, given the growth in technological advances, relative economic and political stability in Ghana, and the development of a transnational consciousness in diaspora life, an investigation of second-generation transnationalism can add useful insights into the extant literature on Ghana's diaspora communities.

Intersectionalizing Second Generation Transnationalism

Intersectionality is a widely theorized analytical tool for understanding multiple systems of oppression. Critical race legal scholar Kimberlee Crenshaw is most credited for bringing "intersectionality" into feminist and academic lexicon (Crenshaw, 1991). Initially, Crenshaw sought to articulate Black women's identities and sites of oppression within a legal context. As a legal practitioner, Crenshaw found that the law often could not account for the specific types of violence(s) that Black women experienced because of their racialized, classed and gendered identities. Crenshaw called for an intersectional analysis of Black women's lives –one in which their multiple sites of oppression could be simultaneously considered and accounted for in the judicial system. Their combined gender and race often meant that Black women in American society existed in the lowest economic rungs. Understanding Black women's realities, then, means being cognizant of all of the *structural* factors that shape their experiences. Currently, scholars have expanded this analytical tool to think about how gender, race and class are mutually constitutive, to reinforce and shape social classes more broadly (Davis, 2014). In effect, intersectionality allows us to theorize

how gender is *classed* and *racialized*, race is *gendered* and *classed* and class is *racialized* and *gendered*. Beyond this "unholy trinity", feminist and other social justice scholars have encouraged us to consider other structural forces that intersect to shape our lives, such as sexuality, age, educational background and body size. This tool has since been used by scholars in various disciplines including Geography (Valentine, 2007), Sociology (Shields, 2008), Education (Mitchell Jr. and Sawyer, 2014) and Political Science (Evans, 2016). Of course, the second-generation is positioned in specific ways within the transnational social field based on their complex identity markers, giving them access to varying levels of power, privilege and resources in the homeland. Levitt et al (2008) note that most transnational migrants are exposed to multiple networks of power, which they learn to navigate and access in varying degrees. Within the context of this project, intersectionality, as an analytical tool, allows me to magnify and analyze the dominant and auxiliary identity markers that interact to shape participants' unique life experiences within the transnational social field. I believe that intersectionality is an important tool for understanding how cultural second-generation youth navigate power dynamics. While Ghana has made important strides in re-distributing power between men and women, the society remains deeply patriarchal, male-dominated and gerontocracy-oriented (Price, 1975; Manuh 2006; Wong, 2005). It makes sense, for example, that the experiences of young and female Ghanaians would contrast starkly from that of her male counterparts or older generation returnees. Consequently, it would be important to interrogate the specific challenges that second generation women may face in returning to a deeply sexist cultural context. Examining the gendered nature of the returnee experience can provide insight about the current state of gender relations in Ghana. To add to this, as many of these women would have grown up outside of their Ghanaian culture, they bring with them different worldviews; basic customs such as deference to authority figures, workplace habits or attitudes about gender relations may be cause for tension in daily interactions with local

Ghanaians. Consequently, it is important to document the specific challenges of the second-generation, who are arguably more culturally removed from Ghana than their parents' generation. For example, how does being gendered female and being a young body or a differently abled body inform their experience of returning or interacting with "home"?

Other identity markers can contribute to how the second-generation navigate national culture and intra-group dynamics. For example, much of what is currently recognized as "Ghanaian culture" is, in fact, in reference to Akan identity. Twi, the main language of the ethnic Akan group, is the lingua franca of Ghana, and there tends to be a cultural expectation (particularly in Southern Ghana) that every Ghanaian does and should know how to communicate in this language. However, Ghana itself is quite diverse, with over 50 spoken languages across several different ethnic groups. While Ghana is known as a relatively stable country, on occasion (e.g. during election season), ethnic conflicts have been known to flare up. Beyond this, there are old stereotypes of various ethnic groups and favouritism that continue to manifest among political affiliations, ethnic nepotism and social interactions (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). This would variably impact second-generation youth- first in their navigation of diasporic communities, and then in terms of their experience of visiting or returning to Ghana. Here, I am arguing that it is important to think about which types of second-generationers stay engaged in Ghanaian culture, and what their experiences may be based on their ethnic identification. Beyond this, other identity factors are worth exploring, including class background, age, occupation and political and religious beliefs. Intersectionality is an important tool that allows us to sift through these markers, and consider the structural challenges that youth may experience in returning home, as well as making place in the host country. The dissertation will employ an intersectional lens both in the selection of participants and in the data analysis stage.

Conclusion

The challenges and opportunities facing second-generation African immigrant youth are tremendous. Growing up in a North American context, vastly different from their parents' upbringing, poses particular challenges that we need to examine. There remains a lacuna in the literature on this cohort in all areas, including issues of identity and belonging, educational attainment and employment, and the ongoing challenge of re-defining the "African Diaspora". Despite the bleak narrative of second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian youth in much of the scholarship, this study demonstrates that "transnationalizing" this demographic can give us a different reading of the potential for their life outcomes. My work sheds useful light on the ways in which this transnational identity consciousness shapes second-generation desires to be connected to their parents' country of origin, despite what their parents might have dreamed for them, or how the larger Canadian society understands the "immigrant" experience.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction:

Within the social sciences, there is often some conflation between methodology and methods. Broadly, speaking, "methodology" refers to the philosophy that underpins data collection processes, whereas "methods" is a subset of methodology that typically refers to the specific data collection tools and techniques used to investigate a particular phenomenon or issue (Howell, 2013). Ideally, both methodology and methods should have a symbiotic relationship, as the latter must work to reinforce the former. Methodology articulates the relationship between one's theoretical framework and the research tools used to investigate social phenomenon. The highly subjective nature of migration experiences lends itself to qualitative study in the social sciences; scholars studying the Ghanaian-Canadian second-generation range in disciplinary backgrounds, from Psychology (Litchemore, et al, 2015) and Education (Gariba, 2009; Akoto, 2000) to Geography (Agyekum, 2012; Zaami, 2012; Mensah, 2015), Social Work (Arku, 2011) and Women's Studies (Nketiah, 2009). Most of these scholars have employed some combination of qualitative methods, including in-depth interviews, case studies and focus group discussion. While geographers are most concerned with youth's socio-spatial realities vis-à-vis labour market outcomes, housing careers and educational attainment, other scholars prioritize their discursive practices of identity formation and self-representation. Within the literature on Ghanaian youth in Canada, some scholars prioritize the voices of the youth themselves (Agyekum, 2012; Zaami, 2012; Arku, 2011), while others put emphasis on parental experiences of interfacing with the education system to describe their children's educational outcomes or to investigate intergenerational conflict (Akoto, 2000; Manuh, 2006). Social scientists view qualitative data collection as able to provide a complex description of how people experience a given social issue (Hammarberg et al., 2016). Qualitative enquiry is useful for unpacking participants' detailed and subjective

reflections about social phenomenon (Arku, 2011). Qualitative approach allows the researcher to examine the nuanced lived experiences of the youth from their own voices and perspectives. As it stands, second-generation transnationalism is a new topic in the Ghanaian-Canadian context, and very few established theories and hypotheses are available to be tested quantitatively. This makes the exploration of qualitative method an appealing possibility. For the purposes of this dissertation, I have employed key qualitative methodological principles, to examine the transnationality of the second generation. Specifically, I draw on critical human geography principles to investigate the interior lives of my research participants. As a feminist researcher, I also use a qualitative approach set within the broader discourse of the discipline. Specifically, I believe that the feminist theoretical principles of embodied/situated knowledge, intersectional analysis and insider-outsider reflexivity are useful for investigating second-generation transnationalism. My methods include in-depth semi-structured interviews, a close-ended survey questionnaire, and field note analysis. The following chapter details how each method supports my overall methodological framework.

Transnationalism as Methodology

This project is inherently transnational. In the previous chapter, I discussed the importance of closely interrogating the longstanding tradition of "methodological nationalism" in the social sciences. This shift is most crucial in the research design phase, where data collection has traditionally been framed and conceptualized within nation-state borders. Methodological nationalism is the tendency in the social sciences to naturalize the nation-state as a unit of analysis (Chernilo, 2006). It has long been observed that through migration, national culture and societies become incorporated in global networks shifting our understanding of social boundaries and territoriality (Cielslik & Nowicka, 2014). Critics of methodological nationalism call for an eradication of national boundedness in exchange for a more "transnational paradigm" which might allow us to determine the "commuting,

incomplete, and repeating forms of migration" (Beck, 2002, pg. 3). Mensah (2014) also notes that the theorization of immigrant transnationalism is imbued with "conceptual muddling" – that is, there has been debate over which characteristics of transnationalism should be prioritized in research. His work attempts to move beyond methodological nationalism, and instead recognizes the "nexus between migration and identity formation across national borders" (Mensah, 2014, pg. 13).

Despite this, migration scholars continue to rely on the nation-state as the best organizing principle of the modern subject. There is an assumption that the best way to *know, measure and assess* immigrants and their families is within their host nation-state boundaries. While there has been a transnational turn, social scientists studying Ghanaian diaspora youth still largely frame this demographic's experiences within a national (Canadian) social space. My work enters here as a shift in methodological consciousness, whereby experiences of the second-generation can be framed and measured within the context of transnational circuits. The project assumes that youth's dual cultural heritage informs their sense of self in ways that warrant empirical investigation. Naturally, then, the project examines second-generation youth across geographical boundaries of Ghana and Canada. Participants were selected based on their cross-border movement *and* consciousness. In practical terms, this meant that the recruitment of participants prioritized those that were living in an in-between space, (-Bhabha [1994] also calls this the "third space") characterized by practices, activities, beliefs and worldviews that were informed by both their host society and the homeland. Further, it is significant that my fieldwork took place transnationally; approximately half of my interviews were conducted with individuals who were living or visiting Ghana at the time of interview, while the remaining interviews were held with subjects based in Canada. At the time of the interviews, I was also living in Ghana, which allowed me to experience firsthand some of the

daily challenges of the second-generation returnee experience. I will discuss the implications of my physical and social location later in this chapter.

Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews: Prioritizing Lived Experiences

Within the social sciences, qualitative interviews are largely used for learning about subjective lived experiences and attitudes of individuals, households or groups (Silverman, 2005; Creswell, 2009; Roulston, 2010). In-depth interviews have been a preferred empirical method for some human geographers because they offer the most direct and intimate way to access information from an individual. Interviews can be structured or unstructured, and can be administered in person (face-to-face), over the telephone or by email (Creswell, 2009; Roulston, 2010). One-on-one interviews capture detailed discussions between the researcher and a single research participant and are an effective way to investigate a particular issue or question through participants' first-hand accounts. The in-depth interview allows participants to express the specific details and meanings of their experiences in their own terms and at their own pace. The semi-structured aspect of interviews allows the researcher to guide the discussion, while not wedded to a particular direction if other interesting or more pertinent questions arise. When speaking with people, the natural tendency is to "go with the flow" of the conversation, rather than imposing particular narratives onto participants or discussants. In-depth interviews are also instructive for unearthing the silences and untold stories of participants. Particularly, as identities are based on both collective social processes and personalized experiences, interviews provide opportunities to explore the dialectical relationship between the self and social environments. Consequently, in-depth interviews allow me, as a qualitative researcher, to uncover the silences and untold stories of young Ghanaian women and men through a flexible conversational style. For the purpose of this investigation, I conducted 32 interviews with 1.5 and second generation Ghanaian-Canadians over a one-year period between March 2017 and May 2018. Participants were selected

through a snowballing method, which included initial participants recruiting future participants within their networks. Initially, the project set out to interview two sets of participants to compare the transnational practices across space. However, as I began to recruit participants, it was clear that the second-generation transnational cohort was actually characterized by floating or circular movement, which made it difficult at times to define who was "Ghana-based" and who was "Canada-based". While some participants were living in Canada at the time of the interview, they aspired to return home and often talked about their current living situation as temporary or in transition. These participants were mostly oriented towards the homeland in their consciousness and they expressed that they were planning for future lives in Ghana. While the aim was to draw comparisons between two types of transnationalism practices "here" and "there" (i.e. participants who were practicing transnationalism in Canada and Ghana), as the fieldwork progressed, it became more interesting to think about transnationalism as a continuum rather than as binary experience. Consequently, the data collection and analysis consisted of two sets of interview questions for those who were based in the home and host countries (i.e. Ghana and Canada) respectively, with acknowledgement of the fluidity in their geographical locations and types of transnational engagement (see: Appendices A and B). Combined, these interviews will provide a picture of the major types of Ghanaian second-generation transnationalism. Rather than a comparative analysis, these interviews must be viewed as part of a large spectrum of transnational activities; participants' experiences should be understood as interconnected, yet specific practices that support each other.

Classifying Participants: Close-ended Demographic Questionnaire

While this project is largely a qualitative study, it was important to collect some basic demographic information from participants in order to understand the key characteristics of my transnational subjects. Close-ended questionnaires are typically used to gather objective

biological data or facts about respondents. The benefit of bio-data is that it can offer some insight into the facts of an individual's life, which can partly help to determine possible future behavior. The number of participants in a qualitative study are not statistically significant as to generalize about the entire Ghanaian diaspora youth population in Canada. However, the information gathered through the close-ended survey allowed me as a researcher to better understand the type of people I was interviewing. For example, for aspiring returnee respondents who were pursuing a graduate degree at the time of the interview, it was reasonable to assume that they would eventually want to pursue a professional life while living in Ghana. The pursuit of such a professional life would come with specific challenges connected to being early career professionals in a new environment. It was equally reasonable to assume that some of these participants were questioning whether they should seek out Canadian work experience before 'diving into' life in the homeland. Collecting this data allowed me to probe further, how their "life facts" shaped their perspectives on relocating to Ghana.

Aside from building rapport with participants (through relatively easy and quantifiable questions), the close-ended questionnaire provided key data that developed a broader context to participants' lives. For this project, a demographic questionnaire was utilized to determine and analyze any major commonalities between participants and facilitate further probing during the subsequent in-depth interviews. I administered this questionnaire at the beginning of interviews and served as a preliminary investigation of my research subjects (See APPENDIX C). The benefits of the close-ended questionnaire was that it facilitated an intentionally intersectional analytic process. For example, one of the questions asked participants to identify their sexual orientation. For participants who answered as non-heterosexual, this allowed me to further probe during their interviews as to how their sexuality impacted their return to the homeland, where colonial era sodomy laws

are still used to persecute LGBTQ Ghanaians. It would also help to assess their unique challenges of growing up in a socially conservative diaspora context. Close-ended questions are important to provide some understanding about participants' life contexts. Questions regarding their current occupation, age at migration and the date and length of their last visit to Ghana are also important for analyzing their subjective responses to particular in-depth interview questions. For example, by collecting data on the frequency of homeland visits, (i.e. date and time length of their last visit), it allowed me to draw some conclusions and observe any correlations to how participants later answered questions about their return optimism and motivations. In other words, documenting the length of time and the amount of experience in the homeland helps to contextualize, not only the scale at which respondents engage the homeland but their perceptions about what the homeland experience might feel like. It is reasonable to assume that the less experience that individuals have had in a place (that they have been socialized to long for), the more likely they are to romanticize its realities of daily life. Combining close-ended questions with subjective open-ended questions facilitates a complementary analysis of participants' realities.

Field Noting as a Method: Reflexivity, Positionality and the Insider-Outsider Dialectic

Field notes are an important way to generate additional data on participant interviews. Notes are also an important space for processing key questions of reflexivity, positionality and insider/outsider status of the researcher. There are generally two types of field notes: descriptive and reflective field notes (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). The former aims to record basic factual information including date, time, location as well as settings, behaviours and conversations observed by the researcher, while the latter documents reflections, thoughts, ideas and questions that are identified in the field. Throughout my data collection, I kept a detailed record of my interactions with participants, including critical personal reflection and specific observations of participant responses. These field notes were often taken at the end of the interviews and captured

my general experience of the participants, as well as post-interview informal discussions. Some notes were sparked by my daily experiences living in Accra, as weighted against participant's responses to particular questions. In some cases, my own reflections of living in the country allowed me to ask deeper questions of my participants that went beyond the structured interview guide. Certainly, my position as an insider/outsider was felt in two ways: first, as a child of Ghanaian immigrants, who had recently returned home, I navigated daily questions of (mis)belonging in Ghanaian society. Physical markers, including my style of dress, my Torontonian accent, my mannerisms and sometimes, even the way I walked symbolized my foreignness to local Ghanaians. This certainly created some commonality with my respondents, many of whom also inhabited these identity markers as individuals raised in Canada. Secondly, as a graduate student based in the Western academy, I was also aware of the power and responsibility I had in re-presenting my participant' stories. My participants were highly literate, educated, professionals - some of whom were also engaged in graduate studies at the time of the interview. However, I was still well aware of the power dynamic between myself, as researcher, and participants, as subjects. This dynamic is complicated by the fact that I was also a member of the community I studied, which meant that there was an implicit trust that participants gave me. Several participants were members of the larger Ghanaian community in the Greater Toronto Area, where I grew up. Indeed, some would have encountered me through community events, such as weddings, funerals and birthday parties. At the core of the call for reflexivity and positionality is the assumption that one's underlying biases, values and socio-political context shapes how and which questions we ask (Hesse-Biber, 2007). My interaction with research participants is influenced by my access to a particularly academic (and often inaccessible) language and the cultural cache of my university education. It was important for me to be mindful of the possibility that participants may have felt uneasy, inarticulate or not as "experted" about the subject matter. Field notes allowed me to reflect before, during and after my interviews on how

my own subjectivity shaped my interactions with participants. I used field notes to work through my own discomfort of being an insider-outsider, both in terms of my research and in terms of living in Ghana.

The insider-outsider dialectic is complex for diaspora youth returnees, because while they generally affirm their ancestry, cultural origins and community as "Ghanaian", they/we are not seen as "full insiders" by Ghanaian society. My position as researcher is complicated by the fact that I am the exact demographic I am studying. Not only am I a young adult diasporan, I also likely have much in common with the participants regarding their perspectives and ambitions to return/live in the homeland. Many participants expressed feeling like an outsider/foreigner in Ghana, and I share much of that sentiment. However, because I am perceived to have "made it" as a returnee, participants often assumed that I had greater insight (about Ghana) than those yet to fully return. My status is an insider, because I am part of the demographic I am studying, a (*fuller*) insider because as a returnee, I am perceived to have "figured it out", and an outsider by local Ghanaian standards, because I was raised abroad. This final outsider status ironically allowed me to connect/be an insider more fully with my research participants. This dialectical relationship of my positionality is worth noting: there is an interpenetration of opposites, whereby the insider-outsider split is actually hard to sustain. The two categories reinforce each other, and one becomes aware of one category only through the other. In other words, at any given moment in the field, I was negotiating all of my identities simultaneously.

My field notes mostly prioritized critical reflection and were broken down into roughly four categories; mind you, in some instances, the notes overlapped across these categories:

1. *Reflections about patterns, trends, disconnects or contradictions in participant responses.* The purpose of these notes was to capture my reflections and observations on generalized

patterns across participant responses to the open-ended and close-ended questionnaires. I developed generalized categories based on common themes I was hearing in my interviews. These notes also served as a way to process specific recurring comments and unexpected feedback from participants. For example, if a participant responded to a question differently than most of the other respondents, I noted this down and did free-write thinking as to what may have prompted differing data. I organized these notes thematically and some eventually fed into my research coding via NVivo software.

2. *Reflections about participants' interactions with me immediately pre- and post-interview (as a researcher and community member [i.e. insider/outsider]).* Usually, I provided participants two opportunities to ask any clarification questions –first, at the beginning of our discussion (immediately after I explained the project) and second, at the end of the interview (once I had exhausted my list of questions). The field notes in this section documented my reflection on how participants reacted to me as a researcher who was also a part of the cohort I studied. This section also documented my own anxieties about adequately representing my diaspora community in my research and forthcoming thesis defense. There is a lot of pressure for young Africans in higher education, as we often do not see many of us represented in the sector. We are also ever aware of stereotypes of Blacks as intellectually inferior. The imposter syndrome hits differently for Black African graduate students. This is, in part, why I have felt ambivalence about inserting my personal narratives into this dissertation (i.e. auto-ethnography). Particularly living at the intersection of Black, female and anxiety-prone with a history of clinical depression, I was worried about being perceived as neurotic, or that any attempts at auto-ethnography would be seen as merely "diary-writing" or not academically rigorous. I also felt a responsibility to challenge myself by conducting intense qualitative interviews and was politically committed to documenting community voices that are rarely heard in the

academy. All of these conversations were recorded in my field notes process as a way to understand my subjectivity as researcher vis a vis my participants.

3. *Observations and reflections about participants based on post-interview social engagements.* Often, participants wanted to socialize with me after their interviews or on their future visits to Accra (for interviewees based in Canada), as a way to learn more about living in Ghana and to build their local network. In fact, I suspect that this was a major motivation for individuals who agreed to be interviewed. This was evidenced by the fact that people would often ask me at some point during the interview about my own process in returning home. It was common for interviewed returnees to ask me advice about Ghana's local job market or social life. In fact, there were times when participants were invited to my home to conduct the interview, only to discover that they simply just wanted someone (who had similar life experiences) to socialize with while in Accra. Some of these interviews did end with me providing a home cooked meal for participants, or going out for drinks afterwards. My own motivation was an attempt to repay the kindness of providing a free interview and secondly, to build community and thirdly, it did give me more opportunity to observe how they interacted with Ghanaian society. Naturally, these socializing moments provided key and instinctive opportunities for me to observe participants further. Yet, there was certainly an ethical consideration here, as most participants were not asked to give their formal consent for post-interview observations. In my research design stage, I also had not considered that living in Accra might mean that interviewed returnees may want to socialize with me, or that we would all find ourselves navigating a smallish returnee network in the city. As participants were not remunerated for their interviews, I often felt indebted to repay them for their voluntary time by accepting their requests for social outings. In addition, perhaps, as a byproduct of studying second-generation transnationalism, I often found myself paying

attention to returnees' behaviours, interactions and opinions about Ghana's natural and social environment. Journaling about these experiences really helped to provide more context to participants' formal interview responses, and sometimes revealed inconsistencies between their beliefs and actions. These notes were often quite specific and spontaneous. In total, I recorded my observations of 9 out of 15 social outings with participants.

4. *Reflective notes about my journey of returning to Ghana as a way to compare participant responses, and provide deeper insight.* While much of this writing does not feature in the analysis chapters, they were instrumental for supporting me to understand and contextualize why participants were making certain choices around their transnational practices. These notes were also useful for helping me assess my own assumptions and values vis a vis my data analysis. I used this space to articulate how my own cultural socialization within a transnational social field led me to return to Ghana, including my upbringing within a Ghanaian diaspora church and my household dynamics. These notes also included my own anxieties about returning to Ghana, including questions of misbelonging, finding work/building my career in Accra, (stubbornly) foregoing my parents' Canadian dreams for me in order to pursue my own in the homeland, and the challenges of navigating local bureaucracy.

Ethical Considerations

My doctoral research plan was approved by York University's Ethics Review for Research Involving Human Participants. I also completed the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics* as required by York University. Throughout this study, I anticipated minimal risk to participants, and I was committed to creating a safe emotional, mental and physical space for interview participants.

While I did not anticipate any potential physical danger or harm to my participants, I do recognize that speaking about cultural experiences can bring up certain emotions within interviewees. Culture is often the site of trauma, emotional violence and oppression. Prior to signing the consent form, participants were provided with a clear description of the project in lay language outlining the purpose of the study, a clear description of participants' expectations, foreseeable risks and potential benefits, contact information of the researcher and the Research Ethics Board. Participants were also assured that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any time.

However, ethics and consent are also two complex issues for insider-outsider researchers. As some feminist researchers have noted, the traditional consent process of most ethics review boards are limiting, because they do not account for the real-time negotiations that researchers and participants must make in the field (Bhattacharya, 2007; Sultana, 2007). In reality, consent is negotiated and re-negotiated throughout the research process, requiring both formal and informal consent at various points of the data collection. The purpose of this strategy is to account for ongoing challenges of consent as the relationship between researcher and subject develops. Other scholars note that the traditional ethics process at most universities, such as acquiring signed consent, mirrors Eurocentric traditions of written documentation, which may not be appropriate for other communities (Daniel, 2005). As she notes:

> Given the painful history to which indigenous peoples have been subjected because they have "signed" documents they did not understand or that were written in a language different from their own…many people are wary of placing their signature on paper. In addition, this process of signing papers changes the nature of the relationship that we have traditionally had with our elders and other community members.
>
> (Daniel, 2005, p. 64)

Whilst interviewing young Ghanaian-Canadians (-albeit, a younger and highly educated demographic), it was important to be mindful of potential ambivalence towards signed consent forms. Notably, Ghanaians tend to have a relaxed attitude towards filling out forms. Achampong

(2008), for example, notes that statistical information on the Ghanaian community is often difficult to obtain, because of community apathy towards filling out census forms. Further, as young people (and non-academics), the consequences of signing consent forms may not be as clear or apparent. Both because of their age and culture, some of the participants in this study may have similarly felt that the consent form was inaccessible. Another more important issue regarding ethics and consent is that of ownership over research data. As a community member, I am certainly an advocate for community ownership. However, as a graduate student and researcher, I am also aware that this project will primarily serve as a key component of my doctoral degree completion. Consequently, the final product will be, first, the property of the academy. I continued to work through this personal ethical dilemma throughout the data collection process. As an academic researcher, who ultimately controls the construction and production of this research, it was important for me to be reflexive about my own bias in the research process.

As a Ghanaian-Canadian, I am also familiar with the particular social taboos that exist within this community. The Ghanaian community is interconnected, and it was important to consider the confidentiality of participants within and beyond the interview process. For example, questions about cultural upbringing may have caused some discomfort or shame for participants with fractured family ties in a cultural context that reveres the family unit. To mitigate any discomfort or *foreseeable* triggers, I provided participants with a list of the questions prior to the interview, ensuring that they were well prepared to discuss the subject matter. I also indicated that as interviews were semi-structured, participants could decline to answer any spontaneous questions during our discussion without consequences. Participants were provided with pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity, and they could withdraw from the study at any time, including post-interview. The data was recorded on a small audio recorder and transcribed, coded and analyzed using NVivo software. Participants were provided with a consent form, based on York University's

ethical guidelines. Interviews are being kept on a password protected computer for (3) years post-defense. Fortunately, there were no major challenges in obtaining participant consent.

Selection Criteria and Recruitment

My main criteria for selecting participants for this study was their self-identification as a second-generation or 1.5 generation Ghanaian-Canadian who perceives Ghana as (at least one of) their home(s). Participants must also have either been to Ghana in the past or have aspirations to return or visit someday. For the Canada-based participants, involvement in cultural activities or an active connection to the Ghanaian diaspora community was also a requirement. Many participants were recruited from the Greater Toronto Area, which has the largest population of Ghanaians in Canada. However, I also interviewed participants from across Canada including other parts of Southern Ontario and the West coast. As most participants were socialized in the GTA, some results may skew towards a more cosmopolitan reading of the second generation. Certainly, youth growing up in the GTA are more likely to develop a transnational consciousness because of their *greater* access to Ghanaian cultural networks. This should be taken into consideration as the reader engages the results and analysis chapters.

Age of Participants

The participants selected for these interviews ranged roughly between the ages of 18 and 35 years. This cohort is an important demographic to study as many of these individuals are making the transition from late adolescence to young adulthood. Several scholars have discussed the importance of the life cycle in determining the shape, context, and intensity of transnational activities taken by migrants. Decisions around dating, marriage, education, career goals and where to live are all integral to this life stage (Best, 2011). Certainly, culture helps to shape one's worldview, sense of purpose and perceived destiny. Indeed, many of these life decisions are often influenced by an individual's social and cultural upbringing. In

addition, for many individuals in this demographic, this might be the first time that they have had to make choices on their own, and many begin to question their own socialization. This can create a time of deep self-reflection as they move away from parents' values towards formulating their own values, beliefs and identity (Best, 2011). Further, many of these individuals' families would have arrived in Canada during the second major wave of Ghanaian migration in Canada beginning in the late eighties to the early nineties (Mensah 2002). This means that they would have witnessed and been integral to the emergence of a Ghanaian community in Canada, which ultimately shapes their integration into Ghanaian culture (Mensah, 2000).

Defining 1.5 and Second Generation

While in the mainstream discourse, "second-generation" is often referred to as the children of (at least one) immigrant parent(s), there is some debate in migration scholarship about the relevance of age and time of arrival in this definition (Yeboah, 2008; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2000; Zhou, 1997). According to Pong, Hao, and Gardner (2005), the term "first-generation immigrants" refers to individuals who were born outside of, and immigrated to the host country; "second-generation immigrants" include children born of one or both parents from another country; and third generation immigrants include individuals born to parents who were also born in the host country. Similarly, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2000) provide (3) key possible scenarios of the second-generation immigrant in the U.S. context. As we can observe in this definition, there is some conflation of the second-generation with the 1.5 generation:

> 1. Children with at least one immigrant parent (hybrids)
> 2. Children born in the United States whose parents are immigrants
> 3. Children who were born in the homeland of parents and brought to the United States (1.5 second-generation immigrants)
>
> (As listed in Yeboah, 2008)

Scholars also differ in the migration age at which one may be considered 1.5 versus second generation. For example, Statistics Canada determines that individuals migrating before age 5 are considered 1.5 generation, while some scholars consider youth under the age of 15 as second-generation (Yogaretnam, 2012). For the purposes of my dissertation, I recognize that both the 1.5 and second generation individuals would have experienced socialization within a transnational social field. Both generations would be in a similar age range, and subsequently both might be making transnational choices at their current life stages. Within the context of this project, I define the second generation as individuals born in Canada or migrating before age 6, when most pupils would be entering formal education in Ghana and Canada, respectively. The 1.5 generation, who were also interviewed, are defined as individuals migrating to Canada before age sixteen.

Defining "Youth"

Throughout this project, the terms "youth", "young adult", and "adult children" will be used interchangeably to refer to research participants and their cohort at-large. This methodological decision reflects the cultural realities of generational status in Ghanaian society. Notably, Ghana's National Youth Policy defines "youth" as individuals aged 15 to 35 years, based on definitions used by the United Nations Organization and Commonwealth Secretariat (National Youth Policy of Ghana, 2010). Notably, "young adult" is a less commonly used term in Ghanaian culture. One possible rationale is that, in cultural terms, this period represents a stage at which individuals prepare themselves to be fully integrated into society as responsible adult citizens. It is not until major milestones such as marriage, child-rearing, gainful employment and property ownership have been achieved that one may be considered an "adult". In cultural terms, individuals who have passed the age of 35 without attaining particular milestones may still be colloquially referred to as "small boys" or "small girls". Alternatively, within Canadian society, "young adults" are commonly defined

as individuals aged 18-35 years, also representing a life stage filled with major transitional moments including school to work transitions, family planning and financial and emotional independence from parents. While the literature suggests that this life stage presents major transitional flux, culturally, there is less weight placed on the accomplishment of these milestones in order to qualify as a young adult in Canada. The discrepancy in cultural definitions of age represents the unique intersection at which my research participants exist. Raised between these two cultural worlds, the 1.5 and second-generation negotiate the differing cultural perspectives of their age identities.

Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed by a research assistant and were subsequently coded thematically using NVivo software. My analysis generated nearly 40 nodes (or categories), which I used as a guide to create annotations of participants' responses. Each open-ended survey response was annotated into a node category, ultimately helping to create a complete story of the respective thematic areas. The data from these interviews are categorized in two chapters; the first focuses on respondents' early life socialization within the transnational social field and how they incorporate their cultural practices living in the present-day diaspora, while the second chapter examines the ways in which this transnational social field facilitates current cross-border engagements with the homeland. This chapter describes the phenomenon of "return" migration in the second generation and analyzes how homeland engagement influences their sense of cultural and national belonging, as well as social positioning in the world.

Conclusion

My objective in this project is to delve into the lived experiences of the second-generation, specifically as it relates to the nexus of their life choices and transnational upbringing. Applying feminist methodological principles of embodied knowledge,

intersectionality and insider-outsider reflexivity are integral to understanding the second-generation in a transnational context. The outlined methodology provides an opportunity for me, as a migration studies researcher, to unearth the silences and untold stories of young Ghanaian-Canadians. As minorities living in Canada, Ghanaian-Canadian young adults are living at multiple intersections of oppression including race, class, gender and age. I believe that second-generation youth are the most qualified to explain, define and interpret their own life experiences, and that they offer deep texture and analysis to an understanding of migrant transnationalism. Participants were at a specific life stage to assess how they are navigating young adult life as it pertains to their transnational and cultural identities. Investigating the lives of African youth can inform us of life in the African Diaspora, because it allows us to nuance or complicate "the African immigrant story", as one that is gendered, classed, racialized and generational. In the following two chapters, I provide the results and analysis of my data collection.

Chapter Four: Developing the Transnational Habitus: Ghanaian cultural socialization in Canada

Introduction

This chapter discusses how the Ghanaian-Canadian second generation is socialized within their transnational social field through an examination of the homeland values, beliefs and traditions that they were taught while growing up in Canada. The chapter is structured in two sections: first, through an analysis of in-depth interviews, I examine the specific values, ideas, beliefs and traditions that the youth perceive as integral to Ghanaian culture and how it shapes their social identities as young adults. There were several common values that had shaped participants' frame of reference, including the importance of family life, community as an extension of the family unit, work ethic/education, respect(ability), religion/faith and cultural pride. In their early years, the youth are socialized to prioritize the family and community as central to their identity. This is important because this sense of duty and obligation to the family/community life in the diaspora becomes the foundation for their transnational consciousness as young adults. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) discuss the ways of being and belonging that the second-generation transnationals navigate. In this study, I observed that the second generation navigate both existing in a transnational social field and cultivating their belonging within it. It was common for the young adults in my study to have grown up in ethno-religious communities, attending afrobeats/hiplife concerts, parties, weddings and funerals, and developing co-ethnic friendships with other Ghanaian children in their early years. Much of this community engagement is cultivated by their parents, who stress the importance of Ghanaian cultural values and traditions, despite their primary socialization outside of the homeland. The second section of this chapter will demonstrate how these young adults continue to practice and engage the transnational social field during this life stage. The 1.5 and second generation interviewed in this study were engaged in a range of cultural practices and community building that began during their early years of

socialization in Canada (prompted by family members and cultural networks), and expanded, shifted or reconfigured in their young adulthood. Often, there is a marked shift in adulthood as youth are becoming more independent/agential and acquiring their own resources to decide how they will engage with their culture (e.g. spending money, freedom of movement, and new opinions, beliefs and attitudes). While some youth gravitate closer to cultural associations and social activities, others become disinterested, disconnected or disillusioned with traditional community spaces. Some participants perceive these social spaces as "old school", associating them with their younger more naive selves. Others still had entered into careers or reside in neighbourhoods where the presence of Ghanaian people is less pronounced, creating a sense of loss of direct access to the community, which fostered feelings of *misbelonging* or identity loss. However, despite this lack of direct engagement in traditional community spaces, young adults transferred their connection into direct, specific actions, initiatives and life choices that continue to root them to the homeland.

Who are the Second-Generation Transnational Actors?

The second-generation transnational actors are a dynamic and emerging cohort across Canada. As the children of immigrants, they exist in a cross-border network of people, ideas, values and practices aimed at maximizing their social and economic position in the world. This is what Aiwah Ong calls the “flexible citizenship” in her book of the same title (Ong, 1998). In total, I recruited 32 participants, mostly through snowball sampling, whereby existing study subjects recruited future subjects among their acquaintances. I also advertised through cultural and student associations in Canada, including York University’s Ghanaian Student Association at York (GSAY), and York University Black Student Association. As a 1.5 generation Ghanaian-Canadian with my own aspirations to return to Ghana, some of my interviewees came from my personal networks of like-minded returnee aspirants**.** For example, some participants were recruited from an open forum I attended in 2016 organized

by *Optimize Ghana*, an international social-business venture with the aim of connecting young professionals in Canada with settlement opportunities in Ghana**.** The median age of respondents was 30, and most had completed at least one tertiary degree (i.e. Bachelor's degree) or an equivalent professional certificate, and many had gone on to complete some post-graduate education. While there were no geographical restrictions with the recruitment, most of the participants grew up in urban centres in Canada, specifically the Greater Toronto Area. This may have been due to the snowballing technique used for recruitment, as well as the historical migration patterns in Canada, with Toronto housing the highest number of Ghanaians in Canada (Mensah, 2000). Participants belonged to a variety of regions in Ghana, with the majority identifying with one of the Akan sub-ethnic groups (notably, Ashanti, Bono, Fante, and Akuapem). Six participants came from mixed-ethnic group households (e.g. Ga mother and Fante father), while four participants identified as Ewe, and three identified as Ga. Most participants came from southern parts of Ghana, while only three identified with ethnic groups in Ghana's northern regions, (one participant stated that she was Kasena from the market town Navrongo, while another participant identified as Mo/Deg from Nepui/Kapinta, and the final participant's mother was Frafra from Upper East Region, while her father was Busanga from northeastern Ghana). The ethnic background of the participants is in part a reflection of Ghanaian migration patterns to Canada, with the Ashanti and other Akan ethnic groups dominating travel. Both men and women participated in this study, though there were slightly more women. Somehow, and quite interestingly, it was generally easier to recruit and arrange interviews with women, as they tended to be more responsive to my correspondence.

Approximately 12 participants stated that they were born in Canada (second generation), while 17 participants were born in Ghana, migrating to the host country before age sixteen (1.5 generation). Two participants were born in Italy and Germany respectively,

migrating to Canada shortly after. It is important to note that some of the participants experienced a double or triple stepwise migration in their infant years, with their parents moving between Ghana and other countries for a variety of reasons, including seeking an asylum or completing post-secondary degrees, before settling in Canada. At least three of the Canada-born participants were sent back to Ghana shortly after their birth, spending their early years in the homeland, before eventually returning to Canada within their childhood or early adolescence. This is a common practice among Ghanaian immigrants, with the most notable case being Ghanaian-Canadian actress Jackie Appiah. Parents return foreign-born children to the homeland for a variety of reasons, including family reunification, job opportunities/traditional chieftaincy duties, legal issues, or simply because they strategically intend to secure Canadian/Western citizenship for their children, while raising them in the homeland. The youth return to Canada at some point to complete part of their junior, high school or tertiary education. These participants are not second-generation in the traditional sense, but offer an important contribution to the discussion, as they would have experienced transnational mobility quite early on in their lives. Out of the 3 participants who returned to Ghana as small children, one was sent back between ages 5-10, another was sent back from ages 0-2, and the final was sent back between ages 5-17, with interval visits to Canada.

Most of the participants stated that they grew up with at least one of their biological parents. Some noted that they were separated from their parents at some point during their childhood and were taken care of by grandparents or other extended family members before they were reunited with their parents in Canada. Six participants noted that they were raised in single parent households, with their mothers assuming the major responsibilities of their care and rearing. Most of the participants stated that they had been raised in a Ghanaian community in Canada, with some combination of ethno-religious community, ethno-cultural and customary or traditional events as common fixtures in their

childhood. Most of the participants had visited Ghana at least once or twice within the past ten years, with most of these trips being short stays (less than one month, and two weeks on average). Most participants stay(ed) in Accra while in Ghana, with some visiting their ancestral villages or other populous cities like Kumasi and Cape Coast. Out of the 32 respondents, 24 did not live with their parents, while only eight were still at home at the time of the interview. Participants mostly stayed with various family members when visiting Ghana, with a few participants opting to stay in hotels, hostels or guesthouses during their stay. In some cases, participants' families did not have residential property in Accra, or their family homes were not suitable, which forced them to seek alternate accommodations. As a transnational cohort, most participants were in-between Ghana and Canada at the time of their interview. Approximately half of the participants were in Ghana at the time and were interviewed in various locations including their homes, place of work and my apartment in Accra. The other half were mostly in Canada at the time of the interview, some having just left Ghana or preparing to come in the weeks and months following the interview.

In other studies, scholars observe that Ghanaian-Canadian immigrant youth face many structural barriers to socio-economic integration in Canada, including racial bias in education, housing, employment, and the criminal justice system. However, the participants in this study were largely skilled, professionalized or entrepreneurial. Indeed, the second-generation transnational cohort is a dynamic, highly educated and driven demographic that has generally overcome the structural barriers in Canada's education and labour market systems, aspiring to build a fruitful life in the homeland. Most of the participants were high functioning and high achieving individuals who expressed a strong confidence in their capacity to make meaningful contributions to Ghana's development. This confidence is often supported by the social capital that their parents had acquired in the homeland pre-migration, as weighted against their class status in Canada. For example, while some participants may have grown

up in working class and/or government-subsidized housing in Canada, (with parents engaged in low-skilled and service sector work), they might return to Ghana to a more complex class reality based on their parents' networks and social capital before and after migration. They may also experience favouritsm and privileges afforded them because of their Western accents and qualifications—this is what Mensah (2014) and Tettey and Puplampu (2005, 149) call "transnational positionality". Another important observation is that, similar to their parents, many young adults strategize over months or years, saving, researching and planning before they return home. These youth were not necessarily part of a wealthy or middle class in Canada; rather, they make calculated choices in preparation for returning to the homeland. In the next section, I discuss the specific ways in which habitus is formed for the 1.5 and second generation navigating the transnational social field.

The Cultural Value of the Family

Naturally, many participants noted their family life as the first site through which they learned about Ghanaian cultural traditions. Parents and extended family were integral to the youth's internalization of Ghanaian traditions and cultural identity formation. For Ghanaian immigrants, the Akan concepts such as *amamre3* and *abusua* (loosely translated to "tradition" and "family") become cornerstones of their identity formation and cultural practices in the host country. The children of immigrants often view the family as a nucleus that keeps Ghanaian culture and communities afloat, particularly in the diaspora. Participants believed that the Ghanaian cultural value system teaches a strong emphasis on respecting, honouring and being held accountable to (and by) the family. Jane, 31, for example, notes:

> I think the concept of the "abusua" -you know, family and the responsibility of family in particular [is an important cultural value]. If one of you gets ahead, you are responsible for those that have been left behind, so that belief is still in me. Like, how can I help my cousins or those people there -so that kind of value, that family value, that respect for parents and adults…Even at this stage of my life, as a mother, they still feel they can weigh in on anything. I still respectfully listen -even if I don't do it, I don't fight it, I listen respectfully and take on board what I can (Jane, interviewed June 2017).

The role of the family in Ghanaian culture is one in which youth learn responsibility, care and generosity. For young adults like Jane, this manifests as a deep sense of obligation to support other family members (in both the diaspora and the homeland) who may not have yet reached her level of success. Many of the young adults interviewed also echoed the sentiment that, even in their adult lives, their family's opinions had to be considered in order to maintain family cohesion and harmony.

For Ghanaian immigrant children, the family extends beyond the members of the nuclear family and the responsibilities to financially and emotionally support as many extended family members as possible (both in the host land and homeland) is a core value that Priscilla, 33 passes on to her children:

> I was talking to my son about Ghanaian culture and what it means to support the family. He asked, "Why do you always have to send money back home to this person?" I tell him, listen buddy, we support each other, we help each other out. That's just what I knew growing up, and what I believe is very important to me. And I used to joke with him that when I'm old you better not put me in a seniors' home. I'm going to stay with you and drive you crazy until I die. Haha! (Priscilla, 33, interviewed February 2018)

Interestingly, when asked by her third generation son, Priscilla indicates that supporting family members is simply what she has been socialized to do. Ultimately, this is habitus at work; many participants expressed a similar worldview that they took for granted.

Many Ghanaians take in their parents and older family members as they age, rather than sending them for palliative care at nursing homes. Consequently, participants perceived that Ghanaian families were categorically more communal than mainstream Canadian culture. There is a cultural juxtaposition for youth, in which they perceive Euro-Canadian children as less concerned with elder care as evidenced by Priscilla's comments about rejecting the culture of nursing home care in Canada. Most participants expressed that their parents routinely provided for family members in the homeland, through sending regular financial remittances, old childhood clothes and electronics. While participants may not have known the specific family members that were being supported in Ghana, many were well aware of the responsibility to support those who had been left behind. Priscilla's comments

demonstrate that diaspora children unconsciously take up this responsibility as a function of their role within the family structure.

Migrant families often mimic or replicate homeland cultural environments, which allow them to retain their sense of identity and belonging in the new land (Gamlen, 2014). This cultural work takes on specific meaning as youth are raised outside of their home country. However, for other participants who spent some of their formative years in the homeland, there was a feeling that diaspora family dynamics were fundamentally different from what they had experienced while living in Ghana. Aminattu, 31, was raised in Ghana until the age of nine, when she relocated to Canada with her parents. She reflects on the differences between parenting and family life in both countries:

> I think one thing that always stuck is the value of family and *redefining* family and the bond that family brings. I think that is one thing that regardless of wherever I go, *it cannot be duplicated the way that it is here in Ghana.* And that sense of belonging. *Not even the Ghanaian community in Canada can duplicate that*. And I think that's one value that I will say for sure resonates with me. And it is reflective in everything else I do (Aminattu, interviewed on Feb 17, 2018, emphasis mine).

For youth who had spent some of their early childhood years in Ghana, the importance of the family was a value, which they perceived, was deeply rooted in traditions in the homeland. Children of the 1.5 generation are especially aware that parents are attempting to recreate *and* redefine familial relationship structures from Ghana, in ways that are complicated by the realities of diaspora life itself. This is important because it demonstrates that, in fact, the *practice of family life* is an ongoing negotiation of homeland culture in the host country, which cannot always be taken for granted by diaspora youth. It is also important to recognize that Aminattu's interview took place at the beginning of a recent trip to Accra, where she was reconnecting with family members and likely confronted with a (seemingly) sharp contrast between family life in Canada and the homeland. Of course, it is important to note that even in Ghana, the structure of the family has shifted over the decades, as a result of social and economic transformations, and indeed, because of the migration of key members within the family unit (Dzramedo, 2018). Still, the cultural significance of the "family" is not lost on

migrants' children; participants expressed a strong understanding that the family is an integral part of the transnational social field for raising responsible and morally sound adults. The family unit not only helps to socialize youth around cultural norms, it is an important support system, which participants acknowledged as integral to their identities.

Community as an Extension of the Family Unit

Homeland culture was also evident in how participants had been socialized to interact with the wider Ghanaian community. Participants were taught that the community was, in fact, an extension of the family unit in the diaspora, observable through familial language used to refer to community members. Terms such as "auntie" or "uncle" could be used to refer to a range of individuals from close family friends to complete strangers in the Ghanaian diaspora community. Within Ghana, these terms are often used to show both a sign of respect and deference as well as a belief in the connectedness of all members in the society. As part of their family socialization, participants recount being taught that the category of "family" extended beyond the typical North American nuclear structure; invoking familial terminology came with a particular sense of connection, responsibility and support for community members. There was a deep awareness that, especially in the diaspora, the Ghanaian community had a duty to support each other as an extension of the duties to the family. As one interviewee put it:

> For us, family isn't mom, dad, brothers, and sisters -family is like even a cousin that's like oh, we have a great grandfather in common, you're my cousin. You know *family is expansive*. And I think as a Ghanaian, *community is important too. Those are things that I like and appreciate. Right now, if something happens to a Ghanaian here, the community will come together and figure out something.* I value that too, because I noticed that in Canada a lot of us keep going our own ways and people have to fend for themselves, *but at least like in the Ghanaian community, people do rally around each other when we need to do certain things.* (Eunice, interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine).

Eunice's comments reveal the intentional expansion of the definitions of family, particularly in the diaspora. Certainly, for the diaspora community, there is a sense that community members are collectively responsible for each other's well-being in the host society. The socioeconomic challenges of migrants' transition into the host society is often mitigated by

the financial, emotional and social support of community networks. Participants perceived that the communal nature of the diaspora was inherently a reflection of homeland values.

The Cultural Value of Respect(ability)

Many African communities value "respect", particularly for elders, as an important social obligation that is first learnt within the family home. The elderly are assumed wise counsellors, sources of authority and leadership and invaluable members of society. In other immigrant communities, the intergenerational family home provides an opportunity for youth to learn and be guided by their grandparents, older aunts and uncles (Ishiwaza, 2004, Cha et al, 2006, Muenning et al, 2018). However, due to stringent Canadian immigration policies towards Africans, Ghanaian family homes are less likely to have the multigenerational structure that would facilitate the "culturalizing" of youth to respect elders. Despite this, parents and community members play a vital role in stressing the importance of respecting older people and authority figures in the broader Canadian society. The concept of "respect" was consistently cited as an expectation that undergirded interactions in participants' households and wider community. Youth discussed how they were socialized to comport themselves with respect at all times, which included using their right hand to greet, saying "please" and "thank you" when speaking with elders, and not challenging authority figures including school teachers and religious and community leaders. This concept of "respect" was weaved into the fabric of their youth identities, and seen as necessary to keep family and societal cohesion. Indeed, one's capacity to be respectful was ultimately seen as a reflection of the family that one had been "trained" by. When asked to describe some of the core cultural values that he remembers learning as a child, Edward 36, replied:

> Respect. [laughing] It means a lot to me. Respecting elders and those who came before me, the ancestors. That means a lot to me, respect. I give it as much as I can and I like to give it when I receive it.…That's big in Ghanaian culture, you know? Like with *Ga* people, when we speak to our elders we say "*ofin3"* even before we start our sentence and that's basically like saying "please" before you start talking. So let's say my mother's calling me. I say: "*Ofin3 h33*". That's like "Yes, please". Displaying respect is a big part of the culture.
>
> (Edward, 36, interviewed October 2017).

Youth interpret "respect" as a high level of regard for other people, their opinions and their sensitivities. Respect is enacted through speech, whereby certain words are used to respond and interact with parents and elders. Interestingly, Edward also notes that his respect for elders extends to his ancestors, which is consistent with Ga spiritual traditions, as they have a high regard for those who have passed on to the spirit world (Field, 1937).

In the sociocultural context of Ghana, there are deep hierarchies that cut across class, gender and ethnicity. Existing power dynamics determine who receives respect and the varying degrees at which it is given. Often, older wealthy men (also referred to as "big men") receive the most respect in the family and larger Ghanaian society. However, Eunice's comments below reveal that the children of Ghanaian immigrants, raised in a diaspora container, internalize a slightly modified understanding of respect based on their socialization in Canadian society:

> I think a main value that I've kept is just being respectful. I noticed that we [Ghanaians] are very respectful - *regardless of who you are, we're going to be respectful*. Like, even in my work environment [in Toronto], I noticed certain people aren't that respectful. [Depending on] who the person is they won't even talk to them. *I talk to the courier driver but certain people won't even look at him.* So, I think that's a main thing for me is…being respectful. (Eunice, 29, interviewed June 2017, emphasis mine).

There are several possible explanations for Eunice's comments about respect in Ghanaian culture, which reflect the specificities of diaspora life. While it is true that Ghanaian people have a reputation for being hospitable and polite, it is fair to assume that had she been living in Ghana, there would be less cultural expectation for Eunice to greet or be polite to a courier driver, specifically. Given the deep class structures in Ghanaian society, drivers and other informal/service sector workers are typically not considered to rank high enough as to be greeted mandatorily. However, Eunice has been socialized in a diaspora container, which may have taught her to generally respect everyone without the cultural context of socioeconomic discrimination or stratification in the homeland. At the same time, Ghanaian womanhood is often defined and validated in terms of subservience, deference and politeness towards others (particularly towards older men) [Ampofo and Boateng, 2008; Bosak, et al,

2017]. Though she did not articulate it, Eunice's combined age and gender might actually be what prompts her to demonstrate this deference in daily public interactions. In addition, because of Canada's colour-coded labour market (Galabuzi, 2006), it is more than likely that many of the low skilled and service sector people that Eunice encounters in Toronto (such as the courier driver) are Black and/or African men and women. Based on the community socialization discussed earlier, Eunice may feel the need to demonstrate her "good upbringing" and cultural skills by greeting and deferring to community members in public space, regardless of their social position. Finally, diaspora children often learn to define themselves positively in relation to the larger (white) Canadian society as a self-validation strategy, helping them to manage their outsider status. Eunice's description of "certain people" who are presumably non-Ghanaians is important because it demonstrates her attempt to construct her diaspora identity in relation to the larger society. In this context, Eunice believes that other Canadians lack the crucial cultural value of respect and regard for all people irrespective of their social status. It can be argued that Eunice has re-appropriated her homeland cultural value of respect to define the parameters of her own identity (in relation to others) in the host society.

Kobina's comments also reveal how diaspora cultural identity is shaped through the value of respectability. He states:

> When I was younger, my mother raised me with respect, and I was a very active kid. She worked a lot so I was kind of a troublesome kid. I felt that I had to respect elders, you know, *comport yourself, stand up straight when the elders are around*, and I still have that. *As well as, get married and have a respectable good-looking Ghanaian family, to dress well, and be presentable at certain events.* So [I was] raised with those values, respect is a real big one you know, when you address your elders or somebody older and you know, *it takes time to keep it going, to even ingrain it all, you know*. (Kobina, interviewed November 2017, emphasis mine).

Black studies scholars have theorized "respectability politics" as a social strategy for Black people (across the class spectrum) to receive acceptance in white mainstream societies by mimicking particular values, practices and beliefs of euro-American culture [Higginbottam, 1993; White, 2001; Paisley, 2003; Patton, 2014]. Though less theorized in the African

context, diaspora youth are definitely internalizing an image of "presentability" that includes dressing well, marriage and having a reputable family life. It is also important to observe that the work of respectability is an ongoing practice in diaspora life. Though not stated, Yaw's regard for respectability was likely influenced by religious practice in his home. Scholars have discussed the role of Christianity and Islam in socializing Africans into respectability, modernity and "civility". Indeed, missionaries believed that it was their Christian duty to civilize native Africans, which included adopting Victorian ideals of gentility (McClintock, 1995). This remains present in many Christianized African communities, and likely helped to shape Kobina and other diaspora youths' identities.

The (Cultural) Values of Work Ethic and Education

Diaspora youth in this study largely identified as young professionals with high ambition. Most participants had obtained at least one tertiary degree, and several had continued to obtain post-graduate certificates. It is not surprising that several spoke about work ethic and education as core values in their cultural community. Like many other diaspora youth, Ghanaian-Canadians recognize the grave sacrifices made by their families in order to provide them with a better quality of life in the host society; they believed that they had an obligation to excel in school so that they could also support their family in the future. Some scholars have referred to this as the "immigrant bargain" (Smith, 2006) –that is, youth feel that they have a responsibility to not let their parents' sacrifices go in vain. Adwoa, 32, best expressed this sentiment. She states:

I don't know if they're *Ghanaian or just survival mode,* but work ethic is a big thing from what I've noticed. *I can't speak about Ghanaians in Ghana, but it's more about Ghanaian diaspora identity*. The work ethic is very, very different. *Like, we all work very hard no matter what it is that you're doing, we're all working very, very hard and our parents have instilled in us a sense [that] yeah you're living in Canada but this isn't your home.* So you're *always trying to build, develop and grow with the intention of having somewhere else to go*. I don't think working hard is always a good thing or it's enough. I think you also have to learn how to work smart, how to work within the environment that we have. *Or work so that we're benefitting and learning, so that we can share in Ghana and not just look at Ghana as like our final destination all of the time.* That I think is very, very problematic. (Adwoa, 32, interviewed May 2017).

Adwoa's comments demonstrate that the values of work ethic and education are a necessary reality for her diaspora community; indeed, she is careful not to assume that "Ghanaians in Ghana" are also as invested in "hard work" as integral to their identities. For many African immigrant communities, the fast-paced nature of Canada's labour market compounded with the reality of familial obligations in the homeland means that there is added pressure to succeed. Certainly, there is a perception that immigrants work hard because they often have higher stakes to being in their host country. Children indelibly internalize this pressure and carry it forth in their own educational and career pursuits. Adwoa has internalized this need to work hard, likely because she recognizes the weight of this "immigrant bargain". She also notes that the work ethic is informed by her sense that Canada "isn't her home" and does not take it for granted that advantage will be handed to her. She extends the "hard work ethic" narrative to encourage "smart" or strategic work habits. This strategic work ethic is likely a reflection of her general attitude to work. Her comments further reveal the transnational consciousness of diaspora youth who often believe that their success is a reflection of (and should be reflected in) their homeland interactions. Adwoa recognizes that her educational and career achievements should bolster learning (i.e. skills, expertise and knowledge) that can be "share[d] in Ghana" rather than simply treating Ghana as the "final [retirement] destination". This was a common sentiment expressed by the professionalized second generation in my study; their professional lives were structured in such a way that when the opportunity presented itself, they planned to find ways of giving back to their homeland.

The (Cultural) Value of Religion and Spirituality

Christianity is the most common religion in Ghana due to European colonization, which brought Christian missionaries to assist in the process. Islam is also practiced among approximately 30% of Ghana's population, particularly in the country's northern regions. Given the overwhelmingly Akan demographics in the diaspora community in Canada, it

followed that most of the participants in the study came from Christian homes. Many of my participants grew up in religious homes, though this ranged from ultra conservative to more liberal religious practices. Most participants would have attended religious institutions in their early socialization years, and many of the participants' families continue to be heavily involved in religious community life. Mensah (2008, 2009) writes about the ethno-religious institutional social spaces that Ghanaian-Canadians have created in the Greater Toronto Area to build community, share homeland traditions and provide networking opportunities. The church, then, serves as not only a place of spiritual practice, but also as part of the social field, that helps shape cultural identity for the second generation. For many participants, their cultural socialization and community begins with their church experience. However, as youth mature into adults, they often develop their own spiritual practices -some even, choosing atheism or agnosticism. Within this study, some participants expressed a range of ambivalences about religious life in their young adulthood. For example, while Eve, 30, has made the choice to no longer participate in a church community, she recognizes that this gives her an "outsider" status and impacts how other Ghanaians relate to her as an adult:

> Going to church is something that I grew up with that was very important but now it's just not for me. And I don't care about it. I was actually just talking to somebody the other day about when I stopped going to church and then wanting to find a church to go to [because I was] *looking for things that make somebody Ghanaian in a particular way*. Most Ghanaians go to church and *you're really looked at as an outsider or different for not going to church*. So I was always searching for somewhere to go because it made me feel weird and then it just wasn't for me at some point. (Eve, 30, interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine).

Eve's struggle with her religious identity (and ultimately her decision to walk away from the church) is a significant step during this pivotal life cycle stage. While she did not explain what ultimately prompted her to walk away, it is important to note that she had carefully considered this decision, because she understood that going to church and having a spiritual practice (rooted in a religious institution) is something that "makes somebody Ghanaian in a particular way". Indeed, she has not come to her decision lightly because there is much at stake in terms of her access to, and perceived cultural legitimacy through, Christianity. Other

participants felt that religion was a major source of divergence between them and their parents' generation. Jeffrey, 31 expressed:

> I don't want to say that going to church is a cultural value, but it's very big in my family and it's very big in my culture in general. And I'm not the most religious person in the world. And so I would say maybe going to church is something that is not as important to me as it would be for my parents (Jeffrey, interviewed January 2018).

Psychosocial development theory is instructive here, because it is in the emerging adulthood stage (between ages 18 and 25) that individuals begin to explore their deeply ingrained worldviews and previously cemented identity [Arnett, 2000]. As religion tends to play a major role in identity formation for many Ghanaian youth, it is not surprising that some participants take seemingly radical steps away from the church community because of their shifting priorities or values in adulthood. In the second-generation context, struggle with religion is not merely an interrogation of their spiritual selves, but of the very core of their Ghanaian identity.

Other participants express an active engagement with the church, though they continue to have reservations. Michael, 32, for example, mentioned that while he is an active member of his church, he does not consider himself religious. Michael struggles with the extreme levels of religiosity in the Ghanaian community, which he sees as narrow-minded, yet he continues to participate in his diaspora church community out of necessity. Michael understands that the best way to reach the community is through Christian institutions, where he can support with homework clubs and influencing youth. He demonstrates his conflicted feelings towards religion, by noting that some practices make him "cringe", including high levels of homophobia and ignorance. Indeed, his continued interaction with the church (which includes teaching Sunday school, and managing the social soccer club) is a way for him to negotiate his belonging in the diaspora. He recognizes that the church plays a critical role in community building, and he relies on that space to maintain and strengthen his community ties. Other youth had entirely left the church based on their political beliefs.

Seyram, for example, expressed that she was mistrustful of the church, given its role in European colonization and its continued brainwashing of Ghanaian masses. These varied perspectives and engagement with religion (and specifically, church life) demonstrate the ways in which youth are making delicate negotiations within their transnational social field to assert their evolving belief systems as adults.

Cultural Pride

Participants noted knowledge and pride in their cultural history as an important value that they learned through their family and community. The importance of knowing and taking pride in Ghanaian culture is taught against the backdrop of living in a Eurocentric Canadian environment. Youth internalize cultural pride as key to their survival, self-restoration and self-affirmation in a presumably different sociocultural context. Jemila, 24, discusses the significance of knowing where she comes from, because it provides a cultural safety net that buffers her social rejection in Canadian society. She states:

> I think something that was stressed, even if not by my parents, but by people in the GTA community, is sticking to your culture, knowing where you're from. That's always been important. *If an adult speaks to you in Twi and you can't respond back [in Twi], it's like their world is coming to an end.* Yeah I actually think that's really important though. *Especially as I grow, the older I get, the more I think it's important because at the end of the day you're not Canadian.* You know what I mean? You were born in the country. *Yes, you were raised there, but those in the country don't see you as one of them. So you need to know where you're from.* If you want to claim to be Canadian that's fine, that's great, there's nothing wrong with that. *I don't say I'm not Canadian -I'm definitely Canadian, but I just know if Canada failed me, I know where I'm really from, you know. I have that foundation so I think that's really important.* (Jemila, interviewed April 2017, emphasis mine).

Jemila's comments are instructive about what shapes second-generation youth's identity consciousness. First, while they may feel a more legitimate claim to citizenship than their immigrant parents (most of whom would have faced the challenges of socio-legal integration and acquiring formal citizenship), participants were aware that white Canadians "don't see you as one of them". Jemila has internalized and mentally prepared against a Canada that might "fail" her, which is indicative of the outsider status that racialized second-generation Canadians continue to experience (Mensah, 2014). Secondly, very few diaspora youth can speak their native languages proficiently, yet they are deeply aware of the importance of

language in shaping their cultural identity. Jemila understands, and to some extent has internalized, the disappointment from community elders when she is unable to respond in the major homeland language, Twi. In her young adulthood, Jemila has come to recognize that language, tradition and history are an important foundation that protects her from social alienation in Canada. Her comments are reflective of second-generation consciousness about their tenuous Canadian citizenship identity. Youth perceive Canada to be their *secondary* identity because of their experience of anti-Blackness. Esinam, 44, expresses a similar sentiment:

> One thing I'll say when we think about the culture is my mom would always say that it's very important that you know where you're from. Because no matter what, you're still that Black African person. *At the end of the day, she's like, you can be doing well and excelling and doing the best at something and getting high praises, the moment you do something that makes you fall, or the moment you do something that they don't like you become that Black African.* She always used the example of Ben Johnson who was praised for winning the Olympic gold medal, he's the Canadian, proud Canadian, and the moment they found that he took steroids, *suddenly he was Jamaican*. Now they weren't talking about him being Canadian, suddenly he's a Jamaican immigrant who took drugs. So I think it was just be proud of who you are is what she always said. Be proud of who you are and [your] language. (Esinam, interviewed January 2018, emphasis mine).

Many diaspora youth are raised to believe that Canada's loyalty to its Black citizens could too easily be compromised upon any infractions that they might commit. Mensah (2002) similarly talks of how Ben Johnson, the disgraced Olympic athlete, was a true Canadian hero until he tested positive for steroids and he became a Jamaican-Canada. Part of the habitus development for the second generation, then, is the socialization that their citizenship is tenuous and that their primary and only stable identity is their Ghanaian identity -despite their reservations about, distance from, and even lack of full knowledge of Ghana. For Esinam, knowing "where you come from" serves as a protection against Canadian racism, discrimination and "misbelonging". In both testimonies, we observe that the second-generation experiences their Canadian citizenship as fragile, and therefore, they prioritize their Ghanaian identity as primary to their sense of self.

In some instances, diaspora youth from smaller ethnic groups in Ghana were socialized with a deeper cultural pride, because they had internalized their family's ethnic

marginalization and discrimination in the Ghanaian community. For example, Seyram's connection to Ghanaian culture was actively taught through her Ewe identity; she grew up in a socially and politically conscious home with a self-identified Pan-Africanist father, who had a deep understanding of the social injustices faced by the minoritized Ewe group in Ghana. Indeed, her sense of cultural pride comes from understanding the oppression faced by her ethnic group in the homeland. Seyram's parents had a social consciousness that also compelled her to challenge traditional gender roles; she believes this is significantly different from how her co-ethnic peers are socialized. For Seyram, much of her early socialization was cultivated in her small Ewe diaspora community in Canada. It is significant that she has in-depth knowledge about different regions within Eweland, despite never having been/lived there -indeed, most people her age would not have this detailed knowledge. She recalls attending cultural dance workshops, and representing Ghana at broader African diaspora cultural festivals. Interestingly, Seyram did not attend church growing up; instead, Sundays were reserved for cultural work within ethnic associations. Her parents ingrained the Ewe culture at a very early age, which has led Seyram to feel "more Ewe than Ghanaian" in her adulthood. This is significant because it demonstrates the different ways that habitus is developed for some ethnic minority diaspora youth in relation to the broader diaspora.

Cultural Ambivalence(s)

The interviews also revealed that young adults had begun to question some of the core values that they were taught. Some participants criticize the various cultural expectations placed on them, while others rejected them altogether. For example, while respecting elders was consistently mentioned as a core value, participants also revealed that they struggled with the double standards that came with this expectation. Akosua argues that respecting elders should not be an absolute law, but rather:

Respect for elders is contextual. I think working in Agriculture, I've come to appreciate the value of indigenous knowledge. And that indigenous knowledge can only be passed down through elders, and our relationship with

> our elders. So I think respect for elders is important, but I think it's contextual. *It's problematic for me that when the elder is wrong you can't say that the elder is wrong.* (Akosua, interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine)

Akosua expresses the complicated feelings that diaspora youth have towards some cultural expectations. Most ethnic groups in Ghana place great value on caring for the elderly and revering them as wise members of society that provide moral guidance, leadership and support to younger members of the society. Indeed, Akosua's belief that indigenous knowledge lays with elders in the community likely derives from this value. However, she pushes back on the idea that elders cannot be held accountable or corrected (particularly by younger people) when they have committed an offence or done something in error. Another participant discussed how the cultural value of "respecting elders" is sometimes used to suppress youth voices –a practice that she vehemently rejects in her own life:

> I do think it's important to be respectful to the elderly, although sometimes...I mean, being respectful is one thing, but I also feel like in Ghana or within the Ghanaian culture that young people's voices are significantly suppressed and I have severe issues with that. And that's something that I find my way to rebel against. (Emelia, interviewed November 2017).

This "rebellion" against blind respect for elders demonstrates the ways in which, as social field actors, the second generation struggles to rearrange the field's "rules" through the ideological re-framing of their relationship to power and status (-represented as the elders, in this instance) within their community.

Some participants also expressed a deep ambivalence about marriage and domesticity. Interestingly, both men and women in this study expressed that they felt constrained by the expectation to marry, because it placed undue pressure on them. However, particularly for 1.5 and second generation women, marriage ranked high as one of the cultural values that they often struggled with in their family and community contexts. Female participants noted that marriage was often assumed a natural part of the life cycle by their parents, but that they felt there was too much emphasis placed on marriage as a marker of successful womanhood. The cult of domesticity was often weaponized against young women, as a necessary part of their

eventual wife and motherhood roles in society. Female participants questioned this cultural expectation as a double standard placed primarily on women and girls.

I definitely think being the perfect housewife, you know, like cooking and cleaning is a cultural value that I have begun rejecting. “And if you don’t do this who will marry you?” Or “you have to learn how to do this or your husband won’t take care of you!” And I’m like, “If he doesn’t, then what?” I think those are skills that human beings should have in general and it shouldn’t be forced upon you because you’re going to get married and your husband is going to need it or because you’re a girl. The fact that you’re a girl, there’s certain things that [you’re told that] you need to know. There’s certain things that you need to do only because you’re a girl. That’s the only reasoning? Because I’m a female? OK that’s cool. So those are the values that were instilled upon me and I grew up and I decided this is not for me (Jemila, 19, April 2017).

Sometimes, the cultural pressure for marriage comes from extended family and community members. Indeed, in cultural terms, family members and extended community often see it as their responsibility to nurture cultural values in children, regardless of the actual biological connections. The concept that "it takes a village to raise a child" becomes central to this process, and the pressure to ensure that youth marry is often well intentioned to secure what the community believes is a good, responsible life. In some cases, female participants expressed that their parents were less rigid as compared to some of their extended family and community members:

My parents were not very strict on particular Ghanaian values. Even with the whole marriage thing. For example, it’s not even my parents, it’s extended family and like uncles and aunties that are pressuring me, but it’s not my parents exactly, they’ve always been sort of like open minded in a sense. (Akosua, interviewed May 2017).

Seyram also expresses some regret that if she or her sister were to marry into a Ghanaian family now, they would feel a sense of loss and confusion at the cultural customs, because they were not actually socialized into traditional gender roles by their parents. It is worth quoting Seyram at length on this issue:

It’s confusing. Because they taught us about our history and they taught us about Ghana -they sent us back. Ever since I was 4 years old, for 4 or 5 years straight every summer, we were in Ghana. So I guess that’s where I would learn the Ghanaian values when I would be with my aunt because then she’d be stressed and asking “What is your mom and dad doing there? They just don’t have the same values we have here!” And then she would teach us things that are Ghanaian, so when you’re giving food to someone you don’t use your left hand. My parents never taught us that. Or, like the importance of respecting your elders. That’s what me and my sister were talking about recently. *It’s now that we realized if we want to marry a Ghanaian or move to Ghana or integrate to the Ghanaian culture, our parents made it really hard for us because of the way they raised us. So we love Ghana, but we realize our parents probably didn’t love the traditions or the values so they didn’t raise us that way.* But they love Ghana and they love their people. So I think that’s where we’re stuck. In terms of traditional gender roles, my dad was the one who cooked and I would give my mom the Guinness. There weren’t roles in our house, our parents didn’t teach us. When I speak to my other Ghanaian friends, immediately

their mothers would teach them how to cook so that you could cook for your husband. My mom didn't teach us to cook to survive. They never enforced to work or be a certain way so that you can find husbands, they rather pushed us to be our best selves so that we could be successful and make a change in the world. (Seyram, 28, emphasis mine).

I find Seyram's story quite interesting, because it reveals the varied ways that immigrant parents transmit culture to their diaspora children. For Seyram's parents, there was a political consciousness that shaped their identity as Ghanaians. Presumably, her parents felt it was paramount to teach her about Ghanaian history and indigenous culture, but were less concerned with cultural expectations that might restrict their daughter into a life of domesticity. However, it may also be argued that through her annual trips to the homeland, the parents were also engaging in "transnational parenting", allowing extended family members to instill the traditional values that they were less interested in.

While some women in this study felt that marriage and domesticity were oppressive cultural expectations, others had internalized its significance and were preparing for marriage in their young adulthood. They recognize that their current life stage invites many family members to "advise" them on dating and marriage prospects. Vera, for example, says that her family members are particularly involved in her love life because she is currently in her childbearing years, and they fear that she may grow old without a husband. Vera admitted that she had internalized the urgency to marry but that she was approaching the issue with patience and faith. As Vera put it:

Marriage is very important for me right now just because marriage and family go hand-in-hand. I would say it's very important for me just because right now, there is a process of womanhood with me and my family, where I'm getting a lot of advice. I'm getting a lot of support in terms of the abundance of men that are being suggested to me. And everybody in my family, from my grandmother down to the kids, are very involved in the process of me searching for love, you know. So I think that's why.

Rita: Why do you think they're invested in that?

Vera: Definitely because of childbearing years, number one. And [secondly], there's just a stigma in Ghana of growing older as a woman without a husband. So it's kind of like they are looking out for me in a way.

Choosing Ghana(ianness) in Young Adulthood

Ghanaian diaspora youth are dynamic, active and engaged in a range of practices in their adulthood that continue to anchor them to the homeland, while also sustaining and growing diaspora culture. In this section, I will demonstrate the ways in which the early socialization of cultural values that youth were exposed to shapes how they "choose" or practice Ghanaianness as young adults in the diaspora. It should be stated that the participants in this study were a diverse group, but were generally aligned in their commitment to Ghana as a nation state and culture, as well as actively sustaining and growing their communities in the host country. The following examples demonstrate how the second generation, raised in a transnational social field, continue to live out the values, beliefs and practices of their parents' homeland while living in Canada.

What does Ghana mean to you?

A significant part of how youth come to their cultural identities begins with an imagined idea of the homeland itself. In this study, I asked participants the meaning of Ghana and the role that it plays in their lives as young adults. Overwhelmingly, participants, many of whom had not lived in Ghana during their formative years, expressed unequivocally that Ghana was their "home". When asked to further explain the meaning of "Ghana as home", participants used a range of phrases to describe it including "identity", "origin/roots", "obligation", "memory", "cultural pole", "a story that diaspora youth are a part of", "future", "opportunity" (to build social capital and positioning in the world), and the "antithesis to racist Canada". It was clear that as young adults, the concept of the homeland had already been firmly cemented in their identity consciousness, and many youth sought to cultivate an active and contemporary relationship with Ghana in their minds. Participants believed that even if they never lived in Ghana, they would always be Ghanaian (as a primary, and in some way, a singular identity). Vera, 31, best articulated the rationale undergirding this belief:

> Ghana means home, because I don't really feel like I necessarily belong anywhere else, specifically in North America. You're always being questioned 'where are you from? Where were you born?' And no matter how many times I've told people I was born in Hamilton, they always ask 'when did you come here?' And I've realized that regardless of where I was physically born, people are always going to think about me as being from somewhere in Africa. And I remember an experience when I was a child the respect that my mom would even get just by being a female who drove a pick-up truck. People basically want to worship the ground that she walked on in Ghana. And here we don't get that same respect so when I'm at home, I feel more comfortable from a cultural perspective. When I'm amongst Ghanaians in Ghana. So to me, Ghana is home and if anyone ever says to me 'go back to where you came from, I have no issues. I will pick myself up and go back home. (Vera, 31, interviewed September 2017)

Vera's comments reveal two major reasons why second generation continue to identify their parent's homeland as their home. Firstly, the onslaught of daily racial micro-aggressions in Canada, whereby Black African youth are constructed as being from "somewhere else" has pushed them to have a stronger association with Ghana. Secondly, Vera's early childhood experiences of visiting Ghana, and observing the praise that her mother received for driving a pick-up truck (as a woman) has helped to shape her sense of affinity for Ghana. In Ghana, the second generation finds a sense of (real and imagined) familiarity with other Ghanaians, in which they are not asked to explain their identities. Ultimately, this has significant meaning for the second generation, who are looking for a sense of belonging, as the *idea* of Ghana provides a sense of validation, positive self-image and "north star" in the face of Canadian racism, discrimination and social alienation.

How does Ghana show up in your daily lives?

In an effort to understand the *extent* to which the second generation upholds the cultural values, beliefs and practices of their early cultural socialization years, I asked participants to describe how Ghana continues to play an active role in their daily lives in Canada. It was clear that young adults are making active and conscious choices to prioritize Ghanaian cultural identity in their daily lives, albeit to varying degrees that must be contextualized.

Aminattu stays connected in her adult life through very specific spaces and activities including *Ghanafest* and *Afrofest*. Our first physical meeting was at a cultural festival in 2015, which Aminattu has been instrumental in organizing. The festival aims to display

creative talent and celebrate cultural traditions in the Ghanaian community in the Greater Toronto Area. Despite her community organizing, I note that Aminattu is dismissive when asked about whether she has a "Ghanaian social circle" in Toronto. When encouraged to explain further, Aminattu expresses a deep ambivalence about the diaspora community in Canada:

Interviewer: So would you say that you have a Ghanaian social circle?

Aminattu: I do… I do [laughing]

Interviewer: Why are you laughing?

Aminattu: No, because it's interesting. Because it wasn't really something that I thought about. It's like I know people that are Ghanaians. *I know a lot of Ghanaians and it's always refreshing to speak to people that understand you and understand your language and understand where you're coming from. But then, at the same time there's also a level of distance from the Ghanaian community in the sense that it's not…the Ghanaian community in Toronto is not the same as the Ghanaian community in Ghana.* You know what I mean? So it's a very big difference with the two. As much as I stay connected to them, I also distance myself from them. That's why I feel like it's just not the same.

Interviewer: What's not the same about it? How are they different?

Aminattu: *I don't know, [Ghanaians in Canada] are just extra*. And there's some ideologies that I just feel like, there are certain things that can be handled differently that are not. And I think specifically speaking from a community standpoint like you know, it's just so… *the Ghanaian community in Canada has been [there] for a very long time, but it's like there's nothing to really show for it, you know? So, it's comforting to know that there are Ghanaians there, but then at the same time there's no cultural foundation there. So I think that's my issue.*

While on one hand, Aminattu values sharing space with people that "understand [her]...and understand [her] language and...where [she's] from", she prefers to curate a level of distance from the diaspora, as she feels that the community in Toronto is qualitatively different from that of Ghana itself. When pushed to explain further, she states that she finds the community to be "too extra". This is common Black terminology in Toronto, often meant to describe someone who is either dramatic, doing "too much" or generally exhibiting "over the top" behaviour. Aminattu believes diaspora Ghanaians have very little "cultural foundation" (despite having settled in Canada for many years), which she believes continues to set the community back from making progress. It can be deduced that Aminattu is disappointed with the community's lack of mobilization and establishment in Canada, and yet, she continues to contribute to cultural organizing among the younger generation. In fact, as a young

professional, Aminattu has begun to build transnational partnerships with organizations in Ghana, through her girls' empowerment non-profit. She organizes regular workshops and discussions in her home country, where she feels she can make a greater impact and avoid some of the small-mindedness and insularity that she observes in the diaspora.

Similarly, Junior feels that the diaspora community in Toronto is "too busy" and that there is little room for his own privacy. He worries that there are very few degrees of separation between Ghanaians in the Greater Toronto Area, which he believes can lead to gossiping, in fighting and intrusiveness. Despite growing up between Ghana and Canada, and also continuing to stay connected to the homeland in his adulthood through family visits and seeking to expand his catering business in Accra, he rejects active engagement in the Ghanaian diaspora community. This social negotiation demonstrates the complex interplay of identity within the social field. Ironically, I observed that some diaspora youth were actively *disengaged* in diaspora life as adults, instead gravitating towards the physical homeland. One theory is that familiarity often breeds contempt. Perhaps, some youth perceive that homeland return provides them with a "fresh start" away from the local diaspora community that they were raised in (and may have outgrown), while still allowing them to sustain their cultural ties.

Social gatherings are a key site of daily community building in diaspora life. In the Greater Toronto Area, Ghanaian community events are frequently advertised at ethnic grocery stores (e.g. Makola Market, New Era Market and AfroCAN grocery stores) for all community members to attend. These stores are integral to "making place" and information/news sharing in the diaspora. Not only do these ethnic grocery stores help to preserve and cater to the Ghanaian diet, these businesses are often where people find out about current events in the homeland, as well as funerals, burials, weddings and baby naming ceremonies occurring in the city. Particularly, before the proliferation of WhatsApp and other

social media messaging and phone applications, these stores were central community points for sharing key information. Many youth in the study recalled entering these grocery stores growing up and immediately being placed at the epicentre of community life; indeed, this is often where young people would find out about parties and social gatherings. For example, "party/wedding crashing" is quite common because of how connected the community is; it is common to attend a party where one may not know the host. It becomes part of the community responsibility to show up for each other; additionally, as there is very little space in wider Canadian society to socialize with each other, parties, funerals, and other social gatherings function as the space to interact with members of the community. However, now as young adults, some participants feel that these social gathering spaces no longer support their interests or values. For example, Eunice notes that as an adult, she is less likely to attend parties that she has not personally received an invitation to attend; instead, she now associates wedding crashing with childish and immature behaviour. Additionally, Eunice feels that Ghanaian weddings and parties are often isolating for her as a woman with no children or husband. The “Mothers’ table", is an informal seating area at Ghanaian gatherings commonly occupied by new mothers and wives in the community; for Eunice, this table has become symbolic of a life stage she has yet to engage in. Often, Eunice observes that the conversations at these tables are limited, with very little focus on current world events or political affairs. Despite her interest in Ghanaian popular music, she also often feels “out of place” (i.e. too old) at hiplife/afrobeat concerts in Toronto. In this way, young adulthood determines the extent to which the second generation engages in community life; how young adults participate in the community is shaped by the particular realities of this transitional life stage. While as children, the second generation is typically obliged to participate because of their parents’ involvement in the community, by young adulthood, participants were now

choosing where, when and how they engage, given their increased access to personal resources and mobility as well as developing their own priorities, values and interests.

Racialization, Ethnic Enclaves and the Role of Co-Ethnic Friendships

The interviews also revealed the importance of co-ethnic friendships in facilitating migrant children's active daily choices to practice their cultural heritage. While some participants grew up with strong co-ethnic friendships, which they sustained in their adulthood, others found that they were cultivating co-ethnic friendships for the first time in their adult lives. For example, Yasmin, 31, observed an increasing shift in her friendship circle during and after university, as she gravitated more towards other Black Africanist. These friendships are important to help her gain greater understanding of her culture as well as making sense of her daily experiences of ethno-racialization in Canada. The social environments that the second generation inhabit are often informed by their race, class and gender identities, and their friendship circles often reflect a conscious and subconscious engagement with these social processes and systems. Specifically, the second generation is navigating the racialization of their Africanness in Canada by challenging "generic Blackness". Ghanaian youth recognize that their identities are rooted in a specific geography that is often overshadowed by their racial category (Black); as they begin to explore their ethnocultural identity, they do so by making distinctions from other types of Blackness. Indeed, there is a complex interplay between race, ethnicity and culture, which the second generation are navigating in their choice of friends. Past race and migration scholarship finds that peer groups are integral in affecting how immigrant youth construct their ethnic and racial identities. In her study on Nigerian-American youth identity, Awokoya (2012) finds that youth are negotiating at least four identity categories: African, Nigerian, African-American and Black. The expectations to comply with and belong to each category shifts dramatically across contexts, which can confound the racial and ethnic identity constructions

for these youth. In the Canadian context, I argue that the 1.5 and second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians navigate similar negotiations, shuffling between African; Ghanaian; Canadian; Ghanaian-Canadian; African-Canadian and Black Caribbean identities. This is most evident in my discussion with Yasmin, 31, who explains her journey to embracing her ethnocultural identity:

> So I grew up in the Eglinton West community, which was very Jamaican. All of my friends were pretty much Caribbean or European…up until the end of high school. *And I think that's where I began to think more critically about identity and who I wasn't. Not feeling like I was just this generic Black,* but I have a very specific and rich background, so I needed to further explore that. *And also feeling that being African, even though we are in Canada, and we're all African Canadian. I think being African is a very different background than other Black ethnicities in Canada…*And so I wanted to find people that I felt were similar to me, had a similar background, and learn from them and revel in our Africanness, you know? (Yasmin, Interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine)

Yasmin grew up in an ethnically diverse Black community, which included youth from other African diasporas in the Toronto area. However, when she enters college as a young adult, Yasmin begins to realize that her Blackness is actually rooted in a specific geography, which she internalizes as a source of strength, validation and grounding in her young adult life. It is significant that she does not totally deny or reject her other identities in the process, but rather, seeks self-articulation, manifestation and reconciliation of her full identity. She continues:

> And then, I also began feeling very proud of my culture. Especially at the university level, there were so many young Africans doing so well. *And we just did not fit that Black stereotype. And we did not fit that, partly I believe because of our ethnic background, or cultural background. Like, our parents don't play that shit. And so I felt very proud about that, and it was more of an invitation to get further immersed*. (Yasmin, Interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine)

It is significant that Yasmin begins to build a stronger cultural identity through her interaction with co-ethnic individuals at university, who likely shared similar interests and values. Yasmin perceives Africans on her campus to be academically astute and obedient to their parents. This belief was facilitated in her university years by meeting other Africans—both local and international students, where she built a political awareness around her Black African identity that eschews the racist stereotypes in mainstream Canadian society. As Yasmin is developing her cultural capital through obtaining a university degree, she meets

other Africans whose shared habitus reinforces the rules within their transnational social field. In other words, Yasmin and her co-ethnic peers at university are able to recognize and affirm each other based on a shared frame of reference about the value of education and success in their community. Yasmin perceives that her ambitious and hard-working ethic (which has been built into her habitus), is a distinctly Ghanaian value. Meeting like-minded individuals further reifies the rules within her transnational social field. Ironically, however, Yasmin also notes that she has sustained the cultural diversity of her Black social circle, which has shifted throughout her life from childhood until university:

> But in university, I definitely still had many Caribbean friends or other Black friends, non-Ghanaian Black friends or non-African Black friends. And it was pretty cool, because I feel like many of us are very open to experiencing different cultures and different races, and my friends were always down to go to the African parties. And I was a part of the Black Student Association and the African Student Association. We were always doing joint events together...yeah I thought it was pretty smooth. (Yasmin, Interviewed May 2017, emphasis mine)

As groups racialized as Black in Canadian society, there is much evidence that youth gravitate towards each other because of similar/shared experiences of racism, as well as the socio-historical connectedness of these communities. While the second generation in this study were actively building a cultural connection to their homeland, they are doubly sustaining their "co-racial' friendships with other Black youth. Consequently, they do not form co-ethnic bonds necessarily outside of racial social groups, but in fact, in tandem.

Ethnic enclaves have been theorized as key social cohesion mechanisms in Canadian cities (Qadeer and Kumar, 2006). Racialized and ethnic neighbourhoods, in particular, serve as critical place-making sites for immigrant communities in the host society. Previous research shows that the Ghanaian immigrant community often settles in urban and metropolitan areas, with the majority living in the inner cities of Ontario's Greater Toronto Area (Firang, 2011; Mensah and Williams, 2014). Often, people settle in populous areas such as Jane-Finch and Jamestown/John Garland, where they have access to other Ghanaians. Additionally, due to the economic challenges that many migrants face, they opt for low-

income housing and government subsidized rental apartments in these neighbourhoods. Many Ghanaians engage in low-skilled, service sector work in these inner city areas, while some also set up culturally oriented businesses (i.e. ethnic grocery stores, hair salons and churches). In recent years, however, many Ghanaians have begun moving out of those neighbourhoods, to purchase property in Toronto's surrounding suburbs including Brampton, Mississauga and Scarborough. Particularly, for young professionalized 1.5 and second generation, it has become increasingly common to purchase homes in these areas, which are typically marketed to new and young families. The participants in this study perceived that their lack of physical proximity to the community limited their level of engagement, and given their dispersal into more mainstream/non-Ghanaian neighbourhoods, some participants felt that they were drifting from the diaspora community altogether. In some cases, young adults go to great lengths to stay connected to their cultural communities despite their physical distance from Ghanaian enclaves. For example, Jane, who lives in a small predominantly white suburb north of Toronto, makes an extra effort to stay connected to the Ghanaian community, which is predominantly based in the GTA. Despite her busy work schedule and her geographical distance from where the majority of Ghanaians live and worship, she regularly drives thirty minutes to purchase foodstuffs from Ghanaian grocery stores in Scarborough, socializes with close Ghanaian friends and attends music festivals in Toronto's urban centre.

Second generation who were raised outside of the Greater Toronto Area face particular challenges in accessing ethnic geographies, and they typically sustain their cultural identities through their family relationships. For example, since the early nineties, Pokuaa's family was part of the very few Ghanaians who have lived in the Hamilton area, a smaller port city on the western tip of Ontario. The Ghanaian community in Hamilton is quite tight-knit and her parents were actively involved in community building during her childhood. While Pokuaa could not confirm how active her father currently is, she certainly still

perceives him as the link between her and Hamilton's Ghanaian community. Since relocating to Toronto for work, however, Pokuaa feels like an "outsider" in this city because she did not grow up in the Toronto area and finds it difficult to relate to Torontonian Ghanaian culture. She believes that many of these community relationships were established at a young age, and that her parents would have been the necessary link in order to access the community. Despite her outsider status in Toronto's Ghanaian community, Pokuaa feels quite solidified in her Ghanaian identity, in part because of the social networks established by her parents in her early childhood. These examples demonstrate the significance of ethnic geographies in the daily cultural practices and social consciousness of the second generation, and particularly, how youth attempt to close the gap in the absence of community access. Indeed, young adults are making conscious choices in their daily lives to engage in cultural community, sometimes despite their immediate physical access to Ghanaian enclaves.

Some youth in this study had an overwhelming engagement with their transnational social field, rendering the question of the extent of Ghana's daily presence in their life seemingly redundant. Vera, 29, for example, perceives her participation in cultural spaces, such as church, weddings, funerals, baby naming ceremonies, as "just part of her life" rather than intentional cultural activities that she *performs*. It is significant that Vera neutralizes these activities because it demonstrates that youth do not perform cultural activities consciously, but rather as simply the reality of the ways of being *and* belonging in their transnational community (Fouron and Schiller, 2003; Golob, 2014). Conversely, when asked about the African cultural spaces she engaged on her university campus, Vera expressed negative sentiments:

> Well, I mean, I've taken dance classes, African dance classes in university. I even tried it in high school and it's just that I don't feel connected to it, to be honest. It seems the curriculum is not catered to me; it's watered down for people that won't necessarily deal with the culture on a daily basis. So I know my university classes were always catered to Chinese students. I always found that the target audience was outside of us as Ghanaians and Africans. Black History Month was catered to a lot of Caribbean people, you know? We were never narrating [those spaces], we were never leading those spaces either. (Vera, Interviewed June 2017)

As seen in earlier examples, university is often a time of social blossoming for many young adults, as this is usually the first time that many spend a significant amount of time away from their family and social upbringing. It also signifies a time and space where some youth choose to perform, practice or strengthen their cultural traditions through student associations, talent shows and other extracurricular activities. Yet, Vera admits that she is less drawn to the curated cultural spaces on her campus, because they ironically cater to non-African students. Because she is more directly involved in and aware of the culture on a daily basis, Vera does not see the relevance in these mainstream university clubs for herself. Specifically, she questions the authenticity of such cultural spaces, as evidenced by the targeted populations (i.e. Chinese and Caribbean students). This suggests that some second generations feel that they navigate multicultural campus spaces in ways that require them to 'share" or even lose ownership of their cultural practices. Some express resentment or a sense of lost ownership because they believe that others are (incorrectly) practicing their culture in mainstream Canadian institutions.

A recurring theme in the data was that some youth are losing touch with the Ghanaian community as they get older -a consequence of both environmental circumstances and shifting personal interests and priorities. Young adulthood in Canada is a time of major flux, as individuals experience multiple transitions from school to work and family life and priorities and values. Many of the young professionals in this study noted that they often lack the time to participate in cultural activities. Young adulthood is filled with career mobility or sowing the seeds to advance professionally and participants' social lives predominantly revolve around their work lives and professional relationships. For Priscilla, this disconnect was both a result of her nomadic lifestyle and her own socioeconomic realities. She notes that when she was younger, her social life consisted of attending weddings and parties, which demanded a performance of wealth, trendiness, and expensive fashion. This often made her

feel like an outcast, as she could not always afford to buy expensive items to participate in the social environment. Her sense of belonging was rather affirmed through her participation in the Ghanaian Students' Association at York University, where she found like-minded individuals. It is significant that despite the rules of her social field (requiring her to perform status by purchasing expensive fashion and attending parties); Priscilla pushes back against these expectations by drawing closer to youth-centered student organizations and cultural spaces that affirm her personal interests as a young adult.

Certainly, not every community space will cater to the needs of the second generation. Benjamin, 34, also identifies his lack of interest with the community as a function of the "smallness" of the diaspora in Toronto. When asked about his participation, he mentions that he was much more active when he was younger. As a musician, Benjamin feels that his current life aspirations do not align with his experience of Ghanaian community spaces in Toronto. Yet, when asked about the strategies he employs to stay connected to the homeland, he proudly names Afrobeat and Hiplife as integral to his musical interests. Indeed, one of the common ways that young adults stay culturally connected to Ghana on a daily basis is through music and popular culture. Similarly, Brian, 31, notes that various dances such as the *AZ onto, Shaku Shaku and Zanku* have become an international success across several African communities(including Nigeria and Ivory Coast), which encourages him to feel a deeper sense of connection to African "coolness". He also attends major cultural events such as the 2017 Independence Day celebrations marking *Ghana@60* and the accompanying exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum. Though less common in the second generation, Edward persistently tries to speak his native language (*Ga*) as a key strategy for building cultural connectedness. It is significant that Edward mentions *Ga* as a way to stay connected, in spite of the fact that most of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Greater Toronto Area is made up of native Twi speakers. Edward also notes that he is less invested in politics or news as a

“matter of personal preference”. Instead, his political interests “lay with people, rather than politicians”. This is significant because it will likely determine how he chooses to interact with Ghanaian society and its diaspora communities throughout his life. Edward admits that he went through a journey of coming to embrace his Ghanaian identity, stating that his consumption of "Western ways of life" distanced him from his cultural community in his early youth. Ironically, leaving Toronto to attend college compelled Edward to become better connected with the community when he returned. Edward left Toronto to live in a small white suburban town, where he had very little access to other Ghanaians; he realized that he had taken his cultural access for granted, and in fact, experienced feeling “culturally lost” during that period. Returning to Toronto gave him an opportunity to re-solidify his cultural sense of self, which he now takes very seriously in his thirties.

Second Generation Dislocations in the Diaspora: Racial, Ethnic and Religious Minorities

The data also suggests that some participants from social minority groups within the Ghanaian diaspora faced specific challenges in participating in Ghanaian cultural life as young adults. For religious, ethnic and mixed-raced minorities in the Ghanaian diaspora, there is a markedly different experience of cultural life. Paapa, 36, grew up in a Christian home, with both parents engaged in ministry. Similar to other Akan youth, he grew up attending church service, but had a spiritual calling in his late twenties, which led him to convert to Islam by his early thirties. Paapa has married a non-Ghanaian Muslim woman, with whom he now has two daughters. His current focus on his family life and spiritual path have moved him away from the predominantly Christianized Akan community he grew up in. He also currently has (minimal) engagement with the homeland through traditional and social media sources online, including Ghanaweb.com and Facebook groups. Because the Ghanaian Muslim diaspora is numerically small in Toronto, he rarely has moments to engage the broader Ghanaian community in ways that align with his current values and priorities. He is

one of very few Black (and African) men at his local mosque in Toronto, and because of his mostly Akan social network, he knows very few Muslim Ghanaians. However, at the time of the interview, he had recently returned from a trip to Ghana, where he began to learn more about Ghana's Muslim community predominantly in the country's northern regions, which he hopes to explore more on subsequent visits. Paapa's sense of cultural identity has shifted as an adult -now firmly rooted in his spiritual consciousness. Ultimately, as a young adult, Paapa feels that he does not actively sustain many of the cultural traditions he grew up with, because his new faith has pushed him to the margins of the diaspora community.

Revisiting an earlier example of Seyram, who grew up with a deep *Ewe* consciousness, we can observe that in her early adulthood, there is a shift in her cultural participation. Departing from engagement in ethno-cultural associations, Seyram has now developed interests in her home country's politics, "Ghana Twitter", and Ghanaian popular culture and media, much of this with the assistance from her partner, who is an international student from Ghana. However, Seyram feels that the intersection between "being Ewe and non-religious" often creates isolation from the broader Ghanaian diaspora community. Her lack of fluency in Twi (Akan) and her lack of socio-religious experiences in her childhood often creates a social barrier when participating in a majority Christianized Akan diaspora in the Greater Toronto Area as a young adult.

Jane's mother is white and her father is Ghanaian from the North; she is aware that in the community she is held with suspicion, as many assume that she is not Ghanaian. Her mixed-race identity shapes how community members encounter and engage with her, which she links to the gendered and colonial construction of Ghanaian identity (in relation to whiteness). She also perceives the diaspora community as too insular and not willing to expand their comfort zones, particularly as it relates to interfacing with other cultures. Jane, who left Ghana in her late teens to study in Canada (born in Canada and sent home at a young

age) feels strongly rooted in her Ghanaian identity, which she feels allows her to explore other cultures and experiences within Canada more freely than her co-ethnic peers did. Perhaps, being raised in a multiracial home has also encouraged her to be less prejudicial towards other cultures. Jane's experience of being culturally othered is deeply gendered and racialized. At times, community members perceive that she is an outsider that has been invited into the community by her Ghanaian boyfriend. Her white mother also experiences this othering who, Jane says, feels more connected to the culture because she has spent the majority of her adult life in Ghana. Despite their long residency in Ghana, Jane and her mother do not have the cultural capital that would authenticate them as community members. For Jane, this othering is something that becomes particularly evident when she encounters the diaspora community in the Greater Toronto Area. Though she strongly identifies as Ghanaian, identity is both imposed and internalized as part of her subjectivity. Jane is forced to re-negotiate her identity when confronted with this othering, and it demonstrates the racializing of ethno-national (Ghanaian) identity.

Some participants also expressed a complex relationship with Ghanaian identity that was rooted in being at the fringes of the diaspora community children. Observe my interaction with Lydia, 32, during the closed-ended questionnaire:

Interviewer: Were you raised in the Ghanaian community in Canada?

Lydia: Yes and no. I didn't grow up in a predominantly Ghanaian enclave, and then my parents aren't churchgoers. *So I find that with Ghanaian communities, it's concentrated in an enclave, or even if you're not living in the enclave, you have the community through the church.* I didn't have any of those, but my parents had the Kwahu community people that were in Canada. There's a lot of them, so outdoorings, funerals, we would go to that, *but I don't have my church friends.* (Lydia, 32, Interviewed July 2017, emphasis mine)

I asked this question in the close-ended questionnaire, as a way to understand how young adults in this study situate themselves in proximity to the diaspora community. Lydia expresses an ambivalence around the authenticity of her Ghanaian upbringing -a function of being raised outside of an ethnic enclave or having "church-going parents". In this context, Lydia frames the ethnic enclave and attending church as qualifiers for being quintessentially

part of the community, and positions herself outside of that. Instead, Lydia accessed the community directly through her specific ethnic group, which she ambiguously positions as distinct from the Ghanaian enclaves she references. It is important to note that while they are considered part of the Akan confederacy, Kwahu community are much smaller in size and presence in relation to the Ashanti majority. This might ultimately shape how Kwahu diaspora children like Lydia understand their identities vis a vis the broader community. Indeed, it is significant that Lydia makes this distinction because it reflects the multiple and varied sites of identity formation in the diaspora - often informed by homeland ethnic dynamics. It also demonstrates that participants who were not engaged in normative cultural practices in the diaspora community during childhood (i.e. living in an ethnic enclave and attending church) position themselves as outliers to Ghanaian identity. The ethnic enclave, then, is a key site in developing habitus (or frame of reference) for diaspora children; the degree to which they can access the enclave in their early years, determines their perceived social position as young adults within the transnational social field.

Conclusion:

In this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which young Canadian adults of Ghanaian origin understand their cultural identities, the choices they make to embrace Ghana (as a country and culture), and how this ultimately shapes their lives in the contemporary moment. I demonstrate that these youth draw on language, culture, music, fashion, spirituality/religion to articulate and reconcile their cultural identities in the host country. Participation in diaspora community life is a major source of identity formation for the second generation. The Ghanaian diaspora, particularly in the Greater Toronto Area, has built strong cultural institutions, which many of the participants had engaged with at some point during their childhood. Participants in this study felt that Ghana was a common part of their everyday realities while living in Canada. Youth noted that Ghana as a culture and as a nation-state

hold a consistent presence in their lives. The quotidian nature of Ghanaian identity was observed in participants' behaviours, attitudes/world views, and personal interests. Participants noted that music, food, and cultural values have come to shape their lives in ways that honour their Ghanaian heritage on a daily basis. Significantly, the degree to which Ghana shows up in their everyday lives varied depending on several factors including proximity to the Ghanaian community growing up, their knowledge of Ghanaian identity and history, as well as their internalized sense of identity. It is important to acknowledge that simply by virtue of their participation in this study, it was safe to assume that most participants would identify strongly with Ghanaian culture and that they would engage in cultural practices on a regular, active basis. However, what this study demonstrates is that the avenues and extent to which youth participate in cultural (re)production are diverse, specific and always contextualized. Further, Ghanaian youth are negotiating their cultural identities, recognizing their agency to make certain choices for themselves. Unsurprisingly, youth gravitate towards Ghanaian/West African music such as "afrobeat" or hiplife, which is facilitated by social media and technology. Online platforms such as YouTube and SoundCloud are important sites of building musical knowledge, and music comes to function as a way of staying connected to current social trends. While some migration scholars discuss the social remittances that the diaspora imparts on the homeland (Levitt, 1999, Boccagni et al, 2013, Kapur, 2014; Lacroix et al, 2016), my study demonstrates clear evidence that there is a reciprocal relationship as the homeland also guides, directs, and influences popular trends within youth diaspora communities. Youth had also internalized particular cultural values including a respect for their elders, an ethic of hard work and a spiritual/religious practice that they had learned within their households, and continued to practice as adults. Youth also noted that, at times, internalizing their Ghanaianness was not necessarily an active choice, but rather reflective of the assumptions made about them by the larger Canadian society. Several

other studies have found that questions such as "where are you from?" are often directed at racialized immigrant youth despite their mostly Canadian accents, upbringing and disposition as an attempt to other them as outside of the Canadian social imaginary. Ghanaian-Canadians also experience this similar othering despite their 40-year long presence in Canada. This othering has a daily impact on how young Ghanaian-Canadians choose to socialize and ultimately, live out their social identities in the diaspora.

Chapter Five: Engaging the Homeland: Social Positioning for 1.5 and Second Generation Young Adults

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the return and circular migration patterns of the second generation, with a focus on how their formative years, and the attendant socialization, have primed them to negotiate transnational space as young adults in the homeland. More specifically, I will demonstrate that participants desire to engage the homeland as an act of social positioning. Indeed, young adulthood is a life stage riddled with questions and changes; from family planning to career changes to philosophical and spiritual discovery, as participants are re-negotiating their social identities in this moment. Within this transitional period (sometimes, referred to as "emerging adulthood") participants often return, both culturally and physically, to their homeland for self-actualization. The data revealed five major interrelated reasons for homeland engagement among 1.5 and second generation youth. Participants typically returned because of: (i) an emotional desire to be more culturally rooted (i.e. "roots migration" [Wessendorf, 2013]); (ii) resistance or reconciliation of their outsider status and misbelonging in Canada; (iii) a sense of social responsibility to utilize their skills for national development (i.e. advancing Ghana as a nation-state); (iv) career advancement (i.e. opportunities in the homeland); (v) and the perception of a generally better quality of life in the homeland. Ghanaian diaspora youth desire to engage with the homeland because they feel a deep sense of connection and obligation to Ghana as a country and culture that is integral to their social identity. Youth are also encouraged by Ghana's contemporary political and economic climate, which actively urges return migration and diaspora investment. When participants were asked about their motivations for return, these motives were often articulated as overlapping or interconnected goals, as opposed to stand-alone priorities. Thus, second generation transnationals and returnees perceive the homeland as a space that is enmeshed with their emerging life goals and aspirations. Secondly, I demonstrate that the

return experience is actually more complex than many returnees initially anticipate. The interplay of race, gender, class and citizenship are constantly negotiated by youth, who are seen to be outsiders in the homeland. Youth come to recognize that living in Ghana may require more financial and social resources than originally anticipated. The chapter demonstrates that many in the second-generation interpret their transnational identities as an opportunity to further develop their social standing (or quality of life) in the world through a return and/or regular contact with the homeland. In the next section, I discuss the motivating factors and the strategies through which this highly ambitious second-generation transnational cohort has begun to engage and return to the homeland.

Why and How is the Second Generation Returning?

The Emotional Attachment Factor

Naturally, most participants cited their emotional connection to the homeland as a primary motivation to return. Despite their minimal engagement with the homeland as children, most of the participants in this study had internalized the childhood socialization that Ghana was their original home. The effect of this messaging was that, as adults, participants sought to have a deeper understanding and emotional connection to Ghana. Some scholars have referred to this as "roots migration" (Wesseldorf, 2007, 2013; Crul, 2014; Sala and Baldassar, 2017), whereby youth return to the homeland to close the cultural gap and reconcile their dual identities. Through this process, participants meet key family members for the first time, including grandparents and extended family members, who may have known them as small children before migration, or whom they had only heard over the phone or seen in family photos. Given the primacy of the extended family system in Ghana, it is significant that youth are compelled to reconnect with blood relatives as part of their social obligation within the transnational social field. Diaspora youth believe that this journey of family reunification will have a meaningful effect on their sense of place in the world. They

anticipate that returning or engaging the homeland will help to contextualize their cultural identities, and give them a greater appreciation of their personal and ethno-national history. For example, Jemila, 20, felt that their desire to return home was integral to her social positioning within Ghanaian cultural identity. She notes:

> It's certainly very frustrating, especially when you think that you're so cultured or that you're so in tune with your people. But really, who am I? I know I'm Ghanaian but, like where are my grandparents from? When I'm with my aunt, I'm always asking her: "Wait, so I don't get it -where did you guys grow up? What did you do? Why did you move here? Why did you do this? I am now asking those questions because Ghanaians are really big on these things. So let's say I marry an Ashanti and his mom sits me down and then just starts asking me "So where is your family from?" and I'm just like *shrugs her shoulders*… it's sad. She will say: "You don't know your own people!" You can't *not* know that stuff. (Jemila, 20, Interviewed May 2017)

Despite feeling "cultured", Jemila still experiences a deep sense of displacement and longing which, she believes, can be reconciled through homeland engagement. Jemila worries that future in-laws will interrogate her authenticity and belonging in Ghanaian culture and community; arguably, this is a gendered anxiety for many diaspora women. In Mohanaram's (1999) work, she discusses the social responsibility that is often inscribed on women as bearers of culture to secure the social reproduction of future generations. Jemila's anxiety of being rejected by a fictitious future mother-in-law must be contextualized within the cultural expectations of Ghanaian womanhood. Indeed, she perceives that part of her suitability as a wife is tied to "passing" as a culturally rooted Ghanaian woman, symbolized in the act of being able to identify her family's village or hometown. In addition, it is true that for many Ghanaians, one's ethnicity and family history helps to place them in context of the society. Within the Ghanaian frame of reference, everyone's identity is rooted in an ethno-specific village and/or family clan (e.g. Fante from Pedu, Ga from Osu clan). Through knowledge of one's lineage, the society is able to better contextualize one's identity, which subsequently determines one's social relatability. Jemila's desire to discover her roots is integral for situating herself in Ghanaian society, and securing her social identity in the homeland. I argue that "roots migration" is an important aspect of social positioning for the second generation; as many racialized immigrant youth often feel socially disenfranchised in

Canada, it can be incredibly and qualitatively useful and effective to draw on cultural identity to sustain and thrive in the world.

Some respondents also believed that returning to the homeland helps to provide them with a greater knowledge of themselves and emotional healing. Jeffrey, 31, who had been living in Ghana for two and a half months with intentions to return indefinitely at the time of the interview, expressed that homeland return was crucial to restoring his sense of self:

> Well, I wanted to return home to Ghana because I was born here. I haven't been back in like 17 years. And I wanted to also do a lot of knowledge of self. The science of how things came to be and things of that nature. *And so I definitely wanna come back and find me…I wanted to heal myself physically, spiritually, and mentally. And this was a great opportunity to come home, heal myself and also make art.* (Jeffrey, filmmaker, interviewed September 2017, emphasis mine).

The second generation also returns home for emotional restoration. The daily challenges of living at the intersection of being Black African, immigrant and young adults, and the increasing pressures of racial, gender, class, and age discrimination can take a toll on this cohort, who is still fairly young and building their lives. It was observable that some participants perceived Ghana as a soft landing place, especially for those whose parents had recently retired or returned to Ghana and settled in their family homes. For many young adults who have begun to venture out into the world to begin their careers and start their lives, the family home (where their caregivers and support system live) plays a key role in tethering them to an emotional safety net. It is imaginable then, that young Ghanaians in the diaspora would turn to their family home in Ghana for a sense of peace and restoration away from the chaotic struggles of urban Canadian work life. In fact, for many Ghanaian migrants, the long-term goal is to retire in the homeland, which includes providing their children with a place to stay when they visit. A key part of the migrant life cycle is to be able to return to the homeland in a more financially secure position to build and invest in property. For migrants, building a family home in Ghana demonstrates the sociocultural role of providing inheritance for their offspring. Some participants saw their return as an opportunity to heal emotional

wounds, take a restorative break from the daily tolling that comes with professionally climbing, or as a moment to build re-connection with their family.

Other participants articulated that returning home was a romantic notion that allowed them to combine their love for Ghana (cultivated in their childhood) and their desire to travel and work in other parts of the world. This romanticism is significant, because it suggests that there is a level of fantasy tied to diaspora youth's return aspirations, which likely shapes the homeland experience, itself. As Vera notes:

> The reason why I decided to return home is because I'm so proud of my Ghanaian culture, since I was young. And when I came here two years ago with my friend, *I fell in love with Ghana*. I decided that I want to move here. I always wanted to leave Toronto and *enjoy this expat world. When I came to Ghana, I realized the ex-pat world should be at home.* (Vera , interviewed June 2017, emphasis mine)

In fact, at the time of the interview, Vera worked for a Canadian international development agency in Accra, mostly surrounded by (white) expats. It is significant that she expresses returning to Ghana as a realization of the benefits of living as an "expat at home". Arguably, the multiple spaces in Ghana that second generation returnees experience -the one in which they seek to deepen their cultural connection *and* the one in which they seek to enjoy the privileges of perceived class and social mobility through their expatriate networks – demonstrates the complex duality in navigating their transnational social field. Ironically, even within their home country, the second generation seeks to negotiate their dual identities in order to maximize their social position, particularly for those engaged in work at international or foreign companies.

It is important to understand where participants' emotionality was situated in the overall motivation to return to the homeland. Though participants felt a strong emotional pull towards Ghana, very few participants cited this as the *only* motive for returning home. Indeed, youth recognize that visits to the homeland could help to restore the emotional ties, but that permanently (or even semi-permanently) returning to Ghana would require a more carefully thought-out financial plan. For those who wanted to embark on a roots migration,

they were more likely to engage in a temporary strategy to return. This included short vacations of one month or less or volunteer positions of six months or less (with the longest position being held for one year) to experience the homeland, and consider permanent relocation. In most cases, the roots migration set the course for a strategy to return more concretely over several years. For the majority of participants, emotional attachment to Ghana was undeniably the primary impetus of return, complemented with other factors, including the market realities in their respective industry, Ghana's strong image of development progress, and an internalized sense of social responsibility to the homeland.

The Misbelonging Factor

The aspiring returnees' emotional loss is often compounded by feelings of marginalization and otherness in the host country. Migration and critical race scholars in Canada have written extensively about the structural barriers faced by racialized newcomers and their children –many of whom spend their formative years in Canada (Tator et. al, 2006; Galabuzi, 2006; Grant et. al, 2007; Medina et al, 2018). Return to the homeland becomes a strategy to buffer this displacement and marginalization, in what some scholars refer to as 'transnational positionality' (Mensah 2014; Tettey and Puplampu 2005); participants articulate that building a legacy in Ghana helps them resist their outsider status in Canada. For the aspiring second-generation returnee, Akosua best articulated the effects of this social exclusion:

> Ghana is a part of us not just because we are born here or because our parents are born here, but because of our experiences in Canada. Because we're "the other". Period. *And because of that you think, OK if I'm not from there [Canada], even if I'm born in Canada, if I'm not from there then I'm from Ghana. So why not come back if there is that opportunity to build? (*Akosua, farmer/grad student, interviewed November 2017, emphasis mine)

Many expressed resentment and ambivalence towards the narrative that Canada should be more "desirable" because of its infrastructure, education system and employment opportunities. Children of immigrants may often feel let down, disillusioned, or resentful about the contradictions between Canada's image as a liberal multicultural democracy as

weighted against their experiences of institutional racism and othering; this is what Henry et al. (1995) and Li (1995) and Li (1998) call "democratic racism". Consequently, respondents sought to cultivate a stronger sense of belonging and community, which they found difficult to develop in Canada, despite having spent most of their lives there. Akua, for example, saw Ghana as a place to retire, where she could live out her senior years in peace, surrounded by community and nutritious food. One respondent even noted that her desire to retire in Ghana was factored into her family planning:

> I just don't really think that, at the end of the day, I truly belong [in Canada]. I have my friends across the street and I probably see them once or twice a week and that's by me seeing them on a commute to work. *Personally, I'm about relationships and connecting and engaging with people. I don't think that Canada fosters that type of environment that I'm looking for.* And so if I specifically need that later on in life, I know that the place to be would be back home. I won't be able to get it here. Canada hasn't changed. My parents have lived it. Their friends have lived it. And they always say you know, if it wasn't for my kids I would be living back home. So even with my kids I can still live back home. (Akua, 30, interviewed July 2017, emphasis mine)

Akua's testimony reveals an intergenerational sentiment that prevails as an effect of growing up in the transnational social field. Ghana is idealized as the place of return, because it offers stability and sense of community that has not been possible for migrants and their children. It is significant that Akua references the continuity between her parents' social isolation and her own. In this way, aspiring returnees are taking cues from previous generations about how and why they will engage with Ghana, while also assessing their current life conditions.

Naturally, aspiring returnees were keen on building an active social circle in the homeland, to avoid replicating the same social exclusion they faced in Canada. Returnees are partly motivated by a desire to reconnect with extended relatives as well as cultivating a social environment with other Ghanaians. This is very important given that firstly, within the young adulthood life stage, friendships with people who share similar values is a central part of one's identity. Secondly, as marginalized youth in Canadian society, participants perceive that returning home is an opportunity to participate more fully in a social environment that does not treat them as different because of their race/ethnicity. At the time of the interview, some respondents living in Ghana were pleasantly surprised that they had been able to

cultivate a social group, which further motivated them to strategize their permanent return to the homeland.

The Social Consciousness and Responsibility Factor

A deep nationalism grows in the hearts and minds of some second-generation youth living in Canada. The second generation returns to the homeland with a sense of obligation and responsibility to “develop” or contribute to Ghana with their skills and passions. Many of the participants in this study felt that their cultural and emotional connections to Ghana should translate into direct action in the homeland. Indeed, respondents believed that they are responsible for helping to develop Ghana, as people who were fortunate enough to be raised abroad, acquiring skills, education and a relatively quality life in Canada. Not surprisingly, the 1.5 and second generation transnationals are quite socially and politically aware. Most participants expressed strong opinions about the state of Ghana, particularly regarding development and the ongoing relationship with Western actors. Aminattu, for example, passionately expressed that she feels Ghana has a "foreigner problem", which is often erroneously conflated with a "diaspora/returnee problem". While some locals are suspicious of returnees for “stealing jobs” and acting superior, Aminattu felt that there should be more scrutiny of white and other non-Ghanaian businessmen who had set up lucrative enterprises across the country, and were unscrupulously siphoning resources out of the country (as opposed to redistributing them to locals). She expressed a deep Pan-Africanist vision for the country, in which the government would prioritize its own citizens, rather than allowing exploitative labour, extractivist and trade practices in unjust global arrangements dictate the fate of Ghanaians.

The second generation is hyper aware of Ghana’s global image and they feel a sense of responsibility to boost the narrative that surrounds the continent. The “Africa Rising” story has certainly increased the global perception of the country, and diaspora youth

are also impacted by this narrative. For Esinam, who returned home to work in Ghanaian media, the political potential of storytelling was a significant motivation to return:

> For me, the rewarding thing about being here is knowing that I'm part of the group of people who are trying to change ideas, trying to change systems, trying to show people that there are other ways to do things, and trying to tell stories. So, as far as being in media I wanna be part of the group of people who are telling stories with an African viewpoint. (Esinam, 44, interviewed October 2017)

Levitt's work on social remittances suggests that the diaspora plays a critical role in sharing ideas, values and practices with citizens in their home country. The 1.5 and second generation in this study were optimistic that they could positively contribute to changing local mindsets and inspiring their homeland compatriots to share their stories on a global platform.

Participants also felt that part of their homeland duty was to create awareness about their experience of migration for those left behind. People in the homeland often assume that those who migrate experience increasing wealth and contentment in the new country. Though many Ghanaians have been socialized to valorize Western society, some respondents believed that through interactions with local communities, they could provide a more accurate picture of the challenges in living abroad. Certainly, this is also complicated by the reality that many migrants who return home are often among the most well educated and successful people, which often translates into their financial success in Ghana. This may cause local Ghanaians to be mistrusting of the stories presented to them about harsh Canadian living. In other words, because many youth (re-)enter Ghana at higher income brackets and social standing, local communities may continue to valorize the resources that the Western world provides, without a full appreciation of the structural challenges faced by most Ghanaian-Canadians. The second generation, however, are quite conscious of the nuances of being non-white in Canada and desired to provide better understanding for those left in Ghana. As Benjamin, 34, articulates:

> Yes, it's almost like looking at yourself from the outside in. You have a different perspective of what's happening. Living in Ghana, you don't fully understand racism and how it works, but I feel like living here [in Canada], we are able to understand what that is and how it works, what it looks like and how it affects Africa, our continent, our country. I mean when I was there I got the feeling that Ghanaians praised everything that was white, but when you go [to Canada], you live there, you experience certain things. You understand it's not

cracked up to be what you guys make it. There's some stuff here and there, but like no, there's a lot of bullshit. (Benjamin, 34, interviewed July 2017).

While there are obvious advantages to being raised in Canada (especially when interacting with local Ghanaian communities), Benjamin demonstrates that there are also obvious limitations for people of colour, which he hopes to impart on those left behind. Returning home is partially motivated by their desire to be affirmed by their ancestral land, and share the diaspora realities with family members left behind.

Many of these participants also believed that their contribution to Ghana's development should fundamentally rely on local knowledge, rather than superimposing North American ideals of progress and modernity. Ironically, some participants were hypercritical of the abovementioned Africa Rising narrative, because they felt that it panders to Western notions of modernity, while local populations continue to be under-resourced and exploited. In fact, some participants felt that their mission in returning was to begin challenging the deeply elitist social and economic structures in the homeland. Seyram critically interrogates why some in the second generation are gravitating towards the homeland, suggesting that some youth desire to return merely because of contemporary (white supremacist) perceptions of "Africa(ns) being cool". She states:

If the white man wasn't talking about investments [in Ghana], many of these people wouldn't want to return. There's been a new wave of Africa being cool. It's cool to be African, it's cool to like our music, our foods, the white man is appropriating the fuck out of Africa right now. And as an African, you spent so many years being ashamed of this because the white man portrayed Africa to be something to be ashamed of and now they finally like it, and I'm seeing everyone around me saying "Hey, now it's time for me!", or "Now, I can like it too!" *(Seyram, interviewed August 2017).*

This is important because it demonstrates that some second generation have complicated feelings about their own return and what it means in the grand scheme of Africa's development. I believe that her strong reaction possibly stems from a complex reality; many youth are socialized to have a very ambivalent relationship to Ghana/Africa growing up. Indeed, immigrant parents often shape the mythology of the homeland to their children - sometimes, in ways that suggest that the homeland is a challenging and undesirable place to

live. Certainly, most participants would have been raised in households where their parents were economic migrants and/or political refugees (who left mostly during the Rawlings era in the 1980s). Combined with the racist images of the “dark continent”, this would undoubtedly shape how youth came to (dis)identify with Ghana as a place to invest in throughout their lives. Seyram’s comments suggest that there is a need to interrogate the potential of the second generation to contribute to negative stereotypes about the homeland. As individuals raised in Canada, aspiring second-generation returnees are aware that they are also entangled in global power dynamics, shaping how they interact with Ghana.

Alternatively, some participants framed their return as a repatriation, rather than a recolonization (or scramble) for Ghana's resources. Jojo felt that local communities in Ghana generally meet this economic investment with enthusiasm. He asserts that most people in Ghana are not "concerned about racial or nationalistic" framing of return migration but rather, the financial investment that comes with opening up Ghana's borders to foreign business. This is an important observation, because it speaks to the complex and varying interests in return migration at the local level. It is important not to assume that local Ghanaians are unwilling participants in globalization trends -rather, some Ghanaians are making calculated choices to engage in globalization in order to maximize profit.

The Career, Entrepreneurship and Investment Factor

Participants perceived that they could increase their social and economic capital through return because of the promises of Ghana’s growing economy. Many believed that their "Canadianness" makes them attractive to most employers in Ghana, and that they can enter most government establishments and be considered strong candidates primarily based on their foreign skills, accents and degrees. Participants felt that Ghana’s environment was now at a stage where it had been primed for returnee investment. Indeed, over the past two decades, the Government of Ghana has embarked on several initiatives to increase diaspora

investment in the homeland. The most recent iteration was the establishment of the Diaspora Affairs Desk in the Office of the President, which seeks to foster a "sustainable and mutually beneficial relationship between Ghana and her Diaspora community for socio-economic development" (Diaspora Affairs website, 2020). The activities under this outfit include the establishment of the Ghana-Canada Chamber of Commerce and a Youth Engagement Strategy. Ultimately, the initiative believes that the Ghanaian diaspora can assist in homeland development through "providing market access, sources of expertise, knowledge, investment and technology" (Diaspora Affairs website, 2020). Recent news stories suggesting that 60-70% of the world's fastest growing economies are in Africa, the rise in technology, banking and newfound oil resources in Ghana and the generally more stable national currency have also impacted the consciousness of aspiring second generation returnees.

This cohort's transnationalism typically takes place during youth's working years, which is a time of major flux. Most participants were either in the early stages of building a business or were recent graduates, with one to five years of work experience. As demonstrated in Annex I, participants were engaged in a variety of industries and careers in Canada, with most of them desiring to continue their employment upon return to the homeland. While some youth in this study targeted particular industries they perceived to be profitable in the Ghanaian context, others began their journey with a particular passion developed in Canada and transplanted to the homeland. It was common for youth to do several trips before they made the final move. Participants who were in the country at the time of interview were often assessing whether the business environment was healthy enough for their chosen profession or enterprise venture. Many of the participants considered themselves young entrepreneurs. Even those who had not engaged in prior entrepreneurship in Canada believed that in order to "make it" in Ghana, they would have to be willing to engage in self-employment. While some respondents had only a mere dream to return to

Ghana in the near future, others had already mapped out a timeline and business project that they intended to implement. One respondent expressed that he believed a “dogged persistence" would be necessary to establish a business and a life in Ghana, which he felt was ultimately worth the sacrifice in order to live and contribute to his homeland.

Akosua, 29, has taken an unconventional path through agriculture –an industry that she is passionate to help develop. She is particularly invested in getting the agricultural sector up to international standards, which might give Ghana more bargaining power in global markets. Like many returnees, Akosua believes that her chosen sector is an opportunity despite some local perceptions that farming is not lucrative. She also feels that government support (i.e. financial capital) is a necessary factor in her ability to help grow the industry. She questions whether one can professionalize farming, and notes that it is a "cultural" challenge, because most Ghanaians do not value farming. Specifically, as a woman from abroad, Akosua feels that there is an expectation that she would pursue more conventional professions, such as fashion, entertainment, or banking. She also notes that Toronto's climate is not suitable for farming year round. At the time of the interview, Akosua was in Ghana conducting an environmental scan to determine what would be necessary in order to start her farming business.

Participants had actively shaped their academic and early career pursuits with homeland engagement in mind. Sarah, a graduate student who was on a volunteer assignment in Accra, notes that her career choices were informed by her desire to return to the homeland, where she would enjoy greater professional advancement and fulfillment. In her estimation, Toronto’s labour market caused stagnation for young Black professionals:

I purposely situated my academic pursuits to be affiliated with Ghana. I feel as though I can go much further with the experience that I acquired from Canada here [in Ghana] than I can there. The strides I make here will be much larger than it would be in Toronto. And that's just based on observation of those who were older than me who have cemented their careers there and it's not something that I would wanna do. I don’t wanna repeat that pattern where you graduate and then you get your job and that lifestyle lacks a connection. It’s very capitalized and there’s something about Ghana where it may be a capitalist system, but that culture weaves

through those economic activities and so you don't really feel like you're a robot. (Sarah, interviewed July 2017)

For some participants, returning to Ghana was not an immediate goal, but rather, one that they would consider once they had established themselves in a solid career in Canada. Particularly for young adults who had already embarked on a family life, they recognized that any decision to return home (permanently) would have to have an overwhelming benefit.

Some participants were motivated by the opportunity to professionally challenge themselves in the homeland environment. Respondents who had already landed in Ghana at the time of the interview expressed a sense of accomplishment at being able to live and work in Ghana (with semi-autonomy) beyond a short vacation. Faith, a Canadian university graduate student and part-time instructor, found her teaching job through a long distance ex-boyfriend in Ghana who had just completed his degree at the institution where she would eventually teach. Spending a substantial amount of time in Ghana as a worker, navigating the daily challenges in a non-Western country, is often viewed as admirable and bold by many in the second generation –many of whom have heard the negative stories of failing infrastructure and corruption from their relatives. As such, the second-generation returnee frames their return as a challenge that they are proud to overcome:

What brought me to Ghana? So I was just doing some research for the PhD and initially I was just gonna go and do the research and come back. But, I [also] had an opportunity to teach there that came up. I reached out to my ex to tell him I was coming for a month so if he had anything I could do while I was there. He had a teaching position that would be 3-4 months. So, I've always sort of had a desire to wanna move back to Ghana at a point in my life. *But, obviously I hadn't been there, I hadn't stayed more than two months at a time before. So this was an opportunity to work and live like a person in Ghana. Not like a vacation life. I wanted to see if I could actually do it, if I could challenge myself* (Faith, interviewed September 2017).

Based on my qualitative interviews, second generation returnees do not automatically become wealthy upon returning home—certainly not within the first few years (as evidenced by their accounts of struggling to adjust). However, these interviews also reveal that youth have some advantage in Ghana's job market, particularly when it comes to getting their foot through the door. For example, one participant talks (or talked) about how a banker friend in Toronto moved to Ghana to work as a TV presenter –all with very little experience working

in media. She attributes the ease of this transition to her friend's social status as a Canadian citizen with a foreign accent.

The Quality of Life Factor

Many participants in this study believe they can improve the overall quality of their life, including greater work/life balance, affordable standard of living, health and nutrition, as well as increase their social standing through leveraging their Western education and experience in service of homeland development. It is useful to note that the concept of "standard" or "quality" of life" differs across participants. For some respondents, their quality of life was largely tied to their ability to earn the same or higher level of salary in Ghana as they did in Canada. For others, the warm weather and rich nutritious food were more significant components of a quality life. For others still, the opportunity to create structural change in Ghanaian society was a major incentive. Not only does the second generation believe that they are obligated to optimize their Canadian experience in service of Ghana, they feel that it will garner greater degrees of happiness and fulfillment in their own lives.

When participants were asked to compare the standard or quality of life in Canada and Ghana, most agreed that the former was known for its great infrastructure, social policies and education system. Yet, Ghana provided them with a superior quality of life. As Emelia, 19, a student interning in Accra states:

> Yes [Canada] is more comfortable, it's more organized, more systematic, it's cleaner. Yes, they have all of that, *but if I look at the place where I can truly be happy, Ghana is the place that I can see myself truly being happy.* Cause I feel like having a job I can live comfortably in Canada, but you know it's not the same, it's just not the same. You can also be successful and still be very lonely and isolated. (Emelia, interviewed January 2018, emphasis mine)

Notably, some participants expressed a hopeful vision for their future settlement in Ghana. It was common to hear participants express a desire for a slower pace of life, more time for community and family, enjoying Ghana's warm weather and food, as well as securing gainful employment in their chosen profession. In Jane's case, the accessibility of affordable childcare and being able to improve her children's proficiency in local languages far

outweighed the financial security she has in Canada. Interestingly, Jane is aware that her dream life in Ghana is possibly somewhat romanticized, and yet, she holds onto her vision, perhaps as an active making of meaning in her life. It is important to not underestimate the material aspirations of the second generation as a motivating factor to return home. Participants in this study were not simply drawn to Ghana as a natural conclusion of nostalgia or misbelonging—rather, they saw their return as a calculated risk based on their assessment of the very tangible livelihood and comfort goals that they had for themselves.

Participants expressed that it was now in their adulthood that they were determining the parameters of a "quality life" for themselves, and it did not necessarily look like their parents' dreams for them. As one respondent put it:

I personally know PhD students that are not getting work, mostly people of color, so I think we see the struggle. And if I can move back home and support and do something I'd rather do that than go through this struggle that I've seen my parents go through, you know every single day waking up at 6 a.m. to go to a factory, coming home and paying bills and not really seeing any improvement in their lives. So I think for us too like the bubble's bursting. And we're thinking, 'I don't wanna do this!' (Akosua, interviewed November 2017)

While most participants had achieved some level of educational and career advancement in Canada, many felt that their Black African identities continued to mark them as foreign in the country they had known for most of their lives. This sense of otherness was a common theme that compelled youth to seek status, belonging and mobility in their homeland. The motivation to return was doubly informed by push and pull factors; participants felt that while they could continue to live in Canada and might be able to navigate daily racism to achieve some level of economic success, they would never quite feel that they belonged. They also reason that while Canada may have greater infrastructure and more immediate (nuclear) family ties than the developing nation they originate from, there is a lack of "cultural impact" that Canada has, which draws them closer to Ghana.

Role of Family's Social Network in Aspirations of Second Generation Transnationals

As previously stated, diaspora youth's return to the homeland is often shaped by parents' migration history and the extent to which their family has continued ties to Ghana.

The experiences of the first generation play an integral role in youth's decision to return or stay away from the homeland. While some immigrant parents sustain socio-cultural and economic connections to Ghana (sometimes, even despite many years spent away from the homeland), others are more distant and occasionally engage the homeland when relatives are in crisis. The range of first generation interactions with the homeland often leaves an indelible impression on the consciousness of the second generation. Beyond this, parents' financial investments through property or businesses can often prompt or determine how youth will (initially) engage the homeland. In their transnational engagements, the youth often rely on the support of their families to help re-orient them to the homeland. Parents typically support their children to navigate the daily life in Ghana, which often includes re-introducing youth to their extended family members, and relying on their homeland social networks to find suitable accommodations and job opportunities for the youth. If parents have actively maintained their social networks in Ghana, including old classmates or neighbourhood friends, church/mosque members, or in some cases, political party affiliations, they will rely on these communities to help their children acclimatize. Many participants noted that Ghana is a place in which "whom you know" is a vital aspect of navigating daily life. When participants were asked about the strategies that they undertook to return to Ghana, they illustrated the range of resource persons in their family's networks that helped with their transition. Eunice, for example, returned to do an internship, which she acquired through her uncle's company:

> So, I basically asked my uncles if they could help me get an internship. And one of my uncles worked for VRA so he knew people at GRIDCO, because when I went to go work at GRIDCO it was still new. It was still the new power company that the government just created. I think it was only two or three years old when I went to go start there. So he asked around, I gave my information and, basically got an internship to work in the PR Department. (Eunice, interviewed August 2017)

In some instances, participants' family members in the homeland provided an "emotional network" for them to return home. Their family members were able to give them the confidence to return, even when they were not able to directly provide them with job

opportunities. For example, John's motivation to return was supported by his brothers in Kumasi who actively and routinely encouraged him to return, because they felt that there were many opportunities for him to be successful. When asked how he had prepared for his return, he noted:

> I just talked to my brothers. They just said come home and find something to do. They said that there's a lot of business. Like, I even see it when I go out [on the streets of Kumasi] -I feel like there's a lot of improvement than it was before. Even seven years ago when I was here. And, I credit my brothers for giving me that advice. (John, interviewed April 2017)

For other participants, their parents' land was an integral part of their reintegration to Ghana. Jojo, for example, who was returning to be fully immersed in Ghanaian culture, tradition and languages and to support local business development, felt that it was crucial for him to live on his parents' land in order to fully appreciate his ancestral roots. He returned home to supervise the building of his mother's home in the Assin Fosu area of the Central Region with the support of his uncle and other extended family members. While overseeing the housing project, Jojo stayed in various other family members' homes, and came to appreciate the legacy of his parents' land as central to his own identity. Access to family land is a crucial factor in young adult transnational engagement, as it enables youth to avoid the high expenditure that often overburdens new entrepreneurs. The issue of transnational housing (and business) activities of the parents is integral to young adult transnationalism. Indeed, in the case of Ghanaians in Toronto, David Firang's (2011) study on the effects of transnationalism on Ghanaian immigrant housing careers discovered the prevalence of this phenomenon. Because the parents are engaged in housing projects in Ghana, the youth find it easier to return; in these cases, their parents' support the major initial expenditure, regarding housing (Firang, 2011).

Participants also noted that the support of the family network was sometimes limiting, because it removed their sense of independence from the process. Extended family members often feel responsible for those who have returned and worry that they may be swindled or

harmed because of their lack of knowledge of Ghana. Often, local beliefs in witchcraft and other superstitions play a part: the family members tend to be anxious to protect the youth from the purported bad intentions and wishes of other family or community who might be envious of their perceived Western privilege. As such, family members become quite protective of young returnees, demanding that they regularly check in when leaving home, and frowning upon late night outings. In Sarah's case, this overprotection felt quite restricting, as she was used to living an independent life in Toronto. This left Sarah feeling frustrated:

> The process [of returning] was annoying to say the least. I felt as though I could come and, I don't know, exert self-independence but Ghana has a strong familial, communal, cultural-like practice that I need to abide by here. And so, it wasn't what I thought it would be. The [return] process so far has been very connected to my family, and so I have to notify them [of] where I'm going, what I'm doing and that's not what I do in Toronto. And so, it is quite different but I understand why because culturally it's a different space and so it comes with different practices and different customs and so I'm now getting used to it as a Canadian-born Ghanaian. (Sarah, interviewed March 2018)

Indeed, the family network was both an advantage and a hindrance to the return migration process. For some participants in this study, their parents did not own land or property in Ghana because they never intended or assumed that their children would want to return. In Akosua's case, her father assumed that he would thrive as a mechanical engineer in Canada, which led him to invest his money and time into his life in the host country. This meant that when the time finally came that Akosua wanted to return home, she relied on extended family members to accommodate her and re-introduce her to life in Ghana.

Extended family members in the homeland also play a vital role in deepening the emotional connection and long-term aspirations of the second generation. First time visits to the homeland often include extended time spent with relatives, which prompt curiosity and a desire to learn more about youth's family lineage. Yasmin was motivated to plan her permanent return when she visited extended family members for the first time in 2017 after several years spent away from Ghana. Like many second-generation returnees, she met family members for the first time, found a social network and built an intimate relationship

with a local. These memorable experiences solidified her dream of returning home, and helped to set a plan into motion. She states:

> It was a whirlwind like in so many different ways. What a trip. I met so many family members that I had never met before, or hadn't seen since I was very little. I learned a lot. I was asking a lot of questions and just, you know, trying to figure out some of the nuances that I didn't get and I still will never get. I met someone here, that was very emotional, and I had a lot of fun here. So it was a whirlwind of a trip, very memorable, and it helped me cement what I want for myself in the future. So after that trip I immediately got to work on these ideas that I had and actually, like, manifested, and bring them to fruition. (Yasmin, interviewed)

Participants in this study were undoubtedly influenced by their parents' own transnational relationship to Ghana. While this question was not asked directly, many respondents expressed that their parents' laid the groundwork both emotionally and materially for them to return home. Interestingly, the death of one respondent's father has prompted him to invest in Ghana:

> Absolutely. I definitely see myself living in Ghana because when I went to go bury my father in 2007, one thing that was very hard, I watched the struggle in Canada and to see that he didn't get to go back to Ghana, it hit me in a way. To spend your whole life in a country that you are not welcomed. Struggle, struggle, come back to be buried. I can't let that happen. I have to figure out a way to make it so that I can live here, even if not permanently but for a long period of time. I have to be able to live here in some way. (Benjamin, 34, interviewed)

There is a feeling among many in the second generation that their parents have toiled in a host country that continuously marginalized them; the youth in this study were partly motivated by a desire for more than what their parents were allowed to achieve in Canada.

The family network plays a critical role in the experience of return for the second generation. Not only do family members guide youth returnees through the process of finding employment, accommodations and general navigation of daily homeland life, they also provide youth with the emotional and social bonds needed to negotiate their place in Ghanaian society.

The Role of Non-Familial Networks in Aspirations of Second Generation Returnees

However, some participants did express that their family provided little support in accessing their chosen field in Ghana; these individuals rather relied on their co-ethnic friendships in Canada-based professional networks to navigate homeland business

opportunities. At times, participants' family networks are not a sufficient resource to break into their respective career industries in Ghana. If family members did not have the necessary connections in the returnee's chosen industry, it meant that youth had to build their career network from the ground-up. In Lydia's case, her family members were unfamiliar and disinterested in her particular career and life priorities in Ghana, which meant that they could not be of much help:

> So when it was time to come [to Ghana], I reached out to some of the people that I connected to through my ex-boyfriend, *and then* I reached out to my family. But, in the back of my mind, *yes there is the whole family thing, and then there's the life I'm coming here and interested in knowing and coming to live in Ghana. It's two things: they don't know that life, and they are not interested.* So, I knew that networking with my family would be very limited. So, for the employment and all that other stuff I relied more on the friends, the networks that I had made when I was here [the first time]. And then, obviously, for accommodations, I relied on my cousin for that kind of stuff. (Lydia, 31, interviewed June 2017, emphasis mine)

For many young adults returning to a different sociocultural context, there is a challenge with local family members who may project their own limiting worldview and limited ambitions and fears on the returnee. Returnees eventually find ways to navigate the society on their own, as they become aware of the constrictions imposed on them by family members. Aspiring returnees are typically highly ambitious and aim to maximize their opportunities in the homeland, contrary to the seemingly less ambitious local family members. In the next section, I will discuss more explicitly how youth's identities, ambitions and sense of duty to Ghana is articulated, embodied and negotiated within the experience of return.

What is the impact of homeland return and engagement?

Identity Redefined: Deepening Understanding

Participants who had returned to the homeland were confronted with the complexity of their dual identities. Locally, they experienced both the disadvantages *and* privileges of being from the West. Some youth express feeling isolated or othered even in their home country. Ironically, this othering often stems from the fact that they did not grow up in Ghana, and are presumed to not have the same "sensibilities" as the average Ghanaian. For youth who were not fluent in Twi (or any other local languages), there were specific

challenges with navigating daily life in the homeland. While there is a comfort that youth feel in entering institutions in Ghana, whereby they are not held with suspicion because of their Blackness, participants also expressed that Ghana seems indifferent or unclear about who they are because of their *foreignness*. Indeed, many felt misunderstood by local Ghanaians. This often showed up in the assumptions of how a child raised in the West would act or relate to the Ghanaian environment. The term *obroni* has become a commonplace term to refer to foreigners -though, because of Ghana's interaction with colonial forces, the term has historically been used to refer to white Europeans. It is significant, then, that the second generation, who are dark-skinned Africans, ancestrally rooted in Ghana, are also referred to as *obroni* because of their perceived sociocultural differences. In this way, locals perceive the second generation as "symbolically white" (Potter and Phillips, 2006). Existing in a transnational social field reveals the complex interplay between race, identity and socio-spatiality. Earlier in her interview, Jemila remarked that she felt firmly Ghanaian growing up, and yet, when asked about how aspects of her identity might shape her experiences in the homeland, she acknowledges that local Ghanaians perceive her differently. Particularly, Jemila's identity fluctuates across interactions with locals and working with (predominantly white) Canadian volunteers in her organization. When she interacts with her white colleagues, they read her Blackness as Ghanaian; while interacting with locals, they read her Blackness as Canadian. Jemila is aware of the careful negotiation required to navigate both social spaces:

> The last time I came [to Ghana], I was being treated like a Canadian. They referred to me as "obroni" and obviously I'm not physically white, but just because I was from Canada and the way I was acting. Being from Canada, I can't say they see me as Ghanaian, because I'm not. But yeah, compared to now, a lot of people see me as Ghanaian. This time, I haven't heard that a lot or dealt with that, because now I'm surrounded by actual white people this time so, in comparison, obviously they're not gonna see me as obroni. But, Ghanaians still do. (Jemila, interviewed May 2017)

Some participants discussed the importance of code switching as a way to negotiate their two cultural identities while living in Ghana. Code switching is a highly

theorized concept, which aims to make sense of the ways in which diaspora members navigate the cultural codes, symbols, languages and accents of two opposing cultures, specifically where one of those cultures is a dominant white culture. Code switching is a form of double consciousness (Dubois, 1903) that can be a key survival strategy for moving across transnational spaces. In the context of second-generation returnees, code switching becomes an important way to gain social position in a society that they call home, but were not raised within. Language is a core component of code switching. For Twi-speaking participants, they often made careful negotiations about when and how they spoke Twi or English. This negotiation of language also revealed how Ghanaian society perceives returnees as either an insider or outsider; each designation corresponds to specific treatment and access (or lack thereof) to insider information. Simultaneously, while Canadian English carries significant social currency in contemporary Ghana, participants recount that in some instances, their foreign accents were weaponized against them because they are assumed easily cheated or undeserving of fair treatment. Returnees also explained that they sometimes manage the language and cultural gaps with some humour. Jojo, for example, speaks very little Twi and, at the time, was supporting his uncle to oversee the development of his mother's house in the Assin Fosu area (Central Region):

> So the thing about communication here is that most people speak English, they are just shy about it. They're not comfortable with it, but they usually understand the English that I speak if I speak it slowly to them. And every time I use one or two Twi words, we have a laugh about it and they are cool about it. (Jojo, interviewed July 2017)

I was struck by his tenacity and resilience, as it is widely recognized that building property in Ghana is a grueling process. Many of the challenges range from lack of quality workers to the rampant corruption and deception that can make it difficult for the returnee to trust the process or the people involved. It is significant that Jojo has remained positive in the face of this project, particularly with his limited local language skills. His comments demonstrate the

importance of using his limited Twi skills to develop the rapport needed to ensure a smooth working relationship with construction builders.

In a different example, Sarah has learned the importance of switching codes when she is bargaining or facing public/street harassment from men. She notes:

> I strategically code-switch to navigate certain spaces so I won't get ripped off or harassed. So I'll put on that mother tongue just to get through those spaces much easier and then I'll code switch back to my Canadian self to assert my position or my right to be here, especially in the context of gender, where I'm being questioned. I'll assert my Canadianness so I can find a way to still be in that space. And I find that when I do assert my Canadianness, then I'm more embraced and the gender aspect diminishes. Quite honestly, I don't like it. And I wish I could just talk the way I talk, and just be Ghanaian-Canadian and be embraced with open arms without the power dynamics associated with being a diaspora female. (Sarah, interviewed November 2017).

The intersection of Sarah's perceived foreignness and her womanhood (i.e. being a "diaspora woman") means that she has to struggle for social position in everyday life in Ghanaian society. While in some instances, her perceived foreignness can provide advantage or accommodation (especially when she yields her Canadianness to bypass or prevent uncomfortable situations), Sarah struggles with having to pander to exploitative and sexist narratives of "diaspora womanhood", which she ironically feels can only be counteracted by asserting her Canadian identity. For second-generation returnees, surely, this reliance on their Canadian identity to gain respect or legitimacy in Ghana can feel like a cognitive dissonance, as many move home because of their strong(er) identification with Ghanaian culture and misbelonging in Canada. That returnees often find themselves relying on their perceived foreignness to negotiate everyday life is a testament to the ongoing challenges of living in an in-between social space, or a "third space" (Bhabha, 1993).

Some youth had come to accept their otherness in Ghana as inevitable. Yasmin, for example, who is a lighter skinned woman with a Persian name, is accustomed to many Ghanaians assuming she is of a different nationality. This, combined with her Canadian upbringing meant that she was used to being perceived as not "fully Ghanaian" by locals. Interestingly, she rather expects this from rural Ghanaians because she assumes that they have had less interaction with foreigners and people from the diaspora. While she finds it

insulting to be read as foreign (and asked to take people abroad), she interprets their curiosity and fascination as generally benign.

Many locals are still surprised when they encounter the diaspora working in the country -particularly for those working in the international development industry. This is largely due to the historically overwhelming whiteness of the industry. Some participants in this study expressed that even when their colleagues knew that they had Ghanaian last names, they were still shocked to see them speaking Twi. This also demonstrates a lack of awareness of the linguistic traditions that survived through the second generation in the diaspora. There is a general lack of awareness about who the second-generation diaspora is and their sense of connection to the homeland.

"Small Girl" Syndrome and the Allure of being a "Diaspora Woman"

Women in my study felt the magnitude of Ghanaian gender norms. The intersection of being young, diasporic and woman often required a careful negotiation of place and power for my female participants. The gendered expectations of Ghanaian society meant that many female returnees in this study were often considered to be rude or disrespectful if they voiced a (contrarian or seemingly contentious) opinion in public space or in their professional lives. The silencing of women's voices is so powerful that some female returnees actually began to question their place in Ghanaian society. Faith, for example, expressed that she experienced conflict in the workplace because of her style of communication, which was interpreted as being disrespectful or "too known" (a cultural term that suggests that the speaker is too haughty, arrogant or a "know-it-all"). Faith felt that being "fairly young [and] female [and] educated [from] abroad" was a barrier that she felt her male and older colleagues did not have to consider or contend with when they wanted to communicate their thoughts, especially when asking questions for clarification or general inquiries. These experiences were often so jarring that Faith found herself keeping quiet

when faced with this confrontation. Ultimately, Faith left Ghana feeling that perhaps she was not ready to manage these expectations.

Female participants in this study learned how to read their social interactions with Ghanaian men, and policed their behaviour in order to discourage sexual advances in public space. Many participants noted that it was often an awkward or uncomfortable negotiation for them that could become violent or aggressive if they did not learn how to manage the situation accordingly. One participant Vera, for example, was very concerned about not appearing to be insulting while refusing men's advances. This is a common experience that many women have discussed in other geographical contexts, and speaks to the perniciousness of male entitlement over women's bodies, time and personal space, particularly in the public sphere (Lebugle at al, 2017, Mariano et al, 2020, Vera-Gray and Kelly, 2020).

In my exchange with Vera, I also observed that Ghana's strict gender roles can be advantageous to diaspora women returning home. Vera admits that she is given special treatment from men in public transport (i.e. paying for her fare) because of her perceived attractiveness as a foreign woman. She argues that this special treatment is given to diaspora women because local men perceive her as an "opportunity" to gain great financial or social capital -in some instances, there is a perception that being hospitable to foreigners will result in them supporting a visa process to travel abroad. Returnees manage this unspoken expectation by carefully negotiating how and what they communicate in social settings. It also demonstrates that youth must learn new social scripts in their homeland context.

The intersection of being "Canadian and female" means that some female participants were also coddled or overly protected, especially by male relatives. Participants felt that there were implicit assumptions made about their capacity to withstand local conditions (even something as banal as Ghana’s heavy rain), which lead their male relatives to shield them as much as possible. This can also be interpreted as a reflection of Ghanaian

chivalry, whereby men assume responsibility to care for and protect women -especially when they are from abroad.

This negotiation of their social status based on gender and diaspora status was also present within the context of public transportation, itself. One participant Esinam, noted that she is adamant about sitting in the front seat each time she enters a tro-tro[4], as she is tall and the front seat gives her more space. However, female passengers, in particular, are sometimes told that they cannot or should not sit in the front seat, particularly if there is an (older) man who is boarding the bus. Her persistence to sit in the front seat means that she sometimes rejects getting on the tro-tro, preferring to wait for a bus with an empty front seat. In some instances, she will even pay a double fare to ensure that she can sit comfortably across the two seats at the front next to the driver. This behaviour often elicits shock and irritation from tro-tro mates and drivers, who accuse her of being too haughty or arrogant to comply with the unspoken cultural norm/tro-tro etiquette. The assumption is that her combined diaspora and female body is the reason she is "overly demanding". However, in other instances, being a female returnee has allowed her to gain certain privileges within tro-tros, whereby mates will ask other passengers to move to the back, so that she can sit in the front seat; she often eschews this advantage, opting to wait for another bus instead.

Tensions with Locals

Participants also had some challenges interacting with locals, which manifested in frustration with Ghana's slower pace of life, lax attitude towards work, lacking infrastructure and corruption. Respondents were also concerned about Ghanaians' attitudes towards public hygiene, pollution and waste. They expressed that locals needed to be better educated on how to manage their waste and were dismayed by the lack of communal care for the environment.

[4] A tro-tro is a minivan or bus that is used to transport 12-15 people per trip, dropping and picking up passengers along the way. The buses are often not well maintained and regularly break down. Tro-tro is the cheapest form of transportation, and is used by many cash-poor and working class citizens in Ghana. Within the tro-tro, the front seat is often perceived as "prime real estate" because you are typically less cramped than when sitting in the three or four backseats of the bus.

Returnees articulated their complex feelings towards the reality of living in Ghana, particularly when it comes to law enforcement, mob justice and vigilantism. Participants expressed a deep appreciation for the general safety in Ghana, while simultaneously being concerned about the lack of law and order and just due processes. For example, when a community suspects a thief on the street, it is not uncommon for citizens to take matters into their own hands by punishing, beating or in some extreme cases, killing the suspected perpetrator. This is often done because of a mistrust for police enforcement -that they will not adequately handle the matter, due to either lack of resources, or lack of effort. Returnees admitted that they were concerned about the lack of law enforcement in these matters, worrying that citizens were left to govern and police themselves.

Some returnees also felt that local Ghanaians treat them with envy and suspicion, stemming from a belief that Ghanaians in the diaspora have an "easier" life. They feel the effects of this perception quite intensely, given that their realities in Canada are actually marked by misbelonging, foreignness and (socioeconomic) marginalization. Yet, when visiting or returning to Ghana, they are perceived to be successful foreigners, without any differentiation from non-Ghanaian foreigners. Unfortunately, some returnees have also been guilty of perpetuating these power dynamics, by superimposing non-local value systems, business practices and work ethic onto local communities. This often causes a tension that can be quite damaging to diaspora-local relations. Many participants were sensitive of these tensions, particularly those who had engaged in social justice work prior to returning home. These individuals were often quite clear that they wanted to learn from local communities, rather than creating a top-down relationship with locals.

Second generation returnees also felt some pressure to live up to the high expectations of their friends and family members in the homeland. As one participant put it, returnees are expected to be almost "supernatural" in that they are assumed to have more

education, money and success, which they can then use to support the homeland (through remittances and investment), ultimately making life easier for those at home. While resilience is often built into the Ghanaian cultural milieu, the second generation felt an added pressure to suffer in silence or not express insecurities or failure and disappointment because they are perceived to have privilege and advantage in relation to local populations. Participants also felt that locals had an unfair expectation that they should always be empathetic/sympathetic to the plight of local Ghanaians because of the harsh economic conditions in Ghana, which results in an overdependence on diaspora family remittances. However, this empathy was never returned, in that locals were not expected to understand the challenges of misbelonging and economic hardships for Ghanaians in the diaspora. Some participants felt that this burden sometimes made it uncomfortable to return home with more frequency, because it required financial preparation given the huge expectations placed on them to support local communities. As Adwoa put it, she "choose[s] to go anywhere else before [she] comes home because...[she] can't just show up and not give anybody anything". This is a significant observation because it suggests that the local/diaspora relationship is riddled with myths and ambivalences about each other. While the second generation may be guilty of romanticizing homeland living, local populations also superimpose their own narratives of diaspora life and success onto returnees. It is significant that the second generation expresses this because the literature often assumes that the burden of remittances is primarily felt by the first generation, with their children being further removed from this responsibility. These testimonies reveal that, indeed, the pressure to bring money home especially when returning is also felt deeply by the children of immigrants. This can lead to a context in which both parties are not able to really "see" each other accurately, and the second generation adopts resentment towards family members in the homeland.

Challenges in Public Space

Some returnees expressed that they had developed an aggressive way of communicating their needs, concerns or identity in public space. For example, one participant recounts her experience with a taxi driver who mocked her Twi-skills, attempting to make her feel less authentically Ghanaian.

I find you have to be aggressive. I had a taxi driver and I was speaking Twi to him and he was like, "Oh madam me pa wo kyew, wo Twi nu enny3 me de kraa."[5]And then I said, "Oh driver, me pa wo kyew wo nso wo brofo nso enny3 me de kraaaaaa."[6] And he's like, "Oh, what?" I said if you're going to tell somebody you don't like the way they're speaking a language, I'm gonna tell you that you don't speak English very well either. How do you expect a person to learn if you are not willing to listen? Do you think I should have to be forced to listen to you say "one, two, 'tree'" when it's three? And then he listened to what I said and he said you know what, you're right. They need to understand that in order for you to learn from me and me to learn from you, you have to be willing and open. You can't just cut people off. (Esinam, interviewed June 2017)

Notably, as social agents in the transnational social field, Esinam and the local taxi driver are engaged in a struggle for social position. Significantly, Esinam is un-phased by the cultural expectation of gendered politeness in public space that some of the other female participants expressed. She finds it important to assert her Ghanaian identity and ultimately her right to exist in contested public space free of linguistic discrimination. It is also significant that Esinam observes that the way locals mock returnees is in direct contradiction to the common desire that many locals express to travel to these same foreign countries. Her response, though biting, demonstrates that returnees are aware of and in some instances, seek to challenge their perceived outsider status in public space in the homeland. It can be argued that Esinam's sense of confidence in breaking the social script of politeness/respect in public space is partly rooted in the privilege of her Western/foreigner status and ironically, her proficiency in English. In other words, Esinam is able to retort the taxi driver's shaming comments about her lack of Twi proficiency by defaulting to shaming him for his lack of English proficiency. In that moment, Esinam's Western and (assumed) class background as a passenger in his car coalesced to provide her the confidence to win the argument. She is able

[5] "Oh Madam, I don't like your Twi at all!"

[6] "Oh driver, I don't like your English at all!"

to advance in this social struggle precisely because of the power that the English language holds in Ghanaian society. Within this field (represented as the taxi car), the two social agents (Esinam and the taxi driver) both engage their habitus to transform the relationship. However, she also makes a convincing argument to the driver that there must be a mutual understanding between second-generation returnees and local Ghanaians that can powerfully transform how they interact. As someone who was raised outside of the country, Esinam must battle constantly for social recognition and belonging. Within the context of the taxi ride, Esinam finds herself aggressively insisting on her right to belong in Ghanaian society, despite her scarce Twi skills.

There were several examples in this study of the ways that returnees were navigating social expectations in public space. In this same interview, Esinam discussed the challenges of managing public perception as a media professional. For example, she was aware that using tro-tro was frowned upon in her industry, because Ghanaian society expects media professionals to have their own private car (with a driver) or use Uber service, establishing their higher-class status. In many instances, local colleagues questioned Esinam as to why she was taking a cheaper, more "common man" means of transport because she needed to portray a wealthy lifestyle as a returnee and media professional. In this example, Esinam is aware of the demands or rules of the social field, and understands that in order to be validated by that field, she must engage in agreed upon social practices.

Returnee Disillusionment

Participants expressed some disillusionment about the prospects of living in Ghana. Returnees come to recognize that the Ghanaian system offers its citizens very little in terms of social services/welfare, and as such, one is completely on their own when it comes to daily livelihood and survival. Not surprisingly, for participants who had actually made the return journey at the time of the interview, they had a slightly less optimistic perspective on

how their social position had shifted. For Esinam, she felt unequivocally that the quality of her life had not improved by returning to Ghana; quite the contrary, Esinam cited the lack of infrastructure, poor sanitation, unsafe transport systems and meagre pay as common challenges that frustrated her and made life uncomfortable. Yet, despite these material challenges, Esinam felt wedded to the idea of return. In fact, of all my participants, Esinam has remained in Ghana, with the dogged persistence to build her career in media. Indeed, this was a common attitude amongst participants; their unrelenting passion for changing or contributing to Ghana's development trajectory within their respective professional industries was superseded by any real or perceived challenges they would face in the homeland.

Other participants expressed that, while they were excited at the prospect of bringing their skills and talents to help develop Ghana, they were frustrated with the hurdles and obstacles they experienced in the workplace from colleagues who were either skeptical or suspicious of their efforts. Particularly as young workers, the second generation face discrimination from their older colleagues who feel that they are not as skilled or knowledgeable. One returnee recounts a disagreement she was experiencing with the head of her faculty at the time of the interview:

> I think a lot of us are frustrated, because we have such great ideas and we can't seem to get in to share those ideas, because the challenges are so deep rooted...And I'm struggling with my work for example, because here I am trying to suggest other ways of doing things, and people are struggling. As a matter of fact, my faculty lead is not talking to me right now, because, apparently I disrespected her in how I spoke with her. She's an older lady who constantly reminds me that she's been teaching for as long as I've been alive. She doesn't know what she's doing and when I try to coach her, she becomes upset. So, I'm like, you know what, do whatever you wanna do, I'm tired. So yeah, you can't win. (Victoria, interviewed May 2017).

Certainly, the second generation are also learning to navigate the prevalence of the family metaphor in the Ghanaian workplace. As noted in the previous chapter, within Ghanaian culture, it is common to refer to strangers, friends and acquaintances with familial nomenclature (i.e. sister X, uncle Y, Mama A, etc.). This is rooted in traditional understandings of community, whereby Ghanaians recognize each other as having common bonds and particularly a respect for elders based on the notion that they could easily be one's

mother, father, uncle or aunt. In the context of the homeland, this familial metaphor is often extended to the work environment, where it is not uncommon to hear colleagues preface each other's name with a familial designation. However, as familial designations often suggest particular roles and power relations within the family context, there is a loose slippage between the expectations of professional and personal relationships. Respondents found it difficult to play into these dynamics coming from a Canadian professional environment where many believe that there should be a safe and professional distance between colleagues. In addition, given the diverse nature of Canada's workforce, it is less likely that the second generation will feel compelled or pressured to perform Ghanaian kinship bonds in the workplace. Victoria describes how she has learned to navigate this cultural expectation in the Ghanaian workplace by refusing to use the fictive kinship nomenclature. She finds that this fictive kinship can often complicate her ability to challenge problematic behaviour in her office, in ways that her white colleagues do not have to navigate because there is very little expectation placed on them to understand or accommodate local cultural practices.

> Well, first of all, I stopped using the sister and the cousin, and I call everyone by their first name. Before, I would be all apologetic, now I'm not. It's like, this is who I am, you deal with it or you don't. But I think that a part of them, I think that they think they can threaten my position but they don't realize that I'm the only one that would do my job. So right now, I'm just trying to be who I am. So I'm going to say what I need to say, if it offends too bad, because if there was a white person doing this, you would accept it. And I know that they've accepted it in the past because my colleague who is white is way more abrasive than I am. And three years later, she is still here. And they're going to have to learn to swallow me as I am, as I come. (Victoria, interviewed January 2018).

This is a very clear example of the triple consciousness that the second-generation returnees must negotiate within the homeland. Victoria is negotiating three identities in this moment: the social script of being Ghanaian, the social script of being a Canadian worker and the in-between space of being a Ghanaian-Canadian observing the privilege afforded to her white colleagues and the demands placed on her by her Ghanaian colleagues. Victoria has learned to assert her identity and values unapologetically, despite the cultural codes that her colleagues may try to impose on her. Many youth go through a period of idealism in which they believe that their return to the continent is the primary (or only) solution to "fixing

Ghana's problems". However, through time and experience, some participants in my study revealed that they had either misunderstood or grossly underestimated the importance and possibilities of local communities transforming their own lives.

Circular Migration

Some participants engaged in a *circular migration* because they realize that they may have overestimated the ease with which they could settle – some may go back and forth until they feel confident enough to return on a permanent basis. For other returnees, like Edem, they saw their return to Ghana as more of a circular return. Ghana was one option of many that would contribute to their life aspirations. Interestingly, as someone who returned to Ghana in his high school years, but still kept in contact with his mother in Toronto, Edem has multiple connections that he intends to maintain throughout his life in a back and forth negotiation. Pointedly, he mentions that he could obtain grants in Canada to produce his films, and use his relationships within the artist community to gain professional advancement. This suggests that young adults are making calculated and strategic decisions to engage in a circular migratory pattern throughout their lives, in order to maximize their social position within the transnational social field.

It is also important to note that some returnees felt that their return made them no better off financially or professionally than when they lived in Canada. Edem feels that working in Ghana's creative industry has been particularly challenging, as the industry is still quite underdeveloped. This has resulted in Edem trying to "recreate Toronto" in his artistic community in Accra. His capacity to mimic the artistic community in Toronto speaks to the role of “making place” in the returnee's adjustment and (re-)integration process. While Edem did not elaborate on what "recreating Toronto" looks like, many returnees often find build a distinct community within their homeland as a gateway to re-adjusting and finding support from like-minded individuals in the homeland.

For other respondents, they desired to raise their future children between Ghana and Canada, with regular circular migratory patterns. Participants also expressed a concern that their Canada-born children would become less ingrained in Ghanaian culture, which they felt a circular migration pattern could disrupt. They hoped that returning with their children for significant periods would allow them to inherit the social and economic capital of being Canadian citizens, while also sustaining their cultural identities**.** Between Michael and his fiancé, there is a deep desire to return, but they know that it requires planning around how they will sustain themselves in a fulfilling way. In other studies, we see that migrant parents who wish to return home sometimes do so alone because their families are unwilling to return. These reasons range from a fear or loneliness (in Ghana) to a fear of not finding work and suffering with poor infrastructure (see Sertrana's 2014 study on return migration to Kumasi). New parents in the second generation are actively negotiating these issues because of their life stage. They are young enough to still "bounce back" if Ghana does not yield a good investment. At their age, they are also more likely to explore new opportunities and travel together, which can make the decision between the couple/young family much easier and mutually beneficial.

Conclusion

Returning home does provide the second generation with a deeper appreciation for Ghanaian culture, society and history. Many participants expressed gratitude for learning more about their family history, deepening their roots and participating in Ghana's nightlife and arts scene. Returnees who had engaged in short work trips also reported feeling a sense of pride and satisfaction at being able to "survive" Ghana. That living in Ghana is constructed as something one "survives" should be put in context of diaspora narratives about the homeland. Within Ghanaian diaspora life, many immigrant parents frame Ghana as both a fond memory that they are nostalgic for *and* as a place plagued with social discord, lacking

infrastructure, corruption and limited positive life outcomes. Indeed, this is often why many in the first generation left the homeland in the first place. That a child of Ghanaian immigrants has returned home is seen as a major achievement and in fact, a deviation from the path set out by their parents. There is a perception that children raised abroad are not built for the harsh conditions of living in Ghana (particularly on their own). Within this context, it makes sense that second-generation homeland return might be characterized as an accomplishment, particularly for those who decide to work and live on their own. Many participants who had recently relocated to Ghana felt that despite Canada's overall higher standard of living, they felt confident that they had improved the quality of their life by coming to Ghana. Respondents had a clear understanding that they could maximize their human capital in Ghana, where they would be regarded in high esteem or as attractive candidates in their respective fields. Indeed, there was a recognition that regular visitation could help to facilitate their understanding of Ghana's system, which could allow them to more effectively market themselves when they were ready to return permanently.

For many in the second generation straddling multiple geographies, their marginalization and "outsider" status in Canada informs their motivation to stay connected to Ghana. Participants expressed that their desire to engage Ghana was heavily influenced by their sense of identity loss and misbelonging in Canada and the need to reclaim their Ghanaian culture. They also perceive greater business and career advancement opportunities in the homeland, which prompt them to strategize financial investment in the homeland. Certainly, the second generation is thinking in several different ways about their quality/standard of life in Ghana. Participants measured increased social positioning based on various markers that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Many participants mentioned that they wanted to have a secure financial plan in place before they came to Ghana. They are

aware of the "hard living" that comes with being in Ghana and want to guard from a life of poverty that many of their parents were attempting to escape.

Most of the participants were at various stages of strategizing their return. Respondents believed that returning home required a strategic planning process and assessment of the risks in uprooting their lives in Canada. Certainly, returning to a place after many years requires careful consideration including securing a source of income, housing and healthcare. While the overwhelming majority of participants returned with career aspirations, some also returned to purchase land, get married and start a family. Others had returned to oversee a house-building project that their parents began. Others still, desire to return for short contracts with the intention to renew or move on to more stable work once they were in country. In real terms, many in this cohort experienced a back and forth or circular migratory pattern, as they managed their cross-border lives.

Surely, there is great nuance for the returnee cohort. While there may be a local suspicion of returnees as exploitative, foreign or entitled, the participants in my study complicate this narrative. Indeed, while (return) migrants often seek to increase their economic opportunities in their land of origin, the second generation also feels a sense of "limbo", whereby they are not fully accepted by Canada, *and* experience Ghana's deep ambivalence about who they are and what they can contribute (and ultimately their place in the homeland society). Many youth feel that their connection to Ghana is deeper than the average expat or foreign businessperson, and that it should be acknowledged as an emotional/familial investment. Interestingly, youth in my study seemed much keener on resisting their othering in Ghana than their experiences of othering in Canada; this is likely a reflection of their much deeper affinity for the ancestral homeland. As Ghanaians, they cannot separate their fate from that of their country and continent. Because of seeds sown early in their life, many returnees understand Ghana as their home that they seek to return to,

similar to their parents. They believe deeply that it is their responsibility to develop the nation, as opposed to developing other countries -despite having been socialized in Canada. There is also a perception that Ghana gives them freedom and opportunities and a deep sense of belonging that they do not feel in Canada. However, returnees come to realize that they must also struggle for a sense of belonging in the homeland, because of the complex homeland narrative about the diaspora.

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

Summary of Findings

Past scholarship on Ghanaian-Canadians has focused on core issues of settlement and integration, including housing careers, educational attainment, employment outcomes and questions of cultural belonging. Since the early nineties, much of this scholarship has examined the experiences of the first generation of Ghanaian migrants in Canada. However, as this generation approaches their senior years, there is now a need to interrogate how effectively their adult children have integrated into Canadian society. As Portes (1997) notes, the integration of immigrant groups is best measured within second and subsequent generations. The reality of the immigrant narrative is far more complicated than segmented assimilation theorist may have originally suggested. Certainly, not all youth who experience socio-economic marginalization necessarily succumb to downward assimilation. In fact, Fernandez-Kelly's (2008) study of second generation Latinos in the United States suggests that parents' social capital from back home can function as a transferable asset for impoverished immigrant youth. Cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1993) developed in the home country carries forward to the host society and can help immigrant youth (from otherwise disenfranchised communities) to excel and become socially mobile. In the case of Ghanaian-Canadians, I observed that being raised in a transnational context is integral to shaping their identities and worldviews. Their relationship with the homeland will continue to take on new dimensions as this cohort moves through the life cycle. Transnationalism is at once a way of existence *and* a social strategy for navigating bifurcated/dual identity and misbelonging in the host society.

The young adulthood stage presents unique challenges and opportunities for immigrants' children to explore Ghana on their own terms. Taking Portes's (1997) claim that the second generation is a "strategic research site" to determine the effectiveness of migrant

integration seriously, the project prioritized how the 1.5 and second generation articulate, negotiate, and live out their lives within the context of their "multi-sited embeddedness" (Horst 2018). Drawing further on King (2000), this dissertation aimed to answer three core questions: (i) What are the sites through which a transnational social field is developed for the second generation? (ii) How does the existence of this transnational social field inform the second generation's desire to return to Ghana? (iii) What is the reality of the 'return experience' and how are second-generation identities, senses of 'belonging' and of 'home' fashioned in the ancestral homeland? In the following discussion, I return to these questions, articulating the implications of my results for the scholarship on Ghanaian-Canadians, second-generation transnationalism, and the discipline of Geography.

What are the sites through which a transnational social field is developed for the second generation?

Based on my interviews with 32 young adults from the Ghanaian-Canadian community, transnationalism is an ongoing practice that is shaped by the social sites that they are raised within. Participants cited various cultural values that they had internalized as integral to their sense of identity. They actively continue to practice these values in their adult lives. They note that these cultural values are core to Ghanaian identity, and were transmitted to them in their childhood. Often, children were taught these values through multi-sited cultural networks including religious institutions, ethnic associations, and social gatherings (e.g. funerals, weddings and outdooring events). Specifically, participants cited the cultural values of family, respect(ability), religion/spirituality, communalism, work ethic, education achievement, and cultural pride as core to their experience of the transnational social field. The second generation is shaped by cross-border networks, which help to form their sense of self in the diaspora. These findings confirm what many studies have shown regarding the racialized second generation (Dei, 2005; Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer, 2005; Arthur wt. al, 2008; Tiflati, 2017; Creese, 2018); they continue to grapple with Canada's promise of

multicultural democratic acceptance as weighted against their experiences of othering and marginalization. They also continue to carry on the traditions, values and beliefs of their parents' homeland, even without significant contact during their childhood years. This is consistent with scholarship demonstrating that the parental household provides an avenue for the transmission of second-generation home country attachments and cultural transmission both through transnational activities and homeland practices in the host country (Waldinger et al, 2012; Soehl and Waldinger, 2012; Wessendorf, 2013; Fouron and Glick-Schiller, 2014). Advancements in technology, transportation and social media have also made it possible for youth to engage with Ghana, even those who have no desire to settle. Significantly, the second generation is now in the emerging adulthood life stage, in which they are beginning their careers, planning families and are actively making choices to engage the ethnocultural sites that have shaped their identities and values. As adults, they negotiate these cultural sites, values and beliefs, self-selecting those that are still relevant to their current priorities, interests and life goals.

Interestingly, not all participants had strong ties to a Ghanaian community in the diaspora during their childhood. Either due to the lack of direct access to Ghanaians in their neighbourhoods, their parents' particular non-religious views, or their ethnic minority status within the wider Ghanaian community, some participants felt like outsiders when engaging cultural spaces in the diaspora. Yet, despite their low engagement within ethnic enclaves, participants still felt strongly connected to the idea of Ghana and desired to explore their homeland as adults. Further, while some youth grew up in traditional heteropatriarchal family structures, others felt that they had "non-traditional parents", demonstrated by the lack of rigid gender roles or expectations in their household. For other youth, the strong presence of Ghanaian cultural community spaces in their childhood seemed to dwindle as they entered adulthood. While they may continue to socialize with their co-ethnic peers, they are less

inclined to do so within traditional cultural spaces, such as the church or community picnics and *outdoorings*.

Most youth expressed a deep ambivalence about their lives in Canada. When asked what Canada meant to them, the most commonly used term was "opportunity", in which the 'host land' was positioned as a place to acquire education, healthcare and other resources to better their lives. However, their parents' country of origin was often positioned as their "natural home", irrespective of the distance, time, or experience they had with Ghana. Alternatively, only two participants cited Canada as their second home. For the vast majority, Canada was perceived as a white nation that merely tolerated Black Africans. This is significant because it suggests some failing of the multicultural nation-state rhetoric, whereby Canada as a geopolitical space, continues to construct the second generation as marginal citizens. It is also significant that most of these participants specifically grew up in the Greater Toronto Area, which is statistically the most ethnically diverse metropolis in Canada. Despite their exposure to various cultures, participants still did not *feel* Canadian –especially without qualification. Creese's (2018) work on African communities in the Vancouver area found that questions such as "Where are you from?" continue to frame the social identities of African youth as minorities, despite their citizenship or being predominantly raised in Canada. Similarly, Zaami's (2015) work on the socio-spatial realities of Ghanaian youth in the Jane and Finch area demonstrates how youth must negotiate their misbelonging in order to navigate the job market and local shops. The nation-state as a site of belonging (and misbelonging) is a space fraught with contestations, erasures and dislocations. It is within this context that the second-generation seeks to find affirmation in their Ghanaian identities and cultural spaces. For the participants in this study, there was a dialectical relationship between their sense of displacement in Canada and their perceived cultural rootedness in Ghana. To be sure, it is not always so clear that one thing proceeds the other; rather, I argue that there is a

simultaneity between Canada's social rejection of the second generation and their access and socialization within the transnational social field. Youth are at once living and working their way through both realities, which also shows up in their identity negotiations in the homeland.

How does the existence of this transnational social field inform the second generation's desire to return to Ghana?

The ways of belonging in the transnational social field stimulate a consciousness that has material consequences in early adulthood. The 1.5 and second-generation Ghanaian-Canadians interviewed in my study have developed their own social world within the context of the transnational social field, which consists of sustaining and growing cultural ties and engaging the homeland for maximizing their life outcomes. The participants were a highly ambitious, professionalized and educated cohort aiming to engage opportunities in Ghana, while buffering themselves from misbelonging and racism in Canada. Ultimately, second and 1.5 generation participants were motivated to return to the homeland, on a permanent or circular basis for five major reasons: *(i)* emotional attachment to Ghana; *(ii)* misbelonging in the host country; *(iii)* the prospect/perception of career advancement and investment; *(iv)* a sense of social responsibility to the homeland; *(v)* and a belief that the homeland would provide a better quality of life.

Many of the participants had not yet made the final decision to return to the homeland, yet there was much evidence that based on growing up in a cross-border network, youth aspired to develop and grow their bond with Ghana. Naturally, participants who were yet to spend a substantial amount of time living in Ghana at the time of the interview had a somewhat idealized image of what returning home would look like, based on their cultural socialization in the diaspora. Respondents generally conceptualized Ghana as a loving, comfortable and kind place, where they could be at peace and socially accepted. Many were

engaged in school-based Ghanaian student organizations, Ghana-focused social media platforms and regularly stayed abreast with new and popular culture trends in the homeland.

The role and relationship of the first generation in sustaining and growing second-generation transnationalism is another important consideration. Within this study, it was clear that participants were often relying on their parents' homeland networks to negotiate their return. This included a range of support, such as housing, job opportunities and navigating local family customs and dynamics. Indeed, some studies have demonstrated that parents' lack of transnational engagement inevitably affects the second-generation. For example, Gutierrez's (2017) study of Filipino-American second generation transnationalism found that migrant's lack of transnational engagement ultimately determined the *extent* to which youth desired to visit or engage family members in the Philippines; in some cases, Filipino-American children had little to no engagement with the homeland. Within the Ghanaian community, there is a general belief that life in Ghana is quite difficult, as compared to living in Canada. Conversely, those familiar with the Ghanaian community in Canada can attest to the prevalence of migrants' home and land ownership in Ghana as part of their parental and extended family obligations. The first generation is known to build big family homes in Ghana, in part, so that their children will have somewhere to stay when visiting. However, migrants are often less than keen on their children's (permanent) return, because they perceive the difficulties to be too great for children raised outside of the homeland. It is reasonable to believe that many in the first generation are weary of their children permanently returning to Ghana. It is also not unreasonable to assume that many in the first generation had not anticipated that their children may desire to return for extended periods of time (and certainly, not indefinitely). Yet, children in this study continue to desire homeward return, in part because they believe that the overall benefits of return outweigh the overall benefits of staying in Canada.

While my study also showed the critical role of family and parental networks in youth's ability to navigate the homeland, it is important to consider a broader context that may encourage youth's transnationalism. Most of my Ghana-based interviews were conducted with participants who were visiting or living in Ghana *without* their parents at the time. This context is important because it suggests a potential trend of youth choosing homeland return irrespective of their parents' permanent settlement plans. Further, the cultural expectation of family obligation that may have forced previous generations to stay geographically close to their family appears to be less prioritized in the second generation. Several participants noted that one or more parents did not plan to retire in Ghana, though they felt responsible to help their determined aspiring returnee children navigate the homeland. Ghana is also changing in ways that the second and subsequent generations may find easier to navigate than their parents. For example, the redenomination of Ghana's currency in 2007 still causes some confusion for some members of the first generation, especially those who are now in their senior years with a stubborn longing for the "old Ghana". The current economic and social trends in Ghana also suggest that the second generation, who is more tech-savvy and capable of gathering information, may find it easier to gain the knowledge that would allow them to navigate certain aspects of the homeland with more ease. Particularly, for participants whose families were not well connected to their desired profession or interests in the homeland, the utilization of their friendship networks, professional contacts or their own research skills were more significant for their ability to succeed in Ghana. This suggests that the second generation's homeland engagement is a negotiation of their combined resources, rather than solely the extent of their parents' transnational engagement. Moreover, my study demonstrates that the transnational second generation is less inclined to engage in sending remittances to their family members, but maintain a social responsibility to Ghana as a nation-state. This explains why many seek to

build brands, businesses and volunteer for non-profit organizations in Ghana. This supports past research that demonstrates the prominence of diaspora social engagement and civic participation in the homeland. In this way, the second generation has internalized the first generation's diaspora longings, such that they also express (and act on) romantic notions of return.

What is the reality of the 'return experience' and how are second-generation identities, senses of 'belonging' and of 'home' articulated in the ancestral homeland?

The transnational social field may have unintended or unanticipated consequences for second and subsequent generations of Ghanaian-Canadians engaging the homeland. For those who had returned, the realities of Ghana were certainly a shock, especially for youth who had previously felt that their cultural identities were cemented in Ghana. While most aspiring and actual returnees were grateful for the experience to strengthen their connection, many were confronted with the shock of their cultural difference in the homeland. Ironically, the second-generation returns to a homeland that does not anticipate how strongly they may identify with their ancestral origin. In turn, the second generation is challenged with the different societal realities, including lacking infrastructure, lax workplace culture, and sexist expectations, which reinforces their difference in the homeland. These findings are consistent with recent studies in other contexts, which found that second generation are seen as outsiders in their home country. For example, Brocket (2018) found that Palestinian-Americans struggle to create their own "positioned belonging" in the face of othering in the home and host countries. Specifically, youth are treated different because of their language, style of dress and presumed economic class when they return to the West Bank. By virtue of their American identity, youth were also perceived to be disconnected from the "every day struggles bound up with notions of authentic Palestinianness" (Brocket 2018). Indeed, similar patterns can be found in the study on second-generation Ghanaian Canadians, for whom the label of "obroni" acts as a disqualifier of their Ghanaian identity, and implies that they are not

connected to the daily realities of living in a third world country, like Ghana. There is an implicit cultural belief that Ghanaian identity is rooted in resilience and every day struggles of basic subsistence and survival. That youth enter Ghana with their Canadian citizenship and presumed material access automatically marks them as different. However, in global relations, Ghanaians recognize their economically, culturally and politically inferior status in relation to white Westernness. The second generation coming from Canada are often caught at the intersection of this, which can cause a polarized relationship to homeland compatriots. Ironically, their upbringing outside of Ghana automatically marks them as both professionally desirable and culturally superior, while also eliciting a range of pity, scorn and moral judgement from local communities, who may feel that they are "culturally lost" or spoiled by being raised elsewhere. This can have a lasting effect on the second generation, as they will likely continue to straddle their multiple identities. Young adults may choose to anchor their sense of self to the unique intersection of being Ghanaian *and* Canadian, rather than firmly one or the other. Participants felt confident in naming themselves Ghanaian, an identity that was mostly shaped for them outside of the homeland. Similarly, other studies have shown that the racialized second-generation draws on the homeland identity, not merely as a performance of foreignness in the host land, but as the natural consequence of being raised in the transnational social field (Levitt, 2004). This study confirms that the second-generation's claim to Ghanaianness is predicated on their diasporic realities, rather than their capacity to seamlessly navigate the homeland itself. Returning to the homeland to learn more about one's culture and family history, or to make a contribution to the nation-state does not simply counteract the formative years spent outside of the homeland; in the case of second-generation returnees, it only magnified this personal history. However, the confrontation of the homeland's different social system should not necessarily lead us to conclude that reintegration is not possible. Certainly, integration is a gradual process that both the second-

generation cohort and broader Ghanaian society must reconcile. As the years go by, Ghana will see invariably more second and subsequent generations returning, which might compel the homeland to reconcile the "changing face of home" (Levitt and Waters, 2002).

Scholars have suggested that the second generation engages in irregular or occasional transnational activities (Levitt, 2009, Gutierrez, 2017). This study produced mixed results, with some youth aiming to split their time between Ghana and Canada, and others aspiring to fully return to Ghana with occasional visits to Canada, and others still, hoping to make frequent trips to the homeland to support local initiatives, while living in Canada. In reality, most of my participants were engaged in a consistent back and forth relationship with the homeland, as preparation for a long-term settlement. At the time of the interview, participants were often visiting Ghana to assess the feasibility of their business plan or to engage in periodic projects or initiatives that would help them to build their local network. Through these periodic engagements, many realized that they would require certain safeguards to establish themselves in Ghana. Some of these safeguards included steady and substantial income, comfortable living arrangements and a sense of independence. This observation is important because it suggests that occasional transnationalism is part of a broader strategy for an eventual permanent settlement, rather than the definitive story of the second-generation transnational cohort.

Gaps and Further Considerations

While this project aimed to provide a thorough examination of the transnational experiences of the second-generation, there were some limitations and gaps that I believe should be considered for future studies. One of the gaps in this project is the lack of delineation and comparison *between* 1.5 and second generation transnational outcomes. While this study did not consider how the 1.5 and second generation might have differing experiences of the homeland, this is something that future research might consider. For

example, as children who may have stayed in the home country long enough to learn the local language, are the 1.5 better equipped to navigate Ghanaian society upon return? Do 1.5 generations feel more like "insiders" in the homeland based on their language proficiency? Does the second generation start from "ground zero" while the 1.5 generation begins with at least some memory of friendship and family bonds in the homeland? Do 1.5 and second generation youth growing up in the same household have differing experiences of the transnational social field? Those familiar with the Ghanaian community will know that it is common for migrants to begin the journey to the host land, sending for their Ghana-born children months or even years later. During that time, migrants may give birth to Canada-born children. How does the eventual family reunification (with their Ghana-born children) influence the sibling relationship and migrant household dynamics, particularly regarding cultural socialization? Is it the case that 1.5 children are raised more with homeland cultural values and expectations than their Canadian-born younger siblings? Alternatively, does the lack of homeland experience create more of a motivation for second-generation children to return than their 1.5 peers who may be old enough to have unpleasant memories of Ghana? Such questions could be explored in future comparative studies.

This project examined how the second generation interacts with the homeland, based on years of childhood socialization. One of the major motivations for homeland engagement was a clear social consciousness and responsibility to support homeland development. Certainly, the second generation is a politicized cohort that understands the impact of neoliberal white supremacist global relations for Ghana's citizens. They return to the homeland with their own visions of how to advance their home country. Youth are motivated by a sense of social responsibility and the potential of gaining social power and positioning in the homeland. We see that some politically conscious young adults are grappling with the *Africa Rising* narrative and what it means for them, but also what it means for the continued

economic challenges of the majority of Ghanaians. Kwarteng's (2013) study examining Ghanaian-American youth also suggests that the second generation is less likely to provide financial remittances to the homeland. Moving forward, as more young adults engage Ghana, there is a need to observe how homeland interactions shape *social* remittance culture. How might we account for the role of ideas, beliefs and values that the second generation might be contributing to Ghana? What is the future of social remittances of second generation Ghanaian-Canadians engaging the homeland? In which ways are they contributing to changing the social attitudes and ideas in broader Ghanaian society? Can we understand social remittances as a dialectical process whereby migrants' children are equally shaped by ideas from the new and emerging subcultures in the homeland? These questions are vital for understanding how second and subsequent generations navigate homeland identity and relations.

Another gap in this study was the lack of interrogation about the legal implications of dual identity, and the Ghanaian government's engagement with second generation Ghanaian-Canadians. Certainly, there is an important connection between citizenship status and social identities. However, in my estimation, it is quite easy for the second generation to enter Ghana without legal citizenship, but certainly, for those who may seriously plan to return, they may want to become institutionalized. Both Ghana and Canada allow for dual citizenship, but there is still much confusion about the process of acquisition. Recently, Ghana granted citizenship to 126 people from across the African diaspora, in a three-hour ceremony as part of the Year of Return celebrations. This ceremony took place in a context where the Ghanaian government is actively trying to recruit diaspora to return. They have even developed a youth-focused strategy, but many citizens are skeptical of the Ghanaian government. Questions remain about whether Ghana is prepared to welcome an influx of diaspora, including the second generation. What infrastructure is national government

developing for the second generation to invest and better understand Ghana, given their direct ancestral ties? Are both countries bureaucratically prepared for an inflow of dual citizens, and how might this legal process inform the second generation's sense of belonging to their respective country affiliations? What will this mean for social relations in the country and how might this shift the narrative of Ghanaian national identity? Indeed, there is a need to understand how the second generation's legal status and their capacity to navigate the associated state-level processes shape their sense of belonging and relationship with the transnational social field.

The study of second-generation transnationalism among Ghanaian-Canadians is distinctive because it is taking place in the early stages of their working/professional lives and family planning years. Further research may help to determine the extent to which second and subsequent generations will be able to participate in economic activities in Ghana. It was quite clear from my study that most participants were at the beginning of a very long-term strategy to return to the homeland. This strategy consists of trips back and forth to the homeland, with long periods of stay in Ghana. Often youth take up short to medium term contracts to engage employment in Ghana. They may also establish non-profits or businesses (registered in Canada or Ghana) aimed at contributing to particular industries in the homeland. By now, migration scholars are well aware of the transnational economic activities of the first generation, and indeed, the impact of these projects on their economic outcomes. However, it will become increasingly important to consider the long-term economic outcomes of second-generation transnational actors. To what extent does the transnational economic activity of the second generation determine their economic outcomes over their lifetime? How does the trend of non-linear career trajectories found amongst millennials (Lyons et al, 2012; Harrington, et al, 2015) influence the scale, scope and frequency of second generational transnational economic activity in Ghana? Could it be that youth are

engaging casually with economic investment in Ghana, as they navigate the "gig economy" and multiple career changes over their lifetime? Such questions would require a longitudinal economic analysis.

Conclusion

Second generation transnationalism is a growing subfield in migration studies. However, scholars studying Ghanaian youth in Canada have yet to seriously consider the effects of being raised in a transnational social field. As Levitt (2004) notes, adopting a transnational social field approach to the study of the second-generation helps to "distinguish between the existence of transnational social networks and the consciousness of being embedded in them" (p. 1006). The habitation of their "in-betweenness" suggests that Ghanaian youth will seek to negotiate cross-border lives, which is worth empirical investigation. Indeed, this project sits within a scholarly history of examining the realities of Ghanaian migrant communities in Canada. The study advances new trends in the subfield of second generation transnationalism by interrogating how youth raised within the Ghanaian-Canadian community negotiate this "complex interconnectedness" (Levitt, 2004) with the homeland. The project is also significant for advancing the discourse on Black Canadian identity. Mensah (2010) and Mensah et. al (2018) note that Canadian census data typically fails to capture the nuances of Ghanaian communities, because they are often subsumed under generalized categories such as "Black" or "African". For example, even in the most recent census data, though attempts were made to include a few of over 50 ethnic groups found amongst Ghanaians, there is still some debate about the accuracy of these statistics, given the heterogeneity and inter-mixing of Ghanaian identities (Mensah et. al, 2018). Further, considering that Ghanaians have been in Canada for over four decades, it is incumbent upon migration scholars to consider the impact of their presence, as well as the realities of newer generations, who largely navigate their upbringing in Canada with other

Black immigrant groups. Not surprisingly, the study found that youth are confronting similar trends of racialization that their Black immigrant peers face. They also face similar trends of ethnocentrism and xenophobia as their Black African peers, in particular. Somali-Canadian youth, for example, are often experiencing harsh policing, discrimination and Islamaphobia. However, unlike their East African peers, the Ghanaian homeland presents a viable solution to this marginalization, given its relatively stable democracy and economy. An investigation of their reality living in Canada can provide greater understanding of the current and potential future trends of this migrant group.

Previous assumptions that the second and subsequent generation of Ghanaian-Canadians would not engage in an *intense* transnational engagement is a fair one. Certainly, *most* migrants and their children do not permanently return to their country of origin for a variety of reasons. This study utilized a qualitative data collection of a small group of respondents, most of whom were all actively engaged in pursuing homeland return. While the outcomes of this study cannot be generalized to large groups of second-generation adults, due mainly to the smallness of its sample, it does demonstrate that the transnational social field has been impactful for Ghanaian migrants' offspring, such that their life aspirations have been coloured by cross-border linkages and consciousness. As more youth aspire to return, this may potentially have a snowball effect. Indeed, many of the respondents had been influenced by seeing their own co-ethnic peers on social media who had returned home. It is reasonable to assume that as time goes on, those who have returned may serve as models for what is (and is not) possible in the homeland.

Both Canadian and Ghanaian policy-makers could benefit from understanding the current trends of this particular community. As Ghana has aggressively begun to roll out its most recent iteration of 'diaspora for development" programming through the Diaspora Relations Office and the Year of Return commemoration, it would be useful to draw on the

particular skills, priorities and values of the next generation. Past migration scholarship and immigration policy has previously assumed that children of immigrants will merely integrate into larger Canadian society over time. However, the results of this study suggests what those studying the second generation have observed over the past two decades: the second-generation does increasingly seek to maintain a relationship with their parents' country of origin, particularly in their young adulthood years. Young Ghanaian-Canadian adults will likely have shifting priorities and connections to the homeland vis-à-vis the host country throughout their life cycle, which suggests the need for long-term research into the implications of living in a transnational social field as the 1.5 and second generation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions Guideline (Canada)

1. What type of activities do you do to stay connected to Ghana? Why do you choose those methods? (i.e. weddings, visiting family)
2. Do you participate in any Ghanaian cultural activities in Toronto/Canada?
3. Is there anything that stops you from participating in Ghanaian community activities?
4. Have you been to Ghana since you left?
5. What type of activities do you do to stay connected to Ghana?
6. What are some of the other ways that you stay connected to Ghana? Why do you choose those methods? (i.e. weddings, visiting family)
7. What do you do when you come to Ghana?
8. What does Ghana mean to you?
9. What does Canada mean to you?
10. What does it mean to belong to your ethnic group?
11. How would you describe your ethnic culture?
12. How would you characterize your current relationship with Ghana and with Ghanaians (in Canada and abroad)?
13. What were some of the things that you have observed about Ghana's physical environment or landscape?
14. How do you feel about these observations?
15. Is Ghana's land important to you? –Land and home
16. Does your family own land in Ghana? Where is it?
17. Do you see ever living there?
18. Do you feel connected to your family's land?
19. Do you feel any connection to Ghana's land?
20. What is the influence of Ghana (as a country/culture) on your everyday life?
21. What kinds of Ghanaian/cultural values are important to you at this stage of your life? And why?
22. What are you most proud of in terms of being Ghanaian?
23. What is one thing you wish you could change about Ghanaian culture?
24. What were you taught about Ghanaian culture as a child?
25. Do you have a Ghanaian social circle in Toronto/your city? What does it look like? What type of things do you do?
26. When was the last time you visited Ghana?
27. Are there any Ghanaian cultural places in Canada that you often frequent? Why or why not?
28. When you are in Ghana, what are some of the places that you often go to or would like to go? Are there any places in Ghana that you do not like to go? Why?
29. What is your overall impression of Ghana? And has that changed overtime from when you first visited Ghana?
30. Do you feel that you are able to negotiate both identities well? What are some of the ways you are able to do this?
31. Do you think there are any advantages to being Ghanaian and Canadian?
32. Are there any times when you felt you had to adjust to Ghanaian culture?
33. How has being Ghanaian shaped your life experiences thus far? Do you think it will continue to shape your life experiences in the future? In what way?
34. How has growing up in Canada as a Ghanaian impacted your life experiences?
35. Do you ever see yourself living in Ghana? Why or why not?

36. Do you feel like any aspects of your identity would have an impact on your experiences in Ghana or in Ghanaian communities in Toronto?
37. What are some of the challenges around identity that you have in navigating Ghanaian culture in Toronto and in Ghana?
38. Do you think Canada offers you a better standard of living compared to Ghana?
39. Do you think you could improve the status of your life by moving to Ghana?
40. Do you think you will always consider Ghana as part of your life or as a potential home? Why or why not?
41. Do you see yourself as a transnational person? If so, what does it mean to be transnational and do you think that shifts when you are actually in Ghana?

APPENDIX B: Semi-Structured Interview Questions Guideline (Ghana)

1. Why did you decide to return home?
2. What did your process of returning home look like, in terms of finding employment and housing?
3. When you decided to make the move home, who did you reach out to?
4. How did you go about your preparations? What were the most important factors for you?
5. What are some of the places that you often go to in Ghana? Are there any places in Ghana that you do not like to go? Why?
6. What are some of the places that you have created or made for yourself in Ghana?
7. Do you or your friends have special places that you go to often?
8. What do you like to do when you are in Ghana? What do you *not* like doing?
9. What does Ghana mean to you?
10. What does Canada mean to you?
11. What does it mean to belong to your ethnic group? How would you describe your ethnic culture?
12. What is the impact of Ghana (as a country) on your everyday life?
13. Do you feel connected to Ghana/Ghanaian culture? If so, in what way? If not, why?
14. What kinds of Ghanaian/cultural values are important to you at this stage of your life?
15. Do you participate in any Ghanaian cultural activities?
16. Do you feel like your gender or any other aspects of your identity have had an impact on your experiences in Ghana?
17. Are you politically active in Ghana?
18. Can you speak Twi? If not, how does it impact your life in Ghana? Accra?
19. How do you feel about other second generation moving home? Have you faced resistance or support?
20. What are you most proud of in terms of being Ghanaian?
21. What is one thing you wish you could change about Ghanaian culture?
22. What were you taught about Ghanaian culture as a child?
23. Do you have a Ghanaian social circle in Toronto/your city? What does it look like? What type of things do you do?
24. How often did you visit Ghana before you moved here?
25. Do you ever see yourself living in Ghana permanently? (For those who are there temporarily)
26. Do you think Canada offers you a better standard of living compared to Ghana?
27. Do you think you have improved the status of your life by moving to Ghana? Are you happy with your decision?
28. Do you see yourself as a transnational person? If so, what does it mean to be transnational and how has that shifted since you came here?
29. How does your family feel about you coming to Ghana?
30. Are your parents in Ghana? If not, do they regularly visit Ghana?
31. Did they help you with the transition in any way?
32. Are there any ways in which your move to Ghana has impacted your family positively or negatively?
33. If you decided to stay in Ghana would you parents be comfortable?
34. Are your parents in Ghana?

APPENDIX C: Closed-Ended Questionnaire

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Sexual Orientation
5. Ethnic group(s)
6. Place of Birth
7. Age at Migration
8. City of Residence in Canada
9. City of Residence in Ghana
10. Living with Parents
11. Grew up with Parents
12. Raised within a Ghanaian community
13. Occupation
14. Last visit to Ghana
15. Length of last visit to Ghana
16. Who you stayed with on last visit to Ghana
17. How long have you been in Ghana
18. Anticipated length of stay in Ghana (on current trip)

APPENDIX D: Consent Form

Informed Consent Form: Working Title: Here and There: Transnationalism among second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian Youth by Rita Nketiah (PhD Candidate)

Sponsors: York University

Purpose of the Research: This study explores the ways in which Ghanaian youth raised in Toronto stay connected to Ghana through various transnational activities. The methods of data collection include in-depth interviews among with 30 young adults in Ghana who have returned from Canada to work and/or live in different capacities and a second set of in-depth interviews will be conducted with 30 young Ghanaian adults across Toronto who are engaged in cultural activities locally. The third form of data collection involves an interview with a key informant in Ghana. My final data collection will be an analysis of online social media platforms that Ghanaian/African diaspora youth are engaged in on a regular basis. I aim to analyze how they build cross-border communities with other Ghanaian/African youth across the world. The purpose of the project is to understand how and why Ghanaian youth raised in Canada continue to build or grow ties with their country of origin.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: In this research, you will be asked to answer a series of questions about your cultural identity, your connection to Ghana, and the role that your country of origin factors into your life aspirations. You will also be asked to answer demographic questions about yourself. The total time commitment required will range for 1-2 hours, depending on your answers and my follow-up questions.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any major risks or discomfort from your participation in the research. However, as a social science researcher, I am aware of the sensitivity of discussing one's cultural upbringing. As such, participants will be given the option to opt out of answering any questions that make them feel uncomfortable, and indeed, exiting the interview if the discomfort increases. Participants will also be briefed (again) about the study before the interview begins, and can ask any clarification questions necessary. This will allow for a transparent data collection process and hopefully, your general comfort as a participant.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: The research will contribute to a growing body of literature on second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian young adults. I believe that it will be integral to future scholarship on this demographic and I think that it will also help us to learn more about the Ghanaian diaspora in Canada. Also, this research will likely enhance your own understanding and awareness of challenges facing second-generation Ghanaian youth as they seek to connect to both Ghana and Canada. I believe that the findings from this project may also have some impact on future policy decisions taken both by the Canadian and Ghanaian governments. Beyond this, there will be no direct material benefits to you as a participant.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the *treatment you may be receiving or the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the me as a researcher and member of the Ghanaian diaspora or the* nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored on a password-protected file on my laptop and only I will have access to this information. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law. The data will be kept for a total of five (5) years from the time my dissertation is completed, after which time, it will be destroyed/deleted from my laptop on November 30th, 2022.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me, Rita Nketiah by Skype [redacted] or by e-mail [redacted] or my Supervisor Professor Joseph Mensah [redacted]. You can also contact my program, the Department of Geography (Yvonne Yim at [redacted] or [redacted]. This research has been reviewed by the Human Participants in Research Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact Ms. Alison Collins-Mrakas, Manager, Research Ethics, [redacted], York University (telephone [redacted] or e-mail [redacted].

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I *(fill in your name here),* consent to participate in *Here and There: Transnationalism among second-generation Ghanaian-Canadian Youth* conducted by Rita Nketiah (PhD Candidate). I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature: **Date:**

Participant

Signature _____ Date_____

Principal Investigator

APPENDIX E: Tabulation of Participants' Socio-Demographic Profile

Name	Sex	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	Birth Country	Age at Migration	City of Residence (Canada)	Last Visit to Ghana	Length of Last Visit
Jane	F	31	Mo/D3g	Non-Profit Worker	Canada	N/A	Stoufville	2017	2 weeks
Priscilla	F	34	Kwahu	Non-Profit Worker	Ghana	12	Toronto	May 2017	3 weeks
Aminattu	F	25	Ga	Entrepreneur	Ghana	14	Mississauga	Feb 2018	1 month
Eunice	F	32	Ashanti	Executive Assistant	Italy	2	Toronto	2016	2 weeks
Kobina	M	34	Fante	Sales Associate	Canada	N/A	London	Dec 2016	3.5 weeks
Vera	F	26	Ashanti	Travel Specialist	Canada	N/A	Toronto	June 2017	1 year
Benjamin	M	34	Ga/Fante	Musician	Canada	N/A	Toronto	2007	1 week
Adwoa	F	30	Ashanti	Health Professional	Ghana	7	Toronto	2013	3 weeks
Edward	M	36	Ga	Machine Operator	Canada	N/A	Brampton	Dec 2017	1 month
Lisa	F	33	Akuapem	Retail Manager	Canada	N/A	Toronto	2016	Indefinite
Sarah	F	26	Ashanti	Graduate Student	Canada	N/A	Toronto	April 2017	4.5 months
Dzifa	F	19	Ewe	Student	Canada	N/A	Calgary	July 2017	1 month
Akosua	F	29	Ashanti/ Kassim	Graduate Student	Ghana	11	Toronto	2017	2 months
Matthew	M	23	Nzema/ Akyem	Sales Associate	Canada	N/A	Guelph	Jan 2017	2 weeks
Michael	M	32	Ashanti	Financial Analyst	Ghana	9	Toronto	2003	3 weeks
Lydia	F	35	Kwahu	Accountant	Ghana	9	Milton	Oct 2017	Indefinite
Emelia	F	29	Kwahu	Student	Germany	9	Toronto	Sept 2017	3 months
Esinam	F	44	Ewe/ Ashanti	Producer	Ghana	2	Toronto	Feb 2017	Indefinite
Kenneth	M	32	Akan	Business Owner/ Writer	Ghana	13	Toronto	2009	1 year
Akua	F	30	Kwahu	Program Analyst	Canada	11[7]	Toronto	Nov 2015	2 weeks
Faith	F	30	Brong Ahafo	Graduate Student	Ghana	3	Toronto	Aug 2016	8 months

[7] Participant moved to Ghana between ages 5-10, and returned to Canada at age 11.

Seyram	F	24	Ewe	Customer Service	Canada	N/A	Mississauga	April 2017	2 weeks
Kojo	M	25	Brong Ahafo	Restaurant Manager	Ghana	2	Cornwall	June 2017	3 weeks
Paapa	M	35	Fante/ Ashanti	Political Advisor	Ghana	6	Toronto	June 2017	2 weeks
Peter	M	30	Kwahu	Political Analyst	Ghana	16	Toronto	Aug 2016	3 months
Jojo	M	30	Kwahu	Business Consultant	Ghana	7	Toronto	Mar 2017	1 year
John	M	33	Ashanti	Chef	Ghana	12	Brampton	2011	2 weeks
Jeffrey	M	26	Ashanti	Filmmaker	Ghana	9	Peel Region	Nov 2017	Indefinite
Yasmin	F	30	Akyem	Non-profit Worker	Ghana	3	Toronto	Feb 2017	3 weeks
Edem	M	29	Ewe	Filmmaker	Canada	17[8]	Toronto/ Vancouver	N/A[9]	Indefinite
Jemila	F	20	Frafra/ Busanga	Student	Canada	N/A	Toronto/ Ottawa	May 2017	4 months
Esther	F	28	Kumasi	Fashion Designer	Ghana	8	Toronto	June 2016	1 year

[8] Participant was born in Canada, moved to Ghana at age 5, and returned to Canada at age 17.
[9] Participant relocated to Ghana at age 22, and has lived in the country since then.